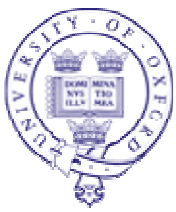
Scottish Graduate Migration and Retention: a case study of the University of Edinburgh 2000 cohort

Initial research findings from a project co-funded by the ESRC and Scottish Executive.

June 2006

Ross Bond and Sue Grundy (University of Edinburgh)
Katharine Charsley (University of Oxford)



Contents

List of Tables

Introduction

The project is part of a wider research programme of six projects co-funded by the Economic and Social Research Council and the Scottish Executive. The programme aims to explore the key demographic trends and challenges which Scotland currently faces. The projected decline and ageing of Scotland's population in the coming decades has important economic and social implications which require to be addressed by policymakers. Increasing fertility and net migration are both likely to have an important role to play in addressing this challenge.

This project focuses on the issue of migration. While Scotland has generally been a country of net out-migration, in recent years this trend has been reversed, such that in- and out-migration are much more evenly balanced (Findlay et al 2003a). Yet both the level and the nature of this migration continue to leave much room for improvement. Clearly, increasing absolute numbers of in-migrants to Scotland will have a beneficial impact on population decline. But of equal if not greater importance is the *profile* of such in-migrants. A key objective should be for Scotland to attract migrants who are most likely to make a positive contribution to the nation's future social and economic development: hence the objective to encourage migrants who are highly skilled and highly qualified.

This objective is clearly consistent with, and reflected in, recent policy statements and initiatives from the Scottish Executive such as 'Smart, Successful Scotland' (Scottish Executive 2001a), which places a strong emphasis on creating economic value from knowledge and research, and 'Fresh Talent' (Scottish Executive 2004), which aims to attract and retain highly skilled and qualified migrants. An obvious means toward achieving this goal is through retaining within the Scottish workforce a higher proportion of university graduates from those who originally migrated to Scotland to study, an easier task than attracting highly skilled people who have not previously demonstrated such an interest in the country (Findlay et al 2003a). Moreover, some graduates who leave on completion of their studies may later be persuaded to return to Scotland, and return migrants are a further group who have been identified as worthy of particular encouragement through policy initiatives (Stockdale 2004; Harrison et al 2003). At the same time, it will be important to continue to retain a high proportion of those university graduates who were already based in Scotland before commencing their studies.

Increasing the numbers of graduates living and working in Scotland thus represents a means of addressing the challenge of projected population decline and ageing while at the same time contributing to the long-term economic and social well-being of the country. Therefore, enhancing our knowledge about the migration behaviour and motivations of graduates is very important. This is particularly true given that there is a dearth of literature and data relating both to graduates' migration and career patterns beyond the initial period following graduation, and their motivations for making migration decisions.

Migration to and from Scotland has received academic consideration from a variety of disciplinary perspectives (e.g. Boyle & Motherwell n.d.; Findlay et al 2003a & b; Findlay 2004; Findlay & Garrick 1990; Hopkins et al 2006; Harrison et al 2003; Lindsay 1991 & 1992; Reicher et al 2006; Stockdale et al 2000; Stockdale 2002 & 2004). As noted above, a concern with the economic and social impacts of migration has come into political focus in recent years as part of wider demographic concerns also encompassing ageing and fertility of the Scottish population (Graham & Boyle 2003, Wilson & Rees 2003). In a context in which

it has been noted that younger adults and the highly skilled are more likely to migrate (Findlay et al 2003a; Findlay 2004; Graham & Boyle 2003; Lindsay 1991), Isobel Lindsay writes that 'Well-qualified people have been one of Scotland's most buoyant exports but one from which there has been little return' (1991: 95). She goes on to suggest that efforts should be made to 'start selling Scotland's attractions and its future prospects to the young with as much effort as is used to sell Scotland to inward investors' (1991: 101).

Despite the potential social and economic importance of graduates' migration decisions, remarkably little research has investigated graduate migration and motivations for residential decisions. Data from the Higher Education Statistics Agency's *Destination of Leavers from Higher Education* survey provides a snapshot of graduate locations at a census date approximately six months after graduation, but cannot reveal the longer-term migration patterns of this often still-mobile population, nor does it provide data on individuals' reasons for migration decisions. A survey of alumni of Strathclyde University conducted in the late 1980s does include material on motivations for leaving Scotland after graduation, but this research included only those students who were originally from Scotland and who were living overseas at the time of the research (Lindsay 1991), and so reflects only a particular section of the total graduate body. Outwith Scotland, a few studies of graduate migration have been undertaken (e.g. Indiana Fiscal Policy Institute 1999; King & Shuttleworth 1995a & b). Other British research on the subsequent careers of graduates is concerned to establish the 'effectiveness' of higher education and is thus focussed on labour market outcomes, rather than migration (Furlong & Cartmel 2005; Elias & Purcell 2004). A final emerging area of related literature addresses the earlier movement of students migrating for higher education (Baryla & Dotterweich 2001; Murphy-Lejeune 2002; Phillips & Stahl 2001; Li et al 1996). There is thus no direct precedent for the present study, which examines both mobility and immobility of native and in-migrant students, and does so with the benefit of both quantitative survey data, and the longitudinal perspective of life histories covering the period before, during, and up to five years after graduation.

A partial explanation for the absence of a developed literature on graduate migration *per se* may lie in the overlapping topic of 'highly skilled migration' which has attracted attention in the migration literature in recent years (e.g. Findlay 1990; Koser & Salt 1997; Salt 1992). Not all graduates, after all, may emerge as 'highly skilled' professionals, while some individuals with highly developed skills in employment may not possess a university degree. This literature reveals a category of 'highly skilled transients' (Findlay 1995) – often very mobile people whose shorter stays pose problems for the standard definitions of migration, and thus for quantification. In the Scottish context, useful research has been carried out on the attraction and retention of highly skilled labour (Harrison et al 2003), on service-class migration from England to Scotland (Findlay et al 2003b), and on emigration to Ireland by Scottish members of the 'creative class' (Boyle & Motherwell n.d.).

Interestingly, one review of the field suggests that whilst theorisation of migration often now incorporates an understanding of the social and cultural context, work on highly skilled migration has tended to remain dominated by an economic framework (Koser & Salt 1997). With reference to Scottish highly skilled and graduate migration, the relative importance of economic or employment factors and other considerations has been debated (Harrison et al 2003; Lindsay 1992). One of the principal contributions of the present study is to allow for the examination of the frequent combination of economic/employment and other issues in graduates' decisions on where to live. Our exploration of the qualitative interview material thus expands the consideration from simple issues of the availability and remuneration of

graduate employment, to the influence of several other categories of factor that have emerged as significant fields of enquiry in migration research, including social and kinship networks (Boyd 1989; Vertovec 2002; Jamieson 2000); identity (McIntosh et al 2004; Watson 2003); and perceptions of quality of life or environmental attractions (Bond et al 2003).

Overall, then, our study aimed to address the gaps in our knowledge outlined above by developing a more detailed picture of likely patterns of migration among graduates from Scottish higher education institutions (HEIs) and a deeper understanding of the motivations behind this migration behaviour. Of particular importance is the issue of why some graduates leave Scotland to live and work elsewhere after completing their studies, while others stay in Scotland. The data were derived from two phases of primary research, both focused on a specific cohort: a postal survey and follow-up interviews with those who graduated with a first degree from the University of Edinburgh in the year 2000. These data are supported and contextualized by existing statistical information concerning students and graduates.

There is a summary of key findings on pages 8-15. Thereafter, the structure of the main report is as follows. Sections 1-2 give details of secondary data which place the primary research in context. These data relate to the migration of students, graduates and young people to and from Scotland. Section 3 outlines some important methodological details of our postal survey. Sections 4-5 give information concerning the demographic and educational profile of our respondents. Sections 6-10 are concerned with the substantive findings from the postal survey. They cover, in turn, the employment of respondents; their migration behaviour; variations in this behaviour across key groups; and the factors underlying migration decisions. Sections 11-15 give details of the findings from the interview phase of the project. These are structured into five sections dealing with employment opportunities; personal relationships; social networks; the perspectives of those graduates who did not originate from Scotland; and the various types of migration revealed by our postal survey. These sections are preceded by some methodological details concerning the conduct of the interview phase. Finally, before concluding, we offer some thoughts on the potential policy implications of our findings.

Readers are requested to note that this initial report of research findings has not yet undergone peer review. The final report will be available to download from the ESRC award pages: http://www.esrcsocietytoday.ac.uk/

Summary of key findings

Secondary data:

- Scotland is a net 'importer' of students but a net 'exporter' of graduates. This is true whether we focus on the student population and recent graduates, or if we examine all those within the population who are educated to degree level.
- Migrants to Scotland are considerably more likely to have a degree or a professional qualification than are the 'indigenous' population. This is true whether we define migration through place of birth or by focusing solely on those who moved to Scotland in the year before the most recent (2001) Census.
- Degree-qualified migrants to Scotland are drawn disproportionately from overseas and from London and the south-east of England. But a large minority of migrants to Scotland in the pre-Census period were born in Scotland, suggesting a substantial phenomenon of return migration within this population.
- Scottish-born adults living in England are considerably more likely to have higher education (HE) qualifications than are their English-born counterparts, and a majority of Scottish-born adults living in Inner London have higher education qualifications, suggesting a disproportionate flow of highly qualified Scots to London. A majority of adults living in England who had migrated from Scotland in the year before the 2001 Census were HE-qualified, the highest proportion for any region of origin among migrants living in England. About three-quarters of these migrants from Scotland who were living in Inner London were HE-qualified.

Primary data: postal survey

- The proportion of respondents in paid employment rose substantially (from around 70% to around 90%) between January 2001 and summer 2005. The proportion of those employed in managerial, professional or associate professional occupations also increased substantially over this period (from 74% to 94%), while at the same time the proportion in more elementary administrative, sales or service occupations declined markedly from 26% to 6%.
- The median salary in 2005 for all respondents in paid employment was £25,000 pa. While median salary was higher (£30,000) for those living in London, otherwise there was no difference between those living in Scotland and England. Those employed in the private sector had the highest median salary (£28,000), and those in the charity or voluntary sector the lowest (£22,000).
- The national breakdown of respondents is very similar if we compare their location before they started their university degree ('domicile') and their location in summer 2005: the vast majority are split fairly evenly between Scotland and England. But the regional breakdown shows a substantial increase in the proportions living in Edinburgh and London (nearly half of our respondents lived in these two cities in 2005).
- There is a strong relationship between nation of origin and nation of residence in 2005, especially among our two largest categories of respondent (those resident in Scotland and England). Five years after graduation, clear majorities of both groups had remained in, or returned to, their nation of origin.
- But a substantial minority of Scottish-domiciled respondents lived in England in 2005, and a similar minority of the English-domiciled group lived in Scotland. Although the proportion of graduates of Scottish origin who migrate to England is somewhat larger

than the proportion of graduates of English origin who stay (or return) to Scotland, the difference is quite small, so the figures do not indicate a large negative out-migration of graduates in the medium to long term.

- But the fact that only a minority of those who came to Scotland to study from elsewhere lived there five years after graduation, and that nearly a third of the Scottish-domiciled graduates had also left Scotland, confirms that there is significant scope for retaining more graduates in Scotland. These patterns broadly reflect existing evidence relating to all graduates from Scotland, based on their initial destination following graduation.
- With the exception of those from London, Edinburgh and the Lothians, five years after graduation a minority of respondents were living in the region they originated from.
- Mobility within the UK in the period between respondents' initial (January 2001) post-graduation location and their most recent (summer 2005) location was limited to about one in four of all respondents. That is, only around a quarter recorded living at (an) additional UK address(es) between these two time points.
- Although overall patterns of residence may not change greatly between the period immediately following graduation and the period five years after graduation, our study shows that this conceals two important processes: delayed migration and return migration.
- Data on location in 2001, 2005, and additional places of residence between those two dates allows respondents to be categorized into four groups according to their post-graduation migration behaviour: non-migrants; delayed migrants; immediate migrants; and return migrants. The largest group were immediate migrants, accounting for nearly half of respondents. These people had left Scotland by January 2001 and were not living in Scotland in 2005. Only a small minority of this group (3% overall) had lived in Scotland at some point between 2001 and 2005. Just over a quarter of respondents were non-migrants – those who had not lived outside Scotland since graduation. Similar proportions (13-14%) were either delayed migrants (still in Scotland in January 2001 but living elsewhere by 2005) or return migrants (living in Scotland in 2005 but had lived elsewhere at some point over the previous five years).
- Migration status is clearly associated with pre-university domicile. Nearly half of Scottish-domiciled respondents were non-migrants, but this fell to 11% and 13% respectively among those domiciled in England or overseas. Similarly, while between one-quarter and one-fifth of the Scottish-domiciled were return migrants, this fell to 9% and 6% respectively among those domiciled in England or overseas. By contrast, while only 15% of the Scottish-domiciled were immediate migrants, this category accounted for two-thirds of the English-domiciled and nearly three-quarters of those who originated from overseas.
- Migration behaviour is also associated with **regional** origins. Broadly speaking (and with the notable exception of those who originated from Edinburgh itself), the further people migrated to go to university, the less likely they were to have stayed in Scotland. This applies to respondents from both Scotland and England. People from the north of Scotland were more likely to have moved away from Scotland than are other people from Scotland, and people who came from the south of England showed the highest levels of outmigration of all respondents.
- Although there is little association between migration status and gender, migration trajectories do vary in relation to other social characteristics. Mature graduates (aged 25 and over at the start of their university course) and those from manual working-class backgrounds were much less likely to have left Scotland (although people in

those categories are also more likely to have been domiciled in Scotland prior to their degree).

- Respondents who went to private schools were much more likely to have left Scotland than were those who went to state schools. This applied to those who originated both from Scotland and England, but the association was much weaker among people from the north of England. This suggests that differences in class backgrounds cannot be adduced to account fully for differences in migration trajectories between those from the north and south of England.
- Migration patterns vary widely across degree subjects. Subject areas in which Scotland has historical strengths and/or which may offer professional training specific to a Scottish context (Medicine, Law, Education) showed relatively low levels of out-migration. In contrast, those with degrees in the Arts and in Veterinary science exhibited relatively high levels of out-migration. But these figures also reflect the domicile and social backgrounds of typical graduates in these subject areas.
- With regard to degree attainment, levels of out-migration from Scotland were lower than average among respondents in the weakest classes (Thirds and Ordinarys), but the converse is not true: people with First class degrees did not show higher than average levels of out-migration. Those most likely to have left Sctoland were graduates with upper Second class degrees. But differences in migration patterns associated with degree class are more likely to be attributable to domicile and social background than they are to the standard of degree graduates have.
- Although respondents who originated from Scotland and those who went to comprehensive schools were less likely to have left Scotland at all in the five years after graduation, these two categories of respondent were also overrepresented among **return** migrants. Return migrants also had somewhat distinctive employment patterns: they were a little more likely to be employed in the public or charity/voluntary sector; to be in the associate professional occupational categories; and they had a lower median salary.
- When respondents were thinking about where to live and work at the time of graduation in 2000, factors relating to employment were most likely to be the most important consideration. In particular, the ambition to do rewarding and enjoyable work was clearly the most prominent factor. Thus it was the nature of, rather than remuneration for, employment which was most salient. The next most important group of factors related to families and relationships. A prominent finding here was that although less than a third of people overall thought that living with or near a partner was at all important at that time, those who did see it as important were quite likely to cite this as the most important factor, and it was thus the second most commonly cited most important factor. Place-related factors, while not unimportant, were rather secondary. But one important finding here was that while a desire to stay in Scotland was important for 28% of respondents, a much smaller minority (6%) were motivated by a desire to leave Scotland at the time of graduation. So there is no evidence of any great antipathy to the country.
- When asked to consider the importance of the same factors when thinking about where to live and work at the time of the survey (in summer 2005), the most obvious contrast with motivations at the time of graduation is that living with or near a partner was much more prominent. Unsurprisingly, as graduates mature, long-term relationships become more important to them. Similarly, a much higher proportion considered the suitability of their environment for bringing up children to be important. Overall though, doing rewarding and enjoyable work remained the most important consideration. Around a quarter of respondents continued to value Scotland

itself as a place to live, while again only a small minority (4%) were motivated by a desire to leave. This is a relatively positive finding in the context of attempts to retain more graduates in Scotland.

- There is some evidence that women are more likely to lean toward relationship factors and men work factors when thinking about where to live and work. Variations in motivations between people from different class backgrounds are not extensive, and show a tendency to narrow over the five year period (between graduation and the survey). Respondents who originated from Scotland were also somewhat more likely to see factors relating to families and relationships as important. For respondents actually living in Scotland in 2005, a desire to stay in Scotland is somewhat more prominent as a motivating factor among those originally from Scotland, but they do not differ fundamentally from others living in Scotland in this respect. Regional variation is difficult to assess due to the relatively small numbers living in many regions, but those who were living in Inner London do appear to be quite distinctive. For these respondents, work, friends and social life enjoy a greater prestige than other relationships and environmental factors.
- We explored attitudes to a potential return to Scotland among those living elsewhere in 2005. Although a substantial minority had a very positive attitude to a potential return to Scotland and only a small minority were firmly opposed to a potential return, by far the largest group, while open to the notion of a return to Scotland, were not particularly positive about this, saying only that they would consider it. These findings confirm the general absence of antipathy toward Scotland, but suggest that for most of those who had left since graduation, the country was not considered to be particularly unattractive nor attractive.
- Examining those least open to a potential return to Scotland suggests that established social networks and perceptions of lower salaries in Scotland may be significant barriers to return.
- Respondents who were originally from Scotland but were living elsewhere in 2005 were more likely to be positive about a potential return to the country in the future. But even among this group, only a minority had a very positive attitude. The perspectives of those who did not originate from Scotland tended to be much less positive in this respect, while still displaying low levels of antipathy. Both regional origins and regional location in 2005 are significant, and in tune with earlier findings: those originally from, or living in, the north of England displayed much more positive attitudes than their southern counterparts.
- Looking at other factors which may influence attitudes to return, the most significant finding is that those from more affluent backgrounds (measured by social class or schooling) tended to be more negative, substantiating earlier findings in relation to patterns of migration.

Primary data: follow-up interviews

- Graduates' migration behaviour is principally influenced by three general factors: the **connections** they have to various geographical places; the **opportunities** that are perceived to exist in such places; and the **expectations** they have for their future lives.

- By far the most significant type of opportunity relates to future employment. Whether or not graduates choose to leave Scotland is influenced substantially by the career opportunities available to them. Where superior opportunities are perceived to exist elsewhere, these other locations will act as 'magnets' drawing graduates away from

Scotland. If, on the other hand, attractive employment opportunities are available in Scotland, these can serve as 'anchors' keeping graduates in the country.

- For many respondents, superior employment opportunities were perceived to exist outwith Scotland, particularly in London and the south-east of England. The quality and diversity of employment available in London can also be a powerful magnet to couples where both partners need to find suitable employment.
- But many respondents who had stayed in Scotland – both Scots and non-Scots – displayed a general aversion to living in London. This suggests that there is a substantial pool of graduates who would prefer not to follow the major alternative career path to staying in Scotland. It is this category of graduate who are likely to be more susceptible to being encouraged to remain in (or indeed return to) Scotland to live and work.
- Many respondents, particularly those who were living in Scotland, had more positive beliefs and experiences in terms of finding suitable graduate employment in Scotland. In particular, there was significant evidence that the post-devolution environment was perceived to offer opportunities to work in influential roles which previously may have been concentrated to a greater extent in London, although there remain specific types of career which are difficult to pursue in Scotland.
- Many graduates felt that information about graduate employment opportunities available in Scotland could be disseminated much more effectively. A potentially effective strategy for retaining more graduates in Scotland would be to ensure that perspectives on possible future employment included Scotland, and that information about available employment was communicated as widely as possible to include all those interested in remaining in or returning to the country.
- There was some evidence to substantiate the findings of previous research which indicates that graduates from less advantaged social backgrounds are more likely to experience a rather more protracted transition into a settled graduate career path.

- The most significant forms of connection to geographical places are represented by relationships with partners, families, and friends.
- For many respondents, the location, intended location or national origins of their partner at the time of graduation was a significant influence upon their own migration behaviour, as was location of their wider family. For graduates who did not originate from Scotland the draw to move to be nearer their family following graduation is an obvious pull away from Scotland. Where factors such as location of partner and family combine to create strong connections to a particular location, immediate migration following graduation becomes much more likely, and there will be substantial barriers to return to Scotland.
- The interviews confirmed the survey finding that many graduates feel that their relationships are assuming more importance in their lives. Several of the people interviewed were about to get married or had recently made migration decisions based on the success or failure of a relationship. Even those without partners often discussed anticipated future relationships as influencing their considerations of the most desirable place to live.
- Once more substantiating our survey results, many interviewees spoke of the changes that they anticipated children would bring to both their residential priorities and their ability to move. In general this is an area where Scotland was often positively perceived by many respondents as offering an attractive environment in which to raise a family. This is particularly true when Scotland is compared with its primary alternative location for graduate employment – London. But there was little evidence

of couples moving in response to having children. In some cases, rather than motivating migration, children may function to embed people in the place in which they are living.

- Many respondents anticipated future responsibilities to ageing parents as influencing where they might live. But actual instances of graduates moving to care for their parents were rare, as we might expect for this generally young cohort whose parents may not yet be elderly. Even where parents do need care, this may be provided by other family members, and so is not an issue for all graduates. Additionally, it is not necessarily the case that non-Scots living in Scotland, for example, will be required to contemplate leaving the country at some point in the future in order to be closer to ageing parents. There was more than one instance of parents of non-Scots respondents relocating to Scotland. This phenomenon illustrates the possible interactions between types of migration, so that encouraging retirement migration might even influence the choices of a few highly skilled people of working age.
- There was some evidence to substantiate previous research which demonstrates a phenomenon of 'tied' migration, in which a (heterosexual) couple's decision to migrate is likely to be based on the man's career interests. But, whilst staying with a partner was a primary motivation for some women to remain in Scotland or to move elsewhere, there were also several examples of men remaining in Scotland to be with a female partner, or being prepared to leave to follow her elsewhere.
- As a form of connection to geographical place, networks of friendship are an important influence, both on migration decisions made immediately after graduation and on contemporary plans. When strong and enduring networks of friends exist within Scotland, and particularly where such networks extend beyond the student community, graduates (both Scots and non-Scots) are less likely to leave the country, or more likely to return. Where such networks are weaker, more focused within the student community, and/or dissolve at the time of graduation (or re-form in alternative locations such as London), there is less reason for graduates to remain in Scotland.
- Wider civic activity, for example through (voluntary) work and membership of leisure or civic organizations, represents an important means of deepening connections to the community and gaining a more rounded understanding of life in Scotland. But our evidence suggests that civic engagement, while potentially significant, is very much a secondary factor in determining migration behaviour. Other factors, particularly those related to the employment opportunities and personal relationships described above, are likely to be more significant influences than are connections based on civic engagement, which are likely to be more ephemeral in nature.

- With regard to a desire to leave Scotland or a willingness to consider return, our interviews with non-Scots suggest that the generally positive perspectives demonstrated in the survey result from the various types of connection which these graduates establish to Scotland, both during and following their time at university.
- Most of the interviewees who were non-Scots living in Scotland reported feeling at home or at times an even stronger allegiance. These positive connections were variously developed through spending most or all of one's adult life in the country, through having a Scottish partner or a Scottish family background, or through being employed in specifically Scottish institutions. In addition, the environmental attractions of the countryside in particular, but also the urban environment and the friendliness of the people, were important factors in encouraging enduring positive connections with the country.

- Our survey finding that those who had come to Scotland to study from the north of England were considerably more likely to remain (or return) than were those from the south was further illuminated by interview evidence which showed a 'north British' affinity in which a number of respondents who originated from the north of England felt a stronger sense of connection to Scotland and the Scots than they did to the south. Although such sentiments do not ultimately determine post-graduation migration trajectories, they were a significant factor in the decision-making of some interviewees.
- But our interview evidence also revealed substantial barriers to the inclusion of non-Scots living in Scotland. Most significantly, allegiance to Scotland for the largest 'migrant' group – those who originate from England – can be limited by experiences of discrimination based on their nationality. These were somewhat more marked among those no longer living in Scotland. Such discrimination is complex, being experienced differentially between individuals and particular groups. Those from the north of England and/or from less affluent social backgrounds, for example, were less likely to suffer (which may well be a factor in the higher retention and return rates among graduates in these categories), and being a student may in itself invite less inclusive attitudes. It is also true that even when people report a significant experience of anti-Englishness, this does not necessarily undermine their connection to Scotland to the extent that they take the decision to leave, although for others it did appear to be a significant factor in such a decision.
- In contrast, those graduates who originated from Scotland but were living in England generally reported that being Scottish in England was, if anything, an asset rather than a drawback. This is therefore an area in which Scotland could be seen to be at a net disadvantage, and existing government initiatives to ameliorate any exclusion or hostility encountered by non-Scots would do well to consider the potential impact of discrimination upon the retention of non-Scottish graduates.
- Our interviews indicate that the phenomenon of immediate migration revealed by the survey (in which people leave Scotland within six months of graduation and have not returned five years later) is likely to result from a combination of opportunities, connections (or lack thereof) and expectations. For both Scots and non-Scots, opportunities influence immediate migration in much the same way, in that superior employment opportunities are often perceived to exist outside Scotland, particularly in London. While many Scots will become immediate migrants in spite of their connections to Scotland, for non-Scots it is more likely that out-migration will be encouraged by a relative absence of connections to Scotland and/or the existence of more influential connections elsewhere, sometimes in their place of origin. Most significant here is the role of relationships, noted above. Immediate migration is also influenced by different types of expectation held by Scots and non-Scots. While for many Scots, a pre-university perspective in which only migration within Scotland is considered also extends to their post-graduation decisions, for others there is a shift in expectations: having grown up in Scotland and realised the expectation to attend university there, graduates sometimes feel ready for a new experience. Once more, a particularly appealing destination in this respect is London. In contrast, for some non-Scots there was a strong expectation that their time in Scotland would be temporary, and that they would return 'home' once their studies were concluded.
- For those who ultimately leave Scotland, but delay their migration beyond the initial six month period after graduation, relationships and employment opportunities are once more important. Non-Scots may remain in Scotland temporarily to be with a partner but then migrate when their partner leaves the country, while for Scots delayed

migrants having a non-Scottish partner can be a significant factor in the ultimate decision to leave. In terms of employment, a common reason for delayed migration is that many graduates would like to stay in Scotland to live and work after the completion of their degree, and thus spend a significant period of time trying to develop appropriate career opportunities, but move on when they find that such opportunities are not forthcoming. Especially where career aspirations are particularly specific, a comparative lack of breadth in the employment opportunities available in Scotland can encourage graduates to leave, even when they have other strong reasons to stay.

- Our interviews highlight the fact that although a number of Scots will move away to pursue new experiences or more extensive opportunities, such moves are not necessarily conceived of as permanent. Just as many non-Scots understand their time in Scotland as a phase and fully expect to leave the country once they graduate, Scots who move south sometimes do so in the expectation that they will return to Scotland at some future date, and maintain a positive identification with the country. This helps us understand why, in our survey data, Scots living outside Scotland generally show a very positive attitude towards returning to Scotland. Overall, for those living outside Scotland the most positive aspects of the country relate to the environment and the people. These factors, coupled with the more general feelings of identification also reported by many non-Scots, suggest that there is a strong potential for improving the rates of retention and return of those who came to study in Scotland from other parts of the UK or indeed further afield. That this potential is not always realised can to a considerable degree be explained through reference to the alternative connections and opportunities which influence graduates' migration decisions.
- Much of the interview evidence reviewed above has implications for the kinds of policy initiatives which could, potentially, increase the number of graduates who stay in Scotland after university, or encourage those who have left to return. In addition, many interview respondents were asked for, and provided, direct suggestions about what the Scottish Executive might be able to do in order to improve graduate retention. Many informants were unsure as to whether the principal factors that had influenced them and the people they knew at university were open to influence by government, and some of their suggestions are more likely to be amenable to political influence than are others. For example, there was strong support for improving the quality and diversity of employment opportunities available in Scotland, and for the introduction of more family-friendly social policies, but the degree to which such measures are likely to fall within the remit of the Scottish Executive in the foreseeable future is questionable. More practical suggestions included fostering the establishment of local connections during university years to encourage students to think about staying on after graduation; providing more information about the attractive features of Scotland as a place to live and work; the wider dissemination of information about employment and training opportunities in Scotland; and the encouragement of more welcoming attitudes towards those who do not originate from Scotland.

1. Students and graduates from Scottish higher education

1.1[1] The Scottish higher education sector can be described as a successful net 'importer' of students. In 2003-2004 a total of 53,685 students at Scottish Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) were classed as not being 'Scottish-domiciled', i.e., they were not resident in Scotland for three years prior to becoming students. This represents 26% of all students. Of these, 26,185 (13%) came from other parts of the UK. In contrast, only 13,590 students classed as Scottish-domiciled were in HEIs in other parts of the UK (i.e. outside Scotland) in 2003-04. This represents only 8% of all Scottish-domiciled students. In terms of students taking first degrees, 31,070 such students at Scottish HEIs in 2003-04 were not Scottish-domiciled, representing 25% of first degree students. Of these, 19,725 (16%) were from other parts of the UK. Here the differential is even larger, with only 6,225 (6%) of all Scottish-domiciled students doing a first degree attending universities in other parts of the UK. In addition, Scottish HEIs attract a substantial number of students from outside the UK. 27,500 students (13%) at Scottish HEIs in 2003-04 were from overseas. Of these, 8,670 were from other EU member states.

1.2 But while Scotland is a net importer of *students* it is a net exporter of *graduates*. A significant proportion of Scottish-domiciled graduates from Scottish HEIs leave Scotland after graduation but, more significantly, a large proportion of students who came from elsewhere to study in Scotland leave the country after graduation (this trend is discussed in some detail in section 5 below).

[1] Source of all data in this section is the Higher Education Statistics Agency (HESA).

2. Migration of young people and graduates to and from Scotland

2.1 The differential flow of students and graduates to and from Scotland is reflected in the migration patterns of young people. In terms of movement between Scotland and the rest of the UK, net migration *gains* are greatest for those aged 19 and 20, while net migration *losses* are greatest among those aged 23 and 24 (General Register Office for Scotland – GROS, 2004).

2.2 But net loss of graduates is not limited only to young people. Overall, the 2001 Census shows a net loss of 4,324 people with first or higher degrees from Scotland to other parts of the UK in the 12 months before the census (GROS, 2004).

2.3 Analysis of the 2001 Census also shows that among the Scottish population those *not born* in Scotland are more than twice as likely to have a degree or a professional qualification than are those born in Scotland. Overall, 19% of people aged 16-74 and living in Scotland come into this category, but this rises to 36% for those not born in Scotland, while only 17% of those born in Scotland have a degree or a professional qualification. This shows that migrants to Scotland are a good source of highly qualified personnel.

2.4 But, rather than taking place of birth as an indicator of migration, we can also look at recent migrants to Scotland. The 2001 Census recorded whether or not people had moved in the 12 months prior to the Census and, if they had moved, their previous address. Analysis of these data using the Sample of Anonymized Records (SARs) confirms the correlation between migration status and higher education qualifications (see Table 2.1)

Table 2.1: Proportion of residents of Scotland with a degree or professional qualification by migration status, 2001

	Non-migrant	Within Local Authority	Between Local Authorities	From other UK country	From outside UK
	19%	20%	33%	35%	45%
N	*105817*	*8459*	*2922*	*1180*	*797*

This table shows that migration *in itself* is associated with degree qualifications. So, even those who moved between local authority areas in Scotland in the 12 months prior to the Census are much more likely to have a degree or professional qualification than are those who did not move at all or who moved within the same local authority area. But the most highly qualified of all are those who migrated to Scotland, particularly those who came from outside the UK. However, the geographical *origin* of these migrants is also important. Based on an analysis of SARs, those who came from Northern Ireland, for example, are not much more likely to have a degree or professional qualification than are people more generally: only 23%. At the other extreme, the corresponding figure for those who came to Scotland from London is 51% - a higher proportion even than those from overseas.

2.5 We can use the same data to estimate the proportional origins of degree-qualified migrants to Scotland. Nearly half (46%) of such people come from overseas. A slightly higher proportion (49%) come from England. The remaining 5% come from Wales or Northern

Ireland. For those with origins in England, more than half (51%) come from the south-east of the country (London, together with the South East and East regions). However, many migrants to Scotland will not be coming to the country for the first time. The data do not allow us to track multiple moves, but we can examine migrants by their place of birth, and thus class as 'return migrants' those who were **born** in Scotland and were recent migrants **to** Scotland. This analysis indicates substantial levels of return migration among adults living in Scotland: 25% of non-UK migrants and 34% of other-UK migrants were born in Scotland. There are also significant regional fluctuations in return migration: 48% of migrants from Outer London were born in Scotland (next highest is 43% from East of England), but only 9% of migrants from Northern Ireland (although this is singularly low – no other UK region has less than 30%).

2.6 As well as using the Census SARs to look at highly qualified migrants **to** Scotland, we can also examine highly qualified migrants **from** Scotland to England. Qualifications data for England do not distinguish between degree and sub-degree HE qualifications. If we define migrants by place of birth, then, similarly to the situation in Scotland, migrants from Scotland living in England are more likely to be HE-qualified (29% of adults) than their English-born counterparts in England (18%). A majority (51%) of Scottish-born adults living in Inner London are HE-qualified. This is easily the highest proportion regionally. The next highest regions are also in the adjacent regions of Outer London and the South-East: 38% and 32% respectively.

2.7 A majority (51%) of adults living in England who had migrated from Scotland in the previous year were HE-qualified. This is the highest proportion for any region of origin among migrants living in England (although figures for migrants from Inner London and overseas are very similar). Once again, Inner London shows the highest proportion of HE-qualified migrants from Scotland (74%), followed by Outer London (63%). The lowest region in this respect is the West Midlands (37%).

3. The Postal Survey: target respondents, administration, response and representativeness

3.1 **Target respondents.** It was beyond the resources available for the current research initiative to attempt to investigate all recent graduates from all Scottish Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) or indeed a specific cohort of graduates from all Scottish HEIs. We therefore selected one specific cohort which we believed would most efficiently represent the diversity of student backgrounds and post-graduation experience: those who completed their **first** degree (i.e. excluding postgraduates) at the University of Edinburgh in the year 2000. This cohort was chosen for the following reasons:

- By focusing only on those who graduated with a first degree we ensured that we were comparing respondents who were qualified to a broadly similar level in 2000.
- Selecting the year 2000 cohort offered an opportunity to study those whose graduation was still relatively recent. This meant that institutional data on this group were still available and attrition related to loss of contact details was not extensive. Moreover, migration decisions would be recent enough to minimise memory-recall difficulties. At the same time, selecting a more recent cohort would not have allowed for a sufficiently substantial period in which many graduates may search for employment or take short-term jobs before finding a more long-term career or place of residence. Focusing on the 2000 cohort would thus create a picture of graduate migration and retention more likely to reflect long-term residence. It would also allow us to study the phenomenon of return migrant Scots.
- Selecting the University of Edinburgh provided the best combination of scale and diversity. Not only is it one of the largest HEIs in Scotland (currently with over 22,000 students), it attracts students in almost equal numbers from within and without Scotland, and from a diverse range of social backgrounds. This allowed us to generate substantial data about the migration behaviour of the non-Scots who are so central to important demographic initiatives such as *Fresh Talent*, while at the same time comparing these graduates with native Scots from a variety of social backgrounds.

3.2 **Administration.** Development and Alumni Services at the University of Edinburgh held addresses for approximately 90% of all those who graduated with a first degree from the University in 2000: 3,134 addresses in all. A letter and a questionnaire (see Appendix A) was posted to each of these addresses on 10 June 2005. A reminder letter and a further copy of the questionnaire was posted to all addresses on 24 June 2005. Return of questionnaires was by post (a pre-paid envelope was enclosed with each mailing). The only exception was graduates living overseas. Although a questionnaire was posted to each overseas address, the letter encouraged overseas residents to request an email version of the questionnaire if they did not want to pay postage. A small number of graduates living overseas requested and returned an email questionnaire; a larger number simply paid for the postage.

3.3 **Response.** No deadline was set for the return of questionnaires. However, in order to allow sufficient time for the preparation of the interview phase of the project, and to enable the prompt production of an interim report based on the findings from the questionnaire, any questionnaires received after 9 August 2005 were not included in the final analysis. Excluding these late returns, 1,362 completed questionnaires were received,

a response rate of over 43%[2]. This came close to the project target of 50% response, and represented a satisfactory response rate for postal surveys more generally. We were encouraged by the level of response in two further respects. First, the letters were posted to named individuals who had graduated five years previously. Notwithstanding the conscientious efforts of Alumni Services in attempting to maintain contact with graduates, it was likely that a substantial number of individuals would no longer be living at the last address held for them. Indeed a small number of letters were returned marked 'no longer at this address'. Second, our letters not only asked graduates to complete the questionnaire, but also to provide personal details so that they might be contacted for a follow-up interview. A majority of respondents (53%) agreed to do this. Having so many potential interviewees was important in ensuring that the wide variety of graduate backgrounds and experiences was reflected in the interview phase of the project.

3.4 **Representativeness.** It is important to appreciate that those selected to participate in the study were not intended to be (and cannot be considered to be) strictly representative of all graduates from universities in Scotland, or of all graduates from the year 2000, or of all graduates from the University of Edinburgh. When analysing and interpreting data derived from the questionnaires it is not appropriate, for example, to employ measures of statistical significance in order to determine the likelihood of our results being true of Scottish graduates more widely. This is because our cohort in no sense represents a random sample of such graduates. But this is not the same as saying that our findings are not relevant, or unlikely to apply, to graduates more generally. On the contrary, as stated in 3.1, this particular group were chosen with the explicit intention of learning lessons about the longer-term migration behaviour of all kinds of graduate, and the analysis of questionnaire data is conducted with the aim of drawing such firm conclusions. Nevertheless, it will contribute to the evaluation of our findings if we attempt to show to what extent the profile of our respondents mirrors that of graduates more generally. In the following sections we attempt to do this whenever possible by drawing on various secondary sources of data.

[2] In all, 127 late returns were received but not processed. Including these returns would raise the overall response rate to 48%.

4. Demographic profile of respondents: gender; age; domestic status; social class background; ethnicity.

4.1 **Gender.** 61% of respondents were female and 39% male. This broadly reflects the gender breakdown of those graduating from the University of Edinburgh with a first degree in academic year 1999-2000: 54% were female and 46% male, indicating that females are somewhat overrepresented in our respondents. The figures for all Scottish HEIs in 1999-2000 are very similar: 56% female and 44% male (HESA).

4.2 **Age.** As we would expect from people who graduated in 2000, the vast majority of respondents were in their mid-late twenties. Respondents ranged from 25-66 years of age, with a median age of 27. The vast majority (84%) of respondents were aged 26-28, and overall 90% were aged under 30. Definitions of 'mature' students vary, and we cannot be completely sure about how old respondents were when they started their degree course at Edinburgh. If we define mature students as those aged 21 or over when starting their degrees, then it is likely that all respondents aged 30 and over at the time of our survey were mature students. Using this definition, 10% of our respondents were mature students. If we use the stricter definition of 25 or over (aged 34+ in 2005), then 6% were mature. Of all undergraduates at the University of Edinburgh in session 1999-2000, 7% were aged 25 or over. Scottish institutions as a whole had a higher proportion of undergraduates aged 25+ in 1999-2000: 16%. So even though our respondents closely reflect the age structure of University of Edinburgh students, we need to be mindful that the latter clearly have a younger age profile than students at Scottish HEIs more generally. This continues to be the case, and the differential has in fact widened: in 2003-2004 6% of University of Edinburgh students were aged 25+ compared to 19% in all Scottish HEIs (HESA).

4.3 **Domestic status.** Respondents were split very evenly between those who were either married or living with their partner (49%) and those who were single (50%). Only a small minority (7%) had any dependent children (rising to 12% among those married or living as married). Only 4% of those aged under 30 had children compared to 42% of those aged 34 and over.

4.4 **Social class background.** We defined this by the occupation of the main wage earner in the family when the respondent was aged 14 (a common benchmark in studies of social mobility). A large majority of respondents (86%) came from managerial or professional backgrounds. Only small minorities came from households where the main wage earner did clerical or sales work (5%) or manual work (8%). Data held by the University of Edinburgh for this cohort is based on somewhat different class categories. Nevertheless, these data can be mapped on to our own fairly easily. 78% of all those qualifying with a first degree in 1999-2000 came from professional or managerial/technical backgrounds; 9% were in the skilled non-manual category; and 13% were from manual working class backgrounds. These figures suggest that, although our respondents are broadly representative of the cohort from which they are drawn, those from middle class backgrounds are somewhat over-represented. This is also true if we draw a comparison with the most closely comparable available data for Scotland as a whole. These are based on young (i.e. those aged under 21) entrants to undergraduate courses in Scotland in

1997-98 (the majority of our respondents will have entered in 1996). 24% of this cohort were from manual working-class backgrounds[3].

Among our respondents social class differentials are markedly different among the oldest category (those aged 25+ at the beginning of their degrees). Only about half (51%) of this group came from managerial or professional backgrounds, with a fairly large minority (28%) from manual working class backgrounds. Class background is also associated with respondents' country or origin (see 7.1 below). The most obvious contrast is between students who originated from Scotland, of whom 77% are from managerial or professional backgrounds, and those who originated from England (95% managerial or professional).

4.5 **Ethnicity.** There is little diversity among respondents in terms of their ethnic origins. The vast majority (96%) were in the White: European category, with most of the others either from Asian or Mixed origins. This reflects a more general lack of ethnic diversity among students at the University of Edinburgh and indeed in Scotland more generally. In 1999-2000 96% of all students taking a first degree at Edinburgh, and whose ethnicity was known, were White. The corresponding figure for all Scottish HEIs was 95% (HESA).

[3] Source: HEFCE www.hefce.ac.uk/learning/perfind/default.asp

5. Educational profile of respondents: schooling; subject and class of degree; postgraduate study and qualifications.

5.1 **Schooling.** The largest group (44%) received the majority of their secondary education at a state-funded comprehensive school. The next largest group (35%) attended independent schools (including grant aided and direct grant). 10% went to selective state schools and a further 5% other state schools. 5% were educated overseas. Once again, data held by the University of Edinburgh for this cohort is not directly comparable with our own data. The university records the type of educational institution attended immediately prior to enrolment. We must therefore exclude mature students and those who came to the university from another further or higher education institution. Of the remainder (who still account for the vast majority of this cohort) 42% attended a comprehensive, 44% an independent and 14% a selective state school. So once more our respondents are certainly broadly representative of the cohort as a whole, although those who attended independent schools would seem to be somewhat under-represented. We have no directly comparable data for Scotland as a whole. The most closely comparable data once more relate to young entrants to undergraduate courses in Scotland in 1997-98 (see 4.4 above). 81% of this cohort attended state schools[4]compared to 59% of our respondents.

Among our respondents type of schooling varies according to age group, with those in the 34+ category again being most distinctive. A clear majority (57%) of this group went to a comprehensive school, with most of the remainder going to another kind of state school. A much smaller (although by no means negligible) proportion (13%) of those in the 34+ age category attended an independent school. An even more significant factor in relation to schooling is respondents' nation of domicile **before** going to university (see section 7.1 below). Of those who came from Scotland, those who attended a comprehensive outnumber those who went to an independent school by more than 3 to 1 (66% and 20% respectively). But among those who came from England a majority (56%) went to an independent school and only 33% attended a comprehensive.

5.2 **Subject of degree.** Degrees were classified using the JACS classification system used by the Higher Education Statistics Agency (HESA). This identifies 161 subject categories, which can also be grouped into 19 broad subject areas. We used the broad subject areas (see Appendix B for a full list and breakdown). The most common subject areas (each accounting for 11-14% of respondents) were Languages, Physical Sciences, Biological Sciences and Historical and Philosophical Studies. Overall, there was a good balance between those who did degrees in the sciences (45%) and those in humanities and social science (55%). Strict comparisons with secondary data held by HESA are slightly problematic here given that we chose to classify 'joint' degrees according to first named subject, rather than grouping all such degrees together as 'combined'. HESA records 11% of those who graduated with a first degree from the University of Edinburgh in 1999-2000 as being in the 'Combined' subject area compared to only 2% of our respondents. But we can still use data from the other 18 subject areas to give us an indication of the extent to which our respondents are broadly representative of University of Edinburgh graduates. The subject areas where there would appear to be some overrepresentation among our respondents are Biological Sciences (12% compared to 8% in the HESA data); Physical Sciences (12% and 9%); and Languages (14% and 11%). Only Education

[4] Source: HEFCE www.hefce.ac.uk/learning/perfind/default.asp

(5% and 8%) is underrepresented. But overall our respondents are broadly representative of 1999-2000 first degree graduates from the University of Edinburgh in terms of subjects studied. Compared to graduates from all Scottish HEIs in 1999-2000 this also means that our respondents are rather more likely to have studied Medicine; Biological sciences; Veterinary science; Physical sciences; Mathematical sciences; Social studies; Law; Languages; Historical and philosophical studies; and Education. They are rather less likely to have studied Subjects allied to medicine; Engineering & technology; Architecture, building & planning; Business & administrative studies; Mass communications & documentation[5]; and Creative arts and design. Generally speaking, subject areas where University of Edinburgh first degree graduates from 1999-2000 are particularly overrepresented compared to first degree graduates from all Scottish HEIs are Veterinary science, Languages, and Historical and Philosophical studies. Subject areas where they are most strikingly underrepresented are Subjects allied to medicine and Business & administrative studies (HESA).

5.3 **Class of degree.** The majority of respondents (58%) were awarded an Upper Second class honours degree. 14% had a First class degree and 13% Lower Second class. These proportions are broadly in line with overall HESA figures for 1999-2000 University of Edinburgh first degree graduates (HESA). 7% of respondents had either Third class or Ordinary (non-honours) degrees, and 8% unclassified honours degrees (those doing degrees in Medicine and Veterinary Medicine are simply awarded a 'Pass'). HESA figures record only a small proportion (2%) as having a Third class degree or a Pass and a much larger proportion (17%) as having an Unclassified degree. Differences between these data and our respondents are likely to reflect different systems of categorization more than differential rates of response. But we also need to take account of the fact that our respondents, and University of Edinburgh graduates more generally, were significantly more likely to achieve the better classes of degree than were graduates from all Scottish HEIs in 1999-2000: only 7% achieved a First class degree and 35% an Upper Second (HESA).

5.4 **Postgraduate study.** 18% of respondents reported that they continued on to further study following graduation (i.e. they were students in January 2001[6]). This is broadly comparable to the 21% of first degree graduates from the University of Edinburgh in 1999-2000 who were engaged in further study in 2001 (University of Edinburgh Careers Service). The corresponding figure for all Scottish HEIs (22%) is also very similar (Scottish Executive, 2001b). Among our respondents, the division of these postgraduate courses into subject areas reveals a somewhat different pattern to the undergraduate profile, in that Law is the most common subject area (17%) and Education (along with Physical Sciences) the second most common (13%). These figures reflect the fact that, in order to practise, lawyers must do a postgraduate diploma; and that many students do a PGCE in order to qualify as school teachers. These factors are also reflected to a degree in the level of postgraduate study recorded for 2001. 24% of those who were students in 2001 were studying for a postgraduate diploma (including other subjects in addition to Law), and 14% a PGCE. But the most common level of study was Masters (32%). In addition, 20% of those who were students in 2001 were studying for a PhD. 7% of all

[5] In fact none of our respondents were in the Mass communications & documentation category. This is because the University of Edinburgh does not offer any undergraduate degrees that would fall into this category.

[6] Our survey asked graduates to record their location and principal activity in January 2001. This date was chosen deliberately to coincide with HESA's *Destinations of Leavers from Higher Education* survey, which is sent out to graduates six months after graduation.

respondents described their **2005** status as ‘student’. But a higher proportion (17%) stated that they were studying for some form of qualification. This higher figure will include those studying part-time and those pursuing professional qualifications. Medicine and Business were the most common subject areas among all those studying for a postgraduate qualification in 2005. The most common level of study among this group was a PhD (25%) followed by Masters (24%), professional qualifications (23%) and postgraduate diplomas (19%).

5.5 **Postgraduate qualifications.** A majority of all respondents (57%) did not report having any postgraduate qualifications. 4% of all respondents had a PhD, 12% a Masters, 17% a postgraduate diploma or certificate (including PGCE) and 7% some form of professional qualification. The remainder are made up of the small number who had done further first degrees or courses at sub-degree level. Subject area of postgraduate qualifications obtained largely reflects the findings reported in 5.4: Business, Law, Education, Medicine and Physical Sciences are the most common.

6. Employment.

6.1 **Employment in January 2001.** In the January immediately following graduation, 71% of respondents reported being in some form of paid employment (in addition to the 18% who were students – see 5.4 – 6% were travelling, 2% unemployed, 2% doing voluntary work, and less than 1% looking after the home/family or retired). The proportion in paid employment is broadly similar, although slightly higher, than the 65% of first degree graduates from the University of Edinburgh in 1999-2000 who were in paid employment (University of Edinburgh Careers Service). The corresponding figure for all Scottish HEIs was also 65% (Scottish Executive, 2005). Occupations were classified using the Standard Occupation Classification (SOC2000), which is used in many major surveys and also favoured by HESA. The 2 digit level of classification (Sub-major groups) was applied (see Appendix C), using the 5 digit level for guidance. Table 6.1 shows the distribution of occupations among those who were in paid employment in January 2001. Categories that account for less than 1% of respondents have been excluded.

Table 6.1: Occupational group among employed respondents, January 2001

Occupational Group (SOC2000 2 digit)	**%**
Corporate managers	3.2
Managers and proprietors in agriculture and services	1.7
Science and technology professionals	8.5
Health professionals	12.0
Teaching and research professionals	15.4
Business and public service professionals	8.0
Science and technology associate professionals	3.1
Health and social welfare associate professionals	3.0
Culture, media and sports occupations	5.8
Business and public service associate professionals	12.7
Administrative occupations	6.4
Secretarial and related occupations	7.3
Caring personal service occupations	1.2
Sales Occupations	3.5
Customer service occupations	2.1
Elementary administration and service occupations	4.3

The most common occupational groupings in January 2001 were teaching and research professionals, business and public service associate professionals, and health professionals. The teaching and research category is artificially inflated to some degree as it includes those who were teaching English abroad in 2001 (most commonly a temporary occupation). But it also includes the substantial numbers who had trained specifically to be school teachers, together with those who took up junior research posts within academia or other research occupations. Business and public service associate professionals includes the many who entered a professional or public service occupation at a junior level (for example graduate trainees). And the health professionals category is so substantial due to the large majorities of medics and veterinary medics who immediately took up employment in their chosen profession. Overall, while it is notable that around three-quarters of those in paid work were in some form of managerial, professional, or associate professional employment only a few months after graduating, it is also true that a substantial minority (26%) were employed in more elementary administrative, sales or service occupations. These figures are very close to those held for

all first degree graduates from the University of Edinburgh in 1999-2000 who were in paid employment in January 2001: 76% were in some form of managerial, professional, or associate professional employment, while 22% were employed in more elementary administrative, sales or service occupations (University of Edinburgh Careers Service). These employment patterns are very close to those for first degree graduates from Scottish HEIs as a whole in the 1999-2000 cohort: of those employed six months after graduation, 73% were in some form of managerial, professional, or associate professional employment, while 24% were employed in more elementary administrative, sales or service occupations (Scottish Executive, 2005).

6.2 **Employment in 2005.** Turning now to our respondents' status at the time of the postal survey (summer 2005), the proportion in paid employment had risen from just over 70% in January 2001 to nearly 90% in 2005. Most of the remainder were students (7%), with around 1% unemployed, a similar proportion looking after home or family, and very few people in any other categories. Table 6.2 shows the distribution of occupations in 2005, once more using SOC2000. To aid comparison, the 2001 figures are also included and the same categories as Table 6.1 are used, even when these account for less than 1% of respondents.

Table 6.2: Occupational group among employed respondents, 2005 and 2001

Occupational Group (SOC2000 2 digit)	%2005	%2001
Corporate managers	12.0	3.2
Managers and proprietors in agriculture and services	1.7	1.7
Science and technology professionals	9.0	8.5
Health professionals	11.4	12.0
Teaching and research professionals	17.1	15.4
Business and public service professionals	15.0	8.0
Science and technology associate professionals	2.1	3.1
Health and social welfare associate professionals	4.0	3.0
Culture, media and sports occupations	9.3	5.8
Business and public service associate professionals	11.3	12.7
Administrative occupations	2.6	6.4
Secretarial and related occupations	0.7	7.3
Caring personal service occupations	0.1	1.2
Sales Occupations	1.2	3.5
Customer service occupations	0.4	2.1
Elementary administration and service occupations	0.4	4.3

Teaching and research professionals remained the most common occupational grouping in 2005, and indeed accounted for a higher proportion of respondents than in 2001. So any decline related to temporary English teachers moving on to other careers had been more than offset by others entering teaching or research professions. The proportions in the other two most common groups in 2001 – business and public service associate professionals, and health professionals – had not changed much, although there was a small decline in those in the former category. But there are other more obvious differences which provide clear evidence of a move to more prestigious and senior occupations between 2001 and 2005. The most striking feature is the overall decline in the proportion of our cohort employed in more elementary administrative, sales or service occupations: 26% in 2001 but only 6% in 2005. Conversely, the percentage in some form of managerial, professional, or associate professional employment rose from 74% to 94%. These are the sort of trends we would expect in graduate employment: although a

substantial proportion are employed in temporary or stop-gap jobs in the period immediately following graduation, in time there is a movement into posts more commensurate with their qualifications and longer term ambitions. Five years after graduating, an overwhelming majority were employed in managerial or professional posts. The most obvious examples of this trend in our data are the increase in corporate managers from 3% to 12%, and in business and public service professionals from 8% to 15%.

Table 6.3 gives a more detailed picture of the stability and fluidity underlying these aggregate changes. For those in paid employment at both time points, it cross-tabulates occupational group in 2001 with occupational group in 2005, so we get an idea of the extent to which individuals moved between groups. The margins of the table also show the actual numbers (*N*) in each group at both time points. The table uses the simplest form of SOC2000, the 1 digit categorization into nine major occupational groups (see Appendix C). And, because very few respondents were employed in skilled trades; personal services; or were process, plant and machine operatives, these three categories are excluded from the table and we focus only on those respondents in the other six categories.

Table 6.3: Occupational group in summer 2005 by occupational group in January 2001

		2001							
		SOC1	SOC2	SOC3	SOC4	SOC7	SOC9		*N*
2005		%	%	%	%	%	%		
SOC1		66	9	22	13	7	27		*125*
SOC2		8	80	28	34	35	29		*415*
SOC3		21	9	47	40	33	27		*201*
SOC4		3	1	2	11	4	9		*28*
SOC7		3	1	1	1	15	3		*14*
SOC9		*	1	*	*	4	6		*7*
N		*38*	*366*	*193*	*107*	*46*	*34*		

KEY
SOCI = Managers and Senior Officials
SOC2 = Professional Occupations
SOC3 = Associate Professional and Technical Occupations
SOC4 = Administrative and Secretarial Occupations
SOC7 = Sales and Customer Service Occupations
SOC9 = Elementary Occupations

The table shows a high degree of stability in occupational groups 1-3. The vast majority of those who were in one of these groups in 2001 were either in the same group, or had moved into one of the other managerial or professional groups, in 2005. In contrast, the vast majority of those in the more elementary occupational groups (4, 7 and 9) in 2001 had by 2005 moved into one of the managerial or professional groups.

6.3 **2005 salaries.** Reported salaries (to the nearest £,000) ranged from £2,000 to £251,000 per annum. That said, we should be cautious when focussing on such extremes. Very low salaries may reflect part-time work or employment overseas in locations where the cost of living is very low. Very high salaries may be deliberately exaggerated. Overall, only 2% of respondents reported earning less than £10,000 pa. and 0.5% more than £100,000. A more accurate summation of salaries is given by the median salary and the 25th and 75th

percentiles (the points which, along with the median, divide all respondents into four groups of approximately equal size, depending on how much they earned). The median salary was £25,000 and the 25th and 75th percentiles £20,000 and £32,000 respectively. Salaries vary by 2005 location (see 7.2 below). The median salary for those living in Scotland was £25,000, compared to £28,000 for those living in England. However, this difference is attributable to higher London salaries: median salary was £30,000 for respondents living in London but only £25,000 (the same as in Scotland as a whole) in other parts of England. There is no similar distinction in Scotland between Edinburgh and non-Edinburgh residents: median salary for those living in Edinburgh was also £25,000.

6.4 **Sector of employment.** The vast majority of respondents were divided fairly evenly between those employed in the private sector (46%) and the public sector (40%). 7% were employed by a charity or in the voluntary sector, and 6% were self-employed. Table 6.4 indicates that graduates employed in the private sector tended to receive better remuneration than those in the public or charity/voluntary sectors.

Table 6.4: Median salary (to the nearest £,000) by sector of employment

	Private	Self-employed	Public	Charity/Voluntary
	£28,000	£24,000	£25,000	£22,000
N	*552*	*67*	*475*	*87*

6.5 **Duration of employment.** Those respondents in paid employment in 2005 were asked to record how long they had worked for their current employer (or been self-employed). Our graduates were divided fairly evenly between the four categories. 20% had been with their current employer since graduation. At the other extreme, 26% had been with their current employer for less than a year. 29% fell into the 1-2 years category and 25% 3-4 years.

7. Origins and destinations

7.1 **Origins.** Respondents were asked to record the town or city and local authority which was their main place of residence in the three years **before** starting their undergraduate degree at the University of Edinburgh. In HESA terminology, this is described as 'domicile'. 43% of our respondents were domiciled in Scotland, 45% in England, 5% elsewhere in the UK, and the remaining 7% overseas (spread across some 32 countries, not including the Channel Islands and the Isle of Man). These figures correspond closely to figures held by the University of Edinburgh for this cohort, which show 45% domiciled in Scotland, 42% in England and 7% Overseas. In this respect we know that the University of Edinburgh has a quite different profile to Scottish HEIs more generally. Of those who qualified with a first degree from all other Scottish HEIs in 1999-2000, 76% were domiciled in Scotland, 9% in England, 5% elsewhere in the UK, and the remaining 10% overseas (source: HESA)[7]. The clearest difference between Edinburgh and Scottish institutions as a whole, then, is in the balance between Scottish-domiciled and English-domiciled students.

Table 7.1 gives a more detailed regional breakdown of our respondents.

Table 7.1: Domicile prior to degree course (city or region)

	%
Edinburgh	9.6
Fife	4.8
Lothians	3.9
Scottish Borders	1.3
West-Central Scotland	6.7
South-West Scotland	2.9
North-East Scotland	7.3
North-West Scotland	6.4
London	6.9
South-East England	10.1
South-West England	4.6
East England	4.4
East Midlands	2.5
West Midlands	2.5
North-West England	5.9
Yorkshire	5.0
North-East England	3.1
Northern Ireland	3.9
Wales	1.1
Overseas	6.9

*Regions in England are those which are the standard regions covered by the Regional Development Agencies. Some of the Scottish regions combine various local authorities. These are explained in Appendix D.

Table 7.1 shows the diversity of the intake of undergraduates to the University of Edinburgh. New students come from all over the UK (and some from abroad) and are not concentrated in a particular region or regions. Only around 20% of our sample lived in

[7]These figures are based on all Scottish HEIs *not* including Edinburgh. This is because there is a recognised error in the HESA data relating to the domicile of qualifiers from the University of Edinburgh in this particular cohort.

Edinburgh or its neighbouring regions prior to beginning their course. Most of the Scottish-domiciled students came from the north and west of Scotland. But the most strongly represented region is in fact the south-east of England. Indeed a 'greater south-east' which would include the city of London and the East of England would account for about 21% of respondents. But significant numbers of students came from all the other regions of England too, as they did from Northern Ireland. A relatively small proportion of the cohort were domiciled in Wales, but students who were living overseas before commencing their degree are also well represented.

7.2 **Destinations.** We can offer a similar breakdown by nation and region for the places of residence of our cohort five years after graduation (in summer 2005). The proportions of graduates resident in Scotland and England are remarkably similar to the origins of students described in section 7.1. 42% of our respondents were domiciled in Scotland and 45% in England. Only about 2% lived elsewhere in the UK (compared to 5% pre-university), and the proportion living overseas rose to 10% (spread across even more countries – 41). Table 7.2 gives a more detailed regional breakdown.

Table 7.2: City or region of residence, summer 2005

	%
Edinburgh	22.9
Fife	2.2
Lothians	3.9
Scottish Borders	0.5
West-Central Scotland	5.8
South-West Scotland	1.0
North-East Scotland	2.8
North-West Scotland	2.5
London	24.6
South-East England	5.7
South-West England	2.7
East England	2.8
East Midlands	1.1
West Midlands	1.3
North-West England	3.3
Yorkshire	2.1
North-East England	2.0
Northern Ireland	1.5
Wales	0.7
Overseas	10.3

*Regions in England are those which are the standard regions covered by the Regional Development Agencies. Some of the Scottish regions combine various local authorities. These are explained in Appendix D.

If the distribution between Scotland and England was markedly similar when comparing origins and destinations, then the same cannot be said for the distribution within these nations. There are two obvious – although perhaps unsurprising – changes. In Scotland, a substantial number of people who came from elsewhere to study in Edinburgh were living in the city in 2005. Less than 10% of respondents were domiciled in Edinburgh prior to their course as opposed to nearly 23% in 2005. Consequently, fewer people were living in each of the other regions of Scotland than were originally domiciled there (the only exception being the Lothians, where the proportions are identical). In England, the proportion living in London had increased between three- and four-fold from the proportion originally domiciled there. London was the region with the highest proportion

of graduates from the 2000 cohort – higher even than Edinburgh. Between them, London and Edinburgh accounted for nearly half of all graduates. While the other English regions continued to be represented, in each case there is a decline if we compare origins and destinations.

We attempted to assess to what degree the geographical spread of our respondents was representative of the University of Edinburgh 2000 cohort as a whole by comparing these figures with the distribution of addresses on our mailing list. In doing so we must nevertheless exercise some caution in that, as stated in 3.3, we would expect that a substantial proportion of this cohort would no longer be living at the last address held for them by the University. Further, the fact that a number of parents contacted us implies that a significant proportion of addresses were likely to be parental rather than the homes of the graduates themselves. However, the national spread of response was very similar to the distribution on the mailing list: 44% of initial addresses were in Scotland, 42% England and 10% overseas. There were however marked differences in regional patterns. Only 15% of letters were posted to addresses in Edinburgh, but 23% of respondents were resident in Edinburgh. All other regions of Scotland showed lower returns than the original distribution of addresses would have predicted. Similarly, only 19% of letters were posted to addresses in London and the South-East of England[8], but 30% of respondents were resident in these regions. Again, all other regions of England showed lower returns. There are at least three possible explanations for these differences. First, that rates of response were higher from Edinburgh and London residents. This seems plausible in the case of Edinburgh (perhaps through feelings of civic affinity), but less so with London. Second, that substantial numbers of graduates had moved to Edinburgh or London from other regions and not informed the University of their new address. Third (and to some degree related to the second reason), that a substantial number of addresses were in fact parental addresses. It seems most likely that the discrepancies were primarily attributable to the second and third factors. Thus we believe that our patterns of response, rather than the mailing lists held by the University, were more likely to reflect the true geographical spread of 2000 graduates.

Of fundamental importance to our study is the extent to which domicile prior to university and location of residence in 2005 are related. We noted the stability in the proportions living in Scotland and England, but to what degree does this stability simply reflect people returning to or remaining in their nation of origin once their degree is completed? To what extent does this stability conceal fluidity in terms of Scottish-domiciled people leaving to live and work in other countries, or those who came to Scotland to study from elsewhere remaining in Scotland (or returning) to live and work following their course? Table 7.3 shows how domicile and location in summer 2005 are related.

[8] The format in which addresses are held by the University makes it difficult to determine whether some addresses are in Greater London or the South-East. But it is likely that most of the discrepancy can be attributed to a higher response from London addresses. Only 9% of initial addresses could definitely be classified as London post codes, and 17% of respondents were resident in Inner London boroughs alone (a figure likely to be somewhat higher in that 4% of respondents simply stated ‘London’ without identifying the borough).

Table 7.3: Location in summer 2005 by pre-university domicile

		Pre-university domicile				
		Scotland	England	N.Ireland	Wales**	Overseas
2005 location		%	%	%	%	%
Scotland		70	20	32	36	19
England		24	71	26	36	27
N.Ireland		*	*	32	7	*
Wales		*	*	*	21	2
Overseas		6	8	10	*	52***
N		*544*	*579*	*50*	*14*	*90*

*less than 1%

**note that these percentages are based on only 14 cases.

***two-thirds of this group had returned to their nation of origin, the remainder were living in other overseas nations.

Not surprisingly, there is a strong relationship between nation of origin and nation of residence in 2005, especially among the two largest groups: the Scottish- and English-domiciled. The pattern in these two large groups is very similar. A clear majority had either remained in or returned to their country of origin five years after graduation. But at the same time a substantial minority (24%) of the Scottish-domiciled group lived in England, and a broadly similar minority (20%) of the English-domiciled group lived in Scotland. So although the proportion of graduates of Scottish origin who migrated to England is somewhat larger than the proportion of graduates of English origin who stayed (or returned) to Scotland, the difference is quite small. These figures do not indicate a large negative out-migration of graduates in the medium to long term. In addition, substantial proportions of those who came to Edinburgh to study from Northern Ireland, Wales, and from overseas were also living in Scotland five years after graduation. However, the fact that only a minority of those who came to Scotland to study from elsewhere lived there at the time of the survey, and that nearly a third of the Scottish-domiciled graduates had also left Scotland, confirms that there is significant scope for retaining more graduates in Scotland. We can compare these trends among our own respondents five years after graduation with patterns of migration and settlement for 1999-2000 graduates of all Scottish HEIs who were in permanent employment in the immediate period after graduation, as reflected in HESA's First Destinations survey for that cohort. In that survey, of all graduates who originated from Scotland, 82% were employed in Scotland, 13% in other parts of the UK and 5% overseas. Of those who originated from other parts of the UK, 29% were employed in Scotland, 60% in other parts of the UK and 10% overseas. And of those who originated from overseas 21% were employed in Scotland, 16% in other parts of the UK and 63% overseas (Scottish Executive, 2001b). So although the broad patterns are the same, we can see that our Scottish-domiciled respondents were somewhat less likely to remain in Scotland; our respondents from other parts of the UK (more specifically, England) rather more likely to have left Scotland; and our respondents from overseas rather more likely to have stayed in Scotland. However, we must bear in mind that this comparison can only give us a broad idea of the extent to which our respondents are representative of the 1999-2000 Scottish cohort more widely. The figures for the whole of Scotland include those with postgraduate and sub-degree qualifications, whereas ours do not; and our primary focus (and the data reported in Table 7.3) is the period five years after graduation, for which no comparable figures for all graduates from Scottish HEIs are available.

As well as exploring the extent to which graduates tend to remain in or return to their nation of origin, or migrate elsewhere, we can also examine migration on a regional basis. Table 7.4 shows, for each UK region, the proportion of those domiciled in that region prior to beginning their studies who were living in the same region five years after graduation. Note that, with the exception of Edinburgh and London, this does not necessarily mean that they were living in the same town or city (data was not recorded at this level of detail).

Table 7.4: Proportion of students domiciled in each UK region prior to university who were living in the same region in 2005

	%	*N*
Edinburgh	63	*116*
Fife	31	*58*
Lothians	56	*50*
Scottish Borders	25	*16*
West-Central Scotland	33	*90*
South-West Scotland	21	*39*
North-East Scotland	23	*93*
North-West Scotland	23	*82*
London	63	*87*
South-East England	16	*128*
South-West England	17	*60*
East England	17	*60*
East Midlands	12	*34*
West Midlands	13	*32*
North-West England	21	*78*
Yorkshire	14	*63*
North-East England	19	*37*
Northern Ireland	32	*50*
Wales	21	*14*

The two regions (cities) which showed the most marked increase when comparing origins and destinations (see tables 7.1 and 7.2) also stand out in table 7.4. A clear majority (63% in both cases) of respondents who were domiciled in Edinburgh or London prior to their studies were living in the same city five years after graduation. The only other region which records a majority in this sense is the Lothians. Around one-third of graduates who were originally domiciled in West-Central Scotland and in Northern Ireland had returned to live in these regions. In no other region had more than 25% returned, with rates of return generally lowest among the English regions other than London. That said, there is evidence of significant return migration to all regions five years after graduation. Once more, however, it needs to be stressed that return migration here is measured at a regional level: some of those who had returned to their region of origin may nevertheless have been living some distance from their home prior to their studies.

8. Post-graduation migration trajectories

8.1 **Location in January 2001.** As well as ascertaining their location in 2005 and their place of residence prior to commencing their studies in Edinburgh, the survey also asked respondents to record where they were living around six months after graduation, in January 2001. In terms of national location in January 2001, 45% were resident in Scotland – very similar to 2005 patterns of residence and indeed to pre-university domicile. But rather less – 33% – were resident in England than in 2005. HESA's 'Destinations' survey only records the locations of those in employment. If we compare locations from this survey with the January 2001 locations of respondents to our own survey, only for those who were in employment at that time, then a slightly lower proportion (47%) of our respondents were employed in Scotland at that time than the corresponding HESA figure for all University of Edinburgh first degree graduates who responded to the 'Destinations' survey (54%). The figures for those working in England at that time are identical in both our and HESA's surveys (35%). A much higher proportion of our respondents (19%) recorded that they were living overseas in January 2001 than did so in 2005 (10%). That this figure is so much higher than the summer 2005 proportion can be attributed to two factors: the significant proportion (6%) who described their status in January 2001 as 'travelling', and the significant numbers who were employed overseas in positions most likely to be temporary – e.g. as English teachers or in the skiing industry[9]. The reason why these two factors appear to impact disproportionately upon residence in England rather than Scotland is most likely because we would expect residence in Scotland to be higher in January 2001 than in 2005. This is because – as we shall see later in this section – many of those employed or undertaking further study in Scotland six months after graduation would later migrate: there is a phenomenon of 'delayed migration'. This is confirmed if we examine city or region of residence in January 2001. Aside from the higher proportion living overseas, the most striking difference from 2005 is the higher proportion still living in Edinburgh in 2001 – 31% compared to 23% in 2005. The HESA survey of 1999-2000 first degree graduates from the University of Edinburgh also showed a broadly similar proportion working in Edinburgh at that time (35%). That we are able to discern these trends provides just one reason why our study breaks important new ground: it provides a longer term picture of graduate migration patterns rather than just an initial snapshot in the immediate period following graduation.

We should also note that 1999-2000 first degree graduates from the University of Edinburgh were also substantially less likely to be employed in Scotland six months after graduation than were their counterparts from other Scottish HEIs. 76% of employed graduates from other institutions in Scotland were employed in Scotland, compared to 54% of Edinburgh graduates (and 47% of our own respondents). Conversely, employed graduates from other Scottish institutions were much less likely to be employed in England than University of Edinburgh graduates (17% and 35% respectively). Although these figures show that in this respect our cohort are somewhat atypical, we would

[9] However, we should note that if we once more compare our own figures for the location of those in employment in January 2001 with HESA's figures, our own survey has a significantly higher proportion employed overseas at that time (16% compared to 9% in the HESA survey). One factor in this discrepancy will be that, unlike our survey, HESA's does not cover those not domiciled in the European Union.

reiterate that it is this very diversity of destination which makes the Edinburgh cohort so appealing in a study concerned with migration.

8.2 **Migration January 2001-Summer 2005.** The survey also asked respondents to record any other towns or cities they had lived in for longer than three months between their January 2001 residence and their summer 2005 residence. A majority (61%) showed no additional mobility between these two time points. Of the remaining 39%, a majority (22% overall) recorded only one other additional place of residence. Furthermore, of all those who did record an additional place of residence between 2001 and 2005, 29% only recorded (an) overseas location(s). So, although by no means insignificant, mobility within the UK between January 2001 and summer 2005 was limited to just over one-quarter of all respondents. This may possibly reflect the fact that more mobile respondents would be less likely to receive, and thus respond to, our questionnaire. However, the University of Edinburgh employs a variety of methods to maintain contact with alumni and keep their address records up to date. An annual questionnaire is sent to all addressable alumni; there is an on-line facility through which alumni can update their records; and web-based searches are also employed. It is also true that although many respondents had not moved between 2001 and 2005, there were many examples of highly mobile respondents, so it is not the case that respondents in this category were unlikely to receive the questionnaire.

Table 8.1 gives us an idea of the national patterns of any migration between January 2001 and summer 2005. For all those who did record an additional place of residence between those two dates, the table shows in which nation (or combination of nations) respondents were located. All overseas nations are grouped together and the table only shows categories which account for more than 1% of all migrants, 2001-2005.

Table 8.1: Nation(s) lived in January 2001 - summer 2005 for all respondents recording (an) additional place(s) of residence between those dates

	%
England only	30
Overseas only	29
Scotland only	15
England and Overseas	13
Scotland and England	3
Scotland and Overseas	3
Scotland, England and Overseas	2
N	*525*

The data from which table 8.1 is derived serve a further important function in that they allow us to identify all those who lived in Scotland (or indeed any other UK nation or region) between January 2001 and summer 2005. So, to those who were resident in Scotland in summer 2005, or were living there in January 2001, we can now add a third group: all those who recorded a Scottish location as an additional residence between 2001 and 2005. Putting all these data together allows us to identify a number of different categories of graduate with respect to their migration trajectories from Scotland post-graduation:

- **Non-migrants:** those living in Scotland in 2005 who also lived there in January 2001, and did not live outside Scotland for more than three months from 2001-2005.
- **Delayed migrants:** those who were living in Scotland in January 2001 but were living elsewhere in 2005.
- **Immediate migrants (no return):** those who were not living in Scotland in January 2001 or in summer 2005, and did not live in Scotland from 2001-2005.
- **Immediate migrants (temporary return):** those who were not living in Scotland in January 2001 or in summer 2005, but did live in Scotland for some time between 2001 and 2005.
- **Return migrants:** those living in Scotland in 2005 who did not live there in January 2001, or did live in Scotland in January 2001 but also lived outside Scotland for more than three months from 2001-2005.

Table 8.2 shows how our respondents are divided across these categories. 84 respondents are not represented in the table because they did not respond to one or more of the questions concerning their post-graduation locations.

Table 8.2: Migration trajectories from Scotland post-graduation

	%
Non-migrants	27
Delayed migrants	13
Immediate migrants (no return)	43
Immediate migrants (temporary return)	3
Return migrants	14
N	*1278*

The table shows that, of those not living in Scotland in 2005, by far the largest group were those who left in the period immediately following graduation (defined as before January 2001) and had never returned. Only a very small proportion of those not living in Scotland and who had left by January 2001 had returned to Scotland for any substantial period between 2001 and 2005. A more significant minority are those who were still living in Scotland in January 2001, but subsequently left and had not returned by 2005. So there is a noticeable phenomenon of delayed migration. Similarly, there is evidence of substantial return migration: of all graduates resident in Scotland in 2005, about one-third had lived elsewhere for at least some of the period since graduation (although this category will inevitably include some who travelled or took temporary jobs overseas, only to return to Scotland)[10].

[10] 59 respondents who have been classified as return migrants were also living in Scotland in January 2001 (around one-third of all return migrants), and so in that sense could also be classed as delayed migrants.

9. Who stays and who leaves Scotland?

9.1 **Domicile (national).** In Table 7.3 we examined how location in 2005 was associated with pre-university domicile. Not surprisingly, we found that those who were domiciled in Scotland prior to beginning their studies were much more likely to be living in Scotland in 2005, but also that a substantial minority of those originally from Scotland subsequently migrated elsewhere, and a similar proportion of those who originated from outside Scotland were living in Scotland in 2005. The categories outlined in Table 8.2 now offer us the opportunity to provide a more detailed picture of how original domicile is associated with migration status in relation to Scotland (Table 9.1). Wales is excluded because of the very small number of respondents (14) who were Welsh-domiciled.

Table 9.1: Migration trajectories from Scotland post-graduation, by pre-university national domicile

	Pre-university domicile			
	Scotland	England	N.Ireland	Overseas[11]
Migration status	%	%	%	%
Non-migrants	48	11	24	13
Delayed migrants	15	12	10	9
Immediate migrants (no return)	13	64	54	72
Immediate migrants (temporary return)	2	3	4	*
Return migrants	22	9	8	6
N	*540*	*575*	*50*	*90*

The table shows a marked contrast between those who originated in Scotland and those who did not. Nearly half of Scottish-domiciled students had lived in Scotland for the entire period since graduation, and a substantial minority (22%) were return migrants. In each category of the non-Scottish-domiciled, on the other hand, a majority left Scotland in the period immediately after graduation and had not since returned. But, significant proportions of respondents from England, Overseas and (especially) Northern Ireland had remained in Scotland for the entire period since graduation. There is also evidence of return migration in each non-Scottish group, albeit to a lesser degree than found among the Scottish-domiciled. There is less variation with respect to delayed migration although, perhaps not surprisingly, this is somewhat more common among the Scottish-domiciled group. The instance of immediate migrants who had since temporarily returned to Scotland is rare across all categories of domicile.

9.2 **Domicile (regional).** Because the survey also established *city or region* of original domicile, we can use these data to explore whether there are any variations in migration trajectories based on regional rather than national origins. Those who originated from Wales, Northern Ireland or overseas are not differentiated regionally (and in any case

[11] It is interesting that when we split this group into EU and non-EU domiciled, those who came from other EU countries are in fact much *less* likely to be living in Scotland (11%) five years after graduation than are those who originated from outside the EU (28%). Of course with only small numbers in the respective categories (47 EU and 43 non-EU) we need to be cautious when interpreting these figures.

only account for a fairly small minority of all respondents). So we focus on the regional origins of those from Scotland and England. Table 9.2 shows the migration trajectories of Scottish-domiciled respondents, while Table 9.3 does so for English-domiciled respondents.

Table 9.2: Migration trajectories from Scotland post-graduation, by pre-university regional domicile (Scotland)

	Pre-university domicile							
	Edinburgh	Fife	Lothians	Borders	West-Central	South-West	North-East	North-West
Migration status	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Non-migrants	55	59	65	56	47	45	31	42
Delayed migrants	11	10	6	13	13	13	30	16
Immediate migrants (no return)	16	10	4	*	13	11	14	17
Immediate migrants (temp. return)	*	*	2	*	1	*	3	7
Return migrants	17	21	22	31	26	32	22	17
N	*115*	*58*	*49*	*16*	*90*	*38*	*93*	*81*

These data suggest that, even when we look at respondents who were all domiciled in Scotland prior to beginning their studies at Edinburgh, the specific region from which they originate may influence their migration behaviour post-graduation. We can make sense of this by dividing the eight regions into three broad groups. The regions which would commonly be thought of as representing Edinburgh's 'hinterland' (Fife, the Lothians and the Borders[12]) show the lowest overall levels of out-migration from Scotland five years after graduation. Only 12% and 13% of those whose pre-university domicile was in the Lothians and Borders respectively had left Scotland five years after graduation. The same is true of 20% of respondents who were domiciled in Fife. These three regions also show the highest levels of non-migration (i.e. those who had not lived outside Scotland at all in the the five years since graduation). In the second group we can place Edinburgh, West-Central and South-West Scotland. These three regions show very similar levels of overall out-migration (24-27%), and all have higher out-migration than Fife, the Lothians and the Borders. One clear difference within this group is that the proportion of return migrants is markedly higher among those from the two regions to the west of Scotland than it is among those originally from Edinburgh itself. While

[12] We should be particularly cautious when interpreting the data from the Borders category because of the relatively small numbers of respondents in this group.

Edinburgh shows a similarly high level of non-migration to that found in its neighbouring regions, overall levels of out-migration are higher than in these regions. In the third group we can place the two regions to the north of Scotland. These are the largest and most geographically diverse – something we should bear in mind when generalizing about people from these regions – but they do show a pattern of graduate migration distinct from the other regions. Overall out-migration is clearly highest in these regions. While a majority were still living in Scotland five years after graduation, 47% and 40% of those from the North-East and North-West respectively had left Scotland five years after graduation. The North-East is particularly distinctive, showing a markedly low level of non-migration from Scotland (31%) and a markedly high level of delayed migration (30%).

How can we attempt to explain all these trends? We must first of all inject a note of caution in that the percentages are based on relatively low numbers of respondents in each regional sub-category. But, if we accept that the figures are likely to reflect the migration patterns of Edinburgh graduates as a whole, then we could offer two possible explanations. First, it may be that the further one migrates to attend university, the greater the propensity to migrate after one's studies are complete. It is noticeable that, broadly speaking, the more distant respondents' domicile was from Edinburgh, the more likely that they had left Scotland five years after graduation. With regard to regions like Fife, the Lothians and the Borders, a contributory factor may be that some students commute to university, and thus have an unbroken connection with 'home'. Of course we would have to test this first explanation against graduates from other universities: for example, if we looked at Aberdeen or Glasgow then we would expect to find that people from the North-East and West-Central Scotland respectively were the least likely to have left Scotland post-graduation. The second explanation could lie in the character of the individual regions (or the type of students who tend to come from these regions). Might students from particular regions tend to have a particular social class, age or educational profile which in turn makes them more or less likely to leave Scotland after they graduate? The influence that such factors may have on migration trajectories will be more fully explored in section 9.3.

Table 9.3: Migration trajectories from Scotland post-graduation, by pre-university regional domicile (England)

	Pre-university domicile								
	London	South-East	South-West	East	East Midlands	West Midlands	North-West	Yorkshire	North-East
Migration status	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Non-migrants	7	8	3	13	15	3	19	11	22
Delayed migrants	8	9	12	15	12	16	14	16	16
Immediate migrants (no return)	78	74	72	67	53	61	49	56	43
Immediate migrants (temp. return)	1	2	2	2	9	7	4	2	8
Return migrants	6	6	10	3	12	13	14	16	11
N	*87*	*127*	*58*	*60*	*34*	*31*	*78*	*63*	*37*

If we now turn our attention to the other large group of graduates – those who were domiciled in England prior to commencing their studies (Table 9.3) – we can once more make sense of the data by dividing the regions into three broad groups. Those from the southernmost English regions (London, the South-East, the South-West and the East of England) show the highest incidence of out-migration. Similarly high proportions (between 84% and 87%) of these respondents did not live in Scotland in 2005. The northernmost regions (the North-West, Yorkshire and the North-East) offer something of a contrast. Migration trajectories are not fundamentally different in that clear majorities of respondents from each of these regions no longer lived in Scotland. But out-migration is consistently lower than among those from the south: 67% in the North-West and North-East and 74% in Yorkshire. The third group – the two midlands regions – presents something of an anomaly in that while the East Midlands shows a level of out-migration equal to the highest northern region (74%) the West Midlands is equal to the lowest southern region (84%). Having said that, these two regions have the fewest number of cases and the corresponding data are thus less likely to be reliable.

Nevertheless, while once more accepting that the findings are based on relatively small numbers in the regional sub-categories, and that there may well be intra-regional variation of which we are unaware, it is interesting that migration patterns among graduates of English origin broadly mirror those of their Scottish counterparts. Broadly speaking, those who travelled least distance to attend university were also the least likely to have left Scotland five years after the completion of their studies. But in this case, given the reputation which the University of Edinburgh has for attracting large numbers

of affluent students from the south of England, we should be particularly ready to consider the competing explanation that social and/or educational factors, rather than geography, may be at the root of these trends. We should also consider a third factor: that there may be greater affinity and identification with Scotland among fellow 'north Britons', thus leading to a greater propensity to remain in Scotland after graduation. We cannot explore this theory using our survey data, but it is something we can pursue in our interviews.

9.3 **Social factors.** Having established that post-graduation migration trajectories vary according to both national and regional origins we now explore whether migration appears to be associated with gender, age or social class. We found that, in terms of overall migration trajectories, there is little if any association with gender. But both age and social class are strongly associated with migration status, as set out in tables 9.4 and 9.5 below.

Table 9.4: Migration trajectories from Scotland post-graduation, by age group

	Age group		
	<30	30-33	34+
Migration status	%	%	%
Non-migrants	25	29	73
Delayed migrants	14	8	9
Immediate migrants (no return)	44	59	10
Immediate migrants (temporary return)	3	*	*
Return migrants	15	4	8
N	*1147*	*49*	*67*

Table 9.4 shows a clear contrast between younger and more mature graduates. Applying the younger threshold to determine mature students (21+ at commencement of course) does not make a fundamental difference to subsequent migration trajectories. Although those in the 30-33 age group were rather more likely to be non-migrants (never left Scotland) than their younger counterparts below the age of 30, in fact they showed the highest overall levels of out-migration (67%) because there were very few return migrants in this group. But we can see that mature students defined as 25+ at the beginning of their studies exhibit radically different patterns of migration. Nearly three-quarters of this group had never lived outside Scotland in the five years since graduation, and at the time of our survey less than one-fifth lived outside Scotland. This finding is unsurprising, as we would expect older people to have more settled patterns of residence. But it is also true that the majority of mature students originate from Scotland rather than elsewhere: 74% of all respondents in the 34+ category had a Scottish domicile.

Thus domicile and age are likely to reinforce each other as influences upon migration: we would expect that mature graduates who were originally from Scotland would be even more likely to be non-migrants. This does indeed turn out to be the case. If we focus on people in the 34+ category who were also domiciled in Scotland prior to their studies, then 84% were non-migrants and only 10% lived outside Scotland. A more interesting (although very small) group are those mature graduates who were originally domiciled in

England. There are only 9 such cases, so any conclusions must be tentative. But it is interesting that, of the 9, 6 were non-migrants, and only two lived outside Scotland. This may suggest that age is an even more powerful influence upon migration trajectories than is domicile[13].

Table 9.5: Migration trajectories from Scotland post-graduation, by social class background

	Social class background		
	Managerial or Professional	Clerical or Sales	Manual
Migration status	%	%	%
Non-migrants	24	43	54
Delayed migrants	13	18	12
Immediate migrants (no return)	46	27	16
Immediate migrants (temporary return)	3	3	1
Return migrants	14	10	17
N	*1108*	*63*	*89*

We find a similarly strong association between migration status and social class background (Table 9.5). Less than one-quarter of those from managerial or professional family backgrounds had never lived outside Scotland since graduation, compared to more than half of respondents from manual working-class backgrounds. Equally, while less than a third (29%) of those from manual backgrounds were no longer living in Scotland, this applies to nearly two-thirds (62%) of those in the managerial and professional group. In terms of non-migration and overall levels of out-migration, those in the clerical and sales category showed migration trajectories which lie in between those of the other groups.

But Table 9.5 represents all respondents, and we know that both age and domicile, for example, are also strongly associated with patterns of migration. So it is a useful exercise to attempt to examine the effects of class independent of these other factors. Controlling for age makes little difference to the patterns observed in Table 9.5 – this is not surprising given that the vast majority of graduates are in the same age group. Controlling for national origin, however, does seem to have some effect. For those who were domiciled in Scotland, overall out-migration becomes very similar in the first two class categories, and is in fact higher among those from a clerical or sales background (35%) than managerial and professional (33%). In contrast, only 15% of Scottish-domiciled students from manual working-class backgrounds were living outside Scotland five years after graduation. Unfortunately, conducting a similar analysis with the English-domiciled can only be vaguely indicative of wider trends, because so few respondents fall outside the

[13] It is worth noting here that the Scottish regional (domicile) differences in migration trajectories recorded in Section 9.2 cannot be attributed to age. It is true that respondents who originated from the two northern regions of Scotland are, almost without exception, in the <30 age category, whereas significant proportions from other regions (especially Edinburgh itself) are in the 34+ category. However, even if we control for the effect of age by focusing solely on those in the youngest age category, those from the two northern regions continue to show higher levels of out-migration.

first class category (15 cases from a clerical or sales background; 13 from a manual background). However if these cases are in any way indicative, they suggest that class may have less of an influence on the migration behaviour of those graduates who were originally from England: 76% of those from the manual group had left Scotland at the time of the survey, which is closely comparable to the 80% who had left from the other two class categories. It is also unfortunate that, at least if we want to use the measure presented in Table 9.5, we cannot explore whether the contrast in migration behaviour between those from the north and the south of England we observed in section 9.2 can be attributed to social class – there are simply too few 'working class' respondents of English origin for us to do so.

9.4 **Schooling.** Examining respondents' schooling is particularly useful because we can view this as a further indicator of social class, with those who attended independent as opposed to state schools most likely to come from fairly affluent middle-class backgrounds. Moreover, we know that our respondents are divided much more evenly between independent and state schools (see 5.1) than is the case when using parental occupation as a measure of social class. This enables us to explore the relationship between schooling and migration rather more deeply than we could using the parental occupation variable. Table 9.6 shows how migration status is related to schooling for respondents overall. Those who attended schools overseas are excluded from the table.

Table 9.6: Migration trajectories from Scotland post-graduation, by type of school attended for majority of secondary education

	Type of school			
	Independent	Comprehensive	Selective state funded	Other state funded
Migration status	%	%	%	%
Non-migrants	14	38	27	34
Delayed migrants	13	15	13	12
Immediate migrants (no return)	60	26	48	30
Immediate migrants (temporary return)	4	2	2	2
Return migrants	10	18	10	22
N	*441*	*565*	*122*	*67*

The table shows a clear contrast in migration trajectories between independent and non-selective state schools, with selective state schools lying somewhere in between. Only a minority of those who attended comprehensive schools (43%) and other state funded schools (44%) no longer lived in Scotland. In contrast out-migration for those who attended independent schools stands at 77% and is rather lower for those who went to selective state schools (63%). The starkest contrast in the table can be seen if we look at the proportions in the independent and comprehensive categories who left Scotland immediately after graduation and had never returned. This applies to a clear majority (60%) of those who had independent schooling but little over a quarter (26%) of those who went to comprehensives. But we also know that those who originally came from Scotland were more likely to be living in Scotland five years after graduation **and** to have attended a comprehensive school, whereas those who came from England were more likely to be living outside Scotland **and** to have attended an independent school (see 5.1).

In order to separate the effects of domicile from the effects of schooling, we therefore need to examine the association between schooling and post-graduation migration for Scottish- and English-domiciled students independent of each other. This is done in Table 9.7.

Table 9.7: Migration trajectories from Scotland post-graduation, by type of school attended, Scottish-domiciled and English-domiciled

	Type of school			
	Independent	Comprehensive	Selective state funded	Other state funded
Migration status	%	%	%	%
	SCOTTISH-DOMICILED			
Non-migrants	37	52	71	38
Delayed migrants	20	15	10	14
Immediate migrants (no return)	21	10	5	20
Immediate migrants (temporary return)	3	2	*	2
Return migrants	18	22	14	26
N	*103*	*354*	*21*	*50*
	ENGLISH-DOMICILED			
Non-migrants	6	16	14	20
Delayed migrants	11	15	18	*
Immediate migrants (no return)	72	55	59	67
Immediate migrants (temporary return)	4	3	*	*
Return migrants	8	12	9	13
N	*319*	*190*	*44*	*15*

Table 9.7 shows that the association between schooling and post-graduation migration exists independently of pre-university domicile. Focusing on the figures for the Scottish-domiciled, it is important to note first of all that different educational backgrounds are not associated with fundamentally different patterns of migration: majorities in all categories of schooling were living in Scotland five years after graduation. But for those who went to independent schools only a fairly narrow majority (55%) were living in Scotland, compared to larger majorities of 74% among those who attended comprehensives and 64% other state schools. The highest majority in this respect is in fact found among those who said they went to selective state schools. But, as we can see, we need to treat the findings from this group with a degree of caution as (reflecting the structure of Scottish education) very few respondents fall into this category. In fact, closer analysis shows that around half of these respondents are mature graduates (some of whom may have attended selective schools in the pre-comprehensive period). So the high levels of non-migration in this small group are likely to reflect age (see 9.3) rather than schooling per se.

Turning now to the English-domiciled respondents, we can once more see that although educational background is not associated with fundamental differences in migration, it

does make a difference to the degree of out-migration. Of those who went to independents schools, only 14% were living in Scotland five years after graduation (and a majority of those respondents have come back to Scotland as return migrants). But this proportion rises to 23% among those who attended selective state schools and 28% comprehensive schools. So English-domiciled students who attended comprehensive schools were twice as likely to be living in Scotland as graduates than their counterparts who went to independent schools. Although the highest proportion of all (33%) is found among those who went to other state schools, this sub-category is so small (only 15 respondents) that we need to be cautious when drawing conclusions based on these figures.

So, if we accept that attending an independent school is a likely indicator of middle-class affluence, then it appears that those from such backgrounds are less likely to continue to live in Scotland in the years following graduation than are people who attended schools associated with less well-off backgrounds. Although this is true of both Scottish- and English-domiciled respondents, proportionately speaking the effect appears to be stronger among those originally from England. But is there any variation *within* England itself? Can we use this alternative measure of social class to explore the question raised above in section 9.2: are lower levels of out-migration from Scotland among those originally from the North as opposed to the South of England a reflection of different class backgrounds of students from these regions? Four English regions – two in the south and two in the north – offer a sufficient number of respondents from both independent and state schools to allow us to explore this issue. We focus only on those categories of school which account for the large majority of respondents (independent and comprehensive) and, to simplify analysis further, we simply record the proportion of respondents in each category and in each region who were living in Scotland five years after graduation. The results are shown in Table 9.8.

Table 9.8: Percentage living in Scotland by category of schooling, selected English regions (domicile)

	% Living in Scotland (2005), by schooling	
	Independent	**Comprehensive**
Region		
London	6	26
South-East	7	32
North-West	29	35
Yorkshire	25	29

These data provide evidence to suggest that the association between schooling and patterns of migration may be much stronger in the south than in the north of England. Graduates from the northern regions who were educated at independent schools were only slightly less likely to be living in Scotland than their comprehensive-educated counterparts. In contrast, those from the independent sector in the two southern regions were much less likely to be living in Scotland than their comprehensive counterparts. Indeed, for those who attended comprehensive schools region of origin does not appear substantially to influence migration, whereas for those educated in the independent sector region appears to be an important factor. Those from the south who went to independent schools are markedly less likely to stay in Scotland than are the other groups. To put it another way, social class appears to be a stronger influence upon post-graduation migration for those originally from the south of England than for those from the north.

These findings therefore suggest that differences in class backgrounds cannot be adduced to account fully for differences in migration trajectories between those from the north and south of England.

If we want to conduct a similar regional comparison using schooling as a measure of social class in Scotland, then only four Scottish regions have sufficient numbers of respondents who attended comprehensive and independent schools to permit a sufficiently robust comparison. It will be recalled that two of these – Edinburgh and West-Central – showed moderate levels of out-migration overall, whereas the other two – North-East and North-West – had the highest levels of outmigration (see Table 9.2). Table 9.9 shows that controlling for social class (using schooling as an indicator) makes little difference to these overall patterns, especially with regard to the North-East which is once more distinguished by its markedly higher levels of out-migration in both major categories of schooling. Thus it would seem that different regional migration patterns in Scotland are not merely the result of the underlying class profiles of respondents from these regions.

Table 9.9: Percentage living in Scotland by category of schooling, selected Scottish regions (domicile)

	% Living in Scotland (2005), by schooling	
	Independent	**Comprehensive**
Region		
Edinburgh	58	75
West-Central	63	76
North-East	46	54
North-West	53	64

9.5 **Degree subject.** Table 9.10 shows the proportion of respondents in each subject area still living in Scotland. The JACS system of classification (see 5.2) is once more used.

Table 9.10: Percentage living in Scotland by subject area of degree

	% Living in Scotland (2005), by degree subject area	*N*
Education	91	*67*
Combined	67	*24*
Mathematical sciences	63	*24*
Medicine and dentistry	53	*76*
Law	52	*64*
Engineering and technology	46	*48*
Biological sciences	44	*149*
Computer science	44	*36*
Business and administrative studies	42	*67*
Physical sciences	42	*151*
ALL RESPONDENTS	**42**	
Subjects allied to medicine	41	*34*
Agriculture and related	40	*20*
Creative arts and design	39	*13*
Social studies	39	*115*
Historical and philosophical studies	34	*137*
Languages	22	*179*
Veterinary science	16	*38*
Architecture, building and planning	9	*11*

Although the table shows a wide variation in migration patterns across different subject areas, there is no obvious pattern to the data. Subject areas in which Scotland has historical strengths and/or which may offer professional training specific to a Scottish context (Medicine, Law, Education) show relatively low levels of out-migration (extremely low in the case of education). But the percentages also reflect the type of undergraduates which subject areas tend to attract. For example, we know that Scottish-domiciled respondents and those who attended comprehensive schools are much more likely to stay in Scotland post-graduation: 96% of Education graduates were Scottish-domiciled and 73% went to comprehensive schools. In contrast, the two subject areas which broadly reflect all the Arts degrees within the university (Languages and Historical and Philosophical studies) have relatively high levels of out-migration, and this in part reflects the fact that relatively high proportions of graduates in these subject areas were English-domiciled and/or went to independent schools. Similarly, the relatively high levels of out-migration among Architecture and Veterinary science graduates will to some degree reflect the fact that these two subject categories have the lowest proportions of Scottish-domiciled respondents.

9.6 **Degree class.** Table 9.11 shows the proportion of respondents in each degree class still living in Scotland. Respondents whose degree is categorized as a ‘Pass’ are overwhelmingly medics or veterinary medics – subjects in which degrees are not classified.

Table 9.11: Percentage living in Scotland by class of degree

	% Living in Scotland (2005)	*N*
Degree class		
First	42	*182*
Upper Second	37	*726*
Lower Second	53	*171*
Third	65	*20*
Ordinary	66	*64*
Pass	39	*103*

Leaving aside the special case that is those with a straightforward 'Pass', the table shows that graduates with lower classes of degree were more likely to stay in Scotland: around two-thirds of all those with Thirds and Ordinary degrees and a narrow majority in the Lower Second class category. To some extent at least, this will again reflect patterns of domicile and schooling, with Scottish-domiciled and comprehensive-educated respondents rather more likely both to stay in Scotland and to achieve lower classes of degree. But we can also see that the converse does not hold: 42% of people with First class degrees were still in Scotland, which is exactly equal to the overall proportion of respondents still living in Scotland in 2005. People in what is by far the largest group – those with Upper Second class degrees – were the least likely to stay in Scotland (38%). Once again, these findings are consistent with patterns of domicile and schooling. Those who lived in England prior to beginning their studies and those who attended independent schools are significantly more likely to achieve Upper Second class degrees than are their Scottish-domiciled and comprehensive-educated counterparts. But, while the English-domiciled are somewhat more likely than the Scottish-domiciled to achieve First class degrees (16% and 12% respectively), it is interesting that those who attended comprehensives are more likely to have Firsts than are those who went to independent schools (15% and 12% respectively). Overall then, differences in migration patterns associated with degree class are more likely to be attributable to domicile and school education than they are to the standard of degree graduates have.

9.7 **Who are the return migrants?** As well as considering what categories of respondent are most likely to remain in or leave Scotland, it is also important to examine the specific category represented by those who had left Scotland at some point during the five years since graduation, but had later returned. Are there any characteristics that are likely to make graduates who have left Scotland more amenable to return? Not surprisingly, we find that mature respondents are much *less* likely to be return migrants (such people being much less likely to have left Scotland in the first place). But we also find that (complementing earlier evidence shown in tables 9.1 and 9.6) return migrants are relatively *more* likely to have originated from Scotland and to have attended a comprehensive school. Although these two categories of respondent were also much less likely to have left Scotland at all in the five years since graduation, if they had left, they were also relatively more likely to return. The only other area where return migrants were markedly different from respondents as a whole is in terms of their employment. Rather than being private sector 'high fliers', return migrants were a little more likely to be employed in the public or charity/voluntary sectors, more likely to be in the *associate* professional occupational categories, and have a notably lower median salary compared to respondents as a whole (£23,000 compared to £25,000).

10. Motivations for and attitudes toward migration

10.1 **Immediate post-graduation migration motivations.** Survey respondents were presented with a list of factors which may have been important to them when they were thinking about where to live and work after they graduated. In doing so we aimed to explore the overall and relative importance of factors related to families and relationships, employment, and geographical place. Graduates were asked to indicate whether or not each factor was important to them, and also to choose just one factor as being the most important to them. Table 10.1 shows the proportion of respondents who indicated that each factor was important to them, and also the proportion for each factor who said that it was **most** important to them.

Table 10.1: Factors important to migration decisions at the time of graduation

	% indicating that factor was important	% indicating that factor was most important
Live near family	41	9
Live near friends	53	9
Live with or near partner	31	16
Earn a good salary	51	9
Do rewarding and enjoyable work	78	37
Opportunities for a good social life	58	3
Attractive physical environment	50	4
Good place to bring up children	7	*
Wanted to stay in Scotland	28	4
Wanted to leave Scotland	6	1
Further study**	3	3
Career opportunities**	3	3
Financial reasons**	*	*
Housing-related**	*	*
Travel or live abroad**	2	2

*less than 1%

**these factors were not explicitly offered to respondents. All 'Other' responses written in were categorized into these groups

The table suggests that, around the time of graduation, factors related to relationships and employment were considered more important than the attributes of a particular place. We can single out the ambition to do rewarding and enjoyable work as being the most prominent factor. Nearly 80% of respondents saw this as important when they were graduating, and more than a third (37%) identified it as the most important factor when thinking about where to live and work – easily the most commonly selected factor. The other, rather more instrumental, employment-related factor (earn a good salary) was seen as important by around half of respondents, but was only cited as the most important by around one in ten. So, in terms of employment, fulfilment was seen as more important than remuneration. Maintaining relationships of various kinds was also important to our respondents at the time of graduation. More than half wanted to live near to friends, a large minority saw proximity of family as important, and around one in ten in each case saw these factors as most important to them at that time. While less than a third thought that living with or near a partner was important at that time, this factor is in fact the second most commonly cited as being most important. These figures will reflect the fact that many respondents would not have viewed themselves as being in long-term

relationships at the time of graduation, but for those who did this was likely to be a very important consideration. The various place-related factors explore diverse issues and values. Unsurprisingly, very few people considered the environment for bringing up children to be an important consideration in 2000, reflecting the fact that not many would have (or be planning to have) children at that time. A desire to stay in Scotland was important for a substantial minority of respondents, but only around 1 in 20 were motivated by a desire to leave Scotland, so there is no evidence of any great antipathy to the country. The two place-related factors which did feature as being relatively important were the opportunities for a good social life and the attractiveness of the physical environment – both cited by around half of respondents. But the fact that only very small minorities saw these as the most important factors suggests that they were likely to have been secondary considerations.

10.2 **Migration motivations in 2005.** Respondents were presented with the same list of factors as described in section 10.1 and asked to identify which were important (and most important) to them when thinking about where to live and work at the time of the survey in summer 2005. Table 10.2 shows the pattern of response.

Table 10.2: Factors important to migration decisions in summer 2005

	% indicating that factor is important	% indicating that factor is most important
Live near family	45	7
Live near friends	58	5
Live with or near partner	58	31
Earn a good salary	66	7
Do rewarding and enjoyable work	86	34
Opportunities for a good social life	61	3
Attractive physical environment	64	4
Good place to bring up children	25	2
Wanted to stay in Scotland	25	3
Wanted to leave Scotland	4	*
Further study**	*	*
Career opportunities**	1	*
Financial reasons**	*	*
Housing-related**	*	*
Travel or live abroad**	*	*

*less than 1%

**these factors were not explicitly offered to respondents. All 'Other' responses written in were categorized into these groups

What major differences can we identify between motivations in 2000 and 2005? The most striking change is the increased importance of living with or near a partner. 58% identify this as an important factor compared to 31% in Table 10.1, and the proportion citing it as the most important factor has nearly doubled. Unsurprisingly, as graduates mature, long-term relationships become more important to them. In fact if we focus only on those who described themselves as married or living with their partner, a majority (54%) saw this as the most important factor when thinking about where to live and work in 2005. The second most obvious contrast between the two tables also relates to domestic considerations, but this time this is reflected in one of the place-related factors. One-quarter of respondents (compared to 7% in Table 10.1) consider the suitability of their environment for bringing up children to be important. Again, this is obviously

related to the kind of changing priorities we would expect among people in their late 20s (who account for the vast majority of our respondents). This finding is also interesting given that only 7% of respondents had dependent children. Hence what we are tapping into here are future plans and aspirations. Any other changes are more minor. The other relationship-related factors (living near family or friends) continued to be important, although rather less people cited these as the most important factors (most likely because for many people partners assume the highly significant status formerly held by family or friends). Similarly, the two employment-related factors are identified as being important by an even higher proportion than in Table 10.1, but there has been a marginal decline in the proportions who see these factors as most important. Overall though, across all respondents, doing rewarding and enjoyable work remained the most important consideration. Of the remaining place-related factors the most noticeable change was a significant increase in the importance of the physical environment, although this remained a secondary factor. A good social life has a very similar status in both tables: important for most, but not primarily so. And around a quarter of respondents continued to value Scotland itself as a place to live, while only a small minority showed any antipathy towards it.

Overall, then, our evidence suggests that the availability of more rewarding and well-remunerated employment opportunities would provide a stronger motivation to stay in Scotland than would any other features of Scotland as a place. But it is questionable to what extent this area is amenable to policy intervention at a Scottish Executive level. Similarly, relationships and the (future) raising of families are clearly important to graduates too, especially as they mature, but the Executive has a limited capacity to influence legislation relating to families. However, there may be scope to emphasise the qualities of Scotland which make it a good place to rear children, especially given our key finding that overall attitudes to living in Scotland are relatively positive.

10.3 **Variations in migration motivations by gender, class, domicile and region.** Differences in these areas are not striking, but there are some interesting variations. Men and women do not differ fundamentally, but there is evidence to suggest that women are more likely to lean toward relationship factors and men work factors. This is most obviously illustrated by the fact that, for women in 2005, living with or near a partner was the most likely factor to be cited as most important: 37% of women choose this compared to 23% of men. Men in 2005 were most likely to view rewarding and enjoyable work as the most important consideration (37%), although in this respect they did not differ greatly from women (32%). The most obvious area of male bias was earning a good salary: in 2005 12% of men cited this as most important compared to only 4% of women.

We need to be cautious when making comparisons between respondents from different social classes because the vast majority were from managerial/professional backgrounds. Of the other two class categories we used, respondents from manual backgrounds were the most numerous (over 100), and, since they provide the clearest contrast with the more middle class majority, we used this group as the basis for our class comparison, leaving aside the clerical and sales group. This comparison showed that it is difficult to discern many consistent patterns of difference, and such differences as do exist tend to narrow between 2000 and 2005. The most obvious remaining difference in 2005 is that those from middle class backgrounds were much more likely to see rewarding work as the most important factor (36% compared to 23% among manual working class). For those from

working class backgrounds, living with a partner was the most important consideration, but in fact the proportion citing this factor (32%) was virtually identical to that found among the middle class group.

There is some evidence to suggest that those who originated from Scotland are more likely to see factors related to family and relationships as more important to migration decisions than are their counterparts from England and overseas. This holds true both for the period immediately after graduation in 2000 and for 2005. The only factor which the Scottish-domiciled are relatively less likely to see as important is the ambition to do rewarding and enjoyable work. When considering where to live and work in 2005 30% of the Scottish-domiciled cited this as the most important factor – less than the 35% who said that living with or near their partner was most important. In contrast, among those from England and overseas the relative importance of these two factors was reversed. A more obvious and consistent difference is that with regard to both 2000 and 2005 nearly half of respondents who originated from Scotland said that staying in Scotland was an important factor compared to much smaller minorities of those from England and overseas (between 11% and 16%). However, if we control for location of residence in 2005, we find that these differences narrow considerably. Of all those living in Scotland in 2005 58% of the Scottish-domiciled said that staying in Scotland was an important factor compared to 44% of those who had originated from England and 47% from overseas (although this last figure is based on only 24 respondents). So, for respondents actually living in Scotland, affinity with the country is not fundamentally weaker among those who originally came from elsewhere.

Looking at motivations across different **regions** of residence in 2005 is far from straightforward because, aside from Edinburgh and London, few other individual regions have enough respondents to make particularly reliable inferences. But one group does stand out: there is evidence that those who live in Inner London have quite distinctive perspectives. Immediately after graduation, 'Inner Londoners' were markedly more likely to see living near friends as important, and less likely to see living near a partner as important. Salary, rewarding work and (especially) social life were all relatively important to them, while an attractive environment was relatively unimportant and children barely registered as a consideration. There was not much change in reported motivations in 2005. For those living in Inner London, work, friends and social life enjoyed a greater prestige than other relationships and environmental factors. But an interesting question is what comes first: are these people who would rather 'work hard and play hard' even if this is to the detriment of long-term relationships and thinking about a family, or are they simply recognising the realities of metropolitan life?

10.4 **Attitudes to potential return to Scotland.** While the data discussed in 10.1 and 10.2 give us some idea about the importance which graduates attach to staying in or leaving Scotland, we also have a question designed explicitly for those who no longer live in Scotland, which explores their feelings about a potential return to Scotland in the future. Respondents were asked to indicate whether they had already made definite plans to return to Scotland; if they definitely would like to return; if they would consider returning; or if they definitely would not like to return. The overall pattern of response is shown in Table 10.3.

Table 10.3: Attitudes to a potential return to Scotland among respondents living elsewhere

	%
Have already made definite plans to return	4
Definitely would like to return	25
Would consider returning	67
Definitely would **not** like to return	6
N	*781*

The table indicates three things about those respondents not living in Scotland at the time of the survey. First, a substantial minority had a very positive attitude to a potential return to Scotland. Although (unsurprisingly) only a small number had already made definite plans to return, one-quarter said that they definitely would like to return. Second, only a small minority (6%) were firmly opposed to a potential return – confirming our earlier finding (10.1 and 10.2) that there is no evidence of any great antipathy toward Scotland. Third, by far the largest group, while open to the notion of a return to Scotland, were not particularly positive about this, saying only that they would consider it. These findings suggest that for most of those who had left Scotland since graduation, the country was not considered to be particularly unattractive nor attractive.

It will be of more interest to explore which particular features of Scotland are considered to be attractive or unattractive to graduates – this is a key aim of the interview phase of the project. But we can use the survey data to explore whether respondents' key considerations when making migration decisions vary according to their attitudes to a return to Scotland. There is some evidence to suggest that those who are less positive about a potential return are rather more likely to see living near friends and family as important. So, as we would expect, established social relationships and networks may represent an obstacle to return migration. A further interesting finding is that the importance accorded to earning a good salary tends to be significantly greater among those who appear less ready to return to Scotland. Hence perceptions of lower salaries in Scotland may represent another barrier to return.

We can also explore the survey data in rather more depth to examine whether particular kinds of graduate tend to be more or less positive about a possible return to Scotland. Recalling that Table 8.2 showed that around one-third of all respondents living in Scotland at the time of the survey could be classed as return migrants, what kind of graduates may be the return migrants of the future? We can explore this by examining how attitudes to a potential return to Scotland vary across characteristics such as domicile, gender, age, social class, and education: in short, the same factors we considered in Section 9 when examining what kinds of graduate were more or less likely to be living in Scotland five years after graduation.

Table 10.4 shows how attitudes towards a potential return to Scotland vary according to where respondents were originally domiciled prior to their studies (respondents who were domiciled in Wales are excluded because there are very few). Those who were originally domiciled in Scotland before their studies were more likely to be positive about returning to live there in the future. Note, however, that even among the Scottish-domiciled living elsewhere in 2005, a majority were not particularly positive about a potential return. But among those originally domiciled outside Scotland, attitudes to potential return were

considerably less positive. In each of the other categories only around one-quarter were relatively positive about a potential return, compared to nearly half among the Scottish-domiciled group.

Table 10.4: Attitudes to a potential return to Scotland among respondents living elsewhere, by pre-university national domicile

	Pre-university domicile			
	Scotland	England	N.Ireland	Overseas
Attitude to a potential return	%	%	%	%
Made definite plans to return	8	2	6	4
Definitely would like to return	38	20	21	22
Would consider returning	53	71	74	64
Definitely would **not** like to return	1	7	*	10
N	*168*	*482*	*34*	*77*

Comparing attitudes by region rather than nation of original domicile is not straightforward because of the small numbers in some regional categories. But even if we confine comparison to those regions with a substantial number of respondents (in excess of 30), there is evidence to indicate that, once more, regional as well as national origins may be significant factors in migration behaviour and attitudes. Two comparisons are instructive. Of those originally from the Edinburgh area, only 29% expressed one of the two most positive attitudes to return, compared to 71% of those originally from North-West Scotland. Interestingly, this provides a contrast with our findings in relation to post-graduation migration trajectories (see table 9.2) with those from Edinburgh rather more likely to be living in Scotland than those from North-West Scotland. Our other comparison – between London and North-West England – is rather more in keeping with the earlier findings concerning migration trajectories (see table 9.3). Only 18% of those originally from London were relatively positive about a return to Scotland[14], compared to 35% of those from North-West England.

We can also undertake a comparison based on region of residence in 2005. This generates a broad pattern with which we are now familiar. Of the categories with at least 30 cases, those living in London (21%) and the South-East of England (26%) were the least likely to express one of the two most positive attitudes to a potential return to Scotland, whereas those living in the North-West of England (49%) were the most likely. Overall, attitudes were consistently more positive among those living in the North and Midlands than among those living in the South of England[15].

Respondents' gender makes very little difference to attitudes to return. Comparisons based on age are very difficult because few older graduates tend to leave Scotland following graduation. Comparisons based on social class background entail similar problems, but examining the relatively small number of respondents (28) who came from

[14] An identical proportion of those from South-East England gave one of the two more positive responses.

[15] Given what we also know about salaries in London, and the relatively high importance accorded to good salaries by those living in London and those who are less keen to return to Scotland, it is likely that all these factors are interacting here.

manual working class backgrounds and were living outside Scotland at the time of the survey does suggest that these people may be distinctive in terms of their attitudes to return. Exactly half of these people offer one of the two most positive attitudes compared to 27% among those from managerial or professional backgrounds. If we once again employ schooling as a different (and more reliable, given the more even spread of respondents) basis for social class comparison, then these findings are substantiated to some degree. Among those who attended independent schools, and who are thus more likely to come from more affluent middle-class backgrounds, 24% were relatively positive about a possible return to Scotland, compared to 34% of those who went to a comprehensive school. Overall then, these findings substantiate those related to migration behaviour (see table 9.7).

Attitudes to return were remarkably consistent across the three main classes of degree: 27% of those with Firsts, Upper Seconds and Lower Seconds expressed relatively positive attitudes. Those with Ordinary degrees were by far the most positive (45%) although there were few respondents (22) living outside Scotland who had an Ordinary degree. Comparisons across degree subject areas are made even more difficult because in certain subject areas (particularly Education, and to a lesser extent Mathematical sciences) we know that large proportions of graduates do not tend to leave Scotland (see table 9.9). Among the more strongly represented subject areas, attitudes to return were most positive among those with degrees in Biological sciences, Law, and Business and Administrative studies (42%, 38% and 37% respectively giving one of the two most positive responses), and least positive among those from Social studies and Languages (17% and 19% respectively).

The Follow-up interviews

The final question of the postal survey asked respondents if they would be willing to be contacted to take part in a follow-up interview. If so, they were asked to provide contact details. As stated above (see 3.3) 53% of survey respondents agreed to be contacted. These respondents were then divided into four groups, depending on their primary place of residence during the three years preceding their university course, and their current place of residence:

1. Those originally from Scotland who were living in Scotland in 2005
2. Those originally from outside Scotland who were living in Scotland in 2005
3. Those originally from Scotland who were living outside Scotland in 2005
4. Those originally from outside Scotland who were living outside Scotland in 2005

By dividing our respondents evenly between these four categories, we aimed to ensure that we captured the diversity of graduate experience including, importantly, those (in groups 2 and 3) whose migration trajectory represented a contrast with the majority who remain in or return to their country of origin following graduation. A random sample of twenty potential interviewees was then selected from each group. Because of the lengthy period required to complete 80 interviews, and the practical and financial necessity of arranging contemporaneous interviews in geographical clusters, interviewees were contacted on an ongoing basis rather than all at once. As interviews were confirmed, cases were reviewed to ensure appropriate representation in terms of the overall profile of survey respondents with respect to employment sector, salary, migration status, region of residence, schooling, gender, age and social class. We were particularly careful to ensure that those who had been mature students and those from non-middle class backgrounds were well represented, given their distinctive migration patterns in the survey. Few people who were successfully contacted declined to be interviewed or were unable to agree a mutually convenient appointment. However, a number of people did not reply to emails and could not be contacted by phone, such that in all 136 graduates were contacted in order to secure the final 80 interviews. There were two instances of survey respondents being selected for interview who were living together as a couple. In each instance respondents consented to being interviewed jointly.

While our final sample of interviewees did include a small number of respondents from overseas who were living in the UK in 2005, as well as a number of other respondents who had lived overseas for some of the period since graduation, it was decided not to interview respondents who were living abroad at the time of the survey. Such interviews could not have been conducted face to face for reasons of cost and time. We considered attempting to conduct interviews by telephone, but such interviews tend to be briefer and produce less rich data. In addition, it was felt that a substantial number of overseas interviewees would need to be included to accommodate the diversity of experience, and this would have reduced capacity to conduct interviews with our principal categories of UK-based graduates.

Interview questions were devised, piloted (tested) and, where necessary, revised before embarking on the first ‘live’ interviews. Four pilot interviews were conducted in all, with at least one being carried out by each member of the research team. The final 80 interviews were all conducted by the project researcher, Sue Grundy. Many of the issues addressed in the interviews were common to all four categories of interviewee, but other questions were particular to only some of the categories.

The broad areas covered were as follows:

- An account of all the locations respondents had lived over the course of their lives.
- A description of their family background and upbringing.
- An exploration of the place(s) that felt most like 'home', together with any feelings of attachment or identification with other places.
- Notable differences between place of upbringing and place of current residence.
- Reasons for choosing to attend the University of Edinburgh (for Scots, did they consider universities outside Scotland?; for non-Scots, did they anticipate that going to university in Scotland would be different from other parts of the UK?)
- Positive and negative aspects of time spent at university.
- Work and activities engaged in while at university.
- Process of deciding future employment or establishing other plans at time of graduation.
- Description of current employment.
- General positive and negative features of Scotland.
- An exploration of factors which may 'pull' people to remain in or return to Scotland, and those which 'push' them to leave or stay away, and suggestions about how government could intervene to alter such factors.
- Detailed description of household structure and wider networks of family and friends, including principal people who are relied on for, or provided with, most support (emotional, practical, financial etc.).
- Principal factors and people involved in making decisions about where to live.
- Longer term plans for the future, including any plans to leave or return to Scotland.

Before commencing each interview, respondents were reminded of the nature and purpose of the research. They were presented with a consent form (see Appendix E) containing this information and also advising how the data would be used. Respondents were asked to sign their consent to this use of data subject to the strict protection of their anonymity.

Interviews lasted anything between 30 minutes and 2 hours 15 minutes, with around 1 hour being about average. Most interviews covered all the intended issues although some were curtailed somewhat because respondents could only afford to offer a limited amount of their time. They were recorded on audio tape and transcribed by one of a team of transcribers. Once transcribed, the interviewer who had conducted the research listened to the tape and corrected any mistakes in the transcript. The interviewer also provided the other research team members with brief summary details of each respondent and of the interview itself. The subsequent analysis of the interview data was a collective team effort with some of this analysis supported by computer software designed for this purpose. All interpretations, both of individual interviews and more general trends, have been agreed by all members of the research team prior to publication of this report.

The findings from the postal survey represent a substantial addition to our knowledge concerning the longer term migration patterns and motivations of graduates from higher education in Scotland. In turn, these findings generate additional questions and issues which require to be addressed and illuminated still further. We will now draw on the data from our follow-up interviews in order to give us a richer and more rounded picture of the bases on which graduates' migration decisions are made, and the reasons behind the most significant differences we have established between different categories of graduate. We believe that it is useful to think of graduate migration behaviour in relation to three general elements: the **connections** they have to various geographical places; the **opportunities** that are perceived to

exist in such places; and the **expectations** they have for their future lives. Within and between each of these general elements there exist a number of factors which, collectively, shape migration behaviour. Although the relative importance of these factors varies (both in general terms and between particular individuals) it is important to recognise that it is unusual for migration to be determined by one particular factor: we need to appreciate how various factors combine and interact in order to produce specific migration outcomes.

In order to explore these various factors using evidence from our interviews, we will develop a number of key areas. These relate to employment, relationships, social networks, and the positive connections and barriers to inclusion experienced by non-Scots graduates[16]. We will then go on to use interview evidence to illuminate three processes of migration which emerged from the survey data: immediate migration, delayed migration and return migration.

[16] The terms Scots and Non-Scots reflect whether people had a Scottish or non-Scottish domicile in the three years prior to starting their undergraduate degree. This designation does not necessarily convey their nationality or perceived national identification. A small minority of respondents were born and/or brought up in a country other than that in which they were living before beginning their course at Edinburgh.

11. Employment: opportunities as 'magnets' and 'anchors'

While migration decisions will be governed by a number of different types of opportunity, our survey findings clearly showed that by far the most significant of these will be employment. Moreover, while level of salary is significant, it is the nature of employment rather than its remuneration which will be primary for most. Whether or not graduates choose to leave Scotland will thus be influenced substantially by the career opportunities available to them. Where superior opportunities are perceived to exist elsewhere, these other locations will act as 'magnets' drawing graduates away from Scotland. If, on the other hand, attractive employment opportunities are available in Scotland, these can serve as 'anchors' keeping graduates in the country (see also Harrison et al, 2003). The interviews allowed us to explore graduates' perceptions of the career options available to them in Scotland and the alternative opportunities available to them elsewhere. Since a majority of our survey respondents who were no longer living in Scotland were living in London and the south-east of England it is clear that this represents the most obvious alternative employment destination to Scotland. It is therefore important that we pay particular attention to evidence relating to London's perceived advantages over Scotland in terms of employment opportunities. London also has other positive features, but life there can be associated with a number of disadvantages as well. While many of these do not relate directly to employment, they are often factors which are weighed against the more positive aspects of London as an employment destination, and so need to be considered in that context.

11.1. Opportunities in alternative locations

It has been a common perception that a fundamental reason why Scotland loses a significant proportion of its graduate talent is that sufficient opportunities for a rewarding career are not available in Scotland (Findlay and Garrick, 1990; Lindsay, 1991, 1992). Although more recent evidence suggests that Scotland now enjoys a more positive net migration of highly-qualified individuals (Findlay et al, 2003a), the experiences and opinions of many of our interviewees continue to highlight a perceived deficit of graduate employment opportunities in Scotland.

> 'Well what pulls away is just that there is a lack of jobs. There tends to be jobs in very specific sectors and there's lots of like, you open the pages of *The Herald* and it's social work. If you want to be a social worker you could be absolutely inundated but anything a little bit different, anything a little bit less mainstream, it's harder to do and you have to do a lot more work to find things, I've found' (NSIS 11)[17]

Particularly for those with ambitions to pursue career paths through joining prestigious graduate recruitment schemes, leaving Scotland was often seen as a necessary step in order to open up a much broader choice of the kind of international companies which are not predominantly represented in Scotland. Scottish-based firms, often smaller in size and resources, could not offer the same graduate level opportunities or salaries as some of the firms based in London or the south of England.

---

[17] Throughout this report all quoted interviewees are identified by a code which indicates to which of our four categories of respondent they belong. NSIS (not Scottish in Scotland) indicates someone defined as a non-Scot (see note above) who was resident in Scotland at the time of the survey. Similarly, SIS (Scottish in Scotland) indicates someone defined as a Scot who was resident in Scotland. The remaining categories of NSNIS and SNIS represent non-Scots and Scots respectively who were not living in Scotland at the time of the survey. The numeral at the end of the code is included so that individual respondents within each category can be distinguished from one another.

> '… I don't know if it would be possible to get an equivalent type of job because I'm working here in the headquarters of a multinational … I mean this is just the UK part but it's the headquarters of a big big business and there aren't so many of them based in Scotland full stop. So in terms of the chance to influence and the chance to work on big things I don't really have that at home [*in Scotland*]' (SNIS 1)

For many respondents a move 'south' (often to London) was thus the best way to realise career ambitions:

> 'I liked living in Edinburgh so I would've considered a job there if it was a good job, yeah. I think what pulled me to London is that there was just a lot more opportunities there' (NSNIS 15)

> 'Well, I mean to leave was basically, most of us agreed, I mean most people on my course was like if you wanted a job it was… you had pretty much to move down south just because of where the jobs were, as in the companies who are prepared to take on graduates' (SNIS 3)

Although, as noted previously, for most respondents it is attractive career prospects rather than remuneration *per se* which is the most important factor, for those who are motivated by financial reward, leaving Scotland can be perceived as a necessary step to maximising one's salary:

> 'I think for maybe some of my peers if they are given more financially rewarding jobs up there then that would probably have kept them there maybe. But I think… yeah, I think, I don't know what else really I can't think of anything…but I don't know whether that's a lot of my friends who kind of are quite high earners and that might have been a motivation for them more than anything else' (NSNIS 12)

> 'What pushes me away from working there [*in Scotland*] is basically money, to put it simply. I think if I were to do a similar job to what I'm doing here I'd look at probably a 40% pay cut or something which the standard of life is much better but a 40% pay cut is really quite, hits you quite hard' (SNIS 1)

For those in personal relationships (see also sections 12.1 – 12.3), decisions about future employment are often taken jointly rather than individually. When contemplating a move to a new location, suitable employment opportunities must be available for both parties in the relationship. This is another reason why London, with the quantity, quality and diversity of employment opportunities which it offers, can be such a powerful draw to couples as well as single people who are attracted by its social life (see section 15.1).

> 'But I think in the end we thought there were more job opportunities for both of us here [*in London*] than anywhere else' (NSNIS 9)

> 'RES: And the common ground is London probably.
> INT: Right.
> RES: That's the place where we could both get a job' (NSNIS 14)

> 'She [*a friend*] recently got married and she and her husband want to move up to Edinburgh. But they're both high flyers; he's a high flyer in an insurance company in London, and has recently been made a partner and she's Deloitte and Touche, a perfect tax girl on paper, a perfect career. And they wouldn't get that in Edinburgh, it's just not possible at the moment' (NSNIS 13)

But many respondents who had stayed in Scotland – both Scots and non-Scots – displayed a general aversion to living in London. This suggests that there is a substantial pool of graduates who would prefer not to follow the major alternative career path to staying in Scotland. It is this category of graduate who are likely to be more susceptible to being encouraged to remain in (or indeed return to) Scotland to live and work.

> 'INT: And is there anywhere in the UK that you wouldn't want to live or work in?
> RES: Work. God. Not really, I mean London, I would never want to go there ever, I don't like it. I mean it's nice to go there for a visit to stay there for a long weekend and go to the shows and putter up and down Oxford Street a couple of times but that place is just so depressing, you know, I walk around there and I think imagine living here, because you sit in this little maybe one bedroomed flat in, I don't know, East London somewhere and you've got like another 15 million or I don't know how many people live in London, round you and I don't know any of these people. I just could not, even with living with someone I just couldn't cope with that, it's just too big' (NSIS 6)

For some respondents, a similar antipathy to London was also coupled with what could be described as a 'north British' affinity. This is discussed more fully in section 14.2.

It is also true that, although London typically offers substantially higher salaries than can be earned in other locations (as confirmed by our survey findings – see section 6.3), this factor is offset by the higher cost of living, and particularly the high cost of property. Being unable to establish firmer connections to London through buying a home of one's own can thus encourage some graduates to leave the city:

> '… I identified that I'd like to buy a property before I'm thirty. My sister is younger than me and she's bought a property in Edinburgh, and other people were being able to (?afford it?). I probably could have afforded a mortgage on my salary in London, but I hadn't been able to build up a deposit enough for it to mean anything, I probably would have had to move the outskirts of London to be able to buy something decent. And if you're going to live on the outskirts of London you've really got a long commute, you're not a part of London as much' (SIS 13)

11.2 Opportunities in Scotland

Most of the comments above are drawn from interviews with graduates who were no longer living in Scotland. While not all such people were negative about employment opportunities in Scotland, on balance they were less positive than their counterparts who were living in Scotland, many (although not all) of whom had more positive beliefs and experiences in terms of finding suitable graduate employment there:

> '… decided that I wanted to do sort of policy stuff, and Scotland seems like quite a good place to do it 'cause there seems to be a bit of a boom in the industry because of the parliament, and oh I might as well stay here, I can either do it here or I could do it in London, and I would rather do it here' (NSIS 20)

> 'And I think, Scotland seems to be moving quite a lot, seems to be much more forward thinking than where I grew up, which was more of a back water, it felt, despite being near major cities. Maybe that's village versus city thing more than England versus Scotland.
> INT: So what do you think they are particularly forward thinking about?
> RES: Well, I think industry improved, a lot of technology parks, I guess, a lot of awareness, and interest. Maybe it comes part with having your own system of government' (NSIS 10)

These remarks also suggest that devolution is a significant factor in increasing graduate employment opportunities in Scotland. This finding is substantiated by a further respondent who left a well-paid private sector job to work in a fairly poorly paid job in the Scottish Executive:

> 'And I just thought OK, I am doing work on you know that affects the whole country, national policy, it's a policy job, and you know a month ago I was closing the business down and emptying out an office full of someone's belongings, that kind of thing' (SIS 11)

For this interviewee, the attraction was the opportunity to influence national policy. This highlights the fact that the post-devolution environment offers opportunities to work in influential roles which previously may have been concentrated to a greater extent in London.

Although we should note that this respondent did in fact have future ambitions to continue working in a governmental role in London or overseas (albeit that his long-term ambition is to return to Scotland), his experiences at least highlight the fact that, in terms of being able to occupy roles that offer a degree of political influence, for some graduates Scotland may offer an increasingly viable alternative career path to London. This is further highlighted by the following non-Scot respondent who had returned to Scotland after a period in the south-east of England, and had been encouraged by the new opportunities which devolution had brought:

> '… since I've moved back I've been really surprised and it's been really good because I found a different side of the city and I didn't realise what sort of, that was one thing, I didn't realise the sort of jobs that were on offer. When I looked at the Edinburgh job market I just saw financial services. I looked at the Executive and the Executive weren't employing so I thought, well that's me, you know. And I wanted that kind of job so I just went away really. But coming back, when you begin to get into the job market, I think it's quite an interesting job market. I think it's quite difficult to crack but I think once you're in then the opportunities are massive. And because it's a capital city and because it's got a devolved government now, it's got all these sort of public bodies that sit round that which are just really interesting to work for. And I also think you can do quite a lot in Scotland 'cause it's a small country and I just think it's interesting' (NSIS 12)

There remain some sectors of employment, however, where it is perceived that devolution has not led to the kind of expansion of opportunities that might have been expected:

> 'But this is the problem that I had the kind of idea about press and PR but I just didn't feel there was anything for me to do up in Scotland which, bearing in mind it had its own Parliament, bearing in mind obviously it's got its own media and stuff like this, there should've been those opportunities but I couldn't find them. Whether I was looking in the wrong places I don't know. But starting to put the feelers out and having a look in the newspapers and stuff there didn't seem to be those kind of jobs coming up' (NSNIS 17)

11.3. Information about opportunities in Scotland

As well as the actual availability of graduate jobs in Scotland, a further important issue is the availability and dissemination of information about these opportunities. A potentially effective strategy for retaining more graduates in Scotland would be to ensure that perspectives on possible future employment included Scotland, and that information about available employment was communicated as widely as possible to include all those interested in remaining in or returning to the country. Many of our respondents rarely looked for work in Scotland or bemoaned the fact that there was insufficient information about employment opportunities there:

> 'Even if it's, there's an agenda to get, to retain people in Scotland I see no harm in having a careers department that pushes anything, that pushes work in Scotland if that's the case, if needs be. That we have the opportunities here should you want them.
> INT: Yeah.
> RES: And there's, there's no reason for, as a preamble saying 'we are, we're here as the careers department in a Scottish university, we would love our graduates to stay here. These are the opportunities that we have' (NSNIS 10)

> INT: And do you think there's anything the Scottish Government can do to help people like you either stay in Scotland once you graduate or return to Scotland?
> RES: In terms of staying once you graduate, I suppose maybe when you leave making a point of communicating the jobs that are based in Scotland to Scottish universities. For example, I don't ever remember seeing much about that. The big companies were all there but there was no real focus on the Scottish companies that you could work in…' (SNIS 19)

> 'And certainly at the Careers Service – and I know that's partly because I wasn't exactly thinking career wise as a student – but I think perhaps there could be more of a presence in not just, but actually promoting what happens 'cause there is an awful lot of small businesses in Scotland and there's an awful lot of (?entrepreneurialism that goes on?), there's a lot of social enterprise that goes on in Scotland and it's one of the best places in the UK for the social enterprise and I think that's not very widely known unless you work in that area. I think perhaps I know a lot of networks in Edinburgh particularly that talk about that sort of thing and perhaps there would be a way of linking students into that […] I do think that's a big thing. I mean that's the impression that I get, that people are not aware of how much goes on up here. Certainly that's the impression I get from friends of mine who, as I say, now live in London, who see everything else as the sticks and don't realise quite how much does go on up here and in some ways how much more goes on in some areas' (NSIS 18)

However, others were able to find suitable sources of information about employment opportunities in Scotland:

> 'INT: So did you specifically target that company because you wanted to come back to Edinburgh?
> RES: Yeah. There are a few Scottish-based web sites that you can go on and I kind of just checked those rather than kind of UK-based ones, sort of thing, at the time, because at the time it was 'If I get something and it's in Scotland and that's great', but if it's not in Scotland then I don't really want to do it, that sort of thing' (NSIS 9)

11.4. The significance of individual expectations and circumstances

In describing general patterns of opinion in relation to employment opportunities it is important to recognise that individual expectations and circumstances will of course have a significant influence on post-graduate employment. Whilst some graduates have clear expectations of training, salary or career progression post-graduation, others are less focussed in their immediate career aspirations and adopt a much less pro-active position, allowing chance or 'fate' to determine their immediate future:

> 'I think pure chance more than anything else. I've left a lot of my life down to pure chance!' (SIS 14)

> '… formulating a career path for myself has never really been a strong point! I've just kind of taken things as they've come and muddled along' (SIS 17)

Our findings also suggest that graduates' social backgrounds can influence their orientation to post-graduation employment. Although our interview sub-sample of those from working-class families was relatively small, there is evidence that such graduates are more likely to experience a rather more protracted transition into a settled graduate career path. A number of these respondents were employed in voluntary and/or temporary employment in the months and years following the completion of their course, and some remained in rather transitional forms of employment even five years after graduation. While for some working class respondents student debt was a prominent factor influencing employment decisions, it is also true that a number of these respondents had embarked on or completed a period of further study, again perhaps reflecting a degree of uncertainty about their future career. Of course, similar examples could be drawn from respondents from all social backgrounds. It is not our intention to imply that these issues predominantly affect those from less affluent families, but at the same time there is evidence that such graduates are less likely to have the expectations and opportunities related to a straightforward transition into a graduate career than are those who are likely to have more financial and cultural resources on which to draw. This corresponds with the findings of recent research into the labour market experiences of graduates from less advantaged backgrounds (Furlong and Cartmel, 2005), albeit that our respondents, as graduates of a relatively prestigious university, are not as disadvantaged as many other working-class graduates.

It is also true that some degrees, such as law, education and to a certain extent medicine, train students for a particularly Scottish work environment, and so imply an expectation to stay in Scotland, at least in the initial years after qualification. As a result, such subjects tend to attract fewer non-Scottish students and, as reflected in our survey findings (see section 9.5), graduates who have taken degrees in these subject areas are less likely to leave Scotland.

12. Relationships as connections: looking back and looking forward

While other forms of connection to Scotland (see sections 13 and 14) are undoubtedly significant factors in our respondents' perspectives and decisions concerning where to live and work, both our survey and interview evidence also suggests that these factors are, for most, of secondary importance compared to connections established through personal relationships. As the survey results suggest, relationships are among the most important considerations at the time of graduation and occupy an even more prominent role in graduates' decisions about where to live in the years following graduation.

12.1. The influence of partners and family on initial migration decisions

Migration decisions are seldom the result of purely individual decisions, and are often discussed between and influenced by partners and families (cf. Kofman 2004). Several of those interviewed met their partners during their time at University, and these relationships often had implications for their initial residential choices. Sometimes, these geographical decisions made on the basis of a romantic attachment outlasted the relationship itself, as people's lives became embedded in other ways in the locations in which they had settled.

Not all of those who were in relationships at the time of graduation considered them serious enough to affect their plans to travel or move to pursue employment opportunities. But for many, graduation was a pivotal moment for their relationship. Some couples parted ways – in some cases as a result of plans to move away – while for others the end of the relationship caused plans to be rethought. Other relationships, however, became more serious:

> 'It kind of reached the crunch point in the relationship where we'd been going out for sort of eight months and it was kind of make or break. We finish university and either we're going to live together or just call it quits so we decided to live together romantically' (NSIS 12)

Relationships which did prove serious and enduring were often an important factor in decisions either to stay in Scotland, or to move elsewhere. In some cases this served to at least postpone migration away from Scotland as some interviewees had partners who had not completed their university course:

> 'Yeah because I wanted to stay living in Edinburgh. Oh well and also, well the reason I wanted to stay was because I was with my boyfriend who had to stay another year there' (NSNIS 2)

Having a partner who was already settled in Scotland, or who was determined to stay, kept some graduates in the country who might otherwise have left:

> 'When I graduated I was actually in a serious relationship at the time, so I didn't, I was thinking even then I was thinking of moving sort of somewhere within central Scotland. So had I not been in that relationship I might well have considered moving further' (NSIS 1)

> 'INT: So had you already decided that you'd quite like to stay in Edinburgh [*after graduation*]?
> RES: Yeah. By that time I'd met my future husband, and he was here.
> INT: He was working here?
> RES: No he was in university as well, but it just seemed to make sense to stay here, given that we'd met here and our lives were here and all our friends' (SIS 9)

For non-Scots having a Scottish partner is a significant additional form of connection to Scotland which is likely to influence their decision to remain there. On the other hand, several

interviewees had left Scotland in order to be with a partner who was either living elsewhere already or was about to leave Scotland:

> 'I knew that I wanted to be near [*partner*]. I knew it was important to both of us to be close to each other, so I knew I had to go down south…' (NSNIS 13)

> 'I decided to go and live in Spain after Edinburgh. My wife is Spanish. And I finished my degree in 2000. So I did a three-year general degree that concentrated on English in the last year. So I went to teach English in Spain…' (NSNIS 16)

> '…it was in the final year that I met my husband and it was right at the back end of the summer holidays… I split up with my boyfriend in Edinburgh and started to go out with [*husband*] and I kind of like knew that he was the one, from about the first month and so I think in the back of my mind I just thought well I'm the one who's flexible at the moment, he's very established in his career. So that's why I chose Yorkshire because well I thought in my back of my mind that was closer to where he was working then and it is so difficult apparently to get jobs round Edinburgh and I'd have to be in that borders type belt. And there was a job in Yorkshire and I thought that would be quite accessible to him, really' (SNIS 12)

For many Scots who had remained in Scotland, the proximity of family members was an important 'anchor' militating against their moving away.

> 'I think we [*respondent and partner*] would both find it difficult to leave our families. Particularly for me given that I'm the only offspring that parents have got in Scotland, and they're obviously going to get older' (SIS 9)

Our interviews with graduates from working class backgrounds suggest that this may be a further reason why such people are less likely to leave Scotland, in that they appear rather more likely to have strongly established extended family connections to particular places within the country. However, this was not true for all such interviewees, and some had been drawn away from Scotland by the competing influence of having a non-Scots partner or by employment or study opportunities elsewhere.

For respondents who had children of their own, sometimes this combined with further connections to Scotland (such as partner and parents) to embed them still more deeply in the country, but for others children represented the major barrier to moving, such as the following mature student:

> '… going back to uni has changed my life. And I think possibly if I didn't have my kids I would have considered moving' (SIS 10)

Equally of course, for graduates who did not originate from Scotland the draw to move to be nearer their family following graduation is an obvious pull away from Scotland. Where factors such as location of partner and family combine to create strong connections to a particular location, immediate migration following graduation becomes much more likely, and there will be substantial barriers to return to Scotland:

> 'Well the reason I moved down here was because my boyfriend was always going to come down here and work and that was basically the reason I moved down to live with him that was yeah pretty much the only reason. Although now I wouldn't, like I said, I wouldn't want to move away because of my parents and my sister […] I would say the pull factors keeping me in London, obviously there aren't really any push factors pushing me away from Scotland, it's more pull factors keeping me in London which would be that my parents live in Devon, my sister and nephew live in Basingstoke and well now the thing is now of course virtually all my friends live down here, which wasn't necessarily the case

> when I was in Edinburgh there was still a few up there. So it would be quite an uprooting to go and move back there. In a sort of ideal world I think, wouldn't it be great to go and live back up there but it's really practical considerations, the geography of where my friends and family are but that would be the only one really. That would be it, if that wasn't a consideration then I wouldn't hesitate in going back' (NSNIS 2)

12.2: Looking to the future: partners

As noted above, our survey suggested that the importance of relationships as a factor in migration decisions is likely to increase as graduates mature. Although the survey revealed that only half of the 2000 graduate cohort were married or cohabiting five years after graduation, it should be borne in mind that a significant additional proportion may be in serious relationships with the potential to influence migration decisions, but not (yet) cohabiting or married. The interviews confirm that many graduates feel that their relationships are assuming more importance in their lives. Several of the people interviewed were about to get married or had recently made migration decisions based on the success or failure of a relationship. Even those without partners often discussed anticipated future relationships as influencing their considerations of the most desirable place to live.

Where couples hail from different areas, the place they met can be appealing as common ground in which to settle. For those who met at University, this may mean staying in or returning to Scotland, but for those who met their partner elsewhere, having left Scotland after University, this can be one factor encouraging them to settle outside Scotland. For many couples, there are competing geographical pulls to be negotiated: career prospects, the location of family, and attachments to place.

> 'In principle I would like to move back to Scotland and in principle [*female partner*] wouldn't mind that. But that's as far as we have left it, I have not pushed for dates and times and I understand why she wouldn't want to… as long as I know I can do it at some point then that's OK' (SNIS 11)

> 'So I'm looking at things differently and I know how important my family and friends are to me, so I guess I'm thinking more, if [*male partner*] wasn't in Edinburgh I'd probably look at jobs more in London because that's where my family are, so I don't know it's hard to equate what's more important. If [*male partner*] wasn't in Edinburgh I might be in London' (NSIS 13)

While some couples had discussed the possibility of further relocation, it was acknowledged that mobility may be more difficult to achieve once a couple are both established in a given location:

> '… we both want to be in London if we are just talking geographically at the moment. But yeah there might be a point where I'd really like to move back to Edinburgh and it doesn't quite work or the other way round. [...] So I think timing's really difficult. Particularly when it's related to jobs that the two of you….because, you know, when it's ready for one person to move job it's invariably never the right time for the other person' (NSNIS 8)

As noted in section 11.1, one of the appealing features of living in London is that the diversity of employment opportunities on offer mean that there is a greater chance of both partners in a couple achieving their career goals than would be the case elsewhere.

12.3 Gender and Relationships

A growing body of literature suggests the importance of considering the influence of gender on migration (e.g. Boyd and Grieco 2003, DeLaet 1999). The data from our survey suggested an interesting gendered difference in migration motivations in that women were somewhat more likely to cite relationship factors as important in where they lived, whilst more men

seemed to prioritise work-related issues, and that this difference is greater at five years post-graduation. Many studies of family migration and highly–skilled migration have suggested a phenomenon of 'tied' migration, in which a (heterosexual) couple's decision to migrate is likely to be based on the man's career interests.[18] The woman is thus not the primary instigator of the migration, but moves by virtue of her bond to the male migrant. Even in professional dual career households, couples may tend to prioritise the man's career given calculations based on relative earning potential and/or the impact on careers of childbearing and rearing. Several graduates interviewed for this study stressed that they needed to live near the main (male) earner's place of work, particularly if the female partner was not engaged in paid work, or was working less in order to care for children.

Several studies show women's earnings or careers suffering as a result of such tied migration (cf. Ackers 2004; Bailey and Boyle 2004), and material from some interviews suggested this to be the case. The following respondent, for example, said that when she graduated,

> 'The only thing I knew I'd probably do was marry [*boyfriend, now husband*], which is an awful thing to admit and I'd never admit if he was here. So there was a real pressure to come down south [*to follow him*]' (NSNIS 13)

After moving, she discovered a fulfilling career in teaching, but this has been rather disrupted by her husband's mobile occupation, and career breaks to care for children:

> 'I was very very driven. At [*school*] if I'd stayed on I would definitely been, I mean they offered me the job of deputy head of department. Which was awesome, I mean really awesome, pay wise, opportunities wise. I actually wanted to be head of the year. I'm a bit too junior for that but certainly two jobs came up the year I left and I would have for sure applied for one of them. I don't think I would have got them because there were very strong candidates for them. But it's definitely the way I want to go and I'd like to see myself in that sort of way, but who knows, children… we'll see what happens. And with [*husband*] as well, moving, to get senior management you need to do seven years in one place, so maybe when he retires in fifteen years I can really look at that. But unfortunately my career has to be on hold. Which is quite upsetting really because I didn't realise I'd love it so much. Oh well' (NSNIS 13)

Of course, financial or professional gain, as our survey has demonstrated, is only one motivation for migration, and there is evidence of other benefits to some female 'tied migrants' from their relocations (Bailey and Boyle 2004; Bonney and Love 1991). For one couple who hoped to move to Orkney, for example, the wife's anticipated withdrawal from paid work to care for children presented itself as an opportunity for them both to obtain a change in lifestyle that was impossible whilst they had two careers to consider. And one striking example from our interviews showed that women who 'trailed' after their husband in geographical terms do not always 'trail' in financial or career terms – this woman moved to London to be with a partner with whom she has since a child, but she is the main earner in the household, and was keen to stress: 'I'm not the little lady following him' (NSNIS 9).

Significantly, recent research suggests that in dual career households, women's paid work and other priorities may carry increasing weight in migration decisions (Smits et al 2004). Although greater numbers of women than men cited relationship factors as important in our survey, the substantial numbers of men also placing importance on relationships in deciding where to live was reflected in the variety of patterns of gender and mobility among our

[18] Only two graduates interviewed in the survey reported themselves to be in a same sex relationship.

interview informants. Whilst staying with a partner was a primary motivation for some women to remain in Scotland or to move elsewhere, there were also several examples of men remaining in Scotland to be with a female partner, or being prepared to leave to follow her elsewhere:

> 'INT: So presumably living with [*male partner*] is something that's going to happen, it's not going to, if one of you has to go somewhere for work, you'll go together in the future?
> RES: Yeah, that's the impression that I've got, I mean it's easier for me to move with him than it is him to move with me, but he's decided that if I have to move he's going to move with me, even if he hasn't got a job so, fine' (NSIS 6)

12.4: Looking to the future: children

Although only a small proportion of our sample had children, many interviewees spoke of the changes that they anticipated children would bring to both their residential priorities and their ability to move.

> 'INT: And do you think your priorities have changed since you graduated?
> RES: Yes. Because I am thinking far more about the future, long term. Having a base and having somewhere where I would be happy to have children etc. No I don't think, I've hardly got the energy to look after myself in London and looking after wee bairns, God knows how I'd do it. I'm, I mean I'm in awe of the people who do do it here, 'cause obviously people do' (NSNIS 10)

> 'But now that I've got her [*respondent's daughter*] realising how important grandparents is, you know there's no way I'd now move back. And everybody's moved on and grown up and everyone's getting more settled now with their families now so I wouldn't move back' (SNIS 12)

Although, as this latter comment suggests, having children may in some cases represent an obstacle to returning to Scotland, in general this is an area where Scotland is often positively perceived by many as offering an attractive environment in which to raise a family. This is particularly true when Scotland is compared with its primary alternative location for graduate employment – London. While London offers many benefits in terms of career (see section 11.1) and social life (section 15.1), as graduates look to their longer term future Scotland is generally considered to be a superior location in which to bring up children. This is a factor which loosens established connections to London and may also encourage graduates to contemplate a return to Scotland.

> 'I mean particularly in terms of bringing up kids I'd really like to bring them up in Edinburgh. And I wouldn't really like to bring them up in London. So both pulling and push factors.
> INT: So what's bad about London for kids do you think?
> RES: It's just very hectic and concretey and there's very little space. It's hard to access the environment. And schools are really mixed. The schools in Edinburgh are much better on the whole' (NSNIS 8)

> '… I got married in August there and I think if we intend to have children at some point I think I would want to bring the children up back home [*in Scotland*] rather than down here [*in London*]' (SNIS 1)

> 'What would draw me back [*to Scotland*] is probably even once I get to settling down and maybe having family, those things, I think the quality of life. It's almost a bit of a joke amongst my friends. A lot of people whether they're Scottish or English or Irish who were at Edinburgh, leave to come down here [*London*], do their four/five years here, get married or find a husband, go back up to Scotland and settle down in generally sort of more of a couple environment' (SNIS 19)

However, other interviews with respondents living outside Scotland (e.g. SNIS 12 quoted above) suggested that there may be barriers to realising such imagined future moves. One such obstacle is the existence of relationships with other family members.

12.5: Looking to the future: parents and other family

Our interviews suggested that as graduates mature and look to the future, previous priorities such as having new experiences or forging a career may become less prominent in comparison to proximity to wider family and the needs they may have:

> 'You go to university to get away from parents and now you know I stay in Scotland because they're here, well that would be one of the reasons' (SIS 9)

> '… on the one hand I would move for a job and on the other hand I would stay for a person… I don't know if I could identify one greatest factor, different things would over-ride in different circumstances I think. I mean I guess in the end… people trumps jobs. If one of my family needed me to be there to look after them, and I had to leave my nice cushy, interesting job, I'd go and work in a boring one…' (NSIS 1)

> '… I think as you grow older, as I grow old you sort of become more aware, you become less selfish. When you're a student you're basically, it's just all about you really, you know and what you're doing but I think you become a bit more aware of your parents and your family and the importance of that if you like ' (NSNIS 2)

Some graduates spoke of possible future responsibilities to ageing parents as influencing where they might live. For some there was a firm anticipation that in future the importance of being located near to parents would be a primary influence upon their migration decisions. The following respondent, for example, could not see herself settling outside Scotland because of this factor:

> '… I've got to consider my parents are getting older. It's a few years till dad retires but I've got to consider what's going to happen with them and are they going to need me to look after them. I think that would be my responsibility, 'cause I've no brothers and sisters' (SIS 3)

However, it is not necessarily the case that non-Scots living in Scotland, for example, will be required to contemplate leaving the country at some point in the future in order to be closer to ageing parents. Where wider familial connections to Scotland exist, parents may in fact be planning to move to Scotland themselves:

> '… I have ended back up in Edinburgh and that's my choice. I do feel like it's where I am meant to be, my parents plan to retire up here in a couple of years time up here as well so I think it is home for all of us, we all do Christmas up here, have for years now' (NSIS 3)

It is also possible that elderly parents in need of care, often with fewer of the employment and social ties to location, may move nearer to their working-age children rather than *vice versa*. Although older age groups are less mobile as a whole in the UK, there is some evidence of both an increase in migration rates around retirement age, and a 'late age slope' increase in the numbers of those over 75 relocating as care becomes a concern (King *et al* 2001: 18).

Moreover, actual instances of graduates moving to care for their parents were rare, as we might expect for this generally young cohort whose parents may not yet be elderly. Even where parents do need care, this may be provided by other family members, and so is not an issue for all graduates. Although care for parents or other family members did not emerge as a significant factor for many graduates at this stage, the proximity of family members may add to the attractions of a particular location. Where graduates' relatives (or their partners' relatives) lived outside the UK, this sometimes provided a potential reason for emigration. Such attractions may, however, be in tension where couples come from different countries or

indeed regions. Within Britain, distances can still be such that couples may live much closer to one set of relatives than another, so one northern English man living in London commented that while he would like to return to Scotland, particularly in the context of raising children, his girlfriend felt that she would be too far from her parents in Cornwall. Another English resident said that although he and his partner did not have 'family commitments',

> '…her mum and dad and brother are all kind of like London based. So that's kind of like more of a, I suppose that's a pull for her towards like the south of England. The same as kind of my family is a pull towards kind of Scotland, you know' (SNIS 15).

A couple's various familial connections to place may of course be further complicated where parental homes have been fractured by divorce or separation.

12.6 Problems in dealing with intentions and future projections.

Whilst gauging migration intentions may be standard practice in research on highly skilled migration, there is less information on the extent to which such plans are realised (Koser and Salt 1997). We therefore require to exercise considerable care in assessing the evidence related to intentions for future migration related to family and lifecourse. Although several of those living outside Scotland were of the opinion that Scotland could be a good place to raise children, other evidence from the interviews suggests that the situation may be more complex. Some respondents reported that they were considering leaving Britain altogether at least in part for the sake of their (actual or future) children. In addition, the limited number of interviews with graduates who had started families do not provide evidence of couples moving in response to having children. In some cases, rather than motivating migration, children may function to embed people in the place in which they are living – adding schools, juvenile friendship circles and childcare arrangements to the career(s), social networks and accommodation that would have to be reorganised in order to migrate. This quotation from a woman who had moved back to London, where friends and family also lived, is suggestive of the kind of 'community' which may be built up through residence and intensified by the presence of young children, and which could then present a powerful disincentive against migration.

> 'Like we really, you know, people are ring up constantly when they have crises and we do lots of sort of other care, childcare swapping. I mean less us getting rid of [*their child*] actually because I, I don't know, it just seems to be that we have lots of different kids coming round. I don't think it's cause everyone is taking advantage of us […] and that's really nice. Like, you know, there's a friend of ours who's a carpenter and we've been looking after his kids quite a lot. And then potentially that means, you know, we'll get him to do some work round the house or […] But that kind of stuff is really nice. And I think it takes time to build up those kinds of links' (NSNIS 9)

Projected moves to be nearer to parents or other family members are generally only likely to result in return migration to Scotland for those from Scots backgrounds. In one case, however, the parents of a woman brought up in the north of England had recently relocated to Scotland, with the result that their daughter had another reason to favour residence in Scotland. This example illustrates the possible interactions between types of migration, so that encouraging retirement migration might even influence the choices of a few highly skilled people of working age. But for many interview respondents living at a distance from their parents (and siblings), it seemed that familial relationships, at least at this stage in the lifecourse, could be maintained through telephone contact and visiting, rather than residential proximity. Other types of relationship often were of a more day-to-day nature. As one informant who chose to live near friends rather than family put it:

> ‘I think closeness to friends and boyfriend, it’s probably the most important factor. I mean my mum would probably want me to say family but living here and having family in Norway just proves to her that that is not the truth. But because that’s why I say you see your friends on a daily basis maybe or at least, fairly often, you don’t go to your family for a pint after work, you know. It doesn’t work that way’ (NSIS 6)

We now turn to consider the significance of these wider social networks in more detail.

13: Networks of connections: friendship and civic engagement

Our survey findings indicated that proximity to friends was a significant and enduring factor in migration decisions, albeit one that appeared to be of secondary importance to employment opportunities and other, more intimate relationships. As a form of connection to geographical place, networks of friendship emerged from our interview evidence as an important influence, both on migration decisions made immediately after graduation and on contemporary plans. Particularly for non-Scots, the formation of friendships with non-students or, at the very least, with Scottish students, could thus represent important connections. One respondent who had left Scotland commented on the contrast between herself and her sister, who also went to the University of Edinburgh but who had stayed in the city after graduating – a difference she put down to her sister having formed friendships outside the university through a Karate club. In a similar vein, the following respondent remarked that he felt that he had had a broader experience of the city and its people than his girlfriend. As a result, he felt very attached to Scotland and would like to return:

> 'Well I mean her view is, I mean, I don't know she wouldn't, one of the reasons she resists being, going back to Edinburgh is she feels she's been there and done that. Whereas for me it was never like that. It's a very sort of bird-watchers approach to things, well, you know, I have seen this bird so I can move on to the next one. Whereas, you know, I have a great feeling for place anyway, for the place rather than it just being… […] She was a student, that was her university, time to move on. Whereas more, I think I had a more broader experience of the city and, and the people. I think in her English literature course there was very few Scots in her tutor group. Whereas there was 99.5% Scots doing [*his course*]' (NSNIS 10)

As this suggests, there are course-by-course, as well as individual, differences in the quantities of friendships made between Scots and non-Scots during their studies. This is a particularly prominent issue at the University of Edinburgh, where many courses attract a high proportion of undergraduates from outwith Scotland:

> 'I don't think I met all that many Scottish people in Edinburgh. And certainly from friends who now live in Glasgow, they would say that Edinburgh is, and even then it was a joke that Edinburgh university, if you have a Scottish, you know if you actually knew a Scottish student, certainly among my peers it was quite funny to find someone from Scotland studying in Edinburgh' (NSNIS 5)

Although this comment reflects an exaggerated perception of the structure of the student body at Edinburgh, not only might experiences such as these mean that connections to Scotland for non-Scots are weaker than may have been the case had they had a wider circle of Scottish friends, but for Scots contemplating leaving the country to live and work elsewhere there may be ready alternative networks of friendships which represent a valuable resource in enabling them to settle outside Scotland:

> '… a lot of my friends who are English have moved to the South East you know, to go and look for jobs and stuff so it's quite nice, so the majority of my friends are actually in London or in the South East. So from that point of view it's quite nice' (SNIS 18)

> 'I've been very lucky in that, well as you say, a quarter of my year or whatever, quite a number of my friends came down [*to London*] and so I've managed to set up quite a good sort of life for myself down here and it's been good fun and it is a bit of an extension of student life with slightly more serious responsibilities during the day' (SNIS 19)

Although there are commonalities between (and variations within) our four categories (NSIS, NSNIS, SIS, SNIS) in the nature of their friendship networks and their influence on migration decisions, some interesting patterns and contrasts emerge.

13.1. Scots in Scotland

Scots who stayed in the country after graduation were more likely to report that many of their friends had also stayed in Scotland than were Scots who had left to live elsewhere:

> '… a lot of our friends have stayed here after uni as well, so I think that adds to the attachment. If we didn't have close friends here and they had all left it wouldn't be… […] gives you more attachment if you know people' (SIS 6)

For a few, this reflected the fact that they had lived at home during their studies – for some who missed out on the experience of living in halls or shared flats, their networks of friends dated in the main from their pre-University days. This effect of initial financial constraints in decreasing social contact with other students, perhaps amplified by the need to engage in part-time work during their studies, may be a contributing factor in the tendency for Scots from working class backgrounds to remain in Scotland after graduation. Such localised friendship networks are often not, however, enough to keep people in Scotland where employment opportunities or partners are located elsewhere.

13.2. Scots not in Scotland

Those domiciled in Scotland before university who had since left were more likely than those who had stayed to report that their friends were scattered across the UK, and often beyond. In such cases, connections of friendship formed at university do not represent strong 'pulls' to remain in Scotland. Indeed, some informants living in London (like SNIS 18 above) remarked on the high proportion of their university friends who were also living in the South East, providing a relocated sense of 'community'.

13.3. Non-Scots in Scotland

In contrast, and like the Scots who had remained in Scotland, non-Scots who had stayed in or returned to Scotland after graduation also often reported that many or the majority of their friends had also stayed in Scotland. For some, this reflected networks beyond the University:

> 'Yeah a lot of people went down to London after we graduated and a few stayed put up here but yeah, I think the majority of people we were actually at university with went onto jobs down South. And because I already have friends in and around Edinburgh who weren't linked with the university or anything, they were obviously all still up here and I knew a lot of people who lived out, such as Fife and Perthshire, so that always helps. So there were a lot of pals around which I think is a big factor in it [*deciding to stay*]' (NSIS 16)

> 'INT: And you said some of your friends had… no, a lot of your friends had stayed, did you say?
> RES: Quite a few left. It's actually strange that most of my university friends left, there is only about two or three still in Scotland that I know, but a lot of friends from Newcastle who had either ended up at Glasgow University or in other places, have sort of coalesced in Edinburgh and Glasgow. I don't know how it happened but they have, so there's sort of a very close circle of people that I have known since I was about nine who all live in Edinburgh and Glasgow. I have no idea how that happened but it did, so that helped' (NSIS 20)

For others, the continuity of their social lives through graduation and after University was at least partly a reflection of the presence of Scottish students in their networks of friends. Whether Scots or non-Scots, these circles of friends often seem to have added significantly to the attractions of remaining in or returning to Scotland:

> 'all my friends have stayed in Edinburgh and so I always felt drawn back to Edinburgh because of that, I mean yeah I love the city and I like living there and so that is a factor as well but the major theme was, at the time that my friends were there,' (NSIS 6)

> '… most of my mates have stayed in Scotland, and a vast majority of them wouldn't really think of … well some of them have gone to London and come back … but most of my mates don't really want to leave Scotland'
> […]
> 'I think what's pulled me to remain is the fact that my mates are still here' (NSIS 8)

For some, these social networks were an important factor in the decision to *return* to Scotland:

> 'INT: You said that one of the things that prompted you to return was that you knew quite a lot of people. Presumably they are people that you studied with.
> RES: Yeah, that's right, yeah, absolutely, yeah. A few of them stayed up, and actually since I been back a few more have moved back up as well, so that's quite good. So it's like everybody seems to have been moving back up for some reason I don't know why' (NSIS 9)

> 'When we moved back, I actually know a couple of other people who, I know another couple that went to London and moved back up and some other friends who went down South somewhere and they've come back up. So there was immediately those connections 'cause it was friends of ours knew those and they said, "oh they've moved back up as well", so we got in touch with them and now we see them. So there are those sort of people that we connect with' (NSIS 12)

There were, however, instances of Non-Scots graduates returning in spite of the departure of their previous social circles:

> INT: And had a lot of your friends left Edinburgh by that point?
> RES: Most of them had, yeah. I mean the ones that I'd known, actually who'd left the university or were not students, were still here mostly and one friend who went to university was still up here but all the rest had left.
> INT: So was that quite a different place to come back to?
> RES: Yes it was. I mean most people I know up here now are not the same people I knew when I was a student with one or two exceptions. Most people I know from university went down to London' (NSIS 18)

13.4. Non-Scots not in Scotland

In contrast to those non-Scots who had stayed in or returned to Scotland, those who both lived elsewhere before university and lived outside Scotland in 2005 were significantly more likely to report that the bulk of their friends had also left Scotland. This exodus could be cumulative in that the more of an individual's social circle had left, the fewer reasons there were to stay.

> 'Yeah I think I felt that my friends were moving away and I didn't want to stay in a place that felt sort of lonely without all the same people there. It would change anyway so why not change the scenery as well I guess. And my brother was in London at the time so I thought that would be quite nice' (NSNIS 18)

> '… it's kind of less of a positive move somehow to stay […] And to stay and see all your friends leave after four years of university, I think it's really difficult, so probably the feeling that time's up, was probably one of the things pushing you away' (NSNIS 5)

Similarly, another respondent might have returned to Edinburgh after a period away travelling, but said that by the time she got back to the UK, most of her friends had already left Edinburgh, so without the financial resources to live independently in the city, she went

instead to stay at her parental home. In her social networks, it was those with other types of connections to Scotland who remained there after graduation:

> 'What I've seen of my friends, the ones who've stayed up there are mostly either Scottish or have Scottish relatives or have a Scottish boyfriend or girlfriend' (NSNIS 19)

We also need to consider the significance of friendship networks in the context of graduate expectations about their future lives. Some of those who were neither domiciled in Scotland, nor living there in 2005, never expected to stay in Scotland after graduation, and seem not to have considered the possibility (see section 15.1).

13.5. Civic engagement

The pattern that emerges from the interviews is that those whose friends from university, school, or other activities largely remained in Scotland had far more reason to stay. For many graduates, however, networks made during University dispersed on graduation, and in some cases relocated in such large numbers to the South East of England, and London in particular, that this then presented an attractive social environment, in addition to being perceived as offering good opportunities for career development (see section 11.1). Those who had originated in the South may be particularly prone to such social 'pulls', as the relocation of university friends often combines with the presence of friends and family 'back home'. For some, the naturalness of returning 'home' after spending a few (generally happy) university years in Edinburgh is assumed to such an extent that we might talk of a 'sojourner' mentality towards their time in Scotland.

In this respect we need to consider whether alternative networks and connections – formed, for example, through activities or friendships established beyond the university environment – could be a significant means of 'anchoring' more non-Scots graduates in Scotland and thus mitigating the extent of immediate out-migration among this group (see section 15.1). Moreover, having a wider experience of Scottish life will encourage an awareness of the positive things which Scotland has to offer beyond its education system. A number of our respondents remarked that, often, students were not sufficiently aware of these wider features and more could be done to communicate Scotland's appeal more effectively. As one respondent remarked: '… in terms of Scotland as a whole I don't know it well enough to know whether or not I would want to live and work there' (NSNIS 6). In addition, wider student involvement in the community would help address the negative attitudes that exist towards students and thus mitigate the discrimination which, for some at least, serves to weaken their connections to Scotland (see 14.5 below).

When respondents were undergraduates, civic engagement took many forms. For some, it simply meant having a circle of friends which extended beyond the student population, thus providing a more rounded impression of life in Scotland. Importantly, having this wider social circle can also act as an anchor so that even if one's university-based network dissolves after graduation, strong connections remain. For some interviewees engagement took the form of part-time work or through remaining in Edinburgh to work during the summer. Although this could be thought of as a primarily instrumental activity motivated by financial constraints, nevertheless paid work is also a means by which students broaden their experience and familiarity with the community beyond the university. Other respondents' engagement took the form of membership of religious groups, or through voluntary work.

Engagement with the wider community beyond the university, then, helps establish important connections which, in one sense, may be a significant factor when new graduates contemplate their future. Those who do not engage in this manner have less reason to remain, as their sole experience of Scotland will be as a place of study. When studying ends, it is more likely that they will feel encouraged to move on:

> 'That's possibly one of the reasons that kept me as well was that I had a lot of contacts outside of university, so when everybody was, university friends leave, not all of mine did because they weren't all university friends. I think I stayed in Edinburgh just because I liked Edinburgh, and because Edinburgh to me wasn't just the university, Edinburgh to me was where I lived and where I worked and because I had the outside life I think that's what kept me here more. The majority of people I was at university with did leave, and I think might have been one of the factors for them, that the university was the reason they were here, so they just went back home or off to somewhere else. The ones I know that stayed are doctors and teachers, you know, who were trained to stay here' (NSIS 20)

However, in common with other factors which may influence migration behaviour, it is important that we do not exaggerate the degree to which civic engagement while an undergraduate determines whether or not people will stay in Scotland following graduation. In fact, close examination and comparison of the engagement patterns of non-Scots who had remained in Scotland and those who had left suggests that degree of civic engagement while an undergraduate is unlikely to be a highly significant factor in influencing post-graduation migration. There are examples of non-Scottish respondents who described their social activity while an undergraduate as being very much confined within the student community, and yet who had remained in or returned to Scotland following graduation. Other forms of connection or opportunities can thus outweigh an absence of civic engagement.

Equally, a number of non-Scots respondents who had since left Scotland described relatively extensive civic engagement whilst undergraduates.

> 'I worked […] for two years as a volunteer doing things like supporting people who were living in their, in their own tenancies, helping people who'd been homeless to keep a flat. And that was really nice. I really enjoyed that. And the nice things about that work was that it was separate from the University. And so it was, I felt much more involved with Edinburgh then' (NSNIS 9)

The following respondent is a musician and was heavily involved in the music scene in Edinburgh, and thus engaged beyond the university.

> 'I like to think that I wasn't a kind of typical English student coming here and I wasn't this kind of insular student that just came and was part of the university and did nothing else. I was, well the majority of my social stuff was part of the Edinburgh scene and not the student scene, so I liked to feel, rightly or wrongly, that I was a bit more integrated into Edinburgh and the people of Edinburgh, than a lot of my kind of compatriots' (NSNIS 11)

Both these comments illustrate that civic activity does represent an important means of deepening connections to the community. Yet both these respondents in fact migrated to London soon after graduation. Cases like this indicate that civic engagement, while potentially significant, is very much a secondary factor in determining migration behaviour. For respondents like those above, other factors such as the attraction of having a partner and/or family in the south-east of England, and the more extensive employment opportunities perceived to exist there, outweighed the significant connections they had established while in Scotland. A further significant factor for respondents such as these was often that most if not all of their friends were leaving Scotland following graduation, often for reasons related to employment. This suggests that connections based on personal relationships are likely to be

more significant influences on migration behaviour than are connections based on civic engagement, which are likely to be more ephemeral in nature. Equally, where respondents' expectation had been to return to England following graduation (see 15.1), it is unlikely that even quite extensive civic engagement while a student would outweigh this factor, especially when combined with other considerations related to employment opportunities and personal relationships.

14. Non-Scots: positive connections and barriers to inclusion

In terms of the ambition to retain a higher proportion of graduates within Scotland in the longer term, one of the most positive elements of the survey findings was that few respondents identified a desire to leave Scotland as having been a significant consideration at the time of their graduation and, for those residing outside Scotland five years after graduation, a similarly small minority said that they definitely would not consider returning to live in Scotland. While sentiments such as these need not translate into an actual commitment to living in Scotland, they do at least demonstrate that there is a high potential for graduates to be attracted to staying in or returning to the country if other factors are conducive to this migration outcome.

Our interviews with non-Scots suggest that these generally positive perspectives result from the various types of connection which these graduates establish to Scotland, both during and following their time at university.

14.1. Feeling 'at home'

Analysis of the interviews conducted with those who did not originate from Scotland, but who have remained in or returned to the country to live demonstrates a degree of flexibility in respondents' conceptions of 'home' and thus the potential for strong connections to place to be established in Scotland, even when where there was no previous connection prior to university. Most of these interviewees reported feeling at home or at times an even stronger national allegiance, although a degree of national connection may also be constructed upon local attachment:

> 'If someone asks me where you are from, I say Scotland. And I probably have done since I've lived in Linlithgow certainly' (NSIS 7)

For this respondent, this perception was reinforced by the sentiments of his partner (also a graduate of the University Edinburgh), who had not grown up in Scotland but had developed strong connections to it:

> '… I don't think she feels like she belongs in either England or Wales. So she considers Scotland home, I think. She's very strong on that' (NSIS 7)

Another graduate who had grown up in the north of England but whose partner was from Scotland (and was also one of our respondents) had developed a similar sense of connection based on residence:

> '… I would say I felt more attached to Scotland in general than I did Yorkshire. Basically I've had most of my adult life here and I intend to stay here' (NSIS 11)

Both of these types of connection to Scotland – through a Scottish partner or on the basis of residence through spending most or all of one's adult life in the country – were also evident in other interviews with non-Scots living in Scotland. The more of these connections are established, the more likely that migrant respondents will feel 'at home' in Scotland.

> 'INT: So do you feel, do you identify with Scotland at all, do you feel that it is …?
> RES: I think having a Scottish partner as well, so I can't support England any more [laughter]. […] I definitely feel, identify with much more with Scotland than with, you know. And would say I am Norwegian/Scottish if I was to say anything' (NSIS 4)

This respondent also explained that unlike most of her fellow nationals she had studied with who retained 100% allegiance to their country of origin and never questioned that they would return there after their studies, through living in Scotland she had a greater ambivalence about her identity: '… I'm different from them in that sense that I feel more rooted here I think' (NSIS 4). This rootedness is not just a question of residence, but also because this respondent has a Scottish partner.

For other non-Scots, a lack of previous connections to Scotland is mitigated through the other forms of connections, identification and allegiance that they have developed and continue to develop through living in Scotland:

> 'No I do identify with Scotland. I do. I work for the Executive so I'm quite involved in, I work for the Health Service basically at the Executive, so I'm quite involved in Scottish, well at a low level I suppose, but you know, on policy and all that kind of business. So I connect with the country in that way, through my work anyway' (NSIS 12)

> '… part of it, the job that I now do working in [*Scottish institution*] and all that kind of stuff, it makes you think about Scotland and identify with Scotland I think. I don't go as far as maybe supporting Scotland at football and things like that… actually at rugby I would, I have never been to a rugby game until I came here, so it's a natural sort of way to do it. Yeah I think I do. I do the Scottish things, the Burns Nights and all that kind of stuff' (NSIS 20)

14.2. 'North British' affinity

A significant finding from our survey evidence was that those who had come to Scotland to study from the north of England were considerably more likely to remain (or return) than were those from the south. While this pattern may to some degree relate to contrasting experiences of anti-English discrimination (see 14.5 below), and indeed to other factors such as distance from pre-university domicile, we must also consider how different connections and expectations may lead to different migration behaviour between graduates from the north and south of England. One significant factor that emerged from our interviews was that a number of respondents who originated from the north of England felt a stronger sense of connection to Scotland and the Scots than they did to the south.

While this phenomenon can influence the experience of university itself, more importantly from our perspective this stronger sense of connection can also influence migration behaviours following graduation. The following two interviewees who had originated from the north of England and had remained in Scotland following graduation described feelings of affinity between northern England and Scotland, and also noted how their search for employment had focused on these parts of the country, with an avoidance of London also being noticeable:

> 'INT: And what do you like and dislike about living in Scotland as opposed to England?
> RES: I think there is a certain no nonsense attitude that I like, I mean, I think that applies to the North East [*of England*] as well, I mean I'm identifying with something that I grew up with but yeah, I think there is a certain sort of unwillingness to take nonsense which I appreciate. And just sort of straightforwardness I think is a sort of Northern virtue'
> […]
> 'When I was looking around recently I was considering jobs in Scotland or the north of England'
> […]
> 'I have a sort of dread of going to live in London' (NSIS 1)

> 'I like a lot of things about Scotland, and I like the fact that people are very generally, on the whole, friendly. And I suppose that is connected to the fact that that is what people are like back home [*in*

> *Burnley*] as well. I think that's one of the things I don't like about the south-east of England, cause you don't get that impression. You get the impression it is very kind of alien and nobody knows each other, and I don't get that impression in Edinburgh at all. So, yeah, I suppose in that respect I feel this is a certain similarity between here and back home'
> […]
> 'I thought that really you had more opportunity up here to progress. And the only other place you possibly go to get those opportunities was London and the South-East, and I definitely definitely didn't want to go down there. So I kind of figured that Edinburgh was for me the better option' (NSIS 9)

The following comments represent two further examples of interviewees who originated from the north of England, were living in Scotland and were very loath to consider London as a place to live and work:

> 'I definitely didn't want to go to London. Actually that was my main criteria. I didn't want to go to London' (NSIS 11)

> '… people always go 'you gotta do London and you gotta do this' and I think I've been down there and it stinks. Loads of people who don't care about you' (NSIS 8)

The greater potential for graduates from the north of England to stay in Scotland compared to their counterparts from the south was also remarked on by one woman from the north of England who had, nevertheless, moved to London:

> 'I think broadly speaking pretty much all of my friends really enjoyed being in Edinburgh. As a place they would have been happy to stay there, but they didn't see anything really for them to do there. And also quite a lot of them were from southern England anyway, I think as a northern Englander, and they are probably more likely to hang on to people who are from the north of England than the south. Because people want to return to, you know who go to university and then will ultimately return to the area they are from. I don't think they are likely to hang onto that many people from London and the south-east long term, they are more likely to hang onto people from northern England' (NSNIS 6)

But as this comment indicates, feelings of 'north British' affinity do not ultimately determine one's post-graduation migration trajectory: this may be outweighed by other factors which we know to be important. This particular respondent had not maintained a connection to Scotland, nor indeed the north of England. She had left Edinburgh primarily because she would no longer know anyone living there (see section 13) and was attracted to London by the superior employment opportunities and sense of being at the centre of influence (see 11.1 and 15.1).

14.3. Connections to Scotland through family background or history

Although some respondents were non-Scots in the sense that they did not live in Scotland prior to going there to attend university, in fact they had connections to Scotland through family background:

> '… my parents and their family are all from Scotland, and in fact, as far as I can tell from the people that have become interested in family trees and stuff, they're all from Scotland as far back as you like to go'
> […]
> '… I think the main attraction for me was quite a personal one, that I just, you know, I thought of myself not necessarily fully but at least partly Scottish so I didn't have a huge problem, you know I didn't have this sort of barrier of oh it's Scotland, it's a different country, you know that some people I know have' (NSIS 1)

Another respondent who had one Scottish parent displayed similar connections:

> 'I'm probably a little bit different to other people cause I describe it like my soul place, my parents lived up here for fifteen years before I was born, just moved down for my dad's job, so they've always called it home because they've family up here and friends up here, family friends up here' (NSIS 3)

Connections to Scotland can also be enhanced by the presence of siblings in the country.

14.4. Connections to Scotland through the attractions of environment and people

For non-Scots living in Scotland, the environmental attractions of the countryside in particular, but also the urban environment, are very important factors in encouraging enduring positive connection with the country.

> 'I will still at the weekend head out to the Pentlands or up to the Highlands, which is one of the reasons why I've stayed in Edinburgh because I can still get out and enjoy a more rural setting quite easily compared to other cities. It is quite a different lifestyle I lead up here than I did at home' (NSIS 2)

> 'I think we like the style of life up here. It was different. It was little things like the buildings and the way the cities work and kind of socially, I find that in England cities are almost more segregated in a way. You know, you could be in a really nice area and you never see anyone from a not nice area. Whereas I think the tenement housing and the way the cities are quite compact, you don't get that and I actually quite like that. I like the fact that, you know, you're sort of in a mix with everybody' (NSIS 11)

The friendliness of the people was another factor mentioned by some:

> 'I suppose I liked the fact that people seemed quite friendly even though you didn't know them. The locals seemed very friendly. I never got the impression that they didn't like students or that they were out to rip students off, or things like that. Whereas a few of my friends who went elsewhere kind of got that kind of impression as well. It was like them and the students sort of thing' (NSIS 9)

14.5. Barriers to inclusion

It is interesting to contrast the perspectives of those whose connection to Scotland seemed to deepen as a result of spending their early adult years there with those other respondents who view their connection to Scotland during this period as essentially temporary (see section 15.1). Yet, even where firm connections are established among non-Scots who have remained in Scotland, barriers remain to the actual adoption of a Scottish national identity. For the following respondent, this is because they lack the necessary resources of Scottishness, and anticipate that the reactions of others would create an insurmountable obstacle to claiming such an identity:

> 'INT: And do you feel Scottish now or would you say you feel at all Scottish?
> RES: No. I don't think I would ever really feel Scottish. I think because I've got, well with my dad being Welsh and things, I feel British probably more than anything else. And it's kind of weird but I think part of the reason I would never really feel Scottish is because I don't really think other people would ever really see me as Scottish, you know, it just wouldn't really. So I still really think of myself as being from Yorkshire but British. But I think Scotland is home now I suppose' (NSIS 11)

Similarly, another respondent was frustrated at the degree to which the reactions of others formed a barrier between herself and Scottishness:

> 'I always, maybe it's strange but I always get annoyed when, not in this context obviously, but like when people accentuate the fact that you're different you know, that you're Norwegian, you're not quite Scottish and it's like, well I live here – that's Scottish enough for me. So no I, I've kind of blended in, I feel quite, apart from when people know me and they point it out. But I never think about the fact that I'm not, maybe every time I enter the country and have to show a Norwegian passport, that's when I get reminded' (NSIS 6)

Other respondents may have either pre-existing feelings of Scottish national identity or indeed an *aspiration* to be Scottish, but recognise the obstacles that exist to the straightforward claim to such an identity:

> '… I never really strongly thought of myself as English, because both my parents were Scottish so obviously I was Scottish as well. That seemed fairly self-evident to me when I was little. Since I've come here I have modified that slightly just because I think, because of other people's assumptions, because when you speak in an English accent then you're English' (NSIS 1)

> 'I would love to say that I am [*Scottish*] but I am not, I am British' (NSIS 3)

For other non-Scottish interviewees, although they continued to live in Scotland, their allegiance to the country was limited by experiences of anti-Englishness. Such discrimination, or more minimally not being made to feel welcome, was mentioned as a negative aspect of life in Scotland by over half of those who did not originally come from Scotland and who were living elsewhere in 2005, and over a third of those non-Scots who were living in Scotland. The greater proportion among those who had left the country who commented on such discrimination or lack of acceptance may in part reflect the regional differences in those who stay and those who leave reported in section 9.2, in that perceptions of discrimination and lack of acceptance are particularly marked in relation to those from southern England.

Experiencing discrimination will of course serve to loosen any connections established with Scotland, and may also affect student and graduate expectations of where they would prefer to spend their lives after university. It therefore follows that such discrimination will weaken Scotland's capacity to retain highly skilled graduates who originated from south of the border (easily Scotland's biggest 'recruitment' market for students and graduates). Anti-Englishness is a well-established phenomenon in Scottish society (see e.g. McIntosh et al 2004; Watson, 2003), but it is also a highly complex issue. Our study reflects previous findings in this area in that anti-Englishness was found to be a significant concern for many people, and yet the experience of it is very much differential, and underlain by a number of other important factors such as social class, regional origins, and our respondents' (former) status as students. Nevertheless, the extent to which the kinds of positive connection described above can be disrupted by the experience of this discrimination is illustrated by the following respondents, both of whom had since left Scotland:

> 'I used to live down in Leith as well at one point and that was obviously, you know, it's a bit more a bastion of Scottishness and again, it was just that sort of, you felt that barrier came down and it didn't matter who you were and what you did, that was it. They've made their minds up about you. And it wasn't just not acknowledging you but it's just being deliberately rude to you […] But I didn't feel as if it was a place, Scotland didn't seem to be a place that opened its arms and kind of said, "listen we really want you to come here". I kind of muscled in and I kind of made it my home because I kind of wanted it to but I could easily have been quite excluded from that' (NSNIS 17)

> 'That's the one thing that when you were asking about where you feel more at home, that's the one thing that slightly holds me back from feeling completely at home in Edinburgh, and that I would seriously think about if I was going to move up there. Because I did feel like, not with everyone at all obviously, but quite often actually there was a slight antagonism towards English people. And it might be partly because I've got quite a posh English accent, I don't know. I think friends of mine who were from Northern England didn't have such difficult times' (NSNIS 8)

This comment also demonstrates the extent to which anti-Englishness is mediated by regional origins and social class (the first respondent above also originates from the south of England). As shown in sections 9.2 and 9.3 of the report, both of these are significant factors in terms of

graduates' overall propensity to remain in or leave Scotland. Just as graduates who came to Scotland from the north of England are more likely to stay in (or return to) Scotland than are their southern counterparts, it is also the case that northerners are less likely to experience anti-English sentiment, or at least will experience it in a less malevolent form. Of course, this overlaps with the feelings of 'north British' affinity which our interviews also revealed, and which are discussed more fully in section 14.2.

> 'INT: So did you ever get treated differently because you were English?
> RES: Once or twice, but I found, I noticed a difference, I had some friends at University from down south in London areas, the fact that I came from Newcastle made a special kind of English, it was kind of you are not as bad as them… if you ever got it… occasionally you would get it in pub or something like that. It was actually, I said it to people yeah but I am from Newcastle, that's not the same, oh no it's not, right you're fine… I don't know if that made a difference just being a bit further north …' (NSIS 20)

> '… she [*girlfriend*] had a far greater problem being English than I did. Maybe because I had a Northern accent and it makes a difference. But, you know, she speaks very correctly, very beautiful Queen's English and she really had a hard time actually sometimes. [...] she would come back in tears. On more than one occasion just be incredibly rude. Customers [*at restaurant where she worked*] telling her, you know 'piss off back to England' ' (NSNIS 10)

In addition, it was perceived that students from affluent backgrounds were more likely to encounter discrimination.

> '… although I had a good time at University, I felt like people were really dismissive of the English students. And I was very dismissive of lots of the English students 'cause I thought they were awful. But I wasn't an awful English student. And I just got sort of dumped in the same group as all the posh people with tons of money' (NSIS 9)

Just as respondents often did not anticipate that attending university in Scotland would be a qualitatively different experience to university in England (see 15.1), it is also evident that many were unprepared for the discrimination they faced. This was often manifested through sporting rivalry:

> '… don't know if I was prepared for as much of it. I mean, the anti-Englishness was quite novel because in England you don't really have anti-Scottishness, it's not really a big thing, you don't really notice it. And of course now I think, how naive was I! But I think, I remember the '98 World Cup being quite, there was a few hairy moments, people being quite aggressive and anti-English and that was quite a shock' (NSIS 11)

> 'Any kind of allegiance to Scotland has been kind of killed by the anti-English feeling of the Scots… I hate to say it, but I am just as pleased to see…well not, that's definitely wrong area, but I am, you know, I will cheer for the other team that are playing Scotland. Not quite as fervently as they do for the, but, you know' (NSIS 2)

Although instances like those described above do not represent experiences of direct discrimination, the last comment in particular highlights the potential for the experience of anti-Englishness to undermine connections to Scotland and thus make it more likely that graduates would want to leave. Yet it is interesting that both respondents quoted above had not moved away from Scotland. This is a general pattern across our interviews: even when people report a significant experience of anti-Englishness, this does not necessarily undermine their connection to Scotland to the extent that they take the decision to leave. NSIS 2, for example, had had some negative experiences at work, and, as he remarks above, experienced a reduced allegiance to Scotland because of anti-English sentiment, and yet he had not only remained in Scotland, but was also one of the migrants who felt that Edinburgh was 'home'.

Similarly, many non-Scottish respondents who did report at least some negative experiences of discrimination while living in Scotland and had since left often reported strong feelings of attachment to Scotland. So experiencing anti-Englishness need not be a substantial barrier to returning to Scotland, given that other opportunities, connections and expectations are conducive to this.

On the other hand, some interviewees who had left Scotland reflected on anti-Englishness as a factor in that decision:

> '… I can see that if you are English you might think "actually I don't need to be somewhere where taxi drivers think I'm a tosser when they hear me speak". I don't, I don't really need to do that.
> INT: Yeah.
> RES: And that, yeah I think that was, that was the off-putting bit. That didn't feel like, it was an, there was a place to stay and to, like you know, here where we live [*in London*], everyone speaks differently and looks different. But it doesn't feel like, they were, I mean you always get people here like, you know, racists and whatever. But in Scotland it was just odd to have English tagged on you' (NSNIS 9)

It is interesting that the above respondent had also established fairly strong connections in other respects while in Edinburgh, especially through wider engagement with the community. On the other hand, other interview evidence suggested that, along with social class and regional origins, student status in itself is likely to be a significant factor in the experience of anti-Englishness. An enduring commitment to Scotland beyond studenthood may thus invite less antagonism:

> 'I suspect that as a non-student, and when you are away from university you probably don't encounter any sort of phobia at all between anybody in Edinburgh' (NSNIS 7)

For other respondents, the experience of anti-Englishness was much less significant, either because they had not experienced it personally, or because, where they had witnessed it, it was not considered to be a substantial problem:

> 'It was something I was … I wondered about. I wasn't nervous about, but I wondered about it before I came. But, to be honest with you, I've got virtually nothing that I can think of by way of racial abuse while I was at university. […] When I came actually noted how little … Because I think the media always tend to jump on horror stories of people who kind of had to leave their home in the Highlands because the locals took offence at an English person coming in and buying property and all the rest of it. But it certainly wasn't something that I noticed in Edinburgh' (NSIS 7)

Other respondents simply reported not having experienced any problems with anti-Englishness while at university. Again, this included people no longer living in Scotland, who would have no reason to minimize or be reticent about any such experiences.

However, anti-Englishness is an issue where we must also take into account the particular geographical context of our research. From one perspective, as we have seen, the presence of a relatively high number of affluent southern English students at the University of Edinburgh creates conditions for anti-Englishness to flourish to some degree at least. But, equally, the fact that Edinburgh's student population and indeed its population more widely is relatively nationally diverse generates a perception among some people that anti-Englishness is likely to be more severe in other parts of Scotland:

> 'And I do feel as though you know I am not in a minority when I am in Edinburgh. But go over to Glasgow, and places like that I am really…yeah…don't enjoy it as much, I do feel that I am a tourist and I don't get any kind of sense of being Scottish. But in Edinburgh it's not very Scottish, so I can, I feel like I am sort of I am from Edinburgh, but I am not from Scotland' (NSIS 2)

> 'INT: Did you find that people treated you differently because of where you were from?
> RES: Because I was English?
> INT: Yeah
> RES: I found it much more in Glasgow [*where respondent lived for a period after graduation*], it's much more of an issue there, I don't know I think I was a bit cocooned in the study bubble really' (NSNIS 1)

In terms of nationality-based discrimination, it is interesting to compare the experiences of those from south of the border who moved to Scotland to study (and may have remained or returned to live and work) with those graduates who originated from Scotland but were living in England. In contrast to the existence of anti-Englishness in Scotland, being Scottish in England seems, if anything, to be an asset rather than a drawback.

> 'INT: And have you found you've ever been treated differently down here because you're Scottish? Either positively or negatively?
> RES: Yeah I think people see it as a positive thing in my experience. […] they sort of mock the Scottish but in a good way. It's kind of just teasing the accent and all those things but people generally seem to see it as a positive thing …' (SNIS 19)

> 'I am more aware, people really say that you're Scottish, and I've been told that it's an asset in England, in the legal profession, because clients love a Scottish accent. And in fact the gentleman that's offered me a job in pensions, he's Scottish, so there's a bit of kindred spirit going on there that's been to my advantage' (SNIS 8)

Overall then, discrimination based on nationality (especially anti-Englishness) is a complex issue and it is important not to rush to any facile conclusions regarding its incidence and importance. Rather than being systematic, severe and universal, there is considerable evidence that the worst examples of such discrimination are most likely to arise where certain factors (such as class, regional origins, and student status) overlap; that many other incidences are mild and/or only arise in specific contexts (e.g. in relation to sporting rivalry); and that, for many, the experience of discrimination does not form a substantial obstacle to living in Scotland and/or feeling attached to the country. However, general awareness or experience of anti-Englishness was a widespread feature of our interviews with non-Scottish respondents, and for some at least this experience was a significant factor in their migration decisions. Moreover, while non-Scots contemplating a continuing commitment or return to Scotland must consider any discrimination they may face, the same is not true for Scots considering a move away from Scotland. This is therefore an area in which Scotland could be seen to be at a net disadvantage, and existing government initiatives to ameliorate any exclusion or hostility encountered by non-Scots would do well to consider the potential impact of discrimination upon the retention of non-Scottish graduates.

15: Immediate migration, delayed migration and return migration: opportunities, connections and expectations

15.1. Immediate migration

Our postal survey (section 8.2) showed that the most common category of graduate among our respondents was those who had left Scotland some time during the six months after graduation and had not returned to live in the country at any point thereafter. To a degree, this reflects the structure of the student body at the University of Edinburgh, with its high proportion of non-Scottish students. 'Immediate migrants' make up 64% of those survey respondents who were not domiciled in Scotland prior to beginning university compared with 13% of those who were based in Scotland prior to their studies. Nevertheless, while not 'representative' of graduate out-migration from Scotland as a whole, these figures do show the potential for retaining more graduates in Scotland, particularly among non-Scots but also among the smaller but still significant proportion of Scots who are immediate migrants.

Our interviews indicate that immediate migration is likely to result from a combination of opportunities, connections (or lack thereof) and expectations. In decisions concerning post-graduation migration, while some factors will be equally prominent for both Scots and non-Scots, in other respects the context in which decisions are made is quite different. For both Scots and non-Scots, opportunities influence immediate migration in much the same way, in that superior employment opportunities are often perceived to exist outside Scotland, particularly in London. This factor is discussed in some detail in section 11.1. In contrast, for most of those who lived in Scotland before attending university we can assume that some of the factors which may serve to weaken connections to Scotland for non-Scots (and thus make graduate outmigration more likely) will be much less prominent if not entirely absent: for example, an absence of allegiance to Scotland or experience of discrimination based on one's nationality. While many Scots will become immediate migrants in spite of their connections to Scotland, for non-Scots it is more likely that out-migration will be encouraged by a relative absence of connections to Scotland and/or the existence of more influential connections elsewhere, sometimes in their place of origin. Most significant here is the role of relationships, discussed in section 12. In addition, the various positive connections and identifications with Scotland discussed in section 14 must be weighed against the discrimination which some Scots experienced and which, for some, proved a significant factor in migration decisions (see 14.5).

Immediate migration is also influenced by different types of expectation held by Scots and non-Scots. It is significant that this difference extends to migration decisions taken *before* attending university. For most non-Scots, choice of university operates within a *British* context, with universities in both England and Scotland usually considered before the final decision to attend Edinburgh was made. There is usually no 'national' dimension to this decision, the key factors being the quality of the university, the attractiveness of the place it is located, and the distance from the respondent's home. A small number of respondents did not look upon Edinburgh as just another British university. Previous experience or connections to Scotland could engender an expectation that life would, in some respects, be qualitatively different. However, for most people who migrated to Scotland to study there was little perception that attending university there would differ much from going to university in England, other than obvious factors like the extra year's study. The following comments are typical:

> ‘INT: And did you think about being in Scotland, at a university in Scotland? Was it something that you’d thought about before you went that you were actually going to a different country?
> RES: Only in so much that it was somewhere I had never been, so the, kind of, if you like, the unknown and the different and experiencing a slightly different place, would have been, was something that kind of excited me if you like. The fact that it was Scotland, I don’t think was particularly a factor. It wasn’t that I wanted to come to Scotland. I think it was more that it was somewhere completely different and it was a long way from home basically. I think that was really the two things’ (NSIS 7)

> ‘INT: And when you were about to go to university did you have any thoughts on the fact that you would be attending a university in Scotland that it might be different?
> RES: No, didn’t cross my mind, really completely didn’t cross my mind. No when I tell people now, they go oh Scotland? oh that’s different and I’m like no, I didn’t even think about it, didn’t think it would be so different, just wasn’t an issue’ (NSNIS 2)

In contrast, for most of those who lived in Scotland prior to attending university, choice of university operates within a predominantly *Scottish* context, with little or no consideration given to universities in England, although for some there was a partial exception in that locations in the extreme north of England (typically, Newcastle and Durham) were considered. The following comments are typical:

> ‘INT: And you didn’t think about applying for university in England at all or further afield?
> RES: I didn’t consider it no.
> INT: Just not something that would be interesting for you, or just not…
> RES: I wanted to stay in Scotland’ (SIS 11)

> ‘INT: You said that you had a look at Durham. Did you think about, that it might be different going to university in England?
> RES: Yeah, I think that I didn’t want to go to an English university’ (SIS 3)

> ‘INT: And you didn’t apply to any English universities?
> RES: No
> INT: It was just like you weren’t interested in…
> RES: It never occurred to me, I never ever thought I would live outside Scotland’ (SNIS 5)

For some respondents, most notably those from less advantaged backgrounds, the choice to attend university in Scotland is also motivated by financial considerations as well as more general expectations.

We know that for many Scots (particularly those who do not come from relatively affluent families) a perspective in which migration decisions are made within a specifically Scottish national context extends beyond graduation. Despite fears of a large-scale Scottish ‘brain-drain’ or loss of talent to south of the border, statistical evidence relating to the whole of Scotland shows that a large majority of graduates who originated from Scotland remain in Scotland to live and work in the period immediately following graduation. Our own survey confirms this finding and suggests that this remains the case in the medium term, around five years after graduation. However, we also know that fears of a ‘brain drain’ are not entirely unfounded, in that a significant minority of Scots do leave the country after graduation. A highly significant factor here is undoubtedly employment opportunities, and this is discussed much more fully in section 11. But our interview evidence also suggests other reasons why those of Scots origins may choose to leave Scotland following graduation from a Scottish university.

One important factor is that there is often a shift in expectations: having grown up in Scotland and realised the expectation to attend university there, graduates sometimes feel ready for a new experience:

> 'I was quite keen to come down to London and away from Scotland because that's where I'm from, that's where I'd spent the majority of the last 22 years and so I was keen to move away for a while and cast the net wider…' (SNIS 19)

> 'What pulled me away from Scotland would be I think probably job opportunities after university would be the main reason I left, that's where the job was and so that's where I went. And in terms of wanting to find a different experience, I'd done Edinburgh as a student and felt that it wasn't the right thing to stay on there, so I was looking for somewhere else. And London seemed the answer' (SIS 13)

As these comments suggest, a particularly appealing destination in this respect is London, which offers the chance to be at the heart of where 'things happen':

> '… being able to meet lots of people with different nationalities and different backgrounds, I think people are extremely tolerant in London, there's a tremendous diversity that you don't really get back at home. And just a kind of buzz about it, it seems that things that happen down here are important, and you hear about them in the media, the media's London obsessed but it does make things happening here seem more important and there's a possibility to be part of it when you're here' (SNIS 1)

As the above comment implies, for some Scots the appeal of London as a post-graduation destination often extends beyond the career opportunities it offers: social and cultural factors can be important too. This aspect of life in London is also important to non-Scots and is therefore another factor to be considered in trying to understand why so many in this category leave Scotland immediately after graduation (often to go to London), and indeed why they may be less than enthusiastic about returning to Scotland:

> 'Basically I was attracted to London, as we discussed, about job opportunities and whatever but also like cultural things, there's just so much going on' (NSNIS 15)

> 'London offers absolutely anything that my heart desires, which Edinburgh as far as I am concerned undoubtedly does not. There are certain things, I mean if you are talking cultural things, yeah Edinburgh of course has a lot to offer, but London just has it and whether you have to hunt it down or not it still just has everything. So that excites me about London that I can honestly… kind of world class performers or events or exhibitions every week if I wanted to, and I don't necessarily have to wait for them to come round because I know they will be here at some point. If I hear about something that's happening somewhere I know it will be through here at some point, so to somebody in their mid twenties that means a lot' (NSNIS 11)

While for the Scots respondents described above there was a shift in expectation from staying in Scotland to study to leaving Scotland for new experiences and opportunities, for some non-Scots there was a strong expectation that their time in Scotland would be temporary, and that they would return 'home' once their studies were concluded (see also section 13):

> 'I guess it never occurred to me to live anywhere other than London when I left university. It was just where I was going to end up I suppose. In my mind'
> […]
> 'I have always considered London home and where I would eventually end up. And there are enough things to tie me to London to mean that I don't want to think of living anywhere else' (NSNIS 7)

> 'INT: So I was wondering from your point of view what kind of pulled you away from Scotland when you graduated?
> RES: I think, I mean it, stuff that I've mentioned already really. I think things like having London has always felt like home. And my partner being down here. And a bit, a bit sort of feeling like I didn't

> want to stay in Edinburgh. I'd kind of done Edinburgh for four years and that I would, it was nice to come back to London and be near sort of lots of different friends and family' (NSNIS 9)

A significant 'push' factor among this group arises from a strong association between their time in Scotland and their undergraduate status. Once they become graduates, this connection is weakened and their time spent in Scotland conceived of as a 'phase' which they must now leave behind. Often, it is the breaking up of networks of friendship which pushes them to leave (see also section 13):

> 'But the thing I really enjoyed was having a big community of friends and we had a great time. If I was in Edinburgh now, I would not have that. I would have to start again and build up a network of people. I guess that would be slightly weird. That is certainly something that the people who stayed behind, after most people left, said it was very weird "we are in this city and we go past all these things that on a daily basis to us you know where we used do all these things that were huge fun and now actually don't because we don't have the people to do it". So basically the ones who stayed behind it was if they had moved there for the first time. Because they suddenly had to meet people in the way that you meet people when you move to a new place' (NSNIS 7)

> 'The biggest reason why the vast majority my friends left Edinburgh was that they simply didn't know anyone living there, so if they had stayed they felt like they would have been the only person there and they would have kind of been put on their own again and (???) why do that, if they didn't have a job in place then the kind of obvious step was to just to go back to where their home is and work it out from there …' (NSNIS 11)

15.2. Delayed migration

Our survey established delayed migrants as those graduates who were still living in Scotland around six months after graduation, but who had since left the country. Nearly a quarter of all respondents no longer living in Scotland fell into this category. Our interviews encompassed various types of delayed migrants, from those who had left Scotland shortly after our January 2001 cut-off point, to those who had only moved away a few months before they were interviewed. Not surprisingly, the most prominent factors at the root of delayed migration are personal relationships and employment opportunities.

For a number of respondents, connections to partners were a significant influence both in terms of the initial decision to remain in Scotland and the ultimate decision to leave. Two respondents had formed relationships with people in the year below them at university, and so postponed migration until their partners completed their course. Particularly for the delayed migrants who are not Scottish, where partners also do not originate from Scotland and/or have definite plans to live elsewhere, then this is a strong draw for them to leave the country.

These non-Scots delayed migrants generally displayed positive attachments to Scotland. However, as well as the alternative connections formed to other places through personal relationships, employment opportunities were also a prominent factor. The following comments suggest that a common reason for delayed migration is that many graduates would like to stay in Scotland to live and work after the completion of their degree, and thus spend a significant period of time trying to develop appropriate career opportunities, but move on when they find that such opportunities are not forthcoming:

> 'Most of my friends now are based in London. There seemed to be a time when a lot of people that I went to University with tried to stay in Edinburgh and tried to make it work. And it was really sad that after a year or two most people ended up migrating south just because they couldn't, they couldn't find a job that they really wanted to do. And they were at the beginning of their careers and I think quite ambitious about, you know, they wanted some job satisfaction. So they moved south. And I often get the impression that people need to be quite over qualified to get a job they are interested in, in

> Edinburgh. Whereas in London you do stand more of a chance if you are just starting out. 'Cause there are just more jobs' (NSNIS 8)

> 'Jobs like mine come up very, very infrequently and there's an awful lot of competition for them so in the end I had to start looking further afield 'cause I realised that it wasn't going to be one of those things where I could stay in Scotland because I wasn't getting the work that I needed' (NSNIS 3)

As this last quote indicates, such difficulties can be particularly acute in certain employment sectors where Scotland has fewer opportunities. For example, one respondent wanted to stay in Scotland but openings in her preferred line of work – public relations within the voluntary sector – were not adequate at that time:

> 'INT: So if there had been [*suitable job opportunities*] you would've stayed at least for a couple of years?
> RES: Yeah I think so. And I think maybe it might be different now because obviously when I left it had just had, you know, independence [*devolution*] for like a year or two years but obviously there's been a lot more funding from the EU coming through Scotland and, you know, maybe more charities have been set up or there's more stuff going on really that might warrant that but at the time I just didn't feel that there were any opportunities at all. And I got to the point where I thought, the longer I stay here the more, I was 30 and I felt the more I was actually sort of stopping myself from actually getting onto the career, the longer I stayed, at that point at the end' (NSNIS 17)

In common with the immediate migrants described above in section 15.1, many non-Scots delayed migrants, while often positive about the notion of a return to Scotland, would also have to weaken substantial connections to family in order to do so. For those delayed migrants who originated from Scotland, connections to family are of course much more likely to be a factor encouraging their potential return rather than pushing them away. However, it is interesting that a number of Scots interviewees in this category had non-Scottish partners who not only influenced migration away from Scotland, but also, through connections to their families, may represent a barrier to return (return migration is discussed in more detail in 15.3 below).

In addition, and similarly to their non-Scots counterparts, employment opportunities are often a significant factor. For one law graduate, the only delayed migrant who was rather averse to the notion of returning to Scotland, this was a question of superior career paths and remuneration being available in the legal profession in England. Alternatively, the following respondent was strongly committed to Scotland to the point of seeing financial considerations as very much secondary, and yet had left because appropriate work was not available:

> 'INT: So if the job, the research council job had been in Scotland you would have stayed?
> RES: Definitely.
> INT: Yeah, OK.
> RES: I would have stayed there for a lot less money as well. I would have taken a pay cut as well to do it' (SNIS 11)

As this quote once more indicates, where career aspirations are particularly specific (in this case a desire to work in an academic research council), a comparative lack of breadth in the employment opportunities available in Scotland can encourage graduates to leave, even when they have other strong reasons to stay. Some delayed migrants (both Scots and non-Scots), however, drew attention to the fact that better information could be made available concerning what career opportunities *are* available in Scotland for graduates. This factor will be discussed further when we consider policy implications.

15.3. Return Migration

Our survey findings indicated that not only was there a significant phenomenon of return migration among our respondents, but also that the vast majority of those living outside Scotland would at least consider returning there to live and work. Our interviews highlight the fact that although a number of Scots will move away to pursue new experiences or more extensive opportunities, such moves are not necessarily conceived of as permanent. Just as many non-Scots understand their time in Scotland as a phase and fully expect to leave the country once they graduate (see 15.1), Scots who move south sometimes do so in the expectation that they will return to Scotland at some future date. This helps us understand why, in our survey data, Scots living outside Scotland generally show a very positive attitude towards returning to Scotland (see 10.4). Of course, for some, such a return may in fact never take place, either because strong connections are formed to the new place of residence or because of a lack of opportunities in Scotland, but the *expectation* of potential return is there. Indeed, for some, working in the 'core' economic region of London is perceived as a potential means of facilitating this return, substantiating previous research which has seen London and the south-east as an 'escalator' region (Dunford and Fielding, 1997; Findlay et al, 2003b).

> '… and I guess it was a kind of perception that bigger jobs, it's not necessarily always true, but it's easier to get a job down here [*in London*] and the bigger jobs are kind of more widely available. Plus I guess I always think that well, if you get your experience down here and then kind of move abroad or you move back up to Scotland' (SNIS 19)

> 'There's sort of two career paths I was looking from say third year onwards, which was probably the army, possibly something in finance, which would involve going to London for a short period and then going back up to Scotland, having gained experience in the City' (SNIS 10)

> 'So I feel that I couldn't have got this job without having done what I've done in London so that everything's worked out and everything's happening for the right reasons' (SIS 13)

The expectation and intention of return is often closely related to connections to Scotland or a particular area. Even apparently opportunity-driven return migration is often bound up in a desire to return to the city or nation, the benefits of knowing the place or having existing friendships there.

Also relevant here is the way in which many Scots living in England maintain their sense of Scottish identity. In this respect an enduring connection to Scotland is maintained, which will once more serve to facilitate future return:

> 'INT: And having moved out of Scotland, has that made you feel more Scottish or less?
> RES: I'm more proud of it, and quite sort of fiercely protective. So if anybody winds me up too much, I'm a bit like the Scottish Tourist Board at work, so if you're going up to Scotland, you have to go, and you have stay here and here and here, what sort of things do you like and I'll organise your trip for you. But it's just a stunning country. You don't quite appreciate it at the time, until you're away from it. I love going over the border and know that I'm home' (SNIS 5)

> 'INT: And would you say that moving away from Scotland has made you feel less Scottish or more Scottish?
> RES: More Scottish, definitely. I think it's partly you get a touch of ex-pat rose tinted glasses looking back and partly you just miss it and so you try and recreate bits of it and capture it so that you don't lose it' (SNIS 1)

Our interviews also confirmed the positive attitudes which many non-Scots held towards a potential return to the country:

> 'Ultimately, both of us [*respondent and partner*] would like to go back to Scotland. I would ultimately like to go back to Edinburgh but I'm willing to be flexible on that' (NSNIS 3)

> 'I did try it, the reason that I stayed for six months after graduating in Edinburgh was to, to try and live there. And I would love to go back. I would love to end up in Edinburgh' (NSNIS 8)

The reason why this is so is that many non-Scots who have moved away from Scotland maintain a positive identification with the country:

> 'INT: So would you say that you kind of having spent time up in Scotland you can identify with it, or is it tend to be a place that you just think is somewhere that you went to university?
> RES: No I think I probably can. I feel I have got a real attachment to it, and I think it's probably more than just a university town for me' (NSNIS 12)

> 'INT: Would you say that you identify with Scotland at all or is just a place that you happened to go to university in?
> RES: I have a huge amount of affection for it, I like it enormously. I don't know … I am just fiercely pro it in that I think it was a lovely place. It has got a lot going for it' (NSNIS 7)

> 'INT: And having lived there do you identify with Scotland at all or is it just a place that you happened to…?
> RES: No I certainly do. I've definitely got a fondness for it. And it's probably, I don't know, I would move back at some point' (NSNIS 18)

As well as these more general feelings of identification, attachment and affection, it is also instructive to examine the more specific positive elements of life in Scotland which were cited by those who were neither domiciled in Scotland before university, nor living there in 2005. This evidence can expand our sense of the positive connections to Scotland which could be exploited in order to encourage graduates to consider staying in the country or returning at some time in the future. For this predominantly English group of informants, by far the most frequently cited positive aspect of living in Scotland was access to attractive countryside and the mountains.

> '… the ability to be able to just get in the car and go out and get to the Highlands and stuff, that's a really big thing for me' (NSNIS 12)

> 'What most English cities don't have is the fact that you are two hours from really, really incredible countryside. Yes, lots of England is very beautiful but two hours north of Edinburgh is just really, really beautiful and that was an amazing treat. I spent quite a lot of time cavorting around the Highlands because they are lovely. And I still try to go up there about once a year probably. Go up there every Easter definitely and if I can get up there more I will' (NSNIS 7)

Issues related to local or national 'character' also received some positive comments, in terms of friendliness (the most frequently cited social attribute), humour, or a no-nonsense attitude.

> 'I guess people in Edinburgh seemed quite friendly, compared to London which is kind of much more bigger and anonymous and people don't talk to each other. Edinburgh seemed quite a friendly place' (NSNIS 15)

> 'people are different…people always give the appearance that they're so much more friendly, but that's not true, because English people, especially down here are just as friendly. There's just a charm, this directness that you just don't get down here' (NSNIS 13)

> 'The sense of humour is fantastic in Scotland… yeah I dunno it seems to revolve around that really, people are more likely to have a laugh at something stupid than they are kind of in England, which I like' (NSNIS 11)

Dispositions to return need to be examined not only through reference to our interviewees' perceptions of the more positive aspects of life in Scotland, but also with regard to the more negative features of life elsewhere. Prominent here are our respondents' comments about living in the location which, outside of Scotland, was the most common among graduates: London. Many respondents (including some of those actually living there) reflected on the negative features of life in London. The highlighting of these features is important, because often these are areas where Scotland rates highly. Encouraging people to remain in or return to Scotland through emphasising its appeal in terms of those features which are most negatively associated with the country's primary graduate recruitment 'rival' – London – would therefore have the potential to yield positive results. Leaving aside the social and cultural aspects for which it was prized by many, the most negative features of life in London most commonly relate to the overall quality of life it affords. 'Quality of life' can be a somewhat vague concept, meaning different things to different people, and yet respondents often spoke of their current and future migration decisions in these terms. Aspects of life in London which were generally believed to detract from one's quality of life were factors such as commuting, the cost of living, the physical and natural environment, and the general pace of life:

> '… if I currently lived in Edinburgh and did what I do here in London, I would have two extra hours in my day because I wouldn't commute. My quality of life would be arguably greater. The place I would live in would be five times the size, that sort of thing' (NSNIS 7)

> 'The quality of life is much much better in Inverness. Yeah things like traffic, like being able to get out of town, cheaper, people seem to be friendly…' […] What would drag me back [*to Scotland*] is I hear from friends in Edinburgh that they've got beautiful flats that cost a fraction of where I'm living and they can walk to work just seems a much more sensible way of doing things' (SNIS 1)

> 'I think, quality of life Scotland offers is much better for me than I could get elsewhere at the moment. Certainly house prices is another—you know I can afford to live and kind of establish myself with a future and without it being too stressful. I think if I was to live in London and I earned the salaries of my contemporaries. And they really struggle. So the value for money in Scotland, and the life that it offers' (NSIS 10)

Overall, it is clear that for those living outside Scotland the most positive aspects of the country relate to the environment and the people. These factors, coupled with the more general feelings of identification also reported by many non-Scots, suggest that there is a strong potential for improving the rates of retention and return of those who came to study in Scotland from other parts of the UK or indeed further afield. That this potential is not always realised can to a considerable degree be explained through reference to the alternative connections and opportunities which influence graduates' migration decisions (see especially sections 11 and 12). For example, just as a perceived lack of employment opportunities in Scotland can influence decisions to leave the country following graduation, the absence of such opportunities can also form an obstacle to potential return to Scotland for non-Scots and Scots alike:

> 'I've come to love Scotland because of my experiences there, and eventually we [*respondent and partner*] will move back. However, we would move back a lot sooner if the opportunities had been there for us, which they haven't been. And I know that a lot of our friends feel the same. A lot of our friends in London eventually want to go back up there […] But no lots of people want to come back I know but they just need the opportunity to' (NSNIS 13)

> ‘Well the reason I left was ‘cause I couldn’t get a job in what I wanted to do. I could’ve had many jobs but they weren’t what I wanted to do. So that’s why I left. I would love to go back but it took me a long time to get my foot in the door. As much as I would like to go back, I’m not prepared to jeopardise my career in order to do that, just yet anyway’ (NSNIS 3)

> ‘So I think it’s just jobs and I think that’s the same for a lot of Scottish friends who are maybe in London, who would love to move back up to Scotland, if the jobs were there for them they would be back like a shot’ (SNIS 12)

In addition, we must also consider any other negative features of life in Scotland which do not relate to prominent factors such as employment opportunities or personal relationships. Most salient here is the issue of discrimination, which was the negative aspect of living in the country most frequently raised by those who were not domiciled in Scotland prior to going to University, and which was explored in detail in section 14.5.

16: Policy Implications

Much of the interview evidence reviewed above has implications for the kinds of policy initiatives which could, potentially, increase the number of graduates who stay in Scotland after university, or encourage those who have left to return. In addition, interview respondents were asked directly about their opinions on what the Scottish Executive might be able to do in order to improve graduate retention. Many informants were unsure as to whether the principal factors that had influenced them and the people they knew at university were open to influence by government, but most nevertheless made some suggestions. Some of these are more amenable to political influence than are others, and some are unlikely to fall within the remit of the Scottish Executive in the foreseeable future. Nevertheless, they often reinforce the importance of the opportunities, expectations and connections influencing migration which are explored in other parts of this report.

As might be anticipated, employment and training opportunities featured prominently in the list of suggested interventions. Whilst some praised the development of key areas of employment, particularly the financial and public sectors, others stressed the need to expand the fields in which graduate jobs are available.

> 'I think they need to look at the types of, not just encouraging business or entrepreneurs, but to look at the types of jobs and businesses. I mean obviously Scotland, and Glasgow in particular, is obviously going to need social workers and teachers and all the rest of it but that's obvious but it just seems almost there's too much emphasis in that area and there isn't the opportunities out there for really creative industries or new start-ups that have a different approach, and just jobs that need highly skilled graduates rather than just ones that want generic graduates or just want anybody to fill a desk' (NSIS 11)

In Section 11 we saw the importance of opportunities not just for initial graduate jobs, but for career progression, and some informants particularly mentioned the desirability of attracting more head offices to Scotland:

> 'I think companies' headquarters, where you could do the sort of role that I'm doing now, and just where big decisions are being made basically. I mean I've talked about the salary and that, you know I'm kind of ashamed to say that's important, but I think people would definitely be prepared to work for less salaries, I wouldn't but there is something about just companies headquarters based in the place, you have then the career path and the possibilities for training and advancement but it didn't really feel like there were' (SNIS 1)

A number of graduates also voiced the opinion that the bulk of graduate jobs created should be located in the attractive urban areas where young graduates were likely to want to live.

> 'Well, I mean, I know of a lot more people who would have stayed if they could have, but it was just getting the jobs, finding the jobs. Um, and you know, I think that their policy of moving offices out of, um, Edinburgh or Glasgow is crazy. 'Cause young people want to live in a city, and have their job there, so shipping off things like SNH up to Inverness isn't going to attract young graduates to stay in, I mean, it's not good… So that would be the main thing that sort of nearly pushed me out of Edinburgh, was lack of work' (NSIS 2)

Whilst remuneration was not the most important factor for most graduates, many suggested that higher wages had the potential to influence migration decisions. Whilst the celebrated raising of teachers' salaries by the Executive demonstrates that such action may be taken in some fields, such interventions are limited to the public sector. Some graduates, however, suggested other financially-based interventions likely to have wider application. These

included removing the duty to repay tuition fees from those graduates who remain in Scotland, and providing more generously funded training schemes for those who wish to go into professions for which further courses are necessary, such as teaching.

Some of the economic suggestions made reflected the growing importance of personal relationships and graduates' expectations that they may wish to settle down, buy a home and have a family (if in fact they had not already done so). So several informants mentioned the difficulty of getting on the housing ladder, and suggested schemes such as the 'Key Worker' housing subsidy might be beneficial. It should be borne in mind, however, that some other informants commented on the relative affordability of housing in Scotland, particularly when compared to London. Others suggested 'family-friendly' initiatives such as the more generous maternity pay and subsidization of childcare offered by some other European countries. However, such measures are, politically, likely to be beyond the competence of the Scottish Executive.

Other respondents focussed on the possibility of fostering the establishment of local connections during university years to encourage students to think about staying on after graduation. Some believed that such connections could not only be a means of developing lasting networks, but also represent a source of opportunities for employment after graduation.

> 'For me its just a connection thing, I don't know how much the government can do it, being a student here… like I say what kept me here was not being a student here, it was having a life that the city was part of, and I think that's breaking down the barriers between being a student in the city and living in the city, particularly in Edinburgh where you have got, maybe more than Glasgow, a lot of the students don't come from Edinburgh' (NSIS 20)

However, our findings (see especially sections 12 and 13) suggest that encouraging more civic activity may not in itself have much impact on graduate retention rates. Friendship networks and intimate relationships are more likely to be influential in this respect. Although one respondent jokingly suggested that she would be more likely to remain if a public service could identify a pool of potential partners willing to stay in Scotland, such relationships are not generally thought to be influenced by political interventions.

More practically, several informants noted that despite the fact that the population under discussion has lived in Scotland, the nature of their experience as students may mean that their knowledge of the country is limited. Information may thus be provided that might help to shape their expectations of Scotland as a place in which they could enjoy living in the long term. Suggestions for the provision of such information centred on two facets: the character of Scotland as a place to live, and the employment opportunities available.

In terms of publicising Scotland, some informants felt that advertisements for Scotland primarily aimed at tourists were rather abstract from the point of view of encouraging relocation (although an improvement on the 'tartan shortbread' variety). Some suggested that the vibrant cultural, social, political and economic nature, particularly of key cities, should be promoted.

> ' 'cause the cultural life's vibrant in Scotland […] But I think the perceptions are dreich. We suffered the fastest de-industrialisation of any country, I gather, in Western Europe. I think maybe those kinds of perceptions plus tartan and shortbread doesn't equal want to move there but I've no idea how you would change things' (NSIS 17)

> 'If you live in Scotland you tend to know what it's like anyhow, but I suppose perhaps it could be marketed better, but I think they're starting to do that now. Especially Glasgow as a city, it's great to move to from London. It's got a lot of the same feel about Glasgow as there is in London' (SIS 13)

However, as noted earlier in the report, encouraging people to remain in or return to Scotland through emphasising its appeal in terms of those features which are most negatively associated with London would also have the potential to yield positive results.

The other frequently cited area in which more information might be provided concerned employment and training opportunities in Scotland. There were requests for information on jobs in Scotland to be made more readily available not only to those who had left Scotland but might be tempted to return, but also to students approaching graduation. The phenomenon of delayed migration also suggests the importance of extending the provision of such information to recent graduates still living in Scotland. Although several respondents had made use of the Careers Service at Edinburgh, there were some calls for such services to be more pro-active in targeting students with advice on the opportunities available specifically in Scotland.

> 'I think perhaps emphasising what goes on in Scotland in terms of business and in terms of cultural life, in terms of everything would help. Certainly we didn't get a huge sense of that at university. I think because most people, certainly most people that I knew, were from England. There was this definite feeling that this was a short period in their life. Lovely city to be a student in but we didn't know much about it other than that and I think, I mean I think that's something that perhaps could be addressed. And certainly at the Careers Service – and I know that's partly because I wasn't exactly thinking career wise as a student – but I think perhaps there could be more of a presence in not just, but actually promoting what happens…' (NSIS 18)

> 'I think if they wanted people to stay in Scotland when they graduate they need to get hold of people at the end of the third year and say, "What are your career plans? What can we do to help?". Leaving it to people to wander into the university Careers Service is not good enough and also people don't know half the time. You know, at that time you are removed from sort of everyone else's life when you're at university. It is a kind of, you know, little bubble that you live in so you are a bit removed from what else is going on so maybe there are opportunities there but I just didn't know about them. So if the Government wanted me to stay they'd have to give me a lot more accessible information about what the opportunities are in Scotland…' (NSNIS 17)

'Milk round' interviews and careers fairs tend to be dominated by major national and multi-national companies of a size requiring a regular graduate intake, generally based outside Scotland. Since the time at which our cohort would have been using the Careers Service at Edinburgh, initiatives such as Graduates for Growth and Graduates for Business have grown and are represented at careers fairs. Although valuable, such initiatives still provide only a small number of graduate opportunities, rather than the plentiful long-term opportunities for clear career progression that many graduates are seeking. A Scottish-focussed pro-active information service on employment and training opportunities, whether based in individual universities or provided centrally, may be an effective way of increasing awareness of opportunities and thus students' and graduates' expectations of the possibility of developing a career in Scotland. However, in order to undertake the challenging task of identifying and collating graduate opportunities across the country, and transmitting that information to potential candidates both within and outside Scotland, any such service would require substantial resources. The potential success of any such initiative will of course be improved if it could be accompanied by a real expansion of graduate opportunities of the kinds described in this report.

Finally, in Section 14.5 we described the detrimental effect of perceived anti-English sentiment in discouraging some in-migrants, particularly those from the south of England, from developing the kinds of identifications and connections that might encourage them to stay in Scotland after graduation. Whilst the Scottish Executive is engaged in initiatives to promote the acceptance of 'New Scots', this particular type of discrimination is not being addressed directly. The recent 'One Scotland: no place for racism' television advertising campaigns, for example, focus on 'visible' minorities rather than the 'audible' minorities often recognised by accents betraying attributed class or regional origins. Given that England is such a major source of in-migrants to Scotland for higher education, the antipathy many encounter may be a barrier to achieving the goal of increasing the proportion of those who, having been educated in Scottish universities, choose to live and work in Scotland.

Conclusions

Our findings suggest that overall patterns of settlement among graduates from Scottish HEIs five years after graduation may be very similar to those established by previous research based on the period a few months after graduation. Among our cohort the two largest groups were those who had not left Scotland during the five years since graduation, and those who left in the period immediately after graduation and had not since returned. But it is the latter group that was the largest. This of course reflects the nature of our cohort: the University of Edinburgh draws students from diverse geographical origins and it is those who do not originate from Scotland who are much more likely to leave the country after they graduate. Nevertheless, this highlights the wider problem of Scotland retaining as graduates those it has attracted from other countries as students. Our findings suggest that this remains as much of a problem five years after graduation as it is immediately after graduation. Furthermore, a substantial minority of those graduates who did originate from Scotland also left the country during the five years following graduation, so there is also some scope for retaining more of these people in Scotland.

Graduates' migration decisions are shaped by a combination of opportunities, connections and expectations. Most fundamental are the employment opportunities they perceive as being open to them, the connections they establish to geographical places through personal relationships, and the expectations they have about their future lives. Regardless of their national origins, for many the perception that superior career opportunities may be available outside Scotland represents a substantial incentive for graduates to leave the country. For those who originate from Scotland, this pull will often be outweighed by the strong connections they have to the country and a perspective within which their predominant expectation is that they will remain in Scotland. But for non-Scots whose connections to Scotland are likely to be weaker and who may have little expectation of staying in the country much beyond their graduation, there is little incentive to stay. Overall then, in order to improve graduate retention rates opportunities need to be enhanced, connections strengthened, and expectations widened to include the possibility of a more long-term life in Scotland beyond graduation.

More positively, as suggested above, the apparent stability of patterns of settlement compared with previous research suggests that, for contemporary cohorts at least, net out-migration of graduates from Scottish HEIs may not increase over the five year period after graduation. In our cohort, this is true because two processes that previous research on graduates has been unable to establish – delayed migration and return migration – are very much balanced. Moreover, a substantial minority of those graduates who did *not* originate from Scotland were living in the country five years after graduation. So the findings demonstrate a capacity for improvement in that Scotland is able to retain at least some of those who migrated to the country to study, and to encourage the return of some of those who leave at some point following graduation. Our work suggests that Scotland has the capacity to do this for a number of reasons. First, although many graduates are of the opinion that they must leave in order to fulfil career ambitions, many others find appropriate graduate opportunities for them within Scotland – in some cases because of the positive effects of devolution. Second, the many non-Scots graduates who do remain in or return to Scotland to live and work tend to develop strong affinities and connections which may form the basis for long-term settlement in the country and which, for the most part, appear to outweigh any more negative features of life in Scotland such as nationality-based discrimination. Third, for a majority of Scots and non-Scots, whether living in Scotland or elsewhere, general attitudes towards Scotland are

overwhelming positive and there is therefore a substantial 'pool' of potential future return migrants who could be attracted back to Scotland if the other factors we have reviewed were conducive to such a move. However, it needs to be recognised that for many such people the connections established to alternative locations will be such that a return to Scotland is probably unlikely.

It is important to stress that although for some graduates there may be one predominant factor which shapes their migration behaviour, for most their decisions concerning where to live and work are influenced by a combination of different factors. Where such factors combine to encourage graduates to remain in Scotland there is of course a far greater chance that they will do so. For example, regarding our non-Scots interviewees who were living in Scotland, it is instructive that many had multiple reasons for doing so. NSIS 20, for example, who is quoted extensively in this report, perceived that interesting employment opportunities were available in Scotland and worked within a specifically Scottish institution; had established civic connections beyond the university; had a strong and enduring network of friends in the country; and displayed a degree of 'north British' affinity. Equally, graduates are much more likely to leave when more than one factor encourages such a decision, even when they are otherwise quite positive about Scotland. NSNIS 8, for example, had left because of the employment opportunities available to her and her partner, and recognised that it would be difficult for them both to find suitable work elsewhere; most of her friends had also migrated to London for work; and she had experienced significant anti-English sentiment during her time in Scotland. Despite this, however, she remained positive about a potential future return to Scotland. Nevertheless, cases such as these substantiate the survey finding that particular types of non-Scots graduate (such as those from the south of England, those from more privileged backgrounds and those with degrees in the Arts) are likely to be particularly difficult to encourage to remain in or return to Scotland compared to those from Scotland and the north of England who attended comprehensive schools and/or have working-class backgrounds.

Many of our findings have implications for the kinds of policy initiatives which could, potentially, increase the number of graduates who stay in Scotland after university, or encourage those who have left to return. Realistically, political action which serves substantially to expand the quality and diversity of employment opportunities available in Scotland, or to strengthen the connections which graduates are likely to experience with the country through their families and relationships, is likely to be difficult and long-term. But more immediate policy initiatives which would be likely to have a more modest but still significant effect might include the wider dissemination of information about employment and training opportunities in Scotland; fostering the establishment of local connections during university years to encourage students to think about staying on after graduation; providing more information about the attractive features of Scotland as a place to live and work; and the encouragement of more welcoming attitudes towards those who do not originate from Scotland.

Finally, although we have confidence in the value of our research it is important to recognise at least two respects in which it is limited. First, although comparatively novel in following migration patterns for five years beyond the immediate period following graduation, the likely shape of longer term migration trends remains unclear. For example, do those who have apparently established strong connections with Scotland in fact remain there in the long term? And do many of those who have left Scotland but envisage a future return actually fulfil this aspiration? Research which followed graduates over a longer period would be necessary to

start to provide answers to these questions. Second, our respondents were all graduates of a particular institution, and as such will have attributes and advantages not necessarily enjoyed by graduates from Scottish HEIs as a whole. While we have offered a full explanation of why we believe our findings will be instructive despite this limitation, clearly research which was able to investigate graduates from a wider range of institutions would add to our knowledge about this very important category of individuals.

References

Ackers, L. (2004) 'Managing Relationships in Peripatetic Careers: scientific mobility in the European Union', *Women's Studies International Forum*, 27 (3): 189-201.

Bailey, A. & P. Boyle (2004) 'Untying and Retying Family Migration in the New Europe', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 30 (2): 229-241.

Baryla, E. A. Jr & D. Dotterweich (2001) 'Student Migration: do significant factors vary by region?', *Education Economics*, 9 (3): 269-280.

Bond. R., D. McCrone & A. Brown (2003) 'National Identity and Economic Development', *Nations and Nationalism*, 9 (3): 371-91.

Bonney, N. and J. Love (1991) 'Gender and Migration: geographical mobility and the wife's sacrifice', *The Sociological Review*, 39 (3): 335-348.

Boyd, M. (1989) 'Family and Personal Networks in International Migration', *International Migration Review*, 23 (3): 638-670.

Boyd, M. & E. Grieco (2003) *Women and Migration: Incorporating Gender into International Migration Theory*, www.migrationinformation.org.

Boyle, M. & S. Motherwell (n.d.) *Attracting and Retaining Talent: Lessons for Scottish Policy Makers from the Experiences of Scottish Expatriates in Dublin*, Scottish Economic Policy Network.

DeLaet, D. L. (1999) 'Introduction: The Invisibility of Women in Scholarship on International Migration', in G. A. Kelson & D. L. Delaet (eds.) *Gender and Immigration*, Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Dunford, M. & A. Fielding (1997) 'Greater London, the South-east Region and the Wider Britain: Metropolitan Polarization, Uneven Development and Inter-Regional Migration', in H. Blotevogel and A. Fielding (eds.) *People, Jobs and Mobility in the New Europe*, Chichester: John Wiley, 247-276.

Elias, P. & K. Purcell (2004) 'Is Mass Higher Education Working?: evidence from labour market experiences of recent graduates' *National Institute Economic Review*, 190: 60-74.

Findlay, A. (1990) 'A Migration Channels Approach to the Study of High-Level Manpower Movements – a theoretical perspective', *International Migration*, 28 (1): 15-23.

Findlay, A. (1995) 'Skilled Transients: the invisible phenomenon?' in R. Cohen (ed.) *The Cambridge Survey of World Migration*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Findlay, A. & L. Garrick (1990) 'Scottish emigration in the 1980s: a Migration Channels Approach to the Study of Skilled International Migration', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 15: 177-192.

Findlay, A., R. T. Harrison, D. Houston, & C. M. Mason (2003a) *An Investigation of Migration Patterns in Relation to the Scottish Economy*. A Report to Scottish Enterprise from the Centre for Applied Population Research, University of Dundee.

Findlay, A. et al (2003b) 'The Structuring of Service-class Migration: English Migration to Scottish Cities', *Urban Studies*, 40 (10): 2067-2081.

Findlay, A. (2004) A Migration Research Agenda for Scotland (paper presented to the ESRC/Scottish Executive seminar on Scottish population trends, 17/5/04).

Furlong, A. and F. Cartmel (2005) *Graduates from Disadvantaged Families: Early Labour Market Experiences*, Bristol: Policy Press (for the Joseph Rowntree Foundation).

General Register Office for Scotland [GROS] (2004) *Scotland's Population 2003* www.gro-scotland.gov.uk/grosweb/grosweb.nsf/pages/03annual-report-chapter2

Graham, E. & P. Boyle (2003) 'Scotland's Demographic Regime: Population and the Politics of Devolution', *Scottish Geographical Journal*, 119 (4): 361-382.

Harrison, R. et al (2003) The Attraction and Retention of Highly Skilled Labour in Scotland: a Preliminary Analysis. A report to Scottish Enterprise from the School of Management, University of Edinburgh.

Hopkins, N., S. Reicher & K. Harrison (2006) 'Young People's Deliberations on Geographic Mobility: identity and cross-border relocation', *Political Psychology* 27 (2): 227-46.

Indiana Fiscal Policy Institute (1999) *Graduate Migration from Indiana's Postsecondary Institutions* www.indianachamber.com/pdf/graduationmigration.pdf

Jamieson, L. (2000) 'Migration, Place and Class: youth in a rural area', *Sociological Review* 48 (2): 203-223.

King, R & I. Shuttleworth (1995) 'The Emigration and Employment of Irish Graduates: the export of high-quality labour from the periphery of Europe', *European Urban and Regional Studies* 2: 21-40.

King, R. & I Shuttleworth (1995b) 'Education, Identity and Migration: the case of young highly educated Irish emigrants', *Studi Emigrazione* 117: 159-76.

King, R., T. Warnes & A. Williams (2001) *Sunset Lives: British retirement migration to the Mediterranean*, Oxford & New York: Berg.

Kofman, E. (2004) 'Family-Related Migration: a Critical Review of European Studies', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 30 (2): 243-262.

Koser, K and J. Salt (1997) 'The Geography of Highly Skilled Migration', *International Journal of Population Geography*, 3: 285-303.

Li, F., A. Findlay, A. Jowett & R. Skeldon (1996) 'Migrating to Learn and Learning to Migrate: a study of the experiences and intentions of international student migrants', *International Journal of Population Geography* 2: 51-67.

Lindsay, I. (1991) 'Scottish Migration – Prospects for the Nineties', *Scottish Government Yearbook 1991*.

Lindsay, I. (1992) 'Migration and Motivation: a Twentieth-Century Perspective', in T. M. Devine (ed.) *Scottish Emigration and Scottish Society*, Edinburgh: John Donald, 154-174.

McIntosh, I., D. Sim and D. Robertson (2004) ' 'We Hate the English, Except for You, Cos You're Our Pal': Identification of the 'English' in Scotland', *Sociology*, 38 (1), 43-59.

Murphy-Lejeune, E. (2002) *Student Mobility and Narrative in Europe: the new strangers*, London, New York: Routledge.

Phillips, M. W. & C. W. Stahl (2001) 'International Trade in Higher Education Services in the Asia Pacific Region: trends and issues' *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, 10 (2): 273-301.

Reicher, S., N. Hopkins & K. Harrison (2006) 'Social Identity and Spatial Behaviour: the Relationship between National Category Salience, the Sense of Home, and Labour Mobility across National Boundaries', *Political Psychology* 27 (2): 247-64.

Salt, J. (1992) 'Migration Processes among the Highly Skilled in Europe', *International Migration Review* 26 (2): 484-505.

Scottish Executive (2001a) *A Smart, Successful Scotland – Ambitions for the Enterprise Networks.*

Scottish Executive (2001b) *First Destination of Graduates and Diplomates in Scotland: 1999-00.*

Scottish Executive (2004) *New Scots: Attracting Fresh Talent to Meet the Challenge of Growth.*

Scottish Executive (2005) *Higher Education Graduates and Graduate Destinations 2003/04.*

Smits, J., C. H. Mulder & P. Hooimeijer (2004) 'Migration of Couples with non-Employed and Employed Wives in the Netherlands: the changing effects of the partners' characteristics', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 30 (2): 283-302.

Stockdale, A. et al (2000) 'The Repopulation of Rural Scotland: opportunity and threat', *Journal of Rural Studies*, 16: 243-257.

Stockdale, A. (2002) 'Out-Migration from Rural Scotland: the importance of family and social networks', *Sociologica Ruralis* 42 (1): 41-64.

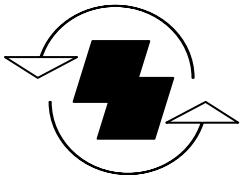
Stockdale, A. (2004) Rural Out-Migration: community consequences and individual migrant experiences', *Sociologica Ruralis* 44 (2): 167-94.

Vertovec, S. (2002) 'Transnational Networks and Skilled Labour Migration', Transnational Communities Working Paper.

Watson, M. (2003) *Being English in Scotland*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Wilson, T. & P. Rees (2003) 'Why Scotland Needs More Than Just a New Migration Policy', *Scottish Geographical Journal*, 119 (3): 191-208.

Appendix A:
The Postal Questionnaire



The Scottish Graduate Migration and Retention Survey

Thank you for taking part in this survey. If you have any questions, or require the survey in a different format, please telephone Ross Bond on 0131 650 3919

A: WHERE YOU LIVE AND WHAT YOU DO

Q1 Where do you currently live?

Town/City:
Local authority/County/London borough [or Country if non-UK]:

Q2 Are you currently in paid employment?
- Yes ☐ **PLEASE GO TO Q3**
- No ☐ **PLEASE GO TO Q7**

Q3 What is the name or title of your present job?:

Q4 Which type of organisation do you work for?
- Private sector company ☐
- Public sector employer ☐
- Charity or voluntary sector ☐
- Self-employed ☐
- Other (WRITE IN):

Q5 And for how long have you worked for your current employer or been self-employed?
- Less than 1 year ☐
- 1-2 years ☐
- 3-4 years ☐
- Since graduation ☐

Q6 What is your annual salary to the nearest thousand £, before tax? £ ,000

NOW PLEASE GO TO Q8

Q7 Which of these best describes your current status?
- Student ☐
- Looking after home/family ☐
- Unemployed ☐
- Other (WRITE IN):

B: SINCE GRADUATION

Q8 Thinking back to **the year after you graduated**, about **January 2001**, what were you doing then?

In paid employment ☐ PLEASE WRITE JOB TITLE:
Student ☐ PLEASE WRITE COURSE TITLE:
Looking after home/family ☐
Unemployed ☐
Other ☐ (WRITE IN):

Q9 And where were you living then, in **January 2001**?
Town/City:
Local authority/County/London borough [or Country if non-UK]:

Q10 When you were thinking about where to live and work after you graduated, which of the following factors were important to you?
In the first column, PLEASE TICK ALL THAT APPLY. In the second column, please tick ONE to indicate which was the MOST important reason.

	Tick all that apply	Tick only ONE most important
Live near family	☐	☐
Live near friends	☐	☐
Live with or near partner/spouse	☐	☐
Earn a good salary	☐	☐
Do rewarding and enjoyable work	☐	☐
Opportunities for a good social life	☐	☐
An attractive physical environment	☐	☐
Good place to bring up children	☐	☐
Wanted to stay in Scotland	☐	☐
Wanted to leave Scotland	☐	☐
Other (WRITE IN):	☐	☐

Q11 And when you are thinking about where to live and work **now**, which factors are important?
In the first column, PLEASE TICK ALL THAT APPLY. In the second column, please tick ONE to indicate which is the MOST important factor.

	Tick all that apply	Tick only ONE most important
Live near family	☐	☐
Live near friends	☐	☐
Live with or near partner/spouse	☐	☐
Earn a good salary	☐	☐
Do rewarding and enjoyable work	☐	☐
Opportunities for a good social life	☐	☐
An attractive physical environment	☐	☐
Good place to bring up children	☐	☐
Want to stay in Scotland	☐	☐
Want to leave Scotland	☐	☐
Other (WRITE IN):	☐	☐

Q12 Between **January 2001** and the present time, have you lived in any other towns or cities for longer than three months?

No ☐ **PLEASE GO TO Q13**
Yes ☐ PLEASE WRITE WHICH TOWNS OR CITIES:

1: 2: 3:
4: 5: 6:

C: YOUR EDUCATION

Q13 At what kind of school did you receive the majority of your secondary education?

Independent (including grant aided and direct grant) ☐
Selective state funded (e.g. grammar) ☐
Comprehensive ☐
Other state funded school ☐
School overseas ☐
Other (WRITE IN):

Q14 What was your undergraduate degree (e.g. MA Politics)?:

Q15 What class of degree did you obtain?
Honours First Class ☐
Honours Upper Second Class ☐
Honours Lower Second Class ☐
Honours Third Class ☐
Ordinary ☐

Q16 Please write in the title of any postgraduate qualifications you have obtained or are studying for:

Have obtained: **Studying for:**

Q17 Where was your main place of residence during the three years **before** you started your undergraduate degree at the University of Edinburgh?

Town/City:
Local authority/County/London borough [or Country if non-UK]:

D: ABOUT YOU

Q18 Are you: Male ☐ Female ☐

Q19 What was your age last birthday?:

Q20 Are you:
Married or living with your partner ☐
Separated or divorced ☐
Widowed ☐
Single (never married) ☐

Q21 Do you have any dependent children? Yes ☐ How many?:
No ☐

Q22 When you were about 14, what kind of work did the main wage earner in your family do?

Manager or Professional (e.g. company director, manager, doctor, teacher, farmer) ☐
Clerical or Sales (e.g. secretary, clerk, shop assistant, salesperson) ☐
Manual work (e.g. plumber, train driver, factory work) ☐
No wage earners ☐

Q23 To which of these groups do you belong?

Black: of African or Caribbean origin ☐
Asian: of Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi or Chinese origin ☐
White: of European origin ☐
Other (WRITE IN):

IF YOU CURRENTLY LIVE AND WORK IN SCOTLAND, PLEASE GO TO Q25

Q24 Would you return to Scotland to live and work in the future?

I have already made definite plans to return ☐
I definitely would like to return ☐
I would consider returning ☐
I definitely would **not** like to return ☐

Q25 To explore some of the issues raised in this questionnaire in more detail, we would like to meet and talk with a small number of graduates later this year. Can we contact you to ask if you would like to help us by being interviewed?

Yes ☐ [PLEASE GIVE YOUR CONTACT DETAILS BELOW]
No ☐

Name:

Daytime telephone:

Email:

REMEMBER THAT THESE DETAILS WILL **NOT** BE RECORDED ALONGSIDE YOUR QUESTIONNAIRE ANSWERS, AND WILL BE USED **ONLY** TO CONTACT YOU TO ARRANGE AN INTERVIEW.

THANK YOU FOR COMPLETING THE QUESTIONNAIRE. PLEASE RETURN IT IN THE PRE-PAID ENVELOPE PROVIDED.

The Scottish Graduate Migration and Retention Survey,
Dept. of Sociology, University of Edinburgh, EH8 9LL

Appendix B:
JACS Subject areas and principal subjects of study

(source: www.hesa.ac.uk/products/adhoc/info/jacscodes.htm)

JACS subject area
JACS principal subject

(1) Medicine & dentistry
(A0) Broadly-based programmes within medicine & dentistry
(A1) Pre-clinical medicine
(A2) Pre-clinical dentistry
(A3) Clinical medicine
(A4) Clinical dentistry
(A9) Others in medicine & dentistry
(2) Subjects allied to medicine
(B0) Broadly-based programmes within subjects allied to medicine
(B1) Anatomy, physiology & pathology
(B2) Pharmacology, toxicology & pharmacy
(B3) Complementary medicine
(B4) Nutrition
(B5) Opthalmics
(B6) Aural & oral sciences
(B7) Nursing
(B8) Medical technology
(B9) Others in subjects allied to medicine
(3) Biological sciences
(C0) Broadly-based programmes within biological sciences
(C1) Biology
(C2) Botany
(C3) Zoology
(C4) Genetics
(C5) Microbiology
(C6) Sports science
(C7) Molecular biology, biophysics & biochemistry
(C8) Psychology
(C9) Others in biological sciences
(4) Veterinary science
(D1) Pre-clinical veterinary medicine
(D2) Clinical veterinary medicine & dentistry
(5) Agriculture & related subjects
(D0) Broadly-based programmes within agriculture & related subjects
(D3) Animal science
(D4) Agriculture
(D5) Forestry
(D6) Food & beverage studies
(D7) Agricultural sciences
(D9) Others in veterinary sciences, agriculture & related subjects

(6) Physical sciences
(F0) Broadly-based programmes within physical sciences
(F1) Chemistry
(F2) Materials science
(F3) Physics
(F4) Forensic & archaeological science
(F5) Astronomy
(F6) Geology
(F7) Ocean sciences
(F8) Physical & terrestrial geographical & environmental sciences
(F9) Others in physical sciences
(7) Mathematical sciences
(G0) Broadly-based programmes within mathematical sciences
(G1) Mathematics
(G2) Operational research
(G3) Statistics
(G9) Others in mathematical & computing sciences
(G91) Others in mathematical sciences
(8) Computer science
(G4) Computer science
(G5) Information systems
(G6) Software engineering
(G7) Artificial intelligence
(G92) Others in computing sciences
(9) Engineering & technology
(H0) Broadly-based programmes within engineering & technology
(H1) General engineering
(H2) Civil engineering
(H3) Mechanical engineering
(H4) Aerospace engineering
(H5) Naval architecture
(H6) Electronic & electrical engineering
(H7) Production & manufacturing engineering
(H8) Chemical, process & energy engineering
(H9) Others in engineering
(J1) Minerals technology
(J2) Metallurgy
(J3) Ceramics & glasses
(J4) Polymers & textiles
(J5) Materials technology not otherwise specified
(J6) Maritime technology
(J7) Industrial biotechnology
(J9) Others in technology
(A) Architecture, building & planning
(K0) Broadly-based programmes within architecture, building & planning
(K1) Architecture

(K2) Building
(K3) Landscape design
(K4) Planning (urban, rural & regional)
(K9) Others in architecture, building & planning

(B) Social studies

(L0) Broadly-based programmes within social studies
(L1) Economics
(L2) Politics
(L3) Sociology
(L4) Social policy
(L5) Social work
(L6) Anthropology
(L7) Human & social geography
(L9) Others in social studies

(C) Law

(M0) Broadly-based programmes within law
(M1) Law by area
(M2) Law by topic
(M9) Others in law

(D) Business & administrative studies

(N0) Broadly-based programmes within business & administrative studies
(N1) Business studies
(N2) Management studies
(N3) Finance
(N4) Accounting
(N5) Marketing
(N6) Human resource management
(N7) Office skills
(N8) Tourism, transport & travel
(N9) Others in business & administrative studies

(E) Mass communications & documentation

(P0) Broadly-based programmes within mass communications and documentation
(P1) Information services
(P2) Publicity studies
(P3) Media studies
(P4) Publishing
(P5) Journalism
(P9) Others in mass communications & documentation

(F) Languages

(Q0) Broadly-based programmes within languages
(Q1) Linguistics
(Q2) Comparative literary studies
(Q3) English studies
(Q4) Ancient language studies
(Q5) Celtic studies
(Q6) Latin studies
(Q7) Classical Greek studies
(Q8) Classical studies
(Q9) Others in linguistics, classics & related subjects
(R1) French studies
(R2) German studies
(R3) Italian studies
(R4) Spanish studies
(R5) Portuguese studies
(R6) Scandinavian studies
(R7) Russian & East European studies
(R9) Others in European languages, literature & related subjects
(T1) Chinese studies
(T2) Japanese studies
(T3) South Asian studies
(T4) Other Asian studies
(T5) African studies
(T6) Modern Middle Eastern studies
(T7) American studies
(T8) Australasian studies
(T9) Others in Eastern, Asiatic, African, American & Australasian languages, literature & related subjects

(G) Historical & philosophical studies

(V0) Broadly-based programmes within historical and philosophical studies
(V1) History by period
(V2) History by area
(V3) History by topic
(V4) Archaeology
(V5) Philosophy
(V6) Theology & religious studies
(V9) Others in historical & philosophical studies

(H) Creative arts & design

(W0) Broadly-based programmes within creative arts & design
(W1) Fine art
(W2) Design studies
(W3) Music
(W4) Drama
(W5) Dance
(W6) Cinematics & photography

(W7) Crafts
(W8) Imaginative writing
(W9) Others in creative arts & design

(I) Education

(X0) Broadly-based programmes within education
(X1) Training teachers
(X2) Research & study skills in education
(X3) Academic studies in education
(X9) Others in education

(J) Combined

(Y0) Combined

Appendix C: Standard Occupation Classification (SOC 2000)

(source: www.hesa.ac.uk/products/adhoc/info/soc2000.htm)

Sub-major groups

11 Corporate managers
12 Managers and proprietors in agriculture and services
21 Science and technology professionals
22 Health professionals
23 Teaching and research professionals
24 Business and public service professionals
31 Science and technology associate professionals
32 Health and social welfare associate professionals
33 Protective service occupations
34 Culture, media and sports occupations
35 Business and public service associate professionals
41 Administrative occupations
42 Secretarial and related occupations
51 Skilled agricultural trades
52 Skilled metal and electrical trades
53 Skilled construction and building trades
54 Textiles, printing and other skilled trades
61 Caring personal service occupations
62 Leisure and other personal service occupations
71 Sales occupations
72 Customer service occupations
81 Process, plant and machine operatives
82 Transport and mobile machine drivers and operatives
91 Elementary trades, plant and storage related occupations
92 Elementary administration and service occupations

Major groups

1 Managers and Senior Officials
2 Professional Occupations
3 Associate Professional and Technical Occupations
4 Administrative and Secretarial Occupations
5 Skilled Trades Occupations
6 Personal Service Occupations
7 Sales and Customer Service Occupations
8 Process, Plant and Machine Operatives
9 Elementary Occupations

Appendix D: Composition of Scottish regions

Region:	**Local authorities:**
Edinburgh	City of Edinburgh
Fife	Fife
Lothians	East Lothian; Midlothian; West Lothian
Borders	Scottish Borders
West-Central	Clackmannanshire; East Dunbartonshire; East Renfrewshire; Falkirk; Glasgow City; Inverclyde; North Lanarkshire; Renfrewshire; South Lanarkshire; West Dunbartonshire
South-West	Dumfries and Galloway; East Ayrshire; North Ayrshire; South Ayrshire
North-East	Aberdeen City; Aberdeenshire; Angus; Dundee City; Moray
North-West	Argyll and Bute; Comhairle nan Eilean Siar (Western Isles); Highland; Orkney Islands; Perth and Kinross; Shetland Islands; Stirling

Appendix E:
Interview consent form

Project title: Scottish Graduate Migration and Retention

Researchers: **Mr Ross Bond, Dr Katharine Charsley, Dr Sue Grundy**
Institution: **School of Social and Political Studies, University of Edinburgh, Adam Ferguson Building, George Square, Edinburgh EH8 9LL**
Tel: **0131 650 3919** Email: **R.J.Bond@ed.ac.uk**

Description of the research project:

The research project is funded by the Scottish Executive and the Economic and Social Research Council. The research examines your student experiences, your residential and employment history and discusses your plans for the future. The aim is to better understand people's reasons for leaving or staying in Scotland after they graduate. Our findings aim to assist in the creation of policy pertaining to Scottish graduates.

During the interview, you should not feel obliged to answer any of the questions put to you. You may terminate the interview at any point. With your permission, the interview will be taped and a transcript will be created from the recording. The material that you give us will be anonymised so that no-one will be able to deduce your identity from the transcript. Your name and contact details will be kept separate from the transcript. The material will be accessed and treated confidentially by the three researchers on the project and by the person who transcribes the tape. You should encounter no personal risks because of taking part in the project.

Once the project is completed the anonymised transcript will be deposited in UK Data Archive at the University of Essex[19]. At the archive your details and identity will continue to be kept completely confidential. The material will be preserved as a permanent research resource for use in research and publication under a set of terms and conditions agreed by this research team.

Your agreement to take part:

I have been given information about the research project and the way in which my contribution to the project will be used.

- I understand that my contribution will be kept safely and securely with access only to those with permission from the researcher.
- I understand that I can withdraw my consent at any time by contacting the researcher.
- I agree to take part in the above study.
- I hereby assign the copyright in my contribution to Mr Ross Bond, Dr Katharine Charsley, Dr Sue Grundy.

I give my permission for the information I am about to give to be used for research (including research publications and reports) and teaching purposes **with strict** preservation of anonymity.

Signed Respondent…… Date…….

Address……

Signed Researcher…….. Date……..

This information will be retained separately and securely from the information given

[19] N.B. Due to difficulties in anonymizing transcripts to a standard considered satisfactory to the research team, a waiver was applied for and granted such that the transcripts were not, ultimately, deposited in the Data Archive.