
Report To:	Policy and Resources Committee	Date:	07/02/12
Report By:	John W Mundell Chair of the SOA Programme Board	Report No:	PR043/11/JM/MM cK/LF
Contact Officer:	Miriam McKenna / Lynsey Frizell	Contact No:	712042 / 712744
Subject:	Depopulation Research Study		

1.0 PURPOSE

- 1.1 The purpose of this report is to advise Committee of the key findings and recommendations of the Depopulation Research Study.
- 1.2 The report also advises members of the course of action agreed by the Alliance Board to progress the key findings and recommendations on a partnership basis.

2.0 SUMMARY

- 2.1 The Depopulation Research Study was commissioned by the Single Outcome Agreement (SOA) Depopulation Outcome Delivery Group, following a successful application for funding to the SOA Development Fund in September 2010.
- 2.2 A tendering exercise was carried out and Slims Consulting were appointed to undertake the study in December 2010.
- 2.3 The objective of the Depopulation Research Study was to:
 - Review all available evidence on the scale and nature of depopulation.
 - Consult with Council services and partner organisations to examine the extent to which population decline has implications for service delivery.
 - Hold focus groups with young people and the local community to understand the factors driving decisions to move to and from Inverclyde.
 - Carry out a review of academic and best practice information on depopulation on how different locations in Europe and beyond have responded to the challenge of depopulation.
 - Hold a series of workshops with Community Planning partners to examine the evidence, consider the drivers behind depopulation and identify potential measures that could be taken to arrest population decline.
- 2.4 A copy of the Final Study Report is appended (Appendix 1).

2.5 An Action Plan has been developed to take forward the recommendations set out in the report and was presented and agreed at the Alliance Board on the 19th of December 2012.

2.6 The report to the Board set out further consideration of issues raised in the study, covering:

- Who is coming and why? Who is leaving and why?
- Differentiating policies and actions
- Stabilising or slowing population decline
- Moving from sustaining stability to promoting repopulation
- Areas for further consideration

An action plan covering three key phases: closing the information gap; sustaining stability and promoting repopulation is currently being progressed.

The report can be found on the Council Website Community Planning pages.

3.0 RECOMMENDATIONS

It is recommended that the Committee:

- a. notes the contents of this Report;
- b. considers and comments on the Final Study Report; and
- c. endorses the course of action agreed by the Alliance Board to address the key findings and recommendations of the Study on a partnership basis.

John W Mundell
Chair of the SOA Programme Board

4.0 BACKGROUND

- 4.1 The Depopulation Research Study was commissioned by the Depopulation Outcome Delivery Group, following a successful application for funding to the SOA Development Fund in September 2010.
- 4.2 A tendering exercise was carried out and Slims Consulting were appointed to undertake the study in December 2010.
- 4.3 The objective of the Depopulation Research Study was to:
- Review all available evidence on the scale and nature of depopulation.
 - Consult with Council services and partner organisations to examine the extent to which population decline has implications for service delivery.
 - Hold focus groups with young people and the local community to understand the factors driving decisions to move to and from Inverclyde.
 - Carry out a review of academic and best practice information on depopulation on how different locations in Europe and beyond have responded to the challenge of depopulation.
 - Hold a series of workshops with Community planning partners to examine the evidence, consider the drivers behind depopulation and identify potential measures that could be taken to arrest population decline.
- 4.4 A key part of the study was to carry out a detailed review of evidence on the scale and nature of population decline in Inverclyde and some of the key conclusions were that:
- Depopulation in Inverclyde has been taking place for the last 60 years – and at the fastest rate of any mainland UK local authority area.
 - Depopulation has affected some groups more than others – the proportion of young people and those of working age has declined faster than for older age groups.
 - While the rate of depopulation has slowed, Inverclyde's population is still forecast to fall below 70,000 by 2025 at current rates.
 - Outward migration is the dominant factor accounting on average for about 70% of population loss in any given year, with natural change accounting for the remaining 30%.
 - However, this net outward migration is as a result of two significant flows. Many people move into Inverclyde in any given year but the problem is that more people move out.
 - Turning round outward migration is a significant, but not insurmountable, challenge. It is estimated that outward migration could be arrested by influencing the locational decisions of around 150 households per year.
 - Direct evidence on who those households might be is not currently available – however indirect evidence and consultations with stakeholders and local people suggest there are four groups most at risk of leaving Inverclyde or who are considering moving to Inverclyde, consisting of:

- Young people looking for work or higher education (current residents)
- Young families in work looking for better career prospects and good family housing (current residents)
- Mobile professionals moving for career and housing reasons (potential residents from within the Glasgow City-Region)
- Mobile professionals moving for career and housing reasons (potential residents from out with Scotland/UK)

4.5 The study reviewed the evidence on why depopulation occurs and what some of the drivers might be in Inverclyde. The key conclusions were:

- Economic decline is invariably the initial driver of depopulation in former industrial areas. As jobs disappear, those with skills and experience are most likely to leave to find work.
- Beyond this initial phase of decline, a range of other factors can then reinforce and drive population decline – even if economic decline slows. These factors include concentrations of deprivation, poor quality housing stock, a weak social and commercial offering, and a poor image or confidence in the area's future prospects.
- There is strong evidence of all of the above factors occurring in or impacting on Inverclyde over the last 30 years and more.
- Nevertheless the area has some significant strengths on which to build including an excellent natural environment, superb schools and good connections to the wider city region.
- However, there is some evidence that these strengths are not always appreciated by local people, nor clearly understood by people from outwith the area. Focussing on and communicating these strengths could be a key element of any repopulation strategy.

4.6 The study reviewed the evidence on effective approaches to address population decline learned from other locations that have experienced depopulation.

- Addressing de-population requires long term commitment and significant resources.
- A clearly agreed vision based on an understanding of the drivers of depopulation is crucial if partners are to identify and agree a way forward.
- Successful approaches to repopulation have at their heart attempts to make the place better for existing residents and attempting to attract new people to live in the area. This twin focus improves the chances of success by focussing on both elements of the flow that contribute to net outward migration.
- Repopulating an area often requires looking outwith the local area and connecting into opportunities in the wider city-region. Economically declining local areas often become decoupled and feel excluded from the wider changes taking place in their regional economies. This is a barrier that needs to be overcome and can be achieved by: connecting businesses with wider market opportunities; investment in rail and road connections to help people access jobs outwith the area; and investment in housing to attract commuters.
- Successful re-population strategies involve a range of interventions that target economic growth, housing growth, skills and employment, housing choice and

improving the cultural and leisure offer.

- The best approaches to depopulation build explicit linkages between these interventions to maximise their chances of effectiveness.
- Economic interventions should work with the grain of wider economic forces – and look forward – not back. They should look to connect declining local economies with growth drivers in the wider regional, national and global economies.
- Economic interventions should be based on some existing strength or advantage however small at the outset. Efforts should also be focussed on the existing SME base as a means of stimulating economic and employment growth.
- Successful housing based approaches typically balance measures that try to slow decline by focusing on existing residents with measures that seek to increase population by bringing new people into the area.
- Improving the cultural and retail offer is an important part of the mix in raising place attractiveness and can help to attract new investment, bring in visitors and expenditure, and raise the profile and image of a once declining place.

4.7 The study identified a set of practical recommendations that should be considered by the Committee. These include:

- Agreeing an in-migration strategy and target
- Improving existing evidence on migration
- Examining the role that natural change plays in driving depopulation
- Identifying an appropriate economic role for Inverclyde
- Connecting local people with jobs
- Developing a housing growth strategy
- Improving the quality of life offer of Inverclyde
- Marketing and communications strategy

4.8 A number of these areas are already being dealt with in existing strategies and areas of work, for example the Economic Regeneration Strategy, the Local Housing Strategy, the Employability Pipeline and Employer Engagement.

4.9 A full copy of the final report produced by Slims Consulting can be found in Appendix 1.

4.10 An Action Plan has been developed to take forward the recommendations from the Study and was reported to the Alliance Board on the 19th of December 2012. The Alliance has had an opportunity to consider in detail the findings of the study and is supportive of an action plan to begin tackling the various issues raised. The Alliance will build on the findings and recommendations of the study to develop a targeted approach, deploying specific policies to target specific groups, to move from stabilising the population to encouraging repopulation.

4.11 **What is the Alliance going to do?**

To promote repopulation the Alliance needs to look at developing and implementing a targeted approach to attract individuals, families and if possible businesses to Inverclyde, this needs to be coherent, consistent and sustainable.

Although this would involve more effective promotion of Inverclyde, and its quality of life offering, at a regional and national level, it is also essential that it involves substantive, practical measures that can incentivise families and individuals in the relevant target groups to come to Inverclyde.

For example, the Council and individual partners could consider some of the following measures:

- Develop an appropriate website in conjunction with the private sector (particularly estate agents) to encourage relocation to Inverclyde, detailing a range of information, assistance and support that can be made available.
- Develop a coherent, integrated quality of life package across the public, private and voluntary sectors used by all partners that sets out relevant key messages about Inverclyde and a consistent set of information about all aspects of community life (schools, leisure, transport, retail, housing etc) – this would also support the development of a website.
- Work with private developers, RSLs and financial institutions to examine options to incentivise families and individuals to relocate to Inverclyde by offering assistance with house purchase (e.g. local authority mortgage scheme).
- Work with private developers and estate agents to develop better intelligence on potential movers to Inverclyde, especially in the relevant target groups, to profile them and to develop and deliver targeted marketing campaigns.

However, within the current economic climate, there will be a need to accept that those individuals and families the Alliance wants to attract to Inverclyde are more likely to come because of a positive quality of life offering, not because they have secured employment in Inverclyde.

4.12 Potential Challenges

The actions taken by the Alliance have slowed the rate of population decline across the last ten years although pending the publication of the data from the most recent Census it is not possible to provide a definitive statement.

However, even if the actions pursued to date at significant cost have slowed the rate of population decline, and to a large extent, stabilised the population, there are still other factors that could undermine or erode this achievement.

The Study identifies the impact of natural change (high death rate, low birth rate) on the population of Inverclyde and even if stability is achieved it is likely that this would be very quickly be eroded as a result of natural change.

The Study states that following on from previous economic recessions, which it could be argued have been less severe than the ongoing economic downturn, there has been a spike in out-migration from Inverclyde; this does not appear to have shown yet in the figures contained in the Study.

In addition, given the economic environment, the difficult financial challenges facing public agencies and the Scottish Government's commitment to further reform of the public sector it is not clear what impact further reductions in public resources will have on an area like Inverclyde with a high level of dependence on public jobs.

There are very few actions being pursued coherently to promote the area at a regional or national level (except work in relation to business location being undertaken by RI or in relation to a small number of events) although there are activities underway that could be utilised to do this (which also support stabilisation).

4.13 What can the Scottish Government do to help?

The Alliance acknowledges the positive working relationship developed with the civil servants in the context of the SOA, including the provision of advice and support from Analytical Services.

However, there are a number of areas that the Council/CPP should ask the Government to consider providing further assistance:

- The Alliance should encourage more proactive engagement by government agencies such as VisitScotland, EventScotland etc to help develop the quality of life offering for the area – often agencies are only interested in engaging on a specific initiative or event. What Inverclyde needs is more support to define its quality of life offering and help it get to the point where there are ideas being generated locally.
- The ability of the Alliance to strengthen its quality of life offering, specifically improving the attractiveness of its main urban communities, will be negatively impacted upon by the decision of the Scottish Government on the future of Riverside Inverclyde – this potentially reduces the attractiveness of the area to those who might have chosen to locate here.
- Despite the positive progress being made by RCH and other RSLs in improving housing in the social rented sector the Alliance faces a significant challenge in bringing together a funding package to deal with Clune Park.

Taking action would not only demonstrate the collective ability of partners to effectively deal with deep-rooted economic and social issues but also significantly improve the perception of the area at a local and national level. However, action on this scale would require political and financial support from the Scottish Government.

- The Alliance notes that the Scottish Government has announced funding for its Agenda for Cities and launched a new Regeneration Strategy – we would be keen to know the implications of these policies for Inverclyde.

5.0 PROPOSALS

- 5.1 It is proposed that the Committee notes the content of the Depopulation Research Study Report and endorses the course of action agreed by the Alliance Board to address the key findings and recommendations of the Study on a partnership basis.

6.0 IMPLICATIONS

- 6.1 Legal: None
Finance: None
Personnel: None
Equality and Diversity: None

7.0 CONSULTATIONS

- 7.1 In the course of the study consultation took place with members of the public, including a representation of young people, and stakeholders from across the Community Planning Partnership and Council services.

8.0 LIST OF BACKGROUND PAPERS

- 8.1 Inverclyde Single Outcome Agreement 2009 - 11



Inverclyde Depopulation Study –
Final Report

July 2011

Contents

1. Introduction	3
1.1 Introduction	3
1.2 What does this report contain	3
1.3 Acknowledgements	4
2. What is the evidence on population decline in Inverclyde?	6
2.1 Introduction	6
2.2 The Scale and Nature of Population Decline	6
2.3 Implications of Depopulation	8
2.4 Understanding Inverclyde's Depopulation	9
2.5 What do we know about who is leaving and moving into Inverclyde?	13
2.6 Conclusions	14
3. Why does depopulation occur?	16
3.1 Introduction	16
3.2 What do we know about the causes of depopulation?	16
3.3 Wider social and economic trends also impact on population	19
3.4 What do local people think of Inverclyde?	21
3.5 Conclusions	28
4. How have other places responded to population decline?	29
4.1 Introduction	29
4.2 Economic Restructuring	29
4.3 Investment in Infrastructure	30
4.4 Employability and Skills Initiatives	32
4.5 Housing-led/Neighbourhood Renewal Regeneration	33
4.6 Cultural Regeneration	35
4.7 Overview of the case studies	37
4.8 What are the lessons from the case studies?	39
5. What does Inverclyde need to do to arrest depopulation?	42
5.1 Introduction	42
5.2 What are the components of depopulation?	42
5.3 Why is depopulation occurring?	44
5.4 What measures have been taken elsewhere to address depopulation?	45
5.5 Addressing depopulation in Inverclyde	46
5.6 Principles to underpin future approaches to depopulation	47
5.7 Potential actions for the CPP	52
Appendix A: Drivers of Migration	59
Appendix B: Impact on Service Delivery	63
Appendix C: Focus Groups and Stakeholder Consultees	68

1. Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Inverclyde's population has been in decline for nearly sixty years. Since its peak in 1951 total population has fallen from more than 130,000 to just under 80,000 in 2010. Recent population forecasts suggest that population could fall to around 70,000 in the next 15 years. As well as population declining, the average age of the population has been increasing and there is evidence that Inverclyde has lost a disproportionate number of young people - and young families.

It is against this backdrop that Inverclyde Council commissioned Slims Consulting, in association with Kevin Murray Associates, to carry out a research study to examine the causes of and implications of depopulation on the Inverclyde area.

The study had a number of stages including:

- A review of available evidence on the scale and nature of depopulation in Inverclyde and how it compares to the rest of the UK
- Consultation with Inverclyde Council departments and other stakeholders to examine the extent to which population decline has implications for service delivery
- Focus groups with the local community and young people to understand the factors that were driving decisions to move to and from Inverclyde
- A review of academic and best practice information on depopulation and how different locations in Europe and beyond have responded to the challenge of depopulation
- A series of workshops involving Community Planning Partnership stakeholders to examine the evidence, consider the drivers behind depopulation and identify potential measures that could be taken to arrest population decline.

1.2 What does this report contain

This report is the final output of the Depopulation Study and contains a summary of the key evidence and findings. It is intended to stimulate further debate – and action – on how population decline can be successfully addressed against a challenging economic, development and political background. The report provides:

- An overview of the evidence on depopulation
- Evidence on why addressing depopulation is important
- Discussion of the range of factors that appear to have contributed to depopulation
- A review of what other areas have done to address depopulation
- Recommendations on how depopulation in Inverclyde could be addressed by Community Planning Partners.

The report is intended to be concise and strategic and as such, there is less focus on repeating the detailed evidence that has been gathered throughout the research process. The report draws on and is supported by a number of appendices and two separate papers that have been produced by the study team to date. These are:

- **Appendix A** – Summary of drivers of Migration
- **Appendix B** – Impact of population on Service Delivery
- **Appendix C** – Focus Group and Consultee list
- **Paper 1: Population Baseline Paper** – this contains detailed evidence on the nature of population change in Inverclyde, by age group and gender. It shows how birth/mortality rates and net migration have influenced population change. A critique of sources of population data is also included, examining their strengths and weaknesses.
- **Paper 2: Literature Review** – a review of areas across the UK, Europe and USA that have experienced depopulation and have successfully stemmed or reversed it. It examines the strategies and policy levers that were used, and their applicability to Inverclyde.

1.3 Acknowledgements

The study team would like to thank Miriam McKenna, Corporate Policy Manager at Inverclyde Council and Lynsey Frizell, Corporate Policy Officer (SOA) at Inverclyde Council. They have been invaluable in providing guidance and feedback as the study progressed, and in organising various elements of the fieldwork. Thanks are also due to all those Citizen

Panel members and young people who gave up their time to participate in focus groups. Finally, we would like to thank all stakeholders and consultees for adding their experience and insights on Inverclyde. Needless to say, any errors in interpretation are our responsibility.

2. What is the evidence on population decline in Inverclyde?

2.1 Introduction

A key part of the study was to carry out a detailed review of evidence on the scale and nature of population decline in Inverclyde. The key messages from the review are summarised in this section.

2.2 The Scale and Nature of Population Decline

2.2.1 Inverclyde's population decline is dramatic – and is part of a long term process

Inverclyde's population grew quickly through the late nineteenth century and the first part of the twentieth century – peaking at 137,000 people in 1951. This population growth was driven by industrialisation. The strength of the shipbuilding industry and port functions in Greenock and Port Glasgow – and the jobs that they sustained - drew in people from across Scotland and beyond to live in Inverclyde. Since this post war peak, however, population decline has been steady and dramatic. Between 1951 and 2009, Inverclyde's population decreased from 137,000 to 80,000, a reduction of 40%.¹ **Population decline is therefore not a recent phenomenon. It is a long-term process that has been occurring for the past 60 years.**

2.2.2 Inverclyde's depopulation is more severe than other parts of the UK – and its recent trajectory appears different

Inverclyde is not the only former industrial area that has experienced depopulation over the last 50 years. Glasgow, Manchester and Newcastle all experienced depopulation in the latter half of the 20th century, as did local authorities in these areas' surrounding city-regions such as Inverclyde, like Gateshead and Salford. Two factors though make the experience of Inverclyde unique in a UK context.

Firstly, the rate of Inverclyde's depopulation was proportionately larger than any other local authority in the UK between 1981 and 2009. During this period Inverclyde's population decreased by almost 21% (21,000 people). This is significantly more in proportional terms than:

¹ University of Portsmouth (2011), "A Vision of Britain Through Time"
http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/data_cube_page.jsp?data_theme=T_POP&data_cube=N_TOT_POP&u_id=10168314&c_id=10090283&add=N

- Knowsley in Merseyside, where the population decreased by almost 14%²
- Gateshead near Newcastle, where it decreased by almost 11%
- Wirral in Merseyside, where population decreased by just over 9%.

Secondly, Inverclyde's depopulation has continued even when the regional and national economy has been performing well and there has been strong inward migration to the UK. This is best exemplified by comparing and contrasting recent population change in Inverclyde and the rest of Glasgow City Region (GCR). Between 1990 and 2000, the population of Inverclyde decreased by 8% whilst that of the City Region decreased by 4%. Between 2001 and 2009 however, Inverclyde's population continued to fall by 5%, whilst the City Region's **increased** by 1%.

2.2.3 Population decline is selective

The nature of population decline in Inverclyde appears to have been highly selective. Our review of the age profile of the population shows that between 1981 and 2009:

- **The number of younger people has fallen sharply:** the number of people under 24 has decreased by a larger proportion (-42%; -16,865) than in either the City Region (-30%; -232,564) or Scotland (-22%; -437,655)
- **The working age population has decreased significantly:** the number of working age people has decreased by (-18%; -11,690). In GCR, it has fallen by -5% (-59,627) and in Scotland it has increased by 5% (161,263).³

In short, this leaves a population structure that is older and hence more likely to suffer from ill health or have social care requirements. The fall in the working age population also undermines the base of people who can contribute to Council Tax revenues to pay for services.

2.2.4 Population decline will not come to a halt of its own accord

While the rate of depopulation has shown some signs of slowing over the long-term there are two important issues that give cause for concern:

- The most recent population projections by GRO Scotland suggest Inverclyde's population could fall below 70,000 by 2025

² Although it should be noted that Knowsley experienced depopulation during the 1970s as well. Comparable data for Inverclyde is not available.

³ The Population Baseline Paper has full data on the nature of population change in Inverclyde, GCR and Scotland

- Analysis of the year in year population decline in Inverclyde suggests that population decline increased rapidly in the immediate aftermath of UK recessions.

Our consultations and the first stakeholder workshop confirmed the primacy afforded to addressing depopulation in the Inverclyde Single Outcome Agreement. In simple terms addressing depopulation remains the single most important issue for the Inverclyde area.

2.3 Implications of Depopulation

2.3.1 The scale and selective nature of depopulation has serious implications for the design and delivery of these services⁴

Our consultations with Heads of Service within the Council and with stakeholders highlighted that both the selective nature of depopulation and its scale have significant implications for the demand for public services and how they are delivered.

Selective depopulation means that there is:

- **Less demand for services associated with young people** – for instance nurseries and schools,
- **Increased demand for services from older groups** – social care, bus services, community-based health care
- **The benefits of economies of scale in service delivery are weakened over time** by continual depopulation
- **Strategic planning for service delivery is often more politically contentious** when driven by planning for contraction, rather than growth
- **There is some evidence that important local services and functions e.g. maternity services, police functions** – could be lost to the local area as population declines.
- **There are fears that if depopulation continues as projected then the case for Inverclyde remaining a unitary local authority could be undermined.**

⁴ For a fuller discussion of depopulation's implications for service delivery, see Appendix A

2.3.2 And population decline has serious implications for the wider economy

The consultations also highlighted that depopulation has significant and direct effects on the wider economy. Depopulation has the potential to undermine the ability of Inverclyde to attract and retain investment to create competitive retail, leisure and nightlife activities. The decline in the area's working age population also undermines the ability of existing firms to source labour locally and has the potential to undermine the area's attractiveness to potential inward investors.

2.4 Understanding Inverclyde's Depopulation

2.4.1 Population decline is part of a dynamic system

Basic population demographics highlights two main factors that contribute to population change in an area:

- **Natural change:** the difference between the number of people being born and the number that die in a given year.
- **Net migration:** the difference between the number of people arriving in and leaving an area in a year.

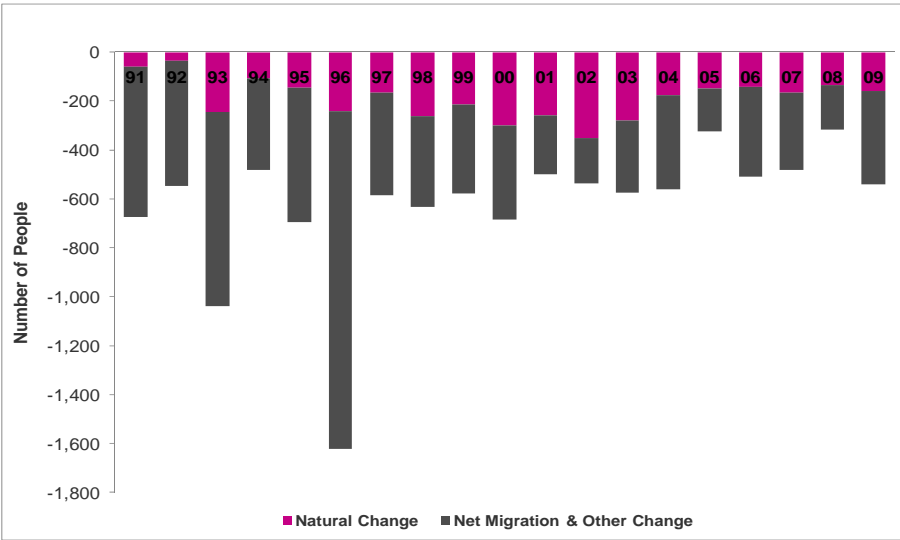
In emerging or developing economies, natural change is often the dominant driver in terms of population change. Indeed in the late 19th and early 20th Century, high birth rates, and declining death rates due to health and social improvements were a major contributor to population growth in Scotland. Natural change would have made a significant contribution to Inverclyde's population growth over the same period. In developed western European country economies, birth rates and death rates tend to be more stable and migration into and within countries is the dominant driver of population change.

The drivers of population change in Inverclyde today however are somewhat different. A commonly held view is that depopulation in Inverclyde today is occurring **solely a result of net migration i.e. people leaving the area**. The evidence however shows that while outward migration is important, it is only one part of a more complex system in which natural change plays a role as well.

2.4.230% of Inverclyde’s depopulation is as a result of natural change

Chart 2.1 disaggregates population change in Inverclyde between 1991 and 2009 into these two components of the ‘system’. **It shows that on average in any given year around 30% of all depopulation in Inverclyde was** not down to outward migration, but was **as a result of fewer births in Inverclyde than there were deaths.**

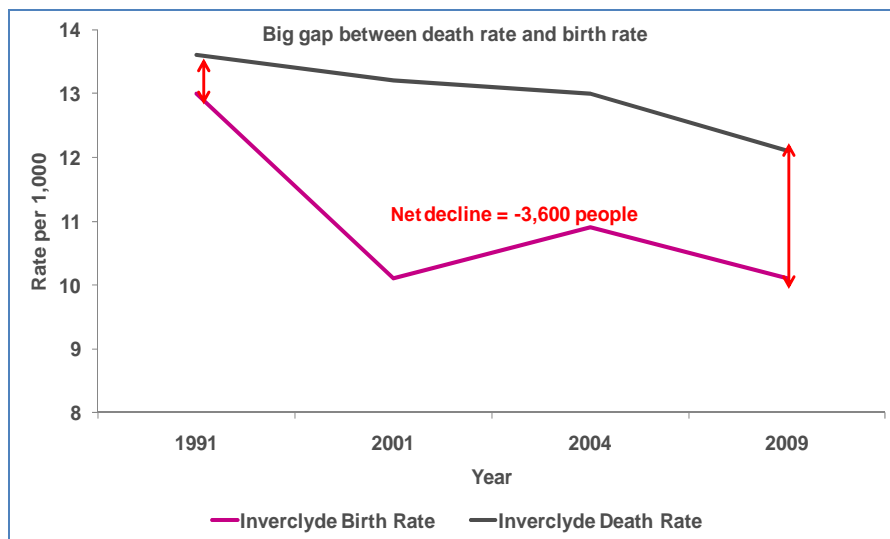
Chart 2.1: Natural Change and Net Migration, Inverclyde 1991-09



This natural decline is down to the interplay between a falling birth rate and relatively poorer improvement in death rates. Our analysis shows that Inverclyde has one of the lowest birth rates per 1,000 population in Scotland and one of the highest death rates. And between 1991 and 2009, the birth rate has fallen at a faster rate than the death rate, resulting in a net decline of 3,600 people. **Over the same period, the Glasgow City Region experienced a small rise in population due to natural change – a sharp contrast with Inverclyde⁵.**

Chart 2.2: Gap between death rate and birth rate in Inverclyde 1991-09

⁵ The Population Baseline Paper has full details of birth and death rates for Inverclyde, GCR and Scotland

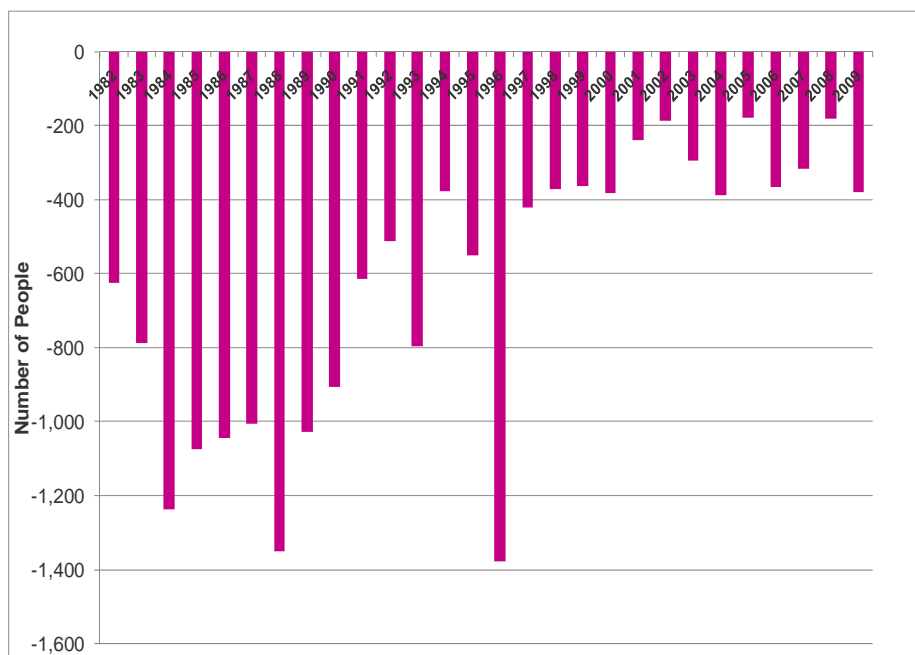


2.4.3 Nevertheless net migration is the dominant contributor to depopulation

While natural change is a significant underlying factor, negative net migration has been the main cause of Inverclyde's depopulation. Between 1981 and 2009, net migration accounted for around 70% of depopulation and 17,500 more people left Inverclyde than arrived⁶.

As Chart 2.3 shows, however, net migration is not a steady process. Net-migration was much higher in the mid-late 1980s than it is today and the scale of outward migration has begun to level off in absolute terms from 1998 onwards.

Chart 2.3: Net Migration, Inverclyde 1982-2009



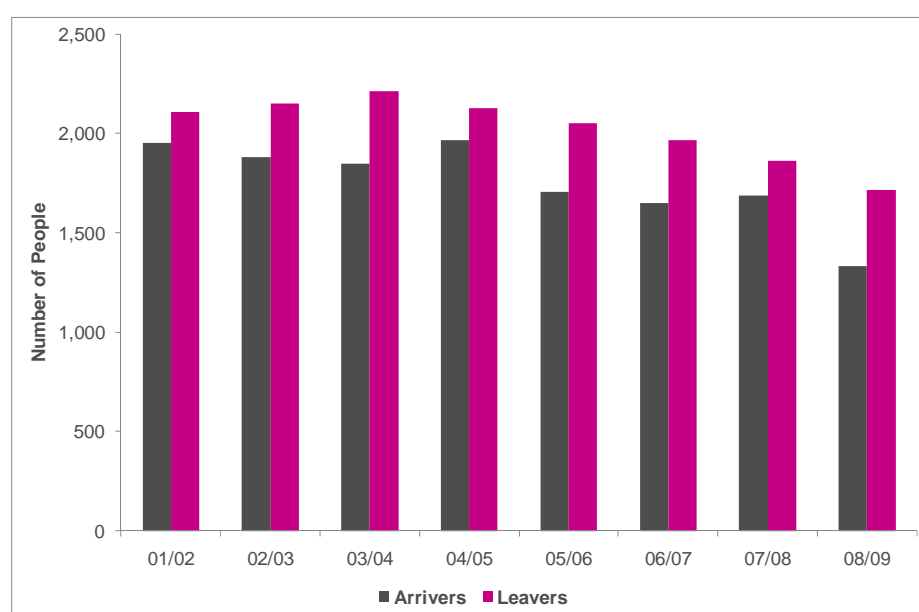
Source: GROS Migration Data 2011

⁶ Estimates of migration are derived from GP registrations. Published by GROS, it is the best available measure of migration flows to and from local authority areas in Scotland, and from local authorities in Scotland to the UK or overseas.

2.4.4 Migration is not a one way process

Finally it is important to note that migration is not a one way process – **it is a result of the relationship between two separate flows: one from Inverclyde and one to Inverclyde.** In recent years, almost as many people have arrived in Inverclyde as have left. Indeed between 2001 and 2009 data from NHS GP records (which capture some but not all data on migration) suggest that in an average year over 2,000 people leave Inverclyde and around 1,730 move into the area - a difference of around 270 per annum (Chart 2.4). Scaling this up to account for all known population loss this amounts to a net loss of around 340 people per year.

Chart 2.4: Arrivers to and Leavers from Inverclyde, 2001-09



Source: GROS Migration Data 2011

2.4.4 Stemming out-migration could be achieved by influencing around 150 households per year

The above analysis is important as it helps us to put some scale on the number of people who would have to be influenced to stem out- migration. **In essence out-migration could be arrested if the ‘right’ 340 people every year made the ‘right’ different decision on whether to move to or leave Inverclyde.** Put another way, with a Scottish average household size of around 2.2 people per household **any depopulation strategy would need to attract or retain around 150 households per year based on current trends.** The key challenge of course is how could these households be identified – and what are the factors that are most likely to influence their decisions?

2.5 What do we know about who is leaving and moving into Inverclyde?

One of the biggest gaps in terms of the evidence base is that there is no definitive data on who is moving in and out of Inverclyde – nor their specific reasons for doing so. Data from GRO Scotland does allow identification of where flows of population within Scotland and beyond are taking place but there is little evidence beyond this.

2.5.1 Where are people going to – and coming from?

The data shows that in terms of migration there are two main locations that people **leave Inverclyde to go to**: somewhere else in Glasgow City Region, and to somewhere else in the UK or overseas. This pattern holds true for **people moving into Inverclyde** as well. Between 2001 and 2009:

- 4,833 people left Inverclyde to live somewhere else in the City Region, yet 4,502 arrived from elsewhere in the City Region
- 5,947 people left Inverclyde for somewhere else in the UK, yet 5,696 arrived from elsewhere in the UK

2.5.2 Who might these people be and why are they moving?

As part of the workshops with stakeholders, and through the discussion in the focus groups, we identified four potential ‘typical’ households who were considered most likely to move to or from Inverclyde. These households were identified through looking at the wider evidence of population change by age group, stakeholder perceptions of what was socio-economic drivers in the wider city-region and anecdotal evidence from stakeholders.

This process identified two households who were considered most likely to be at risk of leaving Inverclyde:

- **Young People looking to improve their education or career prospects:** this would typically be a young adult of around 18-24 that either has a job or is looking for one. They are not necessarily considering having a family and may live alone or with a partner.
- **Ambitious young families:** Young families with children who were looking for a larger family home and/or improved career prospects.

The process also identified two typical households who were considered most to move into Inverclyde:

- **City Region Movers:** a professional couple with young children or who are thinking about starting a family. Currently, they live somewhere else in Glasgow City Region but are considering moving.
- **UK/Overseas Movers:** a professional couple currently living in another part of the UK or overseas. They may have older children and are likely to have family ties in Inverclyde or the Glasgow City Region and are considering moving back to be 'closer to home'.

In subsequent sections of the report we discuss the drivers that could play a part in determining where each of these households chooses to live.

2.6 Conclusions

The key messages from this chapter are summarised below.

2.6.1 The scale of population decline in Inverclyde

- Inverclyde's population decline has been dramatic - from a peak of 137,000 in 1951 it had fallen to around 80,000 in 2009
- It is suffered one of the steepest rates of population decline across the UK and this decline has not yet come to a halt
- Population decline has been selective and has had a greater impact on young people, young families and people of working age
- The scale and selective nature of population decline and change has major implications for the both the design and delivery of public services and the competitiveness and attractiveness of the local economy

- While depopulation is showing some signs of slowing, it will not come to a halt on its own – indeed the experience of the last 30 years is that the pace of depopulation in Inverclyde picks up as the Scottish economy exits recession.

2.6.2 What are the components of population change?

- Population change is not simply occurring as a result of people leaving Inverclyde – population change is part of a system that includes natural change and net migration
- Over the last 10 years 30% of total depopulation has resulted from natural change. In short more people are dying in Inverclyde than there are being born. This is to a large part as a result of a birth rate in Inverclyde that is amongst the lowest in the country
- Net migration is the dominant contributor to depopulation – and over the last 10 years this accounts for on average 340 people every year
- Annual levels of in-migration and out migration however dwarf this figure. On average around 2,000 people have moved out of Inverclyde on an annual basis. This has been balanced by an average of 1,650 people moving into the area on average each year
- Using data on household size and the scale of net-migration, it would appear plausible, that at current rates of change, out-migration could be stemmed by influencing as few a number as 150 households per year.
- A key challenge to achieving this however would be clearly identifying who these households are – and understanding the factors that are likely to influence their relocation decisions.

3. Why does depopulation occur?

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter highlighted the scale of Inverclyde's depopulation and why addressing depopulation is important. It also highlighted the processes that are contributing to depopulation in Inverclyde. A key challenge for the study was to assemble evidence on why depopulation – and in particular net-out migration, was occurring. We did this by:

- Reviewing academic literature on the wider causes of depopulation
- A review of social and economic data specific to Inverclyde
- Focus groups with community groups and young people on perceptions of Inverclyde
- A programme of consultations and workshops with local stakeholders

This section of the report summarises and brings together the data and evidence on the factors that are driving depopulation. In turn we present evidence on:

- The wider causes of depopulation, and how these relate to Inverclyde
- Socio-economic conditions in Inverclyde and how local people perceive the area

3.2 What do we know about the causes of depopulation?

There is a wide body of academic literature that considers the causes of depopulation in post industrial areas. The consultant team reviewed more than 20 academic studies covering locations that had experienced depopulation due to de-industrialisation and other factors including:

- Bilbao in Spain
- St Etienne in France
- Detroit, Michigan and other parts of Northern USA – commonly referred to as the Rust Belt
- A number of English cities including Liverpool, Manchester, Sheffield and St Helens
- Leipzig and Bremen in Germany.

This review offered some important insights into the drivers of depopulation – and the nature of responses that were made by local authorities and partners, though some caution needs to be exercised in making sense of the findings in relation to Inverclyde. This is largely because:

- These studies focused on cities and city-regions that are much larger in scale than Inverclyde
- Significant resources were brought to bear on interventions to address depopulation
- There was little evidence clear evidence in the effectiveness of one single response to addressing depopulation

The key messages from the literature review are summarised below.

3.2.1 Economic decline is a major driver of depopulation

In almost all of the comparator areas, **economic decline – through de-industrialisation – was the main initial driver of depopulation⁷**, particularly in those cities and areas that had once been dependent on heavy industries and manufacturing for economic prosperity. **Job losses** in skilled manufacturing industries **led to people leaving those cities and areas in the short term, while the failure to attract new jobs** in newer service based industries **in the longer term also diminished the employment prospects of those who stayed**. In short as employment prospects declined – so did population. **In almost all of the cities and areas reviewed, population decline was selective** and those with qualifications, skills and employment prospects were more likely to move than other groups.

This wider experience has obvious parallels with Inverclyde. Inverclyde's depopulation is closely associated with the decline of the shipbuilding industry in the area in the 1960s and 1970s and the wider transition from a manufacturing economy to a more service based economy in the 1980s and beyond.

But while the drain of skilled, well paid employment in Inverclyde has been slowed supported by significant public and private investment, population decline has continued largely unabated. The literature points to a wider range of factors that reinforce the initial problems caused by de-industrialisation.

⁷ Though other causes of depopulation were identified. These included Social reasons, such as the community tension in Belfast during the 1960s, 70s and 80s, and Political reasons, such as the re-unification of East Germany with West Germany in 1991 and the slum-clearance programmes of post-war Britain. For a fuller explanation of these, please see the Literature Review paper.

3.2.2 Other factors also assume importance and then reinforce population decline

Whilst de-industrialisation has undoubtedly been the major driver of depopulation in Inverclyde and beyond, the experience of other places suggest other factors then reinforce and build on the initial decline. These include:

- **Concentrations of poverty** – population decline driven by economic decline is typically selective. Those with the most choices often exercise these choices by leaving while those with fewer choices are less able to leave. This leads to concentrations of poverty and worklessness and can bring social problems such as drug abuse, family breakdown and crime. **These social problems then become drivers in themselves which cause more people to leave.**
- **Erosion of the skills base** - the literature review points to evidence in the medium term that skills base of an area – which was once an asset – can become eroded. The skills base of potential employees can also become undermined by extended periods of worklessness **This makes it more difficult for surviving companies – and new businesses - to find labour with the right skills.** .
- **Mutiplier effects of initial job losses** - skilled jobs provide important anchors for local economies and generate income that is spent locally on other goods and services. High levels of job loss in a short space of time can then undermine the viability of local retail and commercial offerings – **which in turn lessen the attractiveness of a area as a place to stay.**
- **Oversupply of housing and business property** - as places shrink, both economically and in population terms, there is an oversupply of housing and industrial and commercial property. This creates problems of dereliction, drives down prices and property and commerical markets cease functioning effectively. **Low levels of development make it difficult to create modern residential and commercial property to attract new businesses and people.**
- **Business and civic confidence** – the literature suggests that unsurprisingly the above factors can lead to a loss of confidence in the the prospects for declining areas. **As an area becomes associated with the problems of decline, ambitious businesses and people can perceive that there are better economic or**

employment prospects elsewhere, even though the initial period of economic decline may have stabilised or been arrested.

- **Image** – while economic decline and depopulation affect the internal confidence of an area, they also effect external perceptions. **There is evidence that declining areas find it more difficult to attract investment in new industries and sectors even when there are significant financial and other incentives available.**

Again these are issues that will not be unfamiliar in Inverclyde. Crucially, together they can act to undermine the ability of an area to respond to wider social and economic trends.

3.3 Wider social and economic trends also impact on population

It is important also to consider some of the wider changes that have taken place over the last 30 years that have important implications for the relative competitiveness and attractiveness of Inverclyde. They have either made people more likely to move elsewhere or have made other locations more attractive as places to live work or play. These issues are not exclusive to Inverclyde and have had impacts – some positive and some negative – on places all across the Scotland and the UK. .

3.3.1 The transition from an industrial to post-industrial economy

The shift from an economy based around manufacturing and production to one based on services – and increasingly knowledge – has changed the mix in terms of what makes a place a competitive location for economic activity. Old advantages of proximity to raw materials and markets, the availability of large scale sites or the ability to move heavy goods by rail or water have been replaced by other imperatives such as the need for access to a broad pool of skilled workers, strong regional and international transport networks to move people rather than goods and excellent digital connectivity.

3.3.2 Cities as economic dynamos

The last 20 years have witnessed the re-emergence of cities as drivers of economic growth within their city regions. Cities can offer many of the advantages highlighted above as well as access to large graduate labour pools, research expertise within a range of Higher and Further Education institutions, and a stimulating cultural, social and retail offer. Our cities are

also the main location for some of the fastest growing employment sectors over the last 20 years including financial services, the professional and business services sector and the public sector in the form of both local government and national government agencies. **However the strong growth in *employment* in cities has not been matched by similar levels of *population* growth.** Instead cities have made use of regional transport networks and increased car ownership to draw in commuters from right across their city regions.

3.3.3 Increased demand for higher level skills

As the Scottish and UK economies have moved towards higher value added activities, employers have been increasingly demanding higher level skills from staff. There has also been a huge expansion of the Higher Education sector in Scotland. In 2009 some 40% of all school leavers took up a place at a University. Fewer than one in five went into a job straight from school. This makes it likely that an ambitious young person today will move away from their home area for access to degree level education. Thirty years ago however they might have made the transition from school into the workplace, which was often based locally.

3.3.4 Changing patterns of shopping and consumption

The last 20 years also witnessed massive changes in shopping and consumption patterns. Growing wages, wealth, and disposable income have driven the growth of the retail sector and the restaurant and hospitality sectors as people indulge in their seemingly favourite pastimes of shopping and eating out. Glasgow city centre has now become the second biggest retail centre outside central London offering a range of shopping that attracts people from across the UK and beyond. The city has also seen a complementary increase in the number and range of cafes and restaurants it can boast.

At the same time there has been a huge shift in the balance between town centre shopping – which once dominated – towards out of town shopping and more recently online shopping. All of these issues have impacted significantly on town centres and their health and attractiveness. Importantly they have had negative impacts on town centres in areas that have stable or growing populations as well as those where population is declining.

3.3.5 These factors will continue to shift – and shape places

Recognising the impact of these forces is important. Even if the decline of Inverclyde's economic base had not been as dramatic as it was, these forces would all have had an

impact on how Inverclyde functions as a place. They have all impacted on economically successful places as well as on declining places.

A key challenge for successful places is to adapt and respond to these realities. While some places such as Edinburgh or Glasgow might have the advantage, as cities, of having economic headwinds in their favour, many other places have found ways to respond and adapt to these changes. This has involved different approaches including attracting commuters, promotion of their areas as leisure or visitor destinations or by capitalising on the rising demand for shopping and consumption by becoming specialist retail centres.

3.4 What do local people think of Inverclyde?

The above discussion highlighted some of the factors that drive depopulation and some of the factors that have influenced economic and social change. The remainder of this chapter explores the views of Inverclyde residents gathered through a series of focus groups with Citizen Panel members, as well as those of local stakeholders who were consulted as part of the study. We have organised these findings around the key issues that drive depopulation.

3.4.1 Jobs and the economy

Securing employment opportunities for local people has long been a central issue for Inverclyde, with the health of the jobs market seen as crucial to the future vitality and attractiveness of the area. In the most recent Citizens Panel Survey conducted in Winter 2010/11, 90% of respondents reported that tackling the lack of employment opportunities was one of the key issues that would encourage people to stay in Inverclyde.

In addition to concerns about the volume of opportunities, the focus groups suggested that **Inverclyde's economy offers fewer high quality employment opportunities than other areas and fewer jobs that offer opportunities for progression.** This is an immediate issue for people of working age. The focus groups also suggested that this is also a longer term issue for young people planning to attend university or college after leaving school. **Young people reported that they were unlikely to return to Inverclyde if there was little chance of securing a job that would match their education/skill levels.**

Participants in the focus groups also felt there were few skilled employment opportunities for those people that had formerly worked in skilled occupations in heavy industry. Economic development stakeholders working in Inverclyde concurred with

this view **although there was recognition that wider economic forces made a return to the days of heavy engineering and manufacturing a remote possibility.**

This view of Inverclyde as an area with a higher proportion of lower skilled jobs is supported by the occupational data. Data from the Office for National Statistics shows that Inverclyde has a lower concentration of professional (9%) and skilled trades occupations (9%) than in Scotland (13% and 11%).

3.4.2 A low wage economy?

Importantly this leads to a view amongst local people that there are few well paid employment opportunities locally. In two focus groups with Citizen's Panel members, Inverclyde's lack of well paid employment opportunities was seen as a major reason why people would leave Inverclyde or would not move in. There was a general perception that employers are able to pay lower wages because they know that people have fewer choices than in other areas. This was a view shared by the young people that the study team consulted with.

However the evidence on wages is contradictory to the views expressed in the focus groups. In 2010, gross median⁸ weekly wages for full-time work in Inverclyde were £480. This was the fourth highest in Glasgow City Region after East Dunbartonshire (£525), Renfrewshire (£516), and North Lanarkshire (£481), and slightly less than Scotland (£488). Part-time work in Inverclyde is second highest paid (£168) in Glasgow City Region after East Dunbartonshire (£169), and better paid than in Scotland as a whole (£160).

3.4.3 Housing choice and quality

Housing quality and desirability of neighbourhoods can be important determinants in the location decisions of households. The focus groups offered a range of views on Inverclyde's housing choice.

Focus group participants acknowledged the significant and recent modernisation of the public sector housing stock in Inverclyde. Many of the older high-rise towers have been demolished and replaced with new low-rise, medium density housing estates. Areas such as Bowfarm and Branchton have also been extensively redeveloped. This was viewed positively. **However, there were concerns about the continuing stigma attached to some neighbourhoods and locations within Inverclyde.** Some participants raised concerns about continuing problems in neighbourhoods adjacent to regeneration areas or

⁸ The median is the half way point between the highest and lowest income

new build estates, with one person noting that work to create “some really nice areas is undone by having big problems of crime and drugs just along the road.”

The focus groups and consultations also highlighted a strong divide in terms of how the housing market operates in Inverclyde. In large parts of Greenock and Port Glasgow the socially rented sector is a strong component of the market, and there had been a strong emphasis on physical and neighbourhood regeneration. More recently the joint work of the Urban Regeneration Company and the Council has helped to unlock private sector development of family homes and two or three bedroom flats along the waterfront in particular. **Housing in these areas was generally seen as affordable and accessible – though some concern was raised about the quality of private rented accommodation for young people** – particularly those seeking to attend the local college or to work in Inverclyde.

At the same time some issues were raised about housing affordability in other more desirable parts of Inverclyde such as the west end of Greenock, Kilmacolm, Langbank and Gourock. A mix of high house prices and limited new supply in these areas was seen as a major barrier to living in the area for a person who, for example, held a well paid senior job in Inverclyde. **This lack of supply in the right places was also seen as a factor that could inhibit families and other potential in-migrants from moving into Inverclyde.**

3.4.4 Quality of education

The quality of education in an area can be an important factor in a household's locational decision-making. Good school performance in exam results and in the general quality of teaching can have a positive impact on demand for housing and house prices in that school's catchment area.⁹

In both Citizens Panel focus groups there was recognition that Inverclyde's secondary schools are a key strength of the area and that "the standard of education in Inverclyde is very high". In the latest Citizens' Panel Survey, only 11% of respondents thought that education provision needed to be improved.

This strong performance is reflected in excellent positive destination outcomes for school leavers. In 2009/10, the proportion of school leavers in Inverclyde who went onto positive destinations was at 89%, slightly above the average for the Glasgow City Region (88%) and Scotland (87%). At the same time Inverclyde made substantial reductions in the number of young people not in employment, education or training – falling from 660 to 420 (a decrease of 36%) between 2003 and 2009.

The consultations with stakeholders however suggested that this strong performance was probably not well recognised outwith Inverclyde. There were suggestions that this was an underutilised opportunity and that more could be done to market this to developers and parents.

In terms of Further Education, provision at James Watt College was well regarded and the Council and the College have worked closely to develop integrated provision for those making the transition from school to FE. FE provision was perceived to be broadly aligned with local employment demand and local learner demand.

Local access to Higher Education opportunities is seen to be more limited. This is as a result of both the College withdrawing from HE provision such as HNCs and HNDs in favour of more flexible vocational provision and the strength and draw of the offer available in Glasgow and the wider city region. There was a recognition that people would most likely have to travel outwith Inverclyde to take part in Higher Education.

⁹ Department for Communities and Local Government (2010), *"Housing Wealth Inequality: Economics Paper 6 Volume 1"*, p.40

3.4.5 Crime and Safety

Inverclyde is not perceived as a particularly safe place to live by some local people, although this varies significantly between different communities. The focus groups raised concerns about issues of drug and alcohol abuse, violent crime and anti-social behaviour. In one Citizens' Panel focus group, participants reported that they had difficulty selling their homes due to the presence of people with drug-abuse issues.

Young people reported that there is a real issue with gang culture and territoriality. A majority of focus group participants stated that they felt intimidated when out in the community due to fears of being harassed by local gangs. **This lack of safety was one of the reasons they considered moving away from Inverclyde.** In the latest Citizens' Panel survey, 79% of people aged 16-24 and 81% of people aged 24-35 reported that levels of crime was a key issue that needed to be tackled to encourage people to stay in Inverclyde. Consultees acknowledged the negative impact that levels of crime, and fear of crime, have on both resident and non-resident views of Inverclyde.

These high levels of fear about crime and safety are however are at odds with the evidence. Between 2005 and 2010 the total number of crimes recorded in Inverclyde fell by 26%, compared with a 3% decrease in Strathclyde. In terms of violent crime and anti-social behaviour related offences:

- Common assaults fell by 27%, compared to a 2% increase in Strathclyde
- Breach of the peace fell by 21% compared to an increase of 4% in Strathclyde
- Supply and possession of drugs fell by 24% and 35% respectively, compared to a 25% increase and a 1% reduction respectively in Strathclyde

Analysis conducted by the Safer and Inclusive Communities team in Inverclyde Council suggested that 130 people are responsible for 80% of crime. And crime that is committed is carried out in very defined geographical areas. Strathclyde Police report that particular crime 'hotspots' included Port Glasgow, the East End of Greenock, Greenock town centre, and Larkfield.

3.4.6 Image and perceptions

As we have noted earlier in this chapter, the image of an area and how it is perceived is crucial in attracting new people and retaining population. Throughout the focus groups and stakeholder consultations undertaken for the study, Inverclyde's negative image was a recurring theme. All of the factors we have discussed above, around the lack of

employment opportunities, crime and safety and the distressed neighbourhoods were cited as contributing to this poor image.

However, evidence from the Scottish Household Survey suggests that people in other areas of Scotland view their local area in much the same way as residents from Inverclyde view their local area:

- The proportion of Inverclyde residents rating their local area as a poor place to live (9%) is broadly similar to that of Glasgow City Region (8%) and slightly higher than Scotland (7%).
- A slightly higher proportion of adults in Inverclyde (97%) feel safe when at home alone at night (GCR 96%; Scotland 96%).
- A slightly higher proportion of adults in Inverclyde (16%) perceive that drug misuse or dealing is common in their area (GCR 14%; Scotland 14%)

3.4.7 A competitive leisure and retail offer?

Earlier in the chapter we highlighted the importance of a vibrant leisure and retail offer to attractiveness. The focus groups suggested a mixed picture in terms of Inverclyde's offer.

The sport and leisure offer is well regarded, particularly by young people. Those consulted suggested there are good opportunities to take part in a variety of sports for example, and several facilities they can use. Only 9% of respondents in the Citizens Panel survey reported the sports and leisure facilities needed to be improved.

Inverclyde Leisure Trust has invested heavily in new facilities in Inverclyde and a modernisation programme has seen 3,000 people become members of its gyms. **Data on use of leisure and sporting facilities in Inverclyde suggests strong and growing use of leisure facilities.** The total number of visits increased by 11% between 2008 and 2010, with visits to swimming pools up by 12% and to other indoor sports facilities by 9%. Taken together, it would seem that Inverclyde has a competitive offer in terms of sports facilities.

Inverclyde is perceived to be an attractive place to live in terms of the amount of greenspace and its proximity to the Firth of Clyde and related water-based activities. Across all the focus groups, including those with young people, Inverclyde's waterfront was felt to be a real advantage. And in the Citizens Panel survey, 72% reported that the countryside and coast was what they liked most about living in Inverclyde. Stakeholders also reported that Inverclyde's natural assets are a strength that should be promoted more.

It was felt that promoting these natural assets could help to attract those people that value this type of quality of life and to improve the image of the area as an outdoors-friendly local authority. Beyond sports and fitness facilities and the natural environment however other messages were less positive.

There was a feeling that the local entertainment offer, for example the cinema and theatre, was weak and that people were likely to travel to Glasgow or beyond for cultural activity. In common with many places, there was also a perceived lack of things to do for young people and in teenagers in particular. There was also a view that affordability of leisure can act as a barrier for children and young people.

Citizen Panel focus group participants reported that parks were not safe for their children, and in recent years many parks had not been kept in a satisfactory state of repair. Balancing this however, a minority of respondents to the Citizens Panel survey (19%) felt that Inverclyde's parks and open spaces most needed to be improved.

In terms of retail, young people and Citizens' Panel members felt that Inverclyde has a poor quality offer. People stated they were likely to shop outside Inverclyde for comparison and leisure shopping in centres such as Braehead or in Glasgow city-centre. And 31% of respondents to the Citizens Panel survey reported retail and shopping as an aspect of Inverclyde that most needed improvement. Consultees acknowledged a lack of 'higher-end' retail in Inverclyde. While flagship retailers such as Tesco have anchored Port Glasgow and Greenock, interest from other retailers is reported to be very low. One of the key reasons for this is perceived low levels of local consumer demand.

The night-time economy offer, including bars, restaurants and nightclubs, was also felt to be generally poor quality, however it was acknowledged that this varied by area. Within Inverclyde Gourock was perceived to be a popular choice for eating out and bars, while Kilmacolm also had a strong and mixed local offer. However people we consulted in the focus groups were more likely to spend evening leisure time outwith Inverclyde in places such as Paisley or Glasgow City Centre. The night time offer for young people was seen as particularly weak.

3.5 Conclusions

This chapter has shown that in addition to the initial problem of economic and industrial decline, a series of other factors have had the effect of compounding and building on initial population decline. Over time these issues have the potential to be as big a barrier to attracting and retaining residents as the jobs that were lost thirty years ago. It has also shown that there have been major economic and social shifts in Scotland and the UK over the last thirty years which have changed the basis of what makes a place an attractive place to live. These forces have required towns and cities across the country to respond – whether economic headwinds were in their favour or not.

This chapter has also examined the evidence on how Inverclyde performs in terms of some of the fundamental characteristics of what makes a place an attractive place to live. Here the evidence confirms some widely known truths. Inverclyde does not, and has not for some time, offer as broad a range of employment opportunities as it once did, nor as broad as local stakeholders would like to see. The town's retail and private sector leisure offer is perceived to be weak, with the result that local residents are likely to spend a significant proportion of their time, and money, outwith the Inverclyde area. And the area has an enduring issue with its image – both internally and externally.

However the chapter has also highlighted that Inverclyde has come considerable strengths and that some of its 'problems' are similar in scale to other areas. Inverclyde's schools have an excellent and vastly improved record in terms of educational attainment, and in terms of performance and modernity compare with the best of other local authority areas. While the range of jobs may not be as broad as stakeholders would like, for those in employment, wages compare favourably with the rest of city-region. And Inverclyde has a good range of sports and publically owned leisure facilities and has, in parts, an outstanding natural environment.

Building upon and communicating the above strengths, while addressing – where it is possible – these weaknesses can provide a strong basis for addressing Inverclyde's depopulation.

In the next chapter we review some of the evidence on how other places across the UK and beyond have developed strategies to address depopulation.

4. How have other places responded to population decline?

4.1 Introduction

As part of the study we reviewed the experience of locations across Europe, the UK and the US who had experienced population decline. In this section of the report we summarise some of the strategies and approaches that have been adopted. The review of approaches is based around five key themes identified in the literature including:

- Economic restructuring
- Skills and employability
- Infrastructure Investment
- Housing growth
- Cultural regeneration

We also discuss some of the lessons from the successful approaches.

4.2 Economic Restructuring

As national economies have become more globalised and integrated, they have been subject to wider economic forces whose effects have played out regionally and locally. In areas that formerly relied on heavy industry the effects of globalisation have been pronounced, resulting in contraction of manufacturing and resultant unemployment.

Unsurprisingly economic growth policies have been a central component of many strategies to address depopulation across the UK, Europe and the US. The case study areas share a number of common characteristics in terms of their approaches.

A key area of common ground amongst the case studies is the identification and promotion of clearly defined economic sectors. In **Bremen** this took the form of the city rebranding itself a *City of Science* and focussing growth assistance on a number of sectors including high-technology aerospace, maritime and logistics. In **St Etienne**, the city authorities aggressively pursued state funding through the government's cluster policy and

identified two sectors for support – mechanics and sports and leisure. **Leipzig** looked to develop clusters in five industries, some pre-existing and others that were emerging growth industries including: car manufacturing and suppliers; media; IT and communication technology; health, biotechnology & medical technology; and a multi-sector group including the trade fair, financial services and logistics. In **Glasgow** in the 1990s there was a specific focus on targeted support for the development of the **financial services sector** and the **tourism sector** – with a specific focus on the business conference market and major events.

In most cases this focus on sectors comes alongside a balanced approach between **attracting inward investment and focussing on indigenous growth**. Inward investment has played an important role in attracting jobs to many of the case study areas, however in almost all cases this took place alongside efforts to support engagement with existing companies. This is particularly important in terms of the focus on promoting new sectors. The best examples of growing new sectors invariably involved growing the sector around some pre-existing strength in the company base, not solely attracting footloose investment for inward investment's sake.

This emphasis on targeting specific sectors can bring a number of benefits. There is evidence that **it can help focus scarce resources to maximise impact** and in addition **bring coherence to the contribution that other partners can make, for example in skills or further education**. In addition **it can assist with marketing locations to investors and companies and help to create a sense of internal and external confidence**.

4.3 Investment in Infrastructure

The quality of an area or city's infrastructure is essential to its competitiveness. Well-functioning transport and tele-communications networks are important factors in the locations of businesses. And effective transport links between employment nodes and residential areas can help to reduce congestion and minimise commuting times.

Many of the places examined in the review had invested significantly in infrastructure to help attract households and to improve access to employment opportunities. **Bremen**, in an attempt to transform its image from that of an old industrial city to a modern city of science,

invested heavily in improving transport infrastructure for its newly created business and technology parks. The aim of this was to improve access to these business parks as well as to service the city's airport, which had experienced a significant increase in passenger numbers since it became one of Ryanair's European hubs in 2007. These projects were subsidised heavily with funding from both the EU and the national government-backed Special Investment Programme.

Leipzig's significant investment in its transport infrastructure includes modernisation of its main train station and a programme of either improving existing or building new motorways. The purpose of these developments was to ensure that the city was well placed to compete with out-of-town retail developments and improve transport facilities and accessibility to the city for both tourists and residents. In addition to this, a planned 'city tunnel' aims to improve suburban and regional train connections.

Infrastructural developments in **Bilbao** were aimed at improving accessibility and connections at both a local and international level. The city invested some €934 million on regional metro lines to improve connectivity and reduce commuting times. They invested a further €630 million on expanding and modernising their port. Funds were also invested in building a new airport terminal and modernising parts of the existing airport facility in order to improve the city's accessibility for both passengers and goods.

Finally, **St Etienne**, seeking to capitalise on its proximity to Lyon (a major economic hub just 60 miles away) increased the frequency of inter-city trains and regenerated stations at both ends of the route. The aim of this was to encourage Lyon's businesses and workforce to consider taking advantage of the comparatively cheaper property costs in St Etienne and to improve access to jobs in the Lyon area for St Etienne residents.

The infrastructure developments across these cities were delivered with a range of different objectives in mind, including: to improve international connectivity (either through airport or port developments); to improve commuting times for those coming to work in the city; or to attract new residents to the region. The example of **St Etienne** is interesting as it reveals the benefits of collaborating as part of a growing city-region. .

It is also worth noting that one of the main observations from the review of these developments is the fact that the majority are large-scale, expensive capital projects which are almost always heavily subsidised with money from either central government or the European Union. In a period of public sector cuts and diminishing European Union funding, this raises issues about the ability to deliver investment in such a scale in Inverclyde.

4.4 Employability and Skills Initiatives

The review in Chapter Two highlighted the danger that depopulation can bring in terms of undermining the skills base of a declining area. A number of the case study areas developed employment and skills interventions to help address these issues. The interventions identified in the literature covered three broad approaches. At one end of the scale there is a focus on **mechanisms that seek to connect local people, often out of work with existing employment opportunities in the local area.** **Sheffield and St Helen's** have developed employment and skills initiatives as a response to their areas' decline. These included job matching services (JOBMatch) and job brokerages (Jobnet), both of which attempted to find people with suitable skills for employment vacancies that were advertised locally. JOBmatch also works with those companies which are either already in the area or those which are considering moving to **Sheffield.**

In **St Etienne**, this approach was allied with a targeted skills programme that sought to improve skills within the existing workforce, particularly in the SME sector. The rationale behind this was that improving skills and productivity within the SME sector would stimulate job creation and create opportunities for other people who were unemployed. This approach has echoes in Scottish practice with interventions such as the Job Rotation / Workforce Development Programme formerly run by Renfrewshire Workforce Plus which sought to ally employee development and promotion with a job vacancy filling service.

There are also some local examples of case studies which highlight the importance of connecting local people with the job opportunities that flow from inward investment or off the back of investment in regeneration. For example, in 2006, Greater Pollok Development Company co-ordinated a partnership with Tesco and Cardonald College, in order to secure a number of new job opportunities for local residents. The Tesco superstore was moving to the area as part of the Silverburn shopping centre development and the employment clause

secured some 60 jobs for local residents in the new superstore. Cardonald College delivered a six week pre-employment programme to ensure that the candidates were ready for work when the new store opened.

In a similar vein, Glasgow City Council is using community benefit clauses in its procurement for the 2014 Commonwealth Games to maximise the recruitment and training benefits for local residents. An example of how this has worked in reality is the case of VHE, a specialist remediation contractor which is part of the team working on the physical developments for the games. VHE employed six local people to work on the remediation of the Athletes Village site and in total, is expected to employ some 10% of their project workforce as a New Entrant Trainee.

The final example which we have identified is that of **Bremen**. The cornerstone of the city's approach to regeneration was its reinvention as a 'city of science'. The local university had previously established its reputation in social sciences and humanities. However, in the 1980s, it was decided that a change in focus was required. This was driven by the fact that the city was undergoing an economic restructuring and the university needed to be able to support the move towards high-level technologies, engineering and natural sciences. New faculties were created to reflect this whilst existing science faculties were further developed. As Bremen's restructure has a focus on highly-skilled sectors, this generated fewer opportunities for the lower-skilled workforce. As a result, the city has created an employment and training agency, Bremer Arbeit GmbH (BAG) to address these issues.

A key lesson from the case studies is that employment and skills interventions can play an important part of improving people's job prospects and as a result helping to arrest depopulation through out-migration. This can be done by connecting people with existing jobs in the area, connecting people to jobs that are coming into an area, or by connecting residents to jobs in the wider city-region.

4.5 Housing-led/Neighbourhood Renewal Regeneration

The creation of clean, safe neighbourhoods that have a mix of quality housing is an important determinant of an area's attractiveness. In a number of the areas reviewed, targeted approaches towards improving the quality and scale of housing supply was an important

feature of depopulation strategies. However, the drivers underpinning housing renewal differed between places. In **Baltimore** during the mid-1990s, the County administration led the development of a strategy to systematically address the decline that it had experienced in its suburban areas¹⁰. The overarching goal of the strategy was to conserve areas that had already been built, as well as construct new housing stock. Investment took a number of forms:

- Demolition of 56 run-down housing buildings in Dundalk
- Construction of 261 single-family housing units, 176 apartments, and amenities such as community swimming pool in Essex
- Restoration of 549 housing units in Tidewater village, along with construction of a playground and parks.

Baltimore's example is one that is often cited as good practice in urban renewal. Three lessons have been identified:

- The political will existed to confront the decline that Baltimore had experienced. Planners were therefore given a mandate to address the issues and to develop a strategy of renewal.
- Local government and all its partners shared the same goal and worked strongly together to make it happen.
- Local government had control over its local tax base through the levying of a local income tax. The revenues this generated were then used specifically for urban renewal.

In **St Helen's**, the focus was on attracting new residents and capitalising on the town's good rails and road connections to the wider Manchester and Liverpool city regions. The Council set out an approach which focused on developing affordable new homes in the town centre which were designed specifically to be attractive to young graduates.

In **Leipzig**, addressing the rising vacancy rates and the increasingly dysfunctional nature of the housing market made housing renewal a top political priority. In 2000, the city published

¹⁰ Vicino, TJ (2008), *"The Quest to Confront Suburban Decline – Political Realities and Lessons"*, Urban Affairs Review Vol43 no4

an urban development plan that targeted housing and urban renewal. To help achieve this, the city sought to demolish 15-20,000 properties by 2010 and build housing on a smaller scale to help reduce housing supply and reduce vacancy rates. Leipzig also aimed to improve the quality of life of its inner-city residents, and thereby attract middle-class households back to the city. To do this, it implemented projects such as temporarily allowing private property to be used as public spaces, and giving artistic groups rent-free accommodation in buildings that were not marketable. These strategies have, it has been claimed, helped to create attractive and inexpensive inner-city housing options.¹¹ Leadership has been an important part of the turnaround in Leipzig. Directly-elected city mayors and a succession of skilled staff in key positions have been central in developing the housing market renewal projects (and other interventions) described above.

4.6 Cultural Regeneration

The literature review highlighted how the vibrancy of an area can be achieved by successfully attracting and retaining a diverse population. One part of this is ensuring that there is a range of diverse cultural activities, including sports, museums, bars, and restaurants that appeal to a wide range of interests.

This has been a main priority for several of the study areas. Cultural regeneration has been used to turn round their images as declining or moribund. For example, **Liverpool's** designation as City of Culture 2008 and the activities it undertook during that year helped it to change businesses', residents' and visitors' perceptions of the area. A similar effect occurred in **East Manchester** following the Commonwealth Games in 2002.

Belfast is also an example of a city where regeneration efforts adopted a cultural approach. There was a drive to transform perceptions about Belfast as it felt that it was perceived as a deindustrialised city with significant, and often dangerous, social tensions. As the Troubles have featured prominently in the city's recent past, the ambition was to reinvent Belfast as a modern and culturally vibrant city. There are a number of developments in Belfast's regeneration portfolio which fit within this category:

- Cathedral Quarter – a cultural quarter which is home to Belfast's art and craft scene.

¹¹ Ploger, J (2007), "Leipzig City Report" p.30

- Waterfront Hall – opened in 1997 as a venue for conferences and other cultural events
- Odyssey Complex – opened in 2000 and includes retail facilities, a cinema and an arena which is used for both sports and concerts

Cultural regeneration was also an important aspect in the approach adopted in **St Etienne**. The city's mayor set out an ambition to attract professional workers, with a high disposable income, into St Etienne. However, he recognised that these people would largely have their pick of where they could live so wanted to create a strong residential offer which would give St Etienne its own image an advantage in attracting new residents. One of the city's flagship infrastructure projects was the Zenith – a concert stadium with a capacity for 7,200 people. In addition to this, a new music theatre and the ongoing promotion of the city's museums is seen to add to the cultural offer in St Etienne.

In **Bilbao**, redevelopment of brownfield land which had previously been home to harbour and railway infrastructure, created usable land for development. It was on this site that the Guggenheim museum was built using public sector funding of €144 million. The museum opened in 1997, attracting around one million visitors in its first year. The museum may have played an important role in bringing about the significant increase in visitor numbers to Bilbao or the fact that the site upon which the museum was built is now attracting additional private-sector inward investment.

The review suggests that cities and regions adopt a cultural-led approach to regeneration for a range of reasons. For some it is about reinventing image and addressing negative perceptions about deindustrialisation, poverty, poor housing stock and crime. Related to this some regions have used cultural regeneration as a tool to attract mobile, professional workers. And for others the emphasis has been on attracting mobile international investment or tourism expenditure.

Similar to the cities discussed in this section, Inverclyde too faces some challenges relating to its image, both internally and externally, relating to deindustrialisation, deprived communities and crime. While a Guggenheim on the Clyde might be an unrealistic ambition for Inverclyde, **other place promotion activities such as the Tall Ships Race have the potential to change internal and external perceptions of the area.**

4.7 Overview of the case studies

The table overleaf identifies the key approaches adopted by the case study regions and cities covered in the literature review and highlights the extent to which the case studies were successful in turning round population decline.

Table 4.1: Responses to Population Decline by Area

Area	Responses to Decline							Impact on Population			
	Cultural Regenerati on	Economic Restructuri ng	Employme nt & Skills	Housin g	Infrastructu re	Inward Investme nt	Physical Developme nt	Growt h	Declin e Slowe d	Stabilise d	
Baltimore first-tier suburbs											
Dundalk	×	✓	×	✓	×	×	✓	×	×	×	
Essex	×	✓	×	✓	×	×	✓	×	×	×	
Middle River	×	✓	×	✓	×	×	✓	×	×	×	
Belfast	✓	✓	×	✓	✓	×	✓	×	✓	×	
Bremen	×	✓	×	✓	✓	✓	✓	×	×	✓	
Bilbao	×	✓	×	✓	✓	×	×	✓	×	×	
Leipzig	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	×	×	✓	
Liverpool	✓	×	×	✓	×	×	✓	×	×	✓	
Manchester	✓	×	×	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	×	×	
Sheffield	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	×	×	
St Etienne	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	×	✓	×	
St Helen's	✓	×	✓	✓	✓	×	✓	✓	×	×	

C= Cultural Regeneration; ER= Economic Restructuring; E&S= Employment and Skills; H= Housing; I=Infrastructure; II=Inward Investment; P=Physical Development

4.8 What are the lessons from the case studies?

The review of the case studies offers a number of lessons in terms of approaches to reversing depopulation in Inverclyde. These are summarised below:

- **Addressing de-population requires both a long term commitment and significant resources** – in each of the case studies activities to turn round depopulation were delivered over a 20 year+ timescale – and involved significant sums of public and private investment
- **A clearly agreed vision based on an understanding of what is driving change is crucial** – having a clear vision of the scale and nature of the underlying problems and how they can be addressed is also important if effective interventions are to be designed and the activities of partners aligned
- **Successful re-population strategies involve a range of different interventions – there is no one silver bullet to addressing depopulation.** While the economy and housing are important elements, each of the case study areas blended these interventions with strategies for skills, infrastructure and the vibrancy of the area.
- **The linkages between these interventions is important too** – aligning different interventions makes sense from an efficiency and effectiveness point of view but they need to be linked to achieving the same goal. Efforts to attract new jobs will not be fully successful if the local residents who are expected to benefit do not have the skills to compete for those jobs.
- **Successful approaches to repopulation have at their heart attempts to make the place better for existing residents AND attempting to attract new people to live in the area.** This twin focus improves the

chances of success by addressing both elements of the flow that contribute to net outward migration

- **Repopulating an area often requires looking outwith the local area and connecting into opportunities in the wider city-region.** Economically declining local areas often become decoupled and feel excluded from the wider changes taking place in their regional economies. This is an important barrier that needs to be overcome. The case studies have examples where this is achieved through connecting local businesses with wider market opportunities; investing in rail and road connections to help people access jobs outwith the area; and investment in housing to attract commuters
- **Economic interventions should work with the grain of wider economic forces** – a key characteristic of the successful economic approaches is that they look forward –not back – and try to connect declining local economies with growth drivers in the wider regional, national and global economies. This is most obviously done in the case studies through identifying key sectors
- **Economic interventions should be based on some existing strength or advantage, however small, at the outset** – there is little evidence of places successfully ‘inventing’ new economic roles from scratch. Sectoral approaches work best when there is some existing base on which to build. It is also important to focus support on the existing SME base as a means of stimulating economic and employment growth.
- **A successful housing based approach needs to include measures that try to slow decline as well as measures that seek to increase population** – the case studies suggest that measures to address dereliction or outdated housing stock work best when balanced and complemented by efforts to attract new people to live in the area.

- **Improving the cultural and retail offer can be important** – the cultural, nightlife and retail (or quality of life) offers can be an important part of place attractiveness though the evidence that they directly stem population loss is mixed. They can however also be important ways of areas attracting new investment, bringing in visitors and expenditure, or raising the profile and image of a once declining place.

5. What does Inverclyde need to do to arrest depopulation?

5.1 Introduction

This final chapter of the report presents our conclusions and identifies some recommendations on the practical measures that could be adopted to address depopulation. In turn it:

- Reviews the nature of depopulation occurring in Inverclyde and the scale of the challenge to address outward migration
- Summarises the factors that drive depopulation
- Reviews the experience of other places attempts to address depopulation
- Sets out some principles that we believe should underpin any depopulation strategy
- Identifies a set of policy recommendation to address net outward migration

5.2 What are the components of depopulation?

In Chapter Two we reviewed the data around the scale and nature of depopulation. The key messages were:

- **Depopulation in Inverclyde has been taking place for the last 60 years** – and at the fastest rate of any mainland UK local authority area

- **Depopulation has affected some groups more than others** – the proportion of young people and those of working age has declined faster than for older age groups.
- **While the rate of depopulation has slowed, Inverclyde's population is still forecast to fall below 70,000 by 2025 at current rates**
- **Outward migration is the dominant factor** accounting on average for about 70% of population loss in any given year, with natural change accounting for the remaining 30%
- **However this net outward migration is as a result of two significant flows.** Many people move into Inverclyde in any given year. **The problem is that more people move out.**
- **Turning round outward migration is a significant – but not insurmountable challenge.** We estimate that outward migration could be arrested by influencing the locational decisions of around 150 households per year
- **Direct evidence on who those households might be is not currently available** – however indirect evidence and our consultations with stakeholders and local people suggest there are four groups most at risk of leaving Inverclyde or who are considering moving to Inverclyde, consisting of:
 - Young people looking for work or higher education (current residents)
 - Young families in work looking for better career prospects and good family housing (current residents)
 - Mobile professionals moving for career and housing reasons (potential residents from within the Glasgow City-Region)
 - Mobile professionals moving for career and housing reasons (potential residents from outwith Scotland / UK)

5.3 Why is depopulation occurring?

In Chapter Three we reviewed the evidence on why depopulation occurs and what some of the drivers might be in Inverclyde. The key messages are summarised below:

- **Economic decline is invariably the initial driver of depopulation in former industrial areas.** As jobs disappear, those with skills and experience are most likely to leave to find work
- **Beyond this initial phase of decline, a range of other factors can then re-enforce and drive population decline – even if economic decline slows**
- These factors include **concentrations of deprivation, poor quality housing stock, a weak social and commercial offering, and a poor image or confidence** in the areas future prospects
- Wider economic and social trends have had a major impact on all towns, cities and regions in Scotland. **But places with declining economies and populations can find it harder to respond to these trends.**
- **There is strong evidence of all of the above factors in occurring in or impacting on Inverclyde over the last 30 years and more**
- **Nevertheless the area has some significant strengths on which to build** including an excellent natural environment, superb schools and good connections to the wider city region.
- However there is some evidence that these strengths are not always appreciated by local people and nor clearly understood by people from

outwith the area. **Focussing on and communicating these strengths could be a key element of any repopulation strategy.**

5.4 What measures have been taken elsewhere to address depopulation?

In Chapter Four we reviewed the evidence on effective approaches to addressing depopulation. The key messages were:

- **Addressing de-population requires long term commitment and significant resources**
- **A clearly agreed vision based on an understanding of the drivers of depopulation is crucial if partners are to identify and agree a way forward**
- **Successful approaches to repopulation have at their heart attempts to make the place better for existing residents AND attempting to attract new people to live in the area.** This twin focus improves the chances of success by focussing on both elements of the flow that contribute to net outward migration
- **Repopulating an area often requires looking outwith the local area and connecting into opportunities in the wider city-region.** Economically declining local areas often become decoupled and feel excluded from the wider changes taking place in their regional economies. This is a barrier that needs to be overcome and can be achieved by: connecting businesses with wider market opportunities; investment in rail and road connections to help people access jobs outwith the area; and investment in housing to attract commuters.
- **Successful re-population strategies involve a range of interventions that target economic growth, housing growth, skills and employment, housing choice and improving the cultural and leisure offer**

- The best approaches to depopulation build explicit linkages between these interventions to maximise their chances of effectiveness
- Economic interventions should work with the grain of wider economic forces –and look forward – not back. They should look to connect declining local economies with growth drivers in the wider regional, national and global economies.
- Economic interventions should be based on some existing strength or advantage however small at the outset. Efforts should also be focussed on the existing SME base as a means of stimulating economic and employment growth.
- Successful housing based approaches typically balance measures that try to slow decline by focusing on existing residents with measures that seek to increase population by bringing new people into the area.
- Improving the cultural and retail offer is an important part of the mix in raising place attractiveness and can help to attract new investment, bring in visitors and expenditure, and raise the profile and image of once declining places.

5.5 Addressing depopulation in Inverclyde

In this final section of the report we set out the building blocks for addressing de-population in Inverclyde. **We begin by outlining a set of three principles that we believe should underpin any future strategy to address depopulation.** These are:

- From Depopulation to Repopulation

- Identifying target groups
- Understanding the issues that drive locational decisions

In addition we have identified a set of practical measures that should be considered by the Inverclyde Community Planning Partnership as steps towards helping Inverclyde stem outward migration and address depopulation. Much of the machinery to deliver these recommendations already exists. What we have set out in these recommendations is an agenda and set of questions for relevant partners to consider over the next 12 months. These include:

- Developing a net migration target and strategy for Inverclyde
- Improving existing information on migration
- Examining the role of natural change
- Identifying new economic roles
- Local employability
- Identifying housing growth areas
- Retail and commercial offer
- Marketing and communications strategy

5.6 Principles to underpin future approaches to depopulation

5.6.1 From Depopulation to Repopulation

The rationale for the commissioning of this study lay in fears over depopulation and the extent to which people appeared to be leaving Inverclyde. What the

evidence has shown however is that people are also moving to Inverclyde, albeit not as quickly as people are leaving. The evidence from the literature review and the experience of other places have also argued that that successful approaches to addressing population decline have lain in attracting new people to live in an area as well as interventions that aims to discourage people from leaving.

Our consultations with stakeholders suggested that the rationale for much economic, housing led and other regeneration activity has been primarily (though not exclusively) driven by a desire to discourage people from leaving. **We believe there is a need to reconsider this balance and to build in to policy-making more explicit measures to attract people to come and live in Inverclyde.** This is not to undermine or devalue the importance of regeneration activities that seek to deal with the problems or consequences of economic or population decline. **Rather it is about recognising that if the overall aim of reversing population decline is to be achieved, then this is more likely to happen if in-migration to the area is significantly increased.**

Principle 1: Policy to address depopulation should include more specific measures to attract new people to live in Inverclyde as well as measures to discourage people from leaving.

5.6.2 Any strategy should be focused on a clear set of target groups

Addressing depopulation is the single most important aim of the Inverclyde Single Outcome Agreement. **A further level of policy focus can be achieved if there is a clear and shared understanding of the target groups that the Community Planning Partners are seeking to influence in terms of addressing depopulation.** There is however a significant barrier to achieving this, in that at the moment there is no definitive evidence on who is leaving and coming to Inverclyde. One of our first practical recommendations is that the partners should explore ways in which better information on migration flows can be secured (see 5.7.2 below).

The data that is available, alongside the anecdotal evidence from partners and the insights of stakeholders and local people at the workshops and focus groups have suggested that there are potentially four key target groups including:

- **Young people currently living in Inverclyde** looking for work or higher education
- **Young families living in Inverclyde** looking in work looking for better career prospects and good family housing
- **Mobile professionals moving for career and housing reasons** but currently living within the Glasgow City-Region
- **Mobile professionals moving for career and housing reasons** but currently living outwith Scotland / UK

These groups are particularly important in that they are likely to be of working age and attracting or retaining them will support the local tax base and economy. However there may be other potential groups that could be attracted to live in different parts of Inverclyde including:

- **Foreign migrants – moving for education or employment reasons** - this could include students studying at FE or HE level at James Watt College or further beyond
- **55 + year olds looking to downshift / move towards retirement** – there is some anecdotal evidence that parts of Inverclyde including Gourock and Wemyss Bay are attractive locations for residential retirement developments.

We believe there is a strong case for the Inverclyde Community Planning Partnership explicitly considering and agreeing which of these target groups offer the best opportunities for stemming depopulation. The one proviso we would offer is that we feel the evidence is compelling that **attracting new people to the area from outwith Inverclyde is a crucial part of the mix.**

Principle 2: Inverclyde Community Planning Partnership should explicitly agree the groups that offer the best opportunities for stemming depopulation.

5.6.3 Policy responses need to recognise that these different groups will have locational drivers

At the stakeholder workshops in May 2011, we explored the extent to which the locational decisions of the four target groups were influenced by different drivers such as employment, housing, access to education and the cultural, commercial and nightlife offer. The findings from this exercise are included in Appendix A of the report.

The workshops recognised that **the issues most likely to drive decisions on where to live are different for potential in-migrants and people currently living in Inverclyde.**

- **Potential in-migrants** from the City-Region or outwith Scotland **are more likely to be influenced by the quality of the local education offer and the quality and affordability of housing choice.** The quality or amount of local jobs is less likely to influence their decision to relocate to Inverclyde.
- **The lack of local employment and higher educational opportunities is the most likely driver for young people to leave Inverclyde.** While there is much to be done to improve employment prospects, broadening

the Higher Education offer (even if that could be done) is unlikely to encourage young people to stay.

- **For young families in Inverclyde the lack of local career progression opportunities is likely to be a factor that makes them consider leaving, however** the increase in commuting across the city-region suggests that **other factors must come into play**, including housing choice and affordability.

This analysis and commentary challenges the received wisdom that the sole response to addressing depopulation should be to attract more jobs into Inverclyde as there is the likelihood that more and new local jobs will not significantly influence the decision making of those target groups that Inverclyde is currently attracting - and needs to attract more of.

Once more it is important to state that we are NOT saying that attracting new jobs to Inverclyde is unimportant. Far from it. New jobs are crucial and have the potential to reduce the rate at which young people and young families consider leaving – though this needs to be complemented by measures to ensure local people are aware of and can access and compete for the new jobs that are attracted to the area.

Rather what we are calling for is a structured and balanced set of interventions and that economic, labour market, social or housing policies being adopted to address depopulation should be developed with these groups in mind.

In particular policy and interventions agreed through the Community Planning Partnership should clearly demonstrate the ways in which it will impact on the agreed target groups, and the mechanism through which it would achieve that impact.

Principle 3: Any policies agreed by Inverclyde Community Planning Partnership should be appraised and assessed in terms of the impacts they will have on the locational drivers of these groups.

5.7 Potential actions for the CPP

In addition we have identified a set of practical recommendations that we believe should be considered by the Community Planning Partnership. These are highlighted below.

5.7.1 Agreeing an in-migration strategy and target

The CPP should consider the development of an in-migration strategy for Inverclyde. This would set a target of stabilising net out-migration to zero within 5 years and seek to attract a net additional 3,500 in-migrants by 2026 – equivalent to 350 new people moving to Inverclyde per year.

The strategy should set out the specific groups that it will target to achieve this challenging and ambitious target and the mechanisms it will adopt to influence these different target groups.

This strategy should also give consideration to the areas where new housing and employment can best be directed to achieve the overall target for population growth.

5.7.2 Improving existing evidence on migration

The study has highlighted the lack of evidence on who exactly is leaving Inverclyde and who is moving into the area. This is an important issue to address in the short to medium term (though it should not act as a barrier to implementing the principles and recommendations we have set out elsewhere). The Community Planning Partnership should look to fill this information gap. This could be done by:

- Identifying those residents who are moving into the area through analysis of Council Tax registration records or GP registration records

- Using the existing Citizens Panel to carry out focussed research with those groups on why they moved to Inverclyde and their perceptions of the area
- Identifying residents moving within the City-Region through joint working with the Council tax departments of other local authorities in the Clyde Valley Community Planning Partners
- Carrying out telephone or focus group research with those residents to better understand the specific reasons for leaving the area and what could have been done to influence them.

5.7.3 Examining the role that natural change plays in driving depopulation

The rationale for this study was to understand the role that migration plays in driving depopulation – but one of the surprising findings of the study was that the gap between birth rates and death rates accounts for about 30% of depopulation over the last 10 years – or around 3,600 people.

If this continues at current rates it has the potential to cancel out the efforts of the CPP attracting 3,500 new in-migrants. We would recommend that NHS Health Scotland, through the CPP, is asked to examine why birth rates in Inverclyde are amongst the lowest in the country and why death rates remain above the regional average. It should also be asked to examine the potential implications of attracting new in-migrants on birth rates and death rates, and what other policy measures might be considered appropriate to address this issue.

5.7.4 Identifying an appropriate economic role for Inverclyde

The evidence from the case studies is that economic growth policy is most effective when it works with the grain of wider economic drivers, identifies appropriate economic roles for the local economy and works with existing strengths and businesses. Connecting into the economic drivers of the wider city-region can also play an important role in supporting economic growth.

We believe it is important that the emerging Inverclyde Economic Regeneration Strategy (IERS) and the work of Riverside Inverclyde closely reflect these principles. Some good work has already been delivered to secure modern business park accommodation along the waterfront and there are ambitious plans to develop a centre for excellence in renewable energy companies in Inverclyde.

Beyond this however the emerging IERS does not make it clear where it expects future sectoral growth to emerge from, nor the mechanism that it will use to achieve that growth. The strategy also makes little specific reference to linkages and opportunities in the wider city region. **This lack of a clear – and single – voice on Inverclyde’s future economic role makes it more difficult in our view to achieve the economic step change that both the Council and Riverside Inverclyde aspire to.**

5.7.5 Connecting local people with jobs

One of the key reasons for attracting jobs to Inverclyde is to provide jobs for local people and thus stem out-migration. The consultations suggested that there is a good track record in connecting local people to the employment that has come from inward investments such as Amazon and Tesco. This is important work and should continue to be supported.

The experience of the case studies however suggests that there are other approaches that could also be considered to improve access to employment. These have included focussing support on existing companies to stimulate growth and employment creation and removing barriers to travel and commuting. There is good evidence on the ground of the former taking place in Inverclyde, especially through the Economic Development department's business growth service.

However we are less aware of efforts by local employability partners to consider better ways to connect people with jobs outside the local area. This we believe is an important opportunity that could be addressed in a number of ways, including partnering with employers outside the Inverclyde area, potentially through the proposed regional employer engagement model

being considered by the Clyde Valley Community Planning Partnership, by improving road access out of Greenock, or by providing financial support for local people to travel to jobs outwith the Inverclyde areas.

5.7.5 Developing a housing growth strategy

A key message from the experience of other places is that housing renewal and housing growth can make a significant contribution to improving the attractiveness of an area as a place to stay. The consultations and focus groups also highlighted the importance of housing choice on individual households' decision making.

Again both the Council and the local Registered Social Landlords, e.g. River Clyde Homes, Oak Tree Housing Association etc, have made significant strides towards renewing existing housing stock and creating new housing for sale and rent in Greenock and Port Glasgow. While these efforts are important and commendable, we would argue that they will not be enough, in themselves to stem out-migration. **There is evidence that some households who would like to move to Inverclyde or who are considering leaving cannot find the right house at the right price in the right location. This is particularly the case for the target households we have been referred to throughout this report.**

In a sense there has probably not been a more difficult time in the last 15 years in which to try to address housing supply through either the public or private sectors. Mortgage approvals and therefore demand for housing and the risk that developers will consider is at a low, and public capital budgets face huge pressure from the wider restraint in public spending.

As a result addressing out-migration through improving housing choice may involve in our view, some radical departures and new approaches in terms of housing.

The first of these lies in the locations to where new housing is directed.

There is evidence of areas of strong unmet demand from residents in some parts of Inverclyde including Kilmacolm, West Greenock, Wemyss Bay and Gourock. Our understanding is that supply is constrained partly by concerns of access, infrastructure and in some cases a resistance to development by local residents. We recognise that it is the role of the Strategic Development Planning and Local Planning processes to resolve these tensions. **We would simply note from a population growth perspective that the failure to capitalise on the potential of these locations will only make the job of attracting more people into Inverclyde (and thus stemming depopulation) much more difficult.**

The second of these relates to the way in which Inverclyde competes for what is expected to be a relatively smaller pool of private sector investment in housing over the next 5-10 years. This is about more than the Local Plan sending out a strong message to the market that Inverclyde has excellent locations for new housing development. **It is about working closely with the development sector to articulate to them the strengths that Inverclyde has as a housing location** (particularly in terms of its quality of life and educational offer) **and finding ways to unlock new development.**

5.7.6 Improving the quality of life offer of Inverclyde

We have referred to the importance of the quality of life offer in a place to its attractiveness and highlighted that in Inverclyde the offer is strong in some areas, including the natural environment and sports and leisure activities, but weaker in others, including the retail and nightlife offer.

The Council in particular places a strong emphasis on supporting local cultural activity and the local arts, and along with Riverside Inverclyde recognises the

importance of Inverclyde's town centres to the quality of life for residents and visitors.

We also recognise that, beyond the very good work that is being undertaken, it is very challenging for the public sector to directly influence the quality of life and retail offer in a cost effective and meaningful way. One of the key reasons for this is at the moment, Inverclyde is still losing population which has the potential to undermine the viability of commercial retail, hospitality and leisure activities. **Our view would be that while existing activity to improve the quality of life offer is important, it is unlikely to be a driver on its own to turn round out-migration and population decline.** Action to improve housing choice and economic performance is more likely to have an impact on net-migration and will also enhance the viability of the existing retail and commercial offer in Inverclyde.

5.7.7 Marketing and communications strategy

A consistent message through the study has been the lack of awareness and understanding of Inverclyde's many strengths. Negative perceptions of Inverclyde can act to dissuade private investment, potential in-migrants and businesses from coming to the area.

Inverclyde Council already undertakes a significant amount of marketing activity to promote the area as a visitor destination, through both on-street advertising and support for activities such as the Tall Ships Race.

We believe there is a case for reviewing existing approaches to marketing and promotion of the area and delivering them in a more tightly focussed way around the target groups that the Council and other stakeholders are trying to influence. The marketing and promotion messages should also be better defined and more clearly focussed on the issues that are likely to influence and change the decision making of those groups. The issues that

are likely to appeal to businesses are different from those that will appeal to housing developers or to potential in-migrants.

The study also suggested a need to work on internal perceptions of Inverclyde. On a number of issues, for example wages and crime and safety, local people's perceptions were at odds with evidence on how Inverclyde was actually performing. **There may be a case for more effectively challenging some of the negative coverage of Inverclyde, in both the local and national press, and seeking to improve the understanding of how the area is really performing on some important issues.**

Appendix A: Drivers of Migration

Table 1: Drivers of migration: Potential In-Migrants

Household	Employment	Quality of Life	Education	Housing
City Region Movers (Group 2)	<p>Local employment not key driver for changing location.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Potentially commute to work from Inverclyde Some Inverclyde employers (RBS, College, NHS) may be driver Unlikely to find work in Inverclyde that they would give up current job in City Region for 	<p>Quality of life potentially important</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Inverclyde can offer wealth of natural assets such as greenspace, waterfronts, and views to the Clyde Leisure offer seen as good Limited local choice in retail offer 	<p>Good quality schools will be important driver</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> School choice key determinant for this group on location choices Schools achieve high rates of positive leaver destinations Are we getting message out ? Perceptions of gang culture and youth crime 	<p>Looking for family home – first ‘house’ (rather than flat)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Is housing choice in place for this group? ‘Attractive’ places unaffordable West Greenock, Wemyss Bay, Gourock, Kilmacolm
UK/Overseas Movers (Group 4)	<p>Employment is an important driver but not exclusively Inverclyde based or near Inverclyde</p>	<p>Quality of life as important as employment. Less likely to have negative views of Inverclyde as City Region Movers</p>	<p>Good quality schools will be very important to this household</p>	<p>This household will look for housing at the upper end of the market, in a good location</p>

Household	Employment	Quality of Life	Education	Housing
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Potentially commute to work from Inverclyde More likely to find suitable work in City Region Some Inverclyde employers such as RBS, College, NHS may be suitably attractive 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Inverclyde has wealth of natural assets such as greenspace, waterfronts, and views to the Clyde May not have same negative perceptions of Inverclyde Will the social offer meet their needs? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Schools achieve high rates of positive leaver destinations Less affected by – ‘ve perceptions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Some areas of Inverclyde such as West Greenock, Wemyss Bay, Gourock, Kilmacolm may provide a suitable location Affordability less of an issue?

Table 2: Drivers of migration: Potential Out Migrants

Household	Employment	Quality of Life	Education	Housing
Economically Active Young People (Group 1)	<p>Mainly looking for employment. Lack of local jobs likely to be major driver to leave</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Jobs are unskilled, low paid, and there are not enough of them 	<p>Employment more important than quality of life factors, though likely to view Inverclyde poorly on quality of life</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sports facilities are of a high standard and there is a good variety 	<p>Schools not important to this household. But availability of FE and HE opportunities may influence their location</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> College has strong offering in employability related courses, but perhaps 	<p>Likely to want a flat or small house, probably in the rented sector</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Active rental market in Inverclyde Range of private sector tenure available but

Household	Employment	Quality of Life	Education	Housing
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Unlikely to lead to career progression Inverclyde cannot compete with other areas in the City Region which have deeper and wider employment markets 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> of activities available Mixed nightlife – some pubs cater for young people but there are few clubs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> fewer vocational subjects than others Those with aspiration to go to Uni might have left in the past but now might commute if other factors can be addressed 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> questions over quality Less available in social rented sector
Families at Risk of Leaving (Group 3)	<p>Employment will be a major driver in location decision. Sense that Inverclyde currently struggles to provide enough suitable jobs</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Some good employers such as RBS, college, NHS Perception that better paid, more attractive employment opportunities may exist elsewhere Less likely to commute 	<p>Quality of life less important than employment in driving location decision. But Quality of life likely to be viewed negatively</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Wealth of natural assets Transport links to Glasgow less safe at night 	<p>Good quality schools will be very important to this household</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Schools achieve high rates of positive leaver destinations Issues around gang culture and perceived lack of safety for young people 	<p>Housing important, though as they already live in Inverclyde perhaps less so than other factors</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Housing affordable, with good range of tenure, size and quality Problem neighbourhoods have disproportionate impact on perceptions

Household	Employment	Quality of Life	Education	Housing
	to place of employment			

Appendix B: Impact on Service Delivery

Introduction

Chapter One of the report described how the Depopulation Study had evolved as the fieldwork progressed. The study moved away from describing the detail of how service delivery may be affected by various population scenarios, and moved towards being more strategic in nature. Whilst the consultations with stakeholders in Inverclyde were invaluable and gave an additional dimension to the evidence on population change, few stakeholders were able to give precise details of how their service delivery would be affected by changes in population.

Nonetheless, the discussions helped to build the evidence on the extent to which service delivery planning is influenced and affected by population projections. The findings from the consultations are set out below.

Overview

During the consultations with stakeholders, two questions were posed relating to population projections, population change and service delivery:

- Are Inverclyde Council departments or its partners using population projections to plan service delivery and if they are, which population projections are they using?
- What impact do these projections predict for their particular service levels?

Use of Population Projections

Overall, long term population projections are not a core component of service delivery planning. The exception to this is Housing, where population projections formed a fundamental part of the recent Housing Needs and Demand Assessment, and five year population projections are used in the Local Housing Strategy. This suggests that whilst population decline will undoubtedly have an impact on services, it is not possible to predict this impact with any great accuracy. Reasons for this given by stakeholders included:

- **Services are determined by population need, not population level.** So although Inverclyde's population may be declining, it is likely that its current concentrations of deprivation for example will remain at similar levels as they are now. Services relating to health, social housing, community safety, policing will be less affected in areas with high levels of deprivation than not.
- **Services are determined by the level of resources available, which is often beyond the control of those delivering services.**

Nonetheless, stakeholders were able to give a view on how depopulation would affect their service in a general sense.

Health and Social Care

The Inverclyde Community Health and Care Partnership is responsible for delivery of health services within Inverclyde. Funding for its services is determined by Greater and Glasgow and Clyde Health Board using the Resource Allocation Model. Funding is allocated on a per-capita basis, so population levels are fundamental to the level of resource that it has available. There is a weighting for other factors such as social deprivation and children's services.

It does not solely use population projections to plan specific levels of service delivery, but they do form a part of service planning in a strategic sense. For example the CHCP recognises the impact that a declining, more deprived population will have in strategic terms:

- There will be a concentrated group of people with 'core morbidities', along with an increase in health issues related to poverty e.g. substance abuse, mental health.
- Services will have to be redesigned to care for a population that will be comparatively older. The recent £3m modernisation programme, whereby treatment of older people in communities was increased whilst treatment in hospitals was reduced, is an example of this.
- Increased focus will be placed on combining specialist, stand-alone services. Health service providers will look to group the treatment of common elements of separate health conditions.
- Job roles could be combined. For example, treatments currently administered only by nurses (such as eye-drops) could be administered by home-care workers, thereby improving efficiencies
- Outreach into communities will increase as will delivery of health services in communities. This is a continuation of the trend that has seen an increase in demand for community-based health services, but also because Value for Money in community-based care is higher than hospital based care, due to the lower overheads
- Service delivery units in Inverclyde are already smaller than comparable units in other local authorities in the Glasgow City Region. This makes it challenging to achieve economies of scale, which would be exacerbated if pressure on resources means delivery has to be rationalised or reduced in scale.

In some services such as Mental Health, Addictions and Homelessness, Scenario Planning is used to model the impact that improvements in health would have on current levels of service.

For example, how would current services be affected if rates of alcoholism, mental health issues and homelessness were reduced by x%. However, population projections play no role in determining these Scenarios.

Education

Declining population is a major issue for the planning and delivery of education services in Inverclyde. As a result the Service makes detailed use of population data from GRO Scotland to identify future school rolls at both Primary and Secondary levels.

With school rolls falling over the long term (and projected to continue to fall) the Service has needed to respond to a number of significant challenges. These include:

- Over-capacity in the school building estate
- A mismatch between where supply of school buildings have been located and where demand from pupils now is

As a result the Council has supported a significant investment in refurbishing the School Estates which has seen the number of Primary Schools reduced from 32 to 20 over the last 6 years and will see a potential reduction in the number of Secondary schools in the area from 8 to 7 over the next few years and investment in new schools in Port Glasgow and Greenock.

Falling school rolls also have implications for staffing levels. The current model used by Scottish Government to allocate resources for teaching staff means that Inverclyde's Education Service effectively 'loses' around £250,000 - £280,000 of funding per year for teaching staff. This places pressure on the Service to re-allocate staff within a context of declining resources.

Housing

Population projections, and particularly projections around future household composition, form a key part of future housing strategy. They play an important role in determining the scale and nature of demand for different types of housing (e.g. two bedroom houses, one bedroom flats, family homes) and what types of tenure will be in most demand (social rented, private, care homes).

The recent Housing Demand Need Assessment for Clyde Valley Housing Partnership used population projections to look 25 years into the future.

And the Local Housing Strategy projects population, household composition, and tenure demand five years into the future. This is then factored into projections for the social rented sector, new builds, and housing adaption. These projections are reviewed on an annual basis. The Housing Adaption Grant has a direct link to the composition of an area's population. So if Inverclyde has comparatively more older people, its need for the grant is greater. This has been the case in recent years and the trend is expected to continue.

Policing

Responsibility for policing in Inverclyde rests with Strathclyde Police. In terms of budget and resources, 51% comes from Inverclyde Council and the remainder is allocated from the Scottish government. Resources are based on levels of 'demand', i.e. if crime rates are rising then more resources will be allocated to help deal with it. Population projections are used by the Planning and Performance team when developing the Control Strategy for the following year. However, population projections will only be used to look a maximum of five years into the future.

Further, population projections play only a minor role in planning levels of service. Other factors will have a role and population projections are not the only factor they will consider. Ultimately, levels of crime per head of population determine the level of service that is delivered. In the future, if levels of crime remain the same or increase, then policing will continue to respond to that, irrespective of Inverclyde's population.

Community Safety

Responsibility for Community Safety functions such as responding to anti-social behaviour rests with Inverclyde Council. It provides services such as community wardens and ASB mediation in local communities.

These kinds of frontline services are unlikely to be affected by a reduction in population. There will be a continued need for this kind of 'enforcement' service, particularly in areas of relatively high deprivation in which ASB tends to be more prevalent.

Job Centre Plus

Service delivery levels of Job Centre Plus are not affected by either current or projected population levels. Primarily, service levels are calculated using the 'live load' figure as well as the volume of new claims that JC+ receives. Population projections do not drive decisions

about the levels of service delivery because that service is targeted at a specific group (the unemployed, lone parents, carers) within the local population.

Sport and Leisure

Inverclyde Leisure Trust is responsible for running Inverclyde's sports facilities, gyms, swimming pools and sports development programmes. At present, it does not use population projections to plan service delivery. It takes strategic direction from Inverclyde Council, and works with it to determine investment priorities. In terms of population change:

- Demand for after school activities, and for sports clubs such as basketball and volleyball has decreased. This could be a result of fewer younger people in Inverclyde, or it could be due to other factors such as decrease in activity rates amongst young people
- Demand for fitness classes amongst older people has increased. This is more likely to be due to increased awareness of health and fitness amongst this group, rather than any increase in the number of older people locally
- If the population projections are realised, and the number of older people increases whilst the number of younger people decreases, it could lead to a fall in the Trust's income. Older people are generally eligible for discretionary rates and all things being equal, this could lead to more older people paying reduced rates for services.
- After school clubs could be rationalised further if the number of school age children decreases as projected.

Appendix C: Focus Groups and Stakeholder Consultees

Introduction

As part of the fieldwork for the Depopulation Study, focus groups were held with members of Inverclyde Citizens' Panel and with young people. A programme of consultations with stakeholders was also carried out. The details of these focus groups and the stakeholders consulted are provided in the sections below.

Focus Groups

Citizens Panel

Two focus groups were conducted with members of the Inverclyde Citizens' Panel. These were held in Greenock Central Library on 7th March and Port Glasgow Town Hall on 9th March.

The focus groups were attended by 16 people. The participants were chosen to provide a mix of ages and employment statuses. Of the 16, 9 had lived in Inverclyde all of their lives, 6 had moved to Inverclyde from elsewhere, and 1 had lived in Inverclyde, moved away, and then returned.

Young People

Two focus groups were conducted with groups of young people. These were held in Greenock Central Library on 8th March and in Greenock Health Centre on 17th March. The focus groups were attended by 16 young people, aged between 14 and 19. Of the 16, 8 said they would definitely be leaving Inverclyde, 2 were thinking of leaving, 5 did not yet know, and 1 was planning to stay if she could get a teaching job.

Consultations

A programme of consultations with stakeholders was undertaken. In total, 19 stakeholders were consulted. A list of these is provided in Table AB.1

Job Title	Organisation/Department
Chief Superintendent, Renfrewshire and Inverclyde	Strathclyde Police
Chief Executive	Riverside Inverclyde
External Relations Manager	Job Centre plus

Job Title	Organisation/Department
Director	Inverclyde Community Health and Care Partnership
Head of Mental Health, Addictions and Homelessness	Inverclyde Community Health and Care Partnership
Corporate Director, Education and Communities	Inverclyde Council
Corporate Director, Regeneration and Environment	Inverclyde Council
Head of Regeneration and Planning	Inverclyde Council
Community Safety and Wellbeing Service Manager	Inverclyde Council
Economic Development Manager	Inverclyde Council
Housing Services Manager	Oaktree Housing Association
Economist	Strathclyde Partnership for Transport
Housing Team Leader	Inverclyde Council
Planning Policy and Property Manager	Inverclyde Council
Housing Policy Manager	Inverclyde Council
Business Development Executive	James Watt College
Head of Planning, Health Improvement and Commissioning	Inverclyde Community Health and Care Partnership
Development Manager	Inverclyde Leisure Trust
Improvement and Healthy Living Manager	Inverclyde Leisure Trust