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Can Scotland achieve a more balanced population distribution? Relocation preferences between service accessibility and place attractiveness

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Abstract: Rural depopulation is a long-term phenomenon that threatens the viability of rural communities while increasing pressure on urban centres. Scotland is noteworthy for its high population concentration, counterbalanced by sparsely populated rural, remote, and island areas. Promoting a more evenly distributed population has been thus identified as a key objective of the Scottish Government's 2021 National Population Strategy (NPS). Using discrete choice experiments, we investigated Scottish residents' willingness to relocate (or not) to places characterised by different attributes. A first survey, conducted in 2023, involved a sample of 250 rural dwellers; a second one, in 2025, included 1,007 respondents representative of the national population by age and gender. Half of the respondents in the latter survey, randomly selected, were shown excerpts from the NPS explaining its objective and rationale. The quality of the natural environment and of digital connectivity had strong positive impacts on preferences. Distances from family, workplaces, schools, hospitals, and grocery shops yielded negative effects, but these were not statistically significant among the rural sample, suggesting habituation to longer distances. Ceteris paribus, a place's population size and remoteness mattered only for the rural sample. Although an overwhelming majority of respondents stated that they agreed with the NPS objective, informing them about it had no significant impact on preferences. Therefore, an intention–behaviour gap persists, and substantial improvements in service accessibility are needed to enable its realisation.

Keywords: discrete choice experiment; willingness-to-accept; place preferences; service accessibility; rural Scotland

JEL codes: C25 – Discrete Regression and Qualitative Choice Models • Discrete Regressors • Proportions • Probabilities; R23 – Regional Migration • Regional Labor Markets • Population • Neighbourhood Characteristics

1. Background and motivation

Rural depopulation is a long-term phenomenon that has been attracting increasing attention from researchers and policymakers due to its negative implications for the viability of the rural social fabric, often resulting in discontent and populist reactions (Copus et al., 2020). Within this context, achieving a more balanced population distribution across territories can preserve viable rural communities on the one hand, and alleviate pressure on urban services and housing markets on the other.

Among European countries, Scotland is noteworthy for its high population concentration, counterbalanced by large sparsely populated rural, remote, and island (RRI) areas. Among other factors, this is the result of the "clearances", i.e., the eviction of tenants carried out by landowners who wanted to reorganise land for large-scale sheep farming and other commercial uses between the 18th and 19th Century. For these reasons, the repopulation of RRI, and thus the promotion of a more evenly distributed population, have been identified as important objectives by the Scottish Government (SG), which has been the expression of Scottish nationalists since 2007. The 2021 National Population Strategy (NPS; SG, 2021), which informed the subsequent Action Plan to Address Depopulation (2024), made the promotion of a more evenly distributed population a key goal.

Achieving this goal will require the voluntary relocation of people from urban to RRI areas. While often desirable from an environmental point of view, such areas are characterised by lower accessibility to services, forcing individuals to make difficult trade-offs. Understanding individuals' preferences and willingness to accept different place features thus becomes crucial for designing appropriate incentives and

achieving the NPS objective. This research fits into the broader literature on rural migration and service accessibility – see, for instance, Gkartzios et al. (2017) on distance from family and locality type in Greece, Romero-Espinosa et al. (2021) on commuting time and access to supermarkets and pharmacies in Chile, or Jordan et al. (2004) on access to hospitals in rural England.

2. Research question and objectives

In this paper, we investigate what characteristics of a locality matter for Scotland's dwellers when deciding whether to relocate, and whether providing information on the benefits of a more balanced population distribution could impact their preferences. We focus on accessibility to keystone services as well as the rural–urban nature of places (which according to the SG definition includes population size and remoteness; SG, 2018), while controlling for other key attributes such as the quality of the natural environment. We abstract from housing conditions by only focusing on the locality.

We hypothesise that, *ceteris paribus*, Scotland's dwellers prefer to move to localities with better natural environment and digital connectivity, and shorter distances to workplace, keystone services, and family. We also hypothesise that information about the NPS goal of achieving a more balanced population distribution and its rationale would make them relatively more open to moving to small towns or rural areas, and consequently, relatively less sensitive to the distance to workplace, keystone services, and family.

To test the above hypotheses, we calculate preferences for different place attributes, and their associated willingness-to-accept (WTA), i.e., "the minimum monetary amount required for an individual to forgo some good, or to bear some harm" (Martín-Fernández et al., 2010, p.1) in discrete choice experiments (DCEs). We compare these indicators between samples comprising different shares of rural dwellers and recruited using different methods, and with and without the provision of information about the NPS goal.

3. Data and methods

DCEs are a quantitative technique to elicit preferences by asking participants to state their choices over different hypothetical alternatives (Louviere et al., 2000). We conducted two DCEs, one in autumn 2023, and one in spring 2025. Both times, respondents were asked to choose between pairs of localities described in terms of quality of the natural environment, quality of digital connectivity, commuting time, distance to family, distance to schools, accident & emergency (A&E) hospitals, and grocery shops, urban–rural type, and change in household income net of housing costs (see Figure 1). Respondents could also "opt-out", i.e., choose not to move to any of the localities proposed. The specific keystone services were selected based on relevance following discussion with researchers and policymakers. The distances from workplace and services were expressed in driving time, with levels (ranges) derived from Scotland's 2011 Census. This ensured relevance across a wide spectrum of status quo situations. We developed a D-efficient design of 40 choice scenarios divided in five blocks of eight cards, which were randomly allocated among respondents. The priors for the 2023 design were obtained from a small pilot, while for the 2025 survey, they were refined using 2023 data. More details about the method are available in Piras et al. (2025).

The DCEs were embedded in online surveys coded in Qualtrics, which were disseminated to a sample of Scotland's adult population. In 2023, the dissemination took place using two methods: leaflets posted to a sample of rural dwellers stratified based on household types and the SG's eight-fold urban–rural classification; and circulation via organisations working on rural areas with which the research team were in contact, or during events focused on rural life. Individuals could respond using a QR code or request a paper version. The 2025 dissemination took place exclusively online, with the support of a market research company, using their panel of Scottish respondents stratified by age and gender, and covering the whole urban–rural continuum as well as different household types as per Scotland's 2022 Census (SG, 2022). The 2025 survey included various quality checks, and the responses not meeting them were excluded from the sample. Ahead of making their choices, 50% of the respondents to the 2025 survey, randomly selected, were shown an excerpt of the NPS stating the goal of achieving a more

balanced population distribution and its rationale as an information-based nudge, and were asked whether they agreed with it.

Choice data from both surveys were analysed using mixed multinomial logistic models (MMNL), which assume that individual preferences for each attribute vary across the population (McFadden & Train, 2000). Indeed, preliminary tests suggested that the attribute levels of the options chosen differed significantly across socio-demographic groups. We assumed all coefficients to be normally distributed among the population except that for the monetary attribute, which was assumed to be log-normally distributed to account for variability while avoiding negative values. Hence, the model estimates include both the means and the standard deviations of the coefficients. For each sample, the models were estimated first in the preference and then in the WTA space. After estimating the MMNL models for the 2025 sample, we predicted individual preferences and WTA values for all attributes, and used them as dependent variables in OLS regression models to identify how individual preferences were related to the information-based treatment and the level of agreement with the goal of the NPS (expressed as dummies), while controlling for other individual characteristics.

The estimates were carried out using Stata 15 (StataCorp, 2017) and the user-written commands mixlogit and mixlogitwtp (Hole, 2007). The questionnaires, datasets, and metadata are freely available (Piras & Chen, 2025).

4. Results

The final sample size was 250 in 2023, and 1,007 in 2025. The 2023 sample was mostly rural (69%) or from small towns (25%), while the 2025 one was representative of the Scottish population in terms of age and gender, largely urban (62%), but with a good coverage of the urban–rural continuum; 42% were from working-aged households without children, 34% with children, and 25% 65 or over. In 2023, most respondents (81%) stated that they did not intend to move in the next five years, while in 2025 far fewer said this (47%), suggesting greater openness to relocation. Respondents in 2023 rated the natural environment of their place of residence positively (63% "*very good*"), whereas 2025 ones gave lower ratings (25% "*very good*"). Digital connectivity was seen as crucial in both samples but more respondents in 2025 rated theirs as "*very good*" (38% *vs*. 27%). Accessibility to services presented a "critical" gap between samples: 2023 respondents faced longer commuting times (25% driving 45+ minutes *vs*. 13% in 2025), and longer distances to A&E hospitals (52% driving 45+ minutes *vs.* 73% within 30 minutes in 2025) and grocery shops (34% driving 20+ minutes *vs.* 69% within 10 minutes in 2025).

Moving to the DCE results, out of 1,956 choice scenarios in 2023, in 27.9% of the cases the respondents decided *not* to move, with 5.6% of them opting out every time. Numbers did not change significantly in 2025, with 29.5% out of 8,056 choices being opt-outs, and 6.3% of the respondents opting out every time. The MMNL model estimates are reported in Table 1. The quality of the natural environment and digital connectivity were key drivers of willingness to move in both DCEs. WTA values for "*very good*" natural environment and digital connectivity were much higher in 2023. Commuting time, and distance to schools, hospitals, and grocery shops were insignificant in the 2023 sample, likely reflecting habits of longer travel times, but became significant in 2025, with respondents requiring compensation for longer distances. Distance from family mattered in both surveys, with greater penalties in 2025 even for a few-hour distance. In 2023, all locality types were preferred to urban areas regardless of population size and remoteness, while in 2025 this attribute was not a significant driver of respondents' choices. Most preference and WTA coefficients (mean and variation) differ significantly between the two years according to statistical tests.

A majority of the respondents who were shown the excerpts of the NPS in 2025 declared that they agreed with the goal of achieving a more balanced population distribution, either "*totally*" (26.9%) or "*partially*" (40.4%). Slightly above one-quarter (26.7%) were "*not sure*", and very few disagreed, either "*totally*" (1.4%) or "*partially*" (4.6%). Nevertheless, the impact of the information on individual preferences (Table 2) and WTA values (Table 3) lacked a systematic pattern. Among others, the treated group showed decreased preferences for moving to a locality that presented the baseline attribute levels, i.e., urban

(*ceteris paribus*, the required compensation is £178 higher compared to the control group), and lower sensitivity to changes in income and distance to hospitals, among others. It is rather the level of agreement with the NPS goal that matters. The minority of respondents who disagreed were more sensitive (negatively) to the distance to schools and hospitals, and less likely to move to accessible towns and accessible or remote rural areas. Instead, those who agreed were relatively more attracted by a "*very good*" natural environment, and less sensitive (positively) to a larger distance from family and negative changes in household income.

5. Discussion and policy implications

Our results allow us to derive important implications in terms of residential preferences of Scotland's dwellers and the potential to achieve a more balanced population distribution, as well as for further research. First, with a view to attracting current urban dwellers towards RRI areas, the distance from keystone services matters; therefore, any reform of public service provisions would need to make careful consideration in terms of accessibility to avoid jeopardising the NPS goal. This aspect is even more relevant because net of other attributes, a locality's population size and remoteness made limited difference to the average Scottish dweller while remaining important to rural dwellers as part of their place's identity. Equally, a larger share of town and city respondents declared that they intended to move in the next five years. Such figures suggest that there is potential to achieve a more balanced population distribution.

Nevertheless, our weak treatment effects suggest that an intention–behaviour gap persists. The DCE partially addressed the impact of the social desirability bias which may have driven the declared high level of agreement with the NPS by forcing people to make trade-offs. But real-world trends in terms of rural depopulation suggest that attracting more residents towards small towns and rural areas can be far more difficult. In this regard, releasing constraints such as the availability of affordable rural housing suitable for different household types is key to unlock the potential for rural repopulation, as already suggested by previous research (Creaney & Wooldridge, 2024). While we did not explicitly include housing conditions as an attribute, comparing the differences in rental costs across regions to the preference coefficient associated with household income could shed light on the impact of housing constraints.

From the research point of view, while we cannot disentangle the impact of the dissemination strategy from the characteristics of the sample, the higher WTA values and the difference in the relevance of the attributes between 2023 and 2025 cautions against drawing conclusions from self-selected samples. Indeed, 2023 respondents were probably more interested in the survey topic, which may have exacerbated the overestimation of WTA values caused by the "endowment effect" (Kahneman et al., 1990). Future research should ensure more visibility to less-heard groups, which may also be characterised by stronger budget constraints and more limited access to the benefits of rural life such as a good natural environment.

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Table 1. Mixed multinomial logistic models in the preference and WTA space, calculated respectively on the 2025 and 2023 samples.

Attributes	Preferences 2025	Preferences 2023	Difference[1]	WTA 2025[2]	WTA 2023[2]	Difference[1]
Mean						
Alternative specific constant	2.699***	2.500***	0.173	1,286.624***	1,316.279***	0.731
Natural environment: Poor (baseline: Good)	-0.773***	-3.557***	<0.001	-368.222***	-2,250.878**	<0.001
Natural environment: Fair (baseline: Good)	-0.217**	-1.983***	<0.001	-116.916***	-1,261.235**	<0.001
Natural environment: Very good (baseline: Good)	0.314***	0.312*	0.470	138.319***	184.751*	0.023
Connectivity: No (baseline: Good)	-2.243***	-3.067***	<0.001	-1,042.023***	-1,806.191***	<0.001
Connectivity: Poor (baseline: Good)	-1.298***	-2.020***	<0.001	-616.641***	-1,094.227***	<0.001
Connectivity: Fair (baseline: Good)	-0.421***	-1.051***	<0.001	-197.616***	-676.313***	<0.001
Connectivity: Very good (baseline: Good)	0.268***	0.323	0.013	122.119***	317.709*	<0.001
Commuting time (minutes)	-0.010***	-0.008	<0.001	-5.052***	-3.196	<0.001
Family: <1 hour away (baseline: Living there)	-0.017	0.265	<0.001	-3.832	226.987*	<0.001
Family: A few hours away (baseline: Living there)	-0.580***	-0.371*	<0.001	-275.095***	-160.675*	<0.001
Family: Not reachable in a day (baseline: Living there)	-1.163***	-1.236***	0.106	-541.519***	-707.227**	<0.001
Primary & secondary school distance (minutes)	-0.009***	0.002	<0.001	-4.301***	-3.324	<0.001
A&E hospital distance (minutes)	-0.007***	-0.004	<0.001	-3.523***	0.275	<0.001
Grocery shop distance (minutes)	-0.017***	-0.005	<0.001	-8.463***	-4.748	<0.001
Locality type: Accessible town (baseline: Urban)	-0.005	1.494***	<0.001	-14.774	898.792***	<0.001
Locality type: Remote town (baseline: Urban)	0.018	1.821***	<0.001	-3.188	1,257.635***	<0.001
Locality type: Accessible rural (baseline: Urban)	0.082	2.064***	<0.001	31.510	1,393.456**	<0.001
Locality type: Remote rural (baseline: Urban)	0.009	1.687***	<0.001	9.058	1,122.773**	<0.001
Change in net household income (GBP)[3]	0.002***	0.002***	0.043	n/a	n/a	<0.001
Standard deviation						
Alternative specific constant	2.552***	3.277***	<0.001	1,187.419***	1,681.324***	<0.001
Natural environment: Poor (baseline: Good)	0.980***	1.872***	<0.001	478.506***	756.528**	<0.001
Natural environment: Fair (baseline: Good)	0.678***	0.940***	<0.001	377.830***	455.050***	0.012
Natural environment: Very good (baseline: Good)	0.384*	0.890***	<0.001	132.669*	865.847**	<0.001
Connectivity: No (baseline: Good)	1.288***	1.445***	0.004	550.022***	844.637***	<0.001
Connectivity: Poor (baseline: Good)	0.570***	0.808**	<0.001	259.710***	868.728**	<0.001
Connectivity: Fair (baseline: Good)	0.508***	0.366	<0.001	218.948***	124.333*	<0.001
Connectivity: Very good (baseline: Good)	0.758***	0.800**	<0.001	309.259***	487.010**	<0.001
Commuting time (minutes)	0.003	0.006	<0.001	2.998**	13.412**	<0.001
Family: <1 hour away (baseline: Living there)	0.183	0.045	<0.001	164.022***	524.447**	<0.001
Family: A few hours away (baseline: Living there)	0.564***	0.816**	<0.001	299.381***	245.202**	<0.001
Family: Not reachable in a day (baseline: Living there)	0.932***	1.684***	<0.001	415.997***	807.007**	<0.001
Primary & secondary school distance (minutes)	0.016	0.036	<0.001	10.012***	24.633**	<0.001
A&E hospital distance (minutes)	0.015***	0.009	<0.001	7.212***	9.118**	0.030
Grocery shop distance (minutes)	0.001	0.016	<0.001	3.065	28.504**	<0.001

Locality type: Accessible town (baseline: Urban)	0.079	0.449	<0.001	200.055***	388.647***	<0.001
Locality type: Remote town (baseline: Urban)	0.127	0.111	0.051	18.336	413.713***	<0.001
Locality type: Accessible rural (baseline: Urban)	0.138	0.763***	<0.001	160.944**	225.796**	<0.001
Locality type: Remote rural (baseline: Urban)	0.135	1.335***	<0.001	103.153	991.630**	<0.001
Change in net household income (GBP)[3]	0.004***	0.002**	<0.001	n/a	n/a	<0.001
Statistics						
Sample size (options × choice cards × respondents)	24,168	5,868		24,168	5,868	
Log likelihood	-7,098.24	-1,522.09		-7,121.75	-1,499.09	
AIC	14,276.48	3,124.18		14,323.50	3,078.18	
BIC	14,600.20	3,391.27		14,647.22	3,345.27	

Notes: [1] The columns report the *p*-values in two-tailed, two-sample *t*-test with equal variances (for the means), and variance ratio tests (for the standard deviations) assessing the difference respectively in the preference and WTA coefficients between the 2023 and the 2025 samples. [2] To facilitate interpretation, the signs of the WTA coefficients (means) were reversed. [3] The coefficients for income were linearised after having been estimated as log-normal. Significance levels: *** 0.01; ** 0.05; * 0.10.

Table 2. Impact of the information treatment and of the level of agreement with the information on preferences.

Attributes[1]	**Treatment[2]**	**Disagree[3]**	**Agree[3]**	**Strongly agree[3]**	**Constant term[4]**
Alternative specific constant	**-40.146***	**-111.003*****	-19.807	40.476	224.714***
Natural environment: Poor (baseline: Good)	2.857	3.227	-5.804	-8.071	11.533
Natural environment: Fair (baseline: Good)	-1.231	**-9.656***	-1.348	4.617	3.038
Natural environment: Very good (baseline: Good)	**-1.641***	1.433	**2.178****	**1.960***	17.251***
Connectivity: No (baseline: Good)	-5.798	-2.938	-9.011	-0.528	-256.401***
Connectivity: Poor (baseline: Good)	**-4.814*****	-2.298	3.099	2.163	-116.470***
Connectivity: Fair (baseline: Good)	0.381	-3.735	-2.209	1.436	-31.737***
Connectivity: Very good (baseline: Good)	-2.092	-3.026	5.260	1.590	3.158
Commuting time (minutes)	-0.000	-0.001	-0.001	-0.006	-1.079***
Family: <1 hour away (baseline: Living there)	-0.005	0.364	-0.287	-0.665*	-3.360***
Family: A few hours away (baseline: Living there)	-0.222	0.166	0.493	1.600	-50.238***
Family: Not reachable in a day (baseline: Living there)	-0.905	-4.242	2.673	9.058	-45.922**
Primary & secondary school distance (minutes)	0.003	**-0.199*****	-0.018	0.016	-1.230***
A&E hospital distance (minutes)	**0.239*****	**-0.371****	**-0.169****	**-0.151***	-0.903***
Grocery shop distance (minutes)	-0.001	0.002	0.001	0.001	-1.706***
Locality type: Accessible town (baseline: Urban)	0.067	**-0.377***	0.000	-0.024	-0.188
Locality type: Remote town (baseline: Urban)	-0.111	0.400	-0.306	0.022	1.199*
Locality type: Accessible rural (baseline: Urban)	0.009	**-0.814****	-0.106	-0.014	9.320***
Locality type: Remote rural (baseline: Urban)	0.054	-0.224	-0.023	0.117	2.045***
Change in net household income (GBP)	**0.023****	0.025	-0.014	**-0.025****	2.358***

Notes: The coefficients are based on OLS models with controls: gender (female), young age (18–35), old age (65+), equivalised household income (log), urban residence, rural residence, residence in a remote area, long-term residence (>10 years), single-person household, household with children, residing on an island, previous residence in the UK outside Scotland, previous residence abroad, having a driving license, owning

one or more vehicles. [1] Indicates the dependent variable in the OLS model. [2] Binary explanatory variable taking value 1 if treated, 0 otherwise. [3] Binary explanatory variables indicating the level of agreement with the goal of the NPS (Disagree = 1 if "Probably not" or "Not at all"; Agree = 1 if "Yes, partially"; "Strongly agree" = 1 if "Yes, totally"; "Not sure" omitted for collinearity). [4] Constant term in the OLS models, retained to show the baseline preference value after controlling for the explanatory variables. Significance levels: *** 0.01; ** 0.05; * 0.10

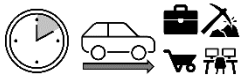
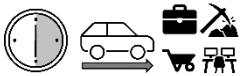
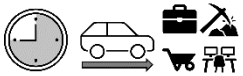
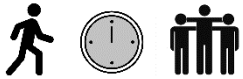
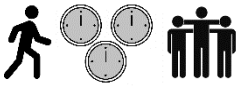
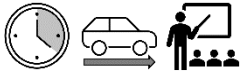
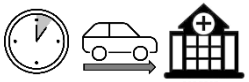
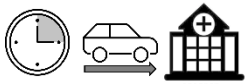
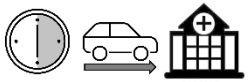
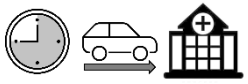
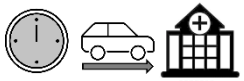
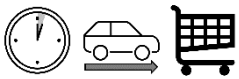
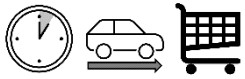
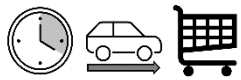
Table 3. Impact of the information treatment and of the level of agreement with the information on WTA.

Attributes	Treatment	Disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Constant term
Alternative specific constant	**-178.355***	**-478.431****	-81.425	171.995	853.614**
Natural environment: Poor (baseline: Good)	22.693	-8.883	-36.218	-44.126	90.022
Natural environment: Fair (baseline: Good)	10.412	**-78.099****	-25.442	18.507	84.389
Natural environment: Very good (baseline: Good)	**-8.028*****	8.159	**10.200*****	**10.554*****	98.087***
Connectivity: No (baseline: Good)	-35.692	13.559	-22.317	8.846	-1172.507***
Connectivity: Poor (baseline: Good)	**-19.918****	-21.219	11.957	-2.524	-484.133***
Connectivity: Fair (baseline: Good)	1.837	-10.448	-8.465	4.401	-146.894***
Connectivity: Very good (baseline: Good)	-5.356	-5.932	17.399	5.944	-21.480
Commuting time (minutes)	0.018	0.012	-0.012	0.004	-5.484***
Family: <1 hour away (baseline: Living there)	2.606	-1.371	-7.384	-8.297	-1.191
Family: A few hours away (baseline: Living there)	-1.426	8.587	-2.867	10.430	-297.508***
Family: Not reachable in a day (baseline: Living there)	-12.031	-14.530	25.801	**47.335***	-225.636***
Primary & secondary school distance (minutes)	0.386	**-1.674*****	-0.300	-0.054	-5.498***
A&E hospital distance (minutes)	**1.023*****	**-1.720****	**-0.912****	**-0.745***	-3.425**
Grocery shop distance (minutes)	0.038	-0.015	-0.066	-0.039	-8.409***
Locality type: Accessible town (baseline: Urban)	-0.079	-12.083	4.009	5.331	24.624
Locality type: Remote town (baseline: Urban)	-0.181	0.762	0.305	0.126	-5.068***
Locality type: Accessible rural (baseline: Urban)	-2.933	-4.605	0.173	0.798	51.660***
Locality type: Remote rural (baseline: Urban)	2.696	**-7.711***	-1.613	-2.077	14.278*

Notes: See notes to Table 2. Here, the dependent variables are the individual WTA values.

Figure 1. Overview of the attributes, levels, and images used in the DCEs.

Options	Locality 1	Locality 2	Neither	
Natural environment	 Very poor / Poor	 Poor / Fair	 Good	 Very good

Digital connectivity	 No connectivity	 Very poor / Poor	 Poor / Fair	 Good	 Very good
Commuting time	 5 minutes or less	 Roughly 10 minutes	 Roughly 15 minutes	 Roughly 30 minutes	 45 minutes or more
Family	 Living in the locality	 Less than one hour	 A few hours	 Not reachable in a day	
Primary school / Primary and secondary school	 2 minutes or less	 Roughly 5 minutes	 Roughly 10 minutes	 Roughly 15 minutes	 20 minutes or more
Hospital / A&E hospital	 5 minutes or less	 Roughly 15 minutes	 Roughly 30 minutes	 Roughly 45 minutes	 60 minutes or more
Grocery shop	 2 minutes or less	 Roughly 5 minutes	 Roughly 10 minutes	 Roughly 15 minutes	 20 minutes or more

Location typology	 Urban area	 Accessible small town	 Remote small town	 Accessible rural area	 Remote rural area
Household income	 +£350  -£50	 +£250  -£150	 +£150  -£250	 +£50  -£350	

Notes: Where two versions of the attribute names or of the levels are reported, separated by "/", the first one refers to the 2023 survey, and the second one to 2025 one.