



Immigration to Scotland and the constitutional change debate: Geography, difference and the question of scale

Helen Packwood
Allan Findlay

ABSTRACT

This paper seeks to extend understanding of how geographies of scale can contribute to the discussion surrounding migration and constitutional change. It asks the question, is immigration to Scotland distinctive? The 2011 Census is used to explore whether there are other scales at which Scotland's possible claims to distinctiveness in terms of migration 'experience' and 'needs' can be assessed. The detailed and comprehensive perspective provided by the 2011 Census highlights the heterogeneous national immigration picture. The authors demonstrate the economic and policy evidence for developing a more nuanced approach to immigration policy. The implications of these findings are significant given the prospect of constitutional change in Scotland.

KEYWORDS

Migration Policy, Census, Scale, Scotland, Constitutional Change

EDITORIAL NOTE

Professor Allan Findlay has published extensively in the area of population mobility and international migration and has held multiple major grants to facilitate his work. A highly esteemed population geographer, Allan currently holds a Chair at the School of Geography and Geoscience, University of St Andrews, He is the editor of *Population Space and Place*, and amongst other roles, is greatly involved in the research taking place at the ESRC Centre for Population Change.

Helen Packwood is a Research Fellow in the School of Geography and Geosciences at the University of St Andrews. She brings a range of experience, having worked within Social Policy, Community Planning and Education. She is currently employed within the Migration strand of the ESRC Centre for Population Change.

Corresponding author: Helen Packwood, hcp1@st-andrews.ac.uk.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This research would not have been possible without the generous support of various individuals and organisations. The authors would like to express our gratitude to the Economic and Social Research Council for funding this research through the Centre for Population Change.

- © Helen Packwood and Allan Findlay all rights reserved. Short sections of text, not to exceed two paragraphs, may be quoted without explicit permission provided that full credit, including © notice, is given to the source.

The ESRC Centre for Population Change Working Paper Series is edited by Teresa McGowan.

ESRC Centre for Population Change

The ESRC Centre for Population Change (CPC) is a joint initiative between the Universities of Southampton, St Andrews, Edinburgh, Stirling, Strathclyde, in partnership with the Office for National Statistics (ONS) and the National Records of Scotland (NRS). The Centre is funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) grant numbers RES-625-28-0001 and ES/K007394/1.

This working paper series publishes independent research, not always funded through the Centre. The views and opinions expressed by authors do not necessarily reflect those of the CPC, ESRC, ONS or NRS.

[Website](#) | [Email](#) | [Twitter](#) | [Facebook](#) | [Mendeley](#)

**IMMIGRATION TO SCOTLAND AND THE CONSTITUTIONAL
CHANGE DEBATE:
GEOGRAPHY, DIFFERENCE AND THE QUESTION OF SCALE**

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1	INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1	IN WHAT SENSE ‘DISTINCTIVE’?	2
1.2	THE UK AND SCOTTISH POPULATION IN CONTEXT	4
2	THE NATIONAL SCALE: COMPARING SCOTLAND AND ENGLAND.....	6
2.1	COUNTRY OF BIRTH	6
2.2	ETHNICITY AND NATIONAL IDENTITY	14
2.3	CHARACTERISTIC OF MIGRANTS: AGE AND YEAR OF ARRIVAL / LENGTH OF RESIDENCY.....	16
3	THE REGIONAL SCALE - COMPARING SCOTLAND WITH ENGLISH REGIONS.....	19
3.1	COUNTRY OF BIRTH	19
3.2	ETHNICITY.....	21
3.3	CHARACTERISTIC OF MIGRANTS: AGE AND YEAR OF ARRIVAL / LENGTH OF RESIDENCY.....	22
4	THE LOCAL SCOTTISH PERSPECTIVE	26
4.1	COUNTRY OF BIRTH	26
4.2	CHANGES OVER TIME.....	28
5	DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS.....	29
	REFERENCES.....	32

1 INTRODUCTION

Migration is one strand of the Scottish government's plan to promote economic development (Scottish Government, 2013a). It is therefore vital to understand recent trends and ask whether UK migration policy is meeting needs in Scotland (international migration under the current constitutional settlement is a reserved power). It is in this context that international migration emerges as an important topic in discussions about constitutional change ahead of the Referendum on Independence to be held in September 2014. This paper asks, 'is migration to Scotland distinctive from migration to the rest of the UK?' Using a range of descriptive statistics, with a particular focus on the 2011 Census, the paper examines the question on different scales, revealing the significance of the politics of scale (Smith, 1992) in analysing immigration in relation to debates about Scotland's future.

The paper consists of five main parts. First, the authors focus on the existing literature, addressing the question of scale and exploring how this concept is often overlooked in discussions of migration policy and constitutional change. Second the paper offers an examination of the 2011 Census using scale in a hierarchical fashion to illustrate how focussing on immigration at different resolutions draws out distinctive dimensions of Scotland's engagement with population mobility from other countries; at the UK level, Scotland is compared with England; at the regional scale Scotland is compared with regions within England, and finally an intra-Scotland perspective is briefly explored examining differences within Council areas in Scotland. The final section of the paper discusses the implications of the findings for the current constitutional debate in Scotland.

Academic readers will find the bulk of the paper descriptive in nature. The authors acknowledge this, but believe, that presenting the clearest picture of immigration, as knowable from Census sources, is a valuable contribution to understanding debates about migration and constitutional change.

1.1 IN WHAT SENSE ‘DISTINCTIVE’?

The 2013 White Paper on ‘Scotland’s Future’ introduces the case for a distinctive immigration policy in terms of the following argument: ‘Scotland’s differing demographic and migration needs mean that the current UK immigration system has not served our interests’ (Scottish Government, 2013; 27). This argument raises important questions of what is meant by ‘difference’ and whether a distinctive Scottish immigration policy ‘targeted at particular Scottish needs’ could be effective in delivering more rapid economic growth (Scottish Government, 2013; 27)?

The social science research literature provides extensive commentary on manifestations of ‘difference’ in relation to social constructions of key terms such as ‘migrant’, ‘ethnic minority’ and other signifiers by which social processes of ‘othering’ are enacted (Ehrkamp, 2006; Potter and Phillips, 2006). This work gives very different understandings of the place of migrants in Scotland and the UK from the view that might arise from consideration of official definitions of migration (Anderson and Blinder, 2012). In the context of debates on immigration policy, it is important to recognise that not only is the distinctiveness of migration subject to socially negotiated categories, but also that the ‘scale’ of migration is socially mediated. Thus, as the quote above notes, ‘Scottish needs’ are evaluated relative to ‘the UK immigration system’. By implication the key policy scale is set at the UK state opposed to the more specific needs of parts of the UK, namely Scotland. It is not therefore surprising that in the literature associated with the Scottish constitutional change debate the scale at which ‘distinctiveness’ is assessed is dominantly that of the state relative to the needs of the devolved ‘nations’.

However, a hierarchical consideration of scale would suggest that other relevant engagements might also be considered at international/global scales and local/regional/provincial scales. In the debate over immigration to Scotland this paper, like other examinations, certainly recognises that much population movement takes places that are not subject to the national scale of UK immigration policy, since both the UK and Scotland are impacted by the higher level policies of the EU on freedom of movement. Using the empirical lens of the Scottish 2011 Census, relative to this specific migrant flow, this scalar perspective therefore opens up the question of whether Scotland is any different from the regions of England when impacted by international migration

processes that are not governed by the state level of UK immigration policy. One of the methodological opportunities presented by Census data is therefore to explore whether there are other scales at which Scotland's possible claims to distinctiveness in terms of migration 'experience' and 'needs' can be assessed.

The underlying assumption of the data presented here is that migration like many other social processes (Herod, 2011) is 'produced' by linkages that connect across a hierarchy of scales. Extending beyond the specific empirical lens of the Census, migration is produced not only by economically and socially structured practices embedded in the labour markets of different countries (Anderson, 2010) and mediated by state and multi-state immigration policies (Spencer, 2003), but it is also culturally mediated. For example, at the scale of the body, cultural mediation can take place through discourses that signify the embodied form of the 'ideal migrant' that international recruitment agencies wish to selectively channel to employers in specific regional labour markets (Findlay et al, 2013). At the same time political governance structures, such as the Scottish Government, recognise scales of difference such as is expressed in their desire to construct a Scottish immigration regime that 'could provide incentives to migrants who move to live and work in remoter geographical areas – assisting with community sustainability, or adding new categories of skills' (Scottish Government, 2013; 27).

Understanding the scales at which the claim that Scottish migration needs could be better met than is currently the case under the UK immigration system is by therefore by no means simple, but as this brief review has hinted, simplistic comparison of migration to Scotland versus England is inadequate. Equally it is important to recognise that the data limitations of analysing migration only through the metrics of the 2011 census constrain a fuller theorisation of the epistemological significance of scale as a social construction, with international migration operating across a spectrum of scales from global to local (Jones, Woodward and Marston, 2007) in a way that produces myriad migration geographies of relevance to considering appropriate policies appropriate to Scottish migration futures (Bell et al, 2013a).

1.2 THE UK AND SCOTTISH POPULATION IN CONTEXT

The 2011 Census Day population in the United Kingdom was 63.2 million. Some 8% of the UK population were living in Scotland. The Census indicated that Scotland's population in 2011 was at its highest level ever recorded with just fewer than 5.3 million residents. Figure 1 reveals the pattern of natural population change in Scotland and the level of net migration over the last sixty years. Net migration appears to be on an upward trajectory, and it is the migration system more than any other demographic process that has led to the recent increase in the overall population of Scotland.

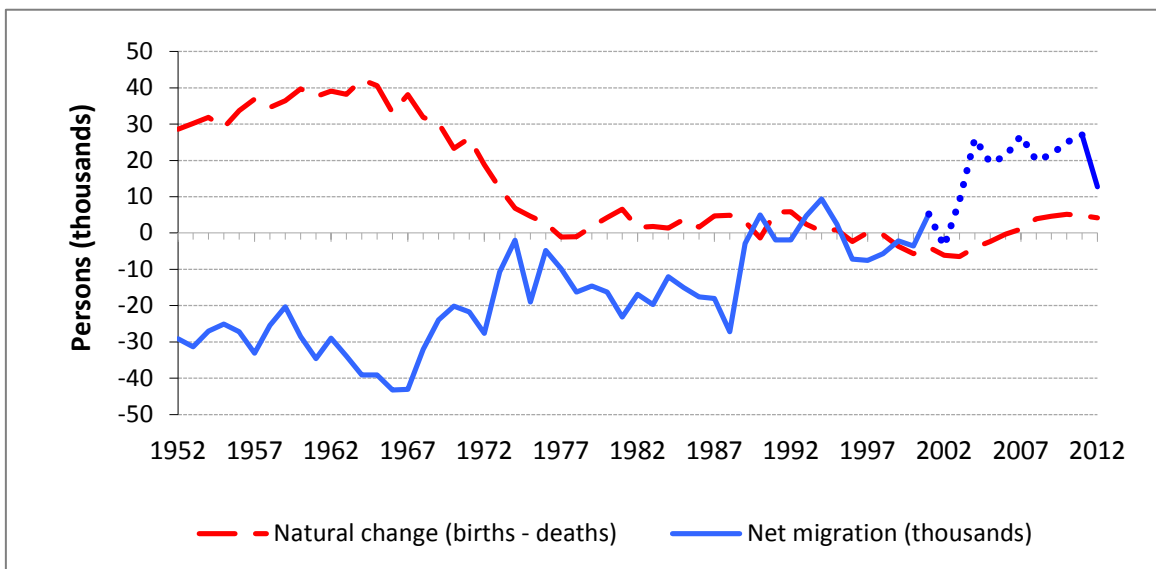


Figure 1: Natural change and net migration: Scotland from 1951-2012.

Note: The dotted line shows estimates which may be recalculated as part of rebasing population estimates using the 2011 Census.

Source: National Records of Scotland (NRS) (2013a) Mid-2011 and Mid-2012 Population Estimates Scotland, P.9.

Population growth has long been viewed as a key priority for the devolved Scottish Government. In 2007 the Scottish Government set ambitious targets (*Purpose Targets*) in seven main areas - Economic Growth, Productivity, Participation, Population, Solidarity, Cohesion and Sustainability. Population growth was at the core of the strategy

for growth and progress in Scotland. The goal was set to match average European (EU15¹) population growth over the period from 2007 to 2017.

“It is a key contributor to, and a consequence of, a more vibrant society and a more dynamic economy... unless we increase labour participation rates among older people or attract more people of working age to Scotland, our economic growth will be adversely affected.” (Scottish Government 2007, 16).

As Figure 2 reveals the latest population growth in Scotland is slightly lower than the EU15 average. However for most of the period since 2007 it has exceeded this level. Scotland’s population has grown by 3% since 2006/7 whereas the average across the EU15 countries has been 2%. Therefore Scotland seems on track to meet its population target.

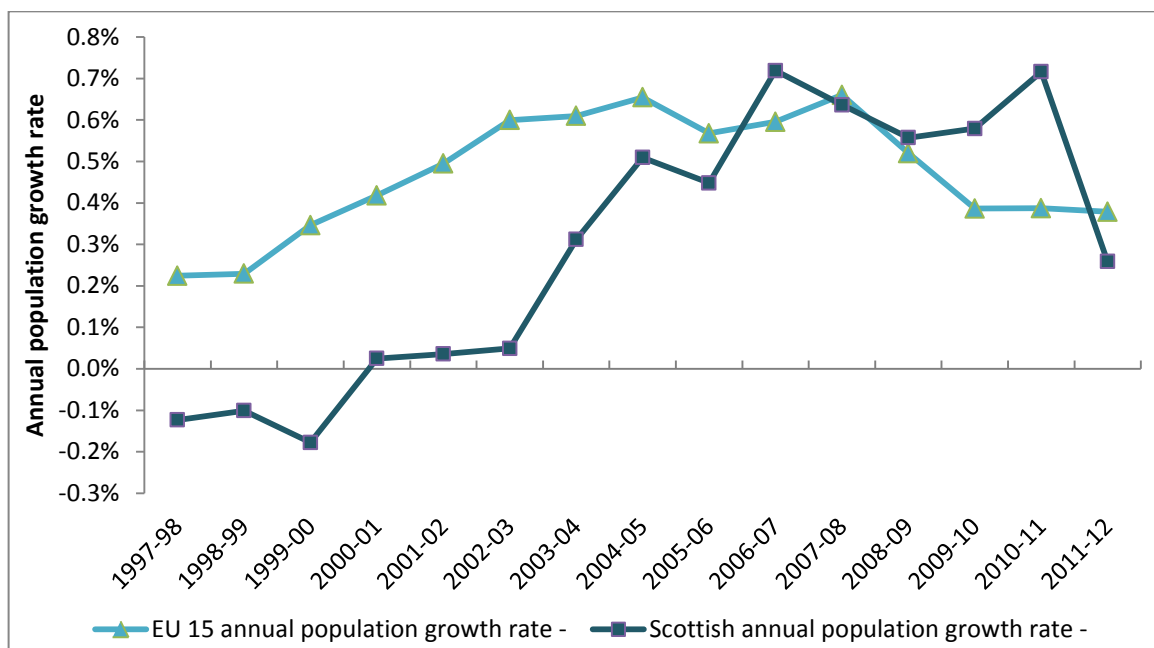


Figure 2: Population change: A comparison of Scotland and EU15 countries, 1996-2011.

Source: Eurostat and NRS (2013b) p9.

This focus on population growth, chiefly through immigration stands in contrast to the current UK Coalition Government target to *limit* net migration to the UK to the

¹ The EU15 is comprised of Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, and the United Kingdom.

“tens of thousands” by 2015 (Gower 2013, 1). Migration is deemed a key driver of population and economic growth in Scotland but as a ‘reserved’ matter politicians at Holyrood have little control over the issue (McCollum et al, 2013a; 3). Bell et al (2013b) point out that except for the “Fresh Talent” initiative, the regulations governing migration to Scotland have been roughly the same as those in the UK as a whole. The issue of migration therefore, raises important questions for Scotland at a time of debate about constitutional change and diverging priorities from the rest of the UK.

2 THE NATIONAL SCALE: COMPARING SCOTLAND AND ENGLAND

2.1 COUNTRY OF BIRTH

The 2011 Census revealed that 17% of people resident in Scotland were not born in Scotland. Of these, most were born in England (9%), Northern Ireland (0.7%), or Wales (0.3%) with the remaining 7% (369,000) born outside the UK (Figure 3). During the course of the decade 2001-2011 every Council area in Scotland saw an increase in the proportion of the population born outside the UK. At first glance the picture in England appears similar; again 17% of residents in England in 2011 were not born in England. However, only a small proportion of these were born in other parts of the UK and the Channel Islands (3%), including 1.3% born in Scotland. The Census revealed that 7.3 million people in England were born outside the UK (14%). This marks the first distinction between England and Scotland. As Figure 3 illustrates, the proportion of foreign-born nationals in England is among the highest in the European Union (within the top ten), whereas Scotland’s foreign born population remains among the lowest.

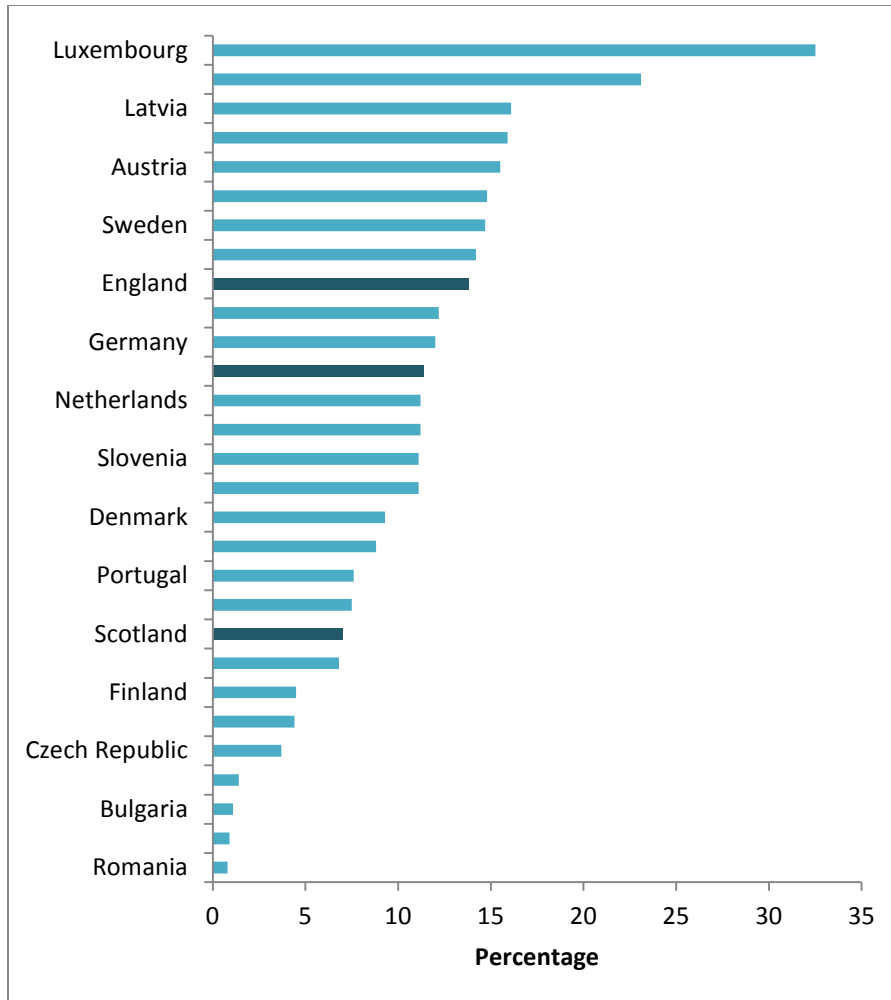


Figure 3: Percentage of usual residents in EU27 countries that are foreign born, 2011.

Source: Authors own analysis of 2011 Census (ONS, 2013 and NRS, 2013d).

The ten most common countries of birth for non-UK born residents of England and Scotland are shown in Table 1. There are a number of commonalities between the two lists. India and Poland emerge as the most common countries of birth in both England and Scotland. As the most populous of the ‘Accession 8’ countries,² Poland has been the biggest sender of East-Central European migrants since the enlargement of the European Union in 2004. Polish migrants now form 15% of all foreign born residents living in Scotland and 8% in England. This shows the much greater relative importance of Polish immigration in shaping Scotland’s migration experience even though the absolute numbers of migrants is less.

² Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia

Historic links with the Indian subcontinent are also evident in Table 1, with migrants born in India and Pakistan in the top ten countries of birth in both England and Scotland, with Bangladesh also featuring in the top ten in England. A large number of people born in India have obtained British citizenship so the number of Indian nationals in England and Scotland is much lower than the Indian-born total. The Republic of Ireland remains within the five most common countries of birth in both countries; however Figure 5 will reveal that the number of Irish-born residents in England has declined over the last decade.

<i>Scotland</i> Total Population 5,295,403				<i>England</i> Total Population 53,012,465			
	Place of Birth	Usual residents	Percent age of non-UK born population		Place of Birth	Usual residents	Percent age of non-UK born population
1	Poland	55,231	15.0%	1	India	682,274	9.3%
2	India	23,489	6.4%	2	Poland	561,098	7.7%
3	Republic of Ireland	22,952	6.2%	3	Pakistan	476,684	6.5%
4	Germany ¹	22,274	6.0%	4	Republic of Ireland	395,182	5.4%
5	Pakistan	20,039	5.4%	5	Germany ¹	262,356	3.6%
6	United States of America	15,919	4.3%	6	Bangladesh	206,331	2.8%
7	China	15,338	4.2%	7	Nigeria	188,690	2.6%
8	South Africa	10,607	2.9%	8	South Africa	186,355	2.5%
9	Nigeria	9,458	2.6%	9	United States of America	173,470	2.4%
10	Canada	9,435	2.6%	10	Jamaica	159,170	2.2%

Table 1: Top 10 countries of birth for the non-UK -born population in Scotland and England, 2011.

Note:¹Those born in Germany include the children of HM Forces who were previously stationed in that country.

Source: Authors own analysis of 2011 Census (ONS, 2013 and NRS, 2013d).

Figures 4 and 5 illustrate the change in the number of non-UK born residents in England and Scotland between 2001 and 2011. The period is marked by substantial growth in both countries. The Republic of Ireland is the only country within the top ten in England which saw a fall in the number of migrants. The increase in Irish-born residents to Scotland has been marginal during this period.

The rise in the number of Polish migrants over the decade is by far the most striking feature of Figures 4 and 5; this represents a fifteen-fold increase in Scotland and a nine-fold increase in England and Wales. The post-war influx of Polish nationals has been augmented by a fresh wave of migrants following Poland's accession to the EU in 2004. Scotland appears to have had a much larger proportional increase in Polish-born residents. Immigration has been focussed not only on Scotland's cities, as discussed later in this paper, but also in rural labour markets where work in agriculture, food processing and the hospitality sectors have employed significant numbers of Poles and other Eastern Europeans, not only during the years of economic prosperity, but also during the recession. (Findlay et al, 2011)

It is also worth noting that the number of Indian, Chinese, Nigerian and Pakistan-born residents in Scotland have also increase rapidly in the last decade. Although in each case the absolute numbers are much less than in England, the percentage growth has been greatest in Scotland.. This difference is driven by the growth of migrants to Scotland from Poland (1767% increase), Nigeria (846% increase) and China (411%). It is clear that the rise in the number of foreign born residents has been both substantial and rapid in both Scotland and England. However, the exponential growth in Scotland provides further evidence that recent migration has been distinctive that may require a nuanced policy approach.

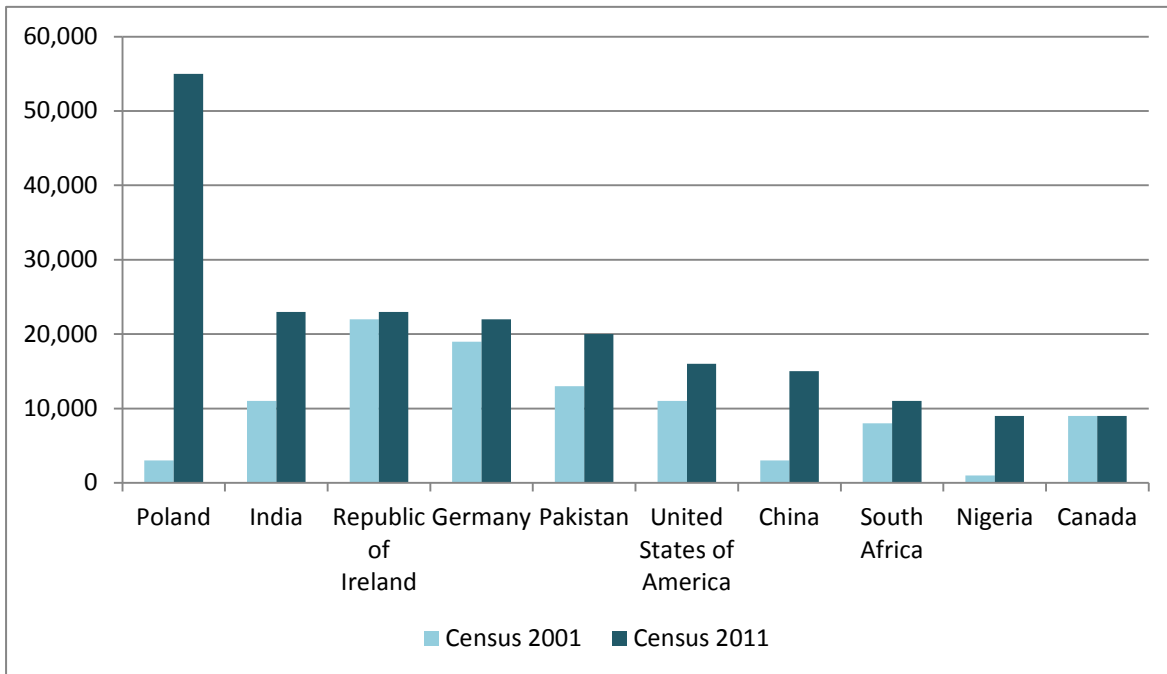


Figure 4: Top 10 countries for non-UK born residents in Scotland, 2001 and 2011.

Source: Authors own analysis of 2011 Census (NRS, 2013d).

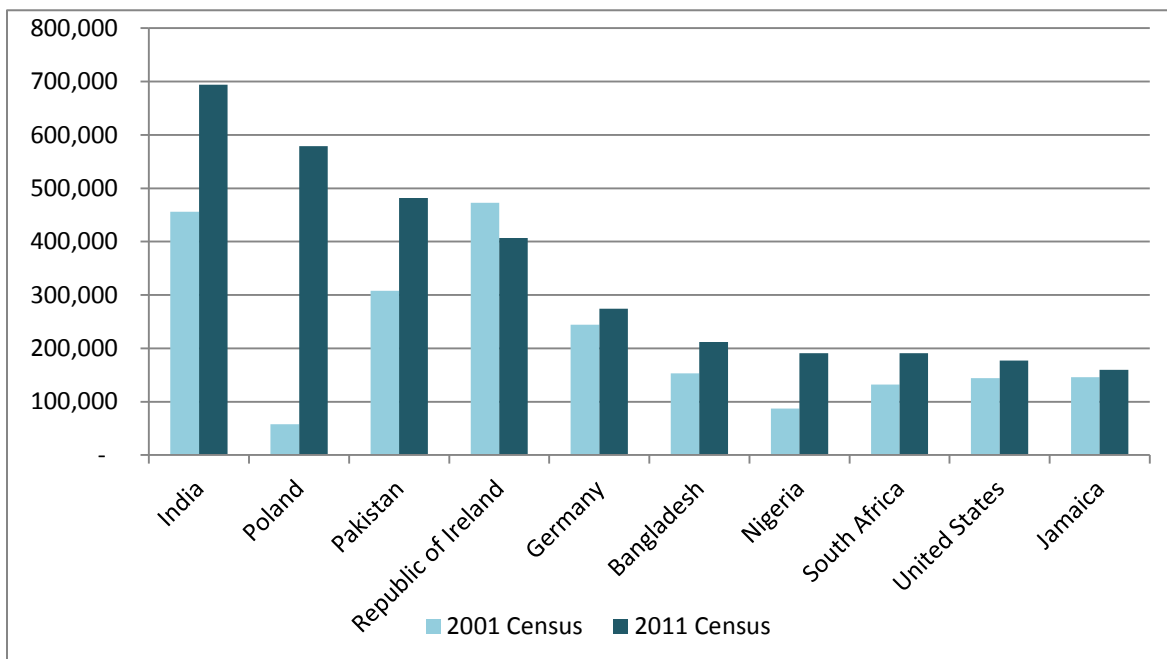


Figure 5: Top 10 countries for non-UK born residents in England and Wales, 2001 and 2011.

Source: Authors own analysis of 2011 Census (ONS, 2013).

Many of the international migrants to the UK are drawn from either Asia or the rest of Europe³. Tables 2 and 3 illustrate the top ten counties of birth for European and Asian-born residents in England and Scotland in 2011. In Scotland 148,000 residents were born in Europe⁴, Table 2 reveals that 37% of European migrants were born in Poland, 15.5% in the Republic of Ireland and 15% were from Germany. In England 2.3 million residents stated that they were born in Europe and of these one quarter were Polish, 17.5% born in the Republic of Ireland and a further 15.5% born in other EU accession countries. There are many similarities between the top ten European countries in England and Scotland, but the dominance of Polish born migrants remains the most striking feature of the Scottish data.

³ Europe excluding other parts of the UK

⁴ Europe excluding other parts of the UK

International migrants to Scotland



Figure 6: International Migrants to Scotland, 2011.

Source: Authors own analysis of 2011 Census (NRS, 2013d)..

<i>Scotland</i> 147,629 residents born in Europe				<i>England</i> 2,255,168 residents born in Europe			
	Place of birth	Total	Per cent of European born residents		Place of birth	Total	Per cent of European born residents
1	Poland	55,231	37.4%	1	Poland	561,098	24.9%
2	Republic of Ireland	22,952	15.5%	2	Ireland	395,182	17.5%
3	Germany	22,274	15.1%	3	Other EU accession countries	350,331	15.5%
4	France	7,147	4.8%	4	Germany	262,356	11.6%
5	Italy	6,048	4.1%	5	Other EU member countries in March 2001	210,357	9.3%
6	Spain	4,908	3.3%	6	Italy	131,195	5.8%
7	Latvia	4,475	3.0%	7	France	127,601	5.7%
8	Lithuania	4,287	2.9%	8	Lithuania	95,730	4.2%
9	Netherlands	4,117	2.8%	9	Portugal	85,845	3.8%
10	Hungary	2,943	2.0%	10	Romania	78,192	3.5%

Table 2: Top ten European countries of birth (Scotland and England, 2011).

Source: Authors own analysis of 2011 Census (NRS, 2013d and ONS, 2013).

Table 3 highlights the most common Asian countries of birth; as expected migrants from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh combined form a large share of the Asian born residents in both Scotland (49.3%) and England (60.8%). Interestingly, the Census highlights a much larger percentage of the population with Chinese origin in Scotland (16.5% of all Asia-born residents) than in England (6.5%). The Higher Education Statistics Agency report for 2010/11 reveals that Chinese students make up a considerable share of the total Chinese population in both England and Scotland (around 40% of all Chinese-born residents in both England and Scotland may be a temporary population of students whose residence is only for study purposes) (HESA 2013).

<i>Scotland</i> 92,937 residents born in Asia				<i>England</i> 2,244,133 residents born in Asia			
	Place of birth	Total	Per cent of residents born in Asia		Place of birth	Total	Per cent of residents born in Asia
1	India	23489	25.3%	1	India	682274	30.4%
2	Pakistan	20039	21.6%	2	Pakistan	476684	21.2%
3	China	15338	16.5%	3	Bangladesh	206331	9.2%
4	Hong Kong	7586	8.2%	4	Other Middle East	205019	9.1%
5	Malaysia	4721	5.1%	5	Other South-East Asia	204902	9.1%
6	Philippines	4264	4.6%	6	China	146202	6.5%
7	Singapore	3039	3.3%	7	Sri Lanka	125917	5.6%
8	Thailand	2267	2.4%	8	Philippines	117457	5.2%
9	Bangladesh	2231	2.4%	9	Other Southern Asia	111414	5.0%
10	Sri Lanka	1711	1.8%	10	Hong Kong	98724	4.4%

Table 3: Top ten Asian countries of birth (Scotland and England, 2011).

Source: Authors own analysis of 2011 Census (NRS, 2013d and ONS, 2013).

2.2 ETHNICITY AND NATIONAL IDENTITY

Questions on ethnicity have been included in the UK Census since 1991, but collecting data on ethnicity can be a challenge, as ethnic identity means different things to different people (Burton, Nandi and Platt, 2008; 11). In answer to the question ‘*What is your ethnic group?*’ respondents in the 2011 Census were able to select one of a number of ethnic backgrounds or tick the ‘other’ category. Figure 6 reveals a more ethnically diverse picture in England than in Scotland. In Scotland, 96% of respondents stated that their ethnic group was ‘White’ whilst the percentage in England was 86%. The second largest ethnic group was Asian in both countries; however the proportion is much higher in England (8%) than in Scotland (3%). The Black/African/Caribbean ethnic minority is

the smallest visible minority in both England and Scotland, with less than 1% of the population stating this ethnicity in Scotland.

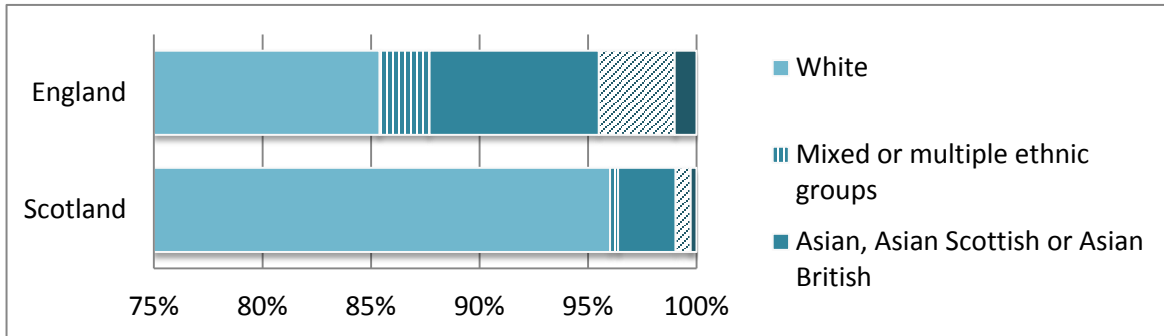


Figure 6: Ethnic Groups, Scotland / England, 2011.

Source: Authors own analysis of 2011 Census (NRS, 2013d and ONS, 2013).

A new question on national identity was included for the first time in the 2011 Census. National Identity has been defined as “*the set of attributes and beliefs shared by those who belong to the same nation*” (Guibernau 2007, 11) The Scotland Census glossary describes national identity as “*a feeling of attachment to a nation irrespective of your ethnic group or legal nationality (citizenship)*” (NRS website 2013c). The results then have been eagerly anticipated, particularly given current discussions on Scottish identity and the Independence referendum. The Census in England asked the question ‘*How would you describe your national identity?*’ And in Scotland ‘*What do you feel is your national identity?*’ Despite the slight differences in nuance in these questions, the results are remarkably similar. Figure 7 and 8 reveal the results. In Scotland 63% of residents stated they felt a “Scottish identity only”. This number was only slightly lower in England where 60% of the population described their identity as “English only”. The next significant cohort were the respondents who stated that they were “British identity only”; 8% in Scotland and 19% in England. A further 18% in Scotland and 9% in England stated that they were “Scottish/English and British”. In Scotland, 5% of the population classified themselves as “Other identity only” whereas this was a larger proportion in England (8%). This raises the question, are migrants to Scotland feeling more integrated and less likely to report their identity as “Other”? This is hard to establish until more detailed data is released. In summary the Census results present an

interesting picture of national identity, with fewer differences between Scotland and England than one might expect.

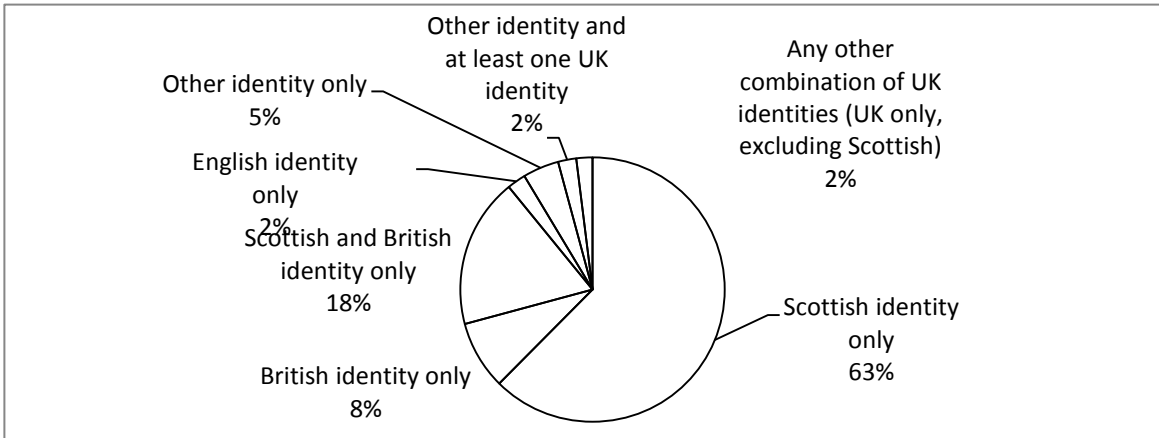


Figure 7: National Identity in Scotland, 2011.

Source: Authors own analysis of 2011 Census (NRS, 2013d).

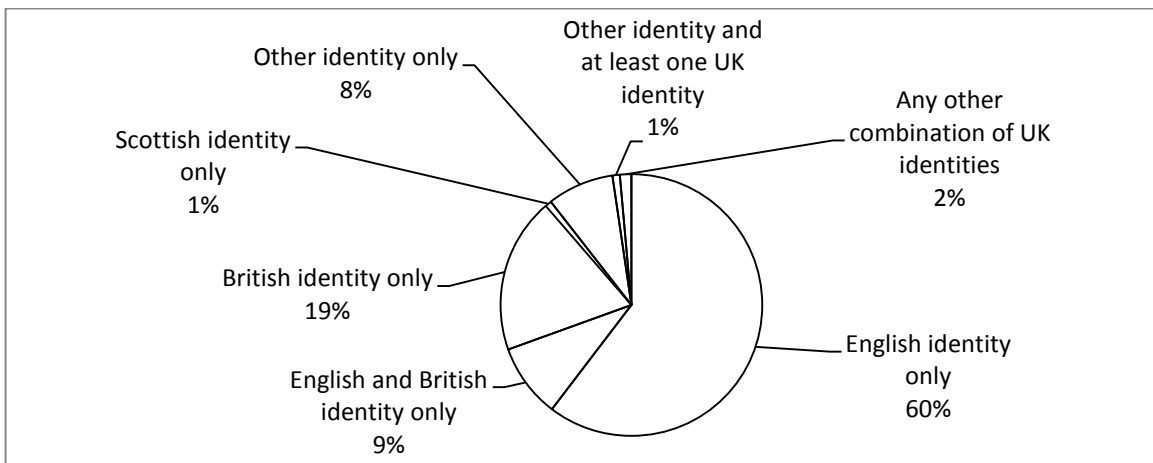


Figure 8: National Identity in England, 2011.

Source: Authors own analysis of 2011 Census (ONS, 2013).

2.3 CHARACTERISTIC OF MIGRANTS: AGE AND YEAR OF ARRIVAL / LENGTH OF RESIDENCY

Exploring when migrants arrived and how long they plan to stay is a challenge as many migration flows are transitory (Dustmann, and Weiss, 2007; 3). Migrants may arrive and then leave soon after. The 2011 Census gives an interesting snapshot of how long

migrants have been in England and Scotland. Figure 9 reveals that 63% of non-UK residents in Scotland arrived in the last decade, this compares to only 50% in England arriving during the same period. Analysing the period 2001-2011 reveals how radical the shift in migration systems has been, with a much higher proportion of new arrivals coming in the last ten years. Of the 369,284 people born outside the UK and resident in Scotland in 2011 232,640 arrived since 2001. Numerous questions arise from this: What has prompted the much greater proportional increase in migration to Scotland compared with England? Is migration to Scotland more transitory in nature? Are migrants to Scotland arriving and then moving elsewhere in the UK or Europe? The pattern certainly reflects the significant rise in the number of migrants coming to Scotland over the past ten years.

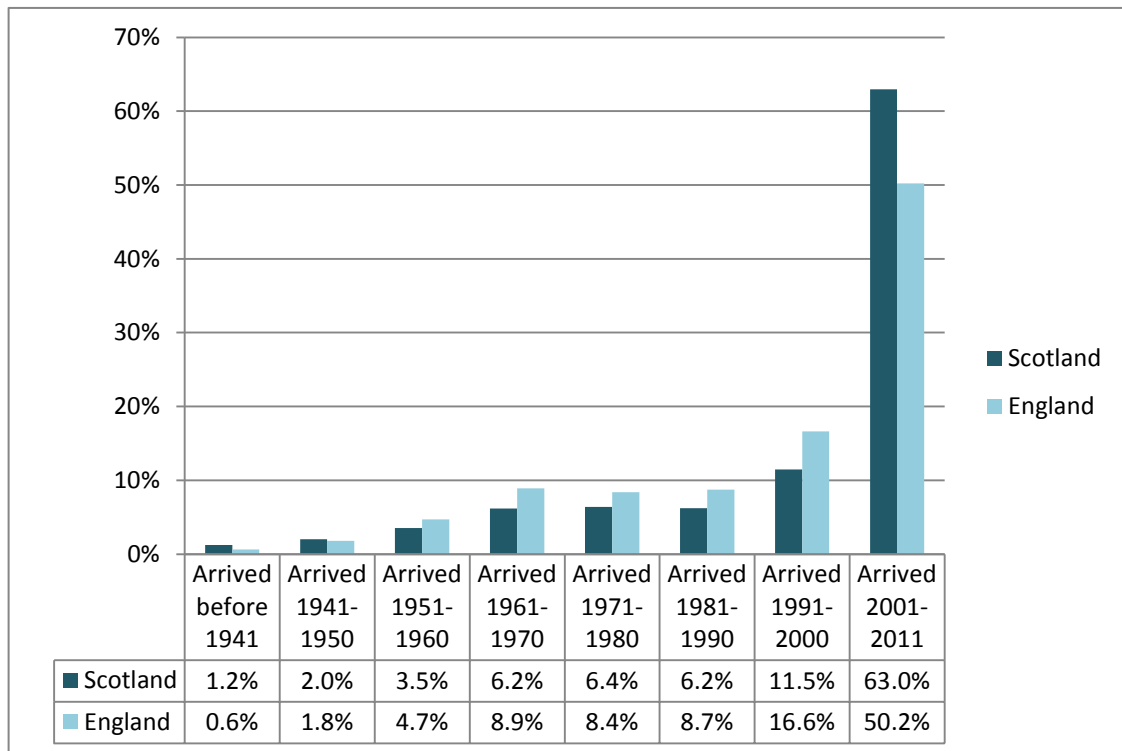


Figure 9: Most recent year of arrival of people born outside the UK, Scotland and England.

Source: Authors own analysis of 2011 Census (NRS, 2013d and ONS, 2013).

Figure 10 illustrates the age profile of migrants to Scotland and England. The majority of migrants arrive as economically active people in the 15-44 year old cohorts. However 17% of migrants to Scotland were young dependents aged 0-4 years. This

number diverges from the otherwise similar totals across the ages in England and Scotland. Within each age category, other than the 0-4 group, the margin between the two countries is minimal.

This could point to a larger number of young families moving to Scotland than England, although interestingly the age group 5-9 does not continue this trend. However, given the surge of recent migration to Scotland evident in Figure 9, it seems credible to suggest that many of the people in the recent migration wave have started their families after arriving in Scotland. This is compatible with qualitative research that has been conducted (Trevena et al 2013) although Sime et al (2011) also documents a rise in the number of children following parents and entering primary education. Regardless of the trigger for this trend, the result will have a significant impact on service provision and local authority spending in Scotland.

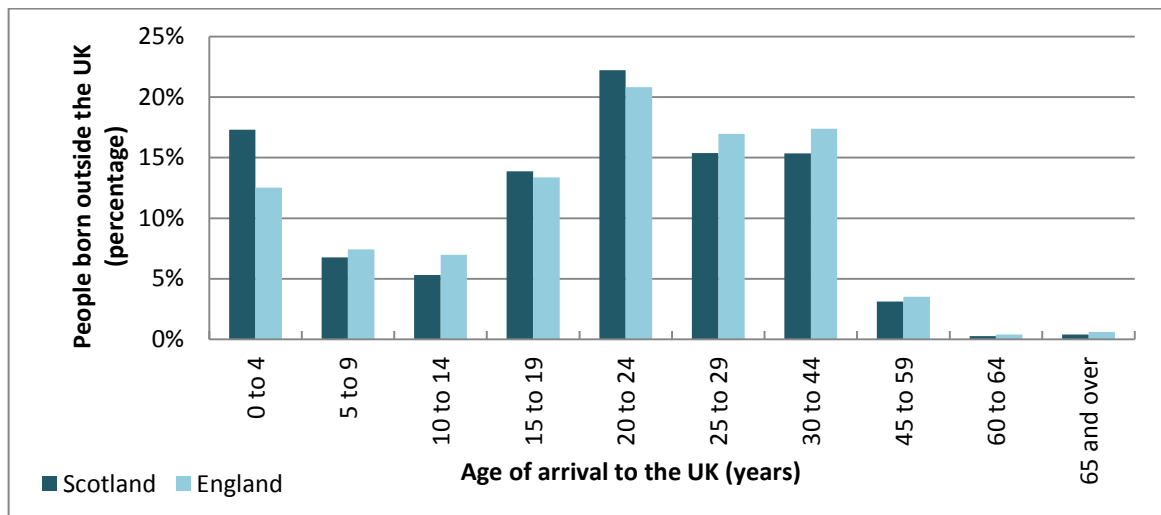


Figure 10: Age of arrival in the UK of people born outside the UK, Scotland and England, 2011.

Source: Authors own analysis of 2011 Census (NRS, 2013D and ONS, 2013).

Piecing together the temporal information from the 2011 census, it appears that Scotland and England have had different experiences of migration in recent years. Figure 11 shows that over 20% of migrants have been resident in Scotland for two years or less. A similar proportion have been resident for between two and five years. The chart reveals that in England migrants are more likely to have been resident for five or more years. The

consequences of these differences are important. The government has set itself a target to increase population growth through migration to support economic development, but the data included in Figure 10 points to the observation that migration appears to be short term (Figure 11) and that in the short to medium term these migrants will not stay, therefore not feeding through to the wider health service costs of supporting an older migrant population.

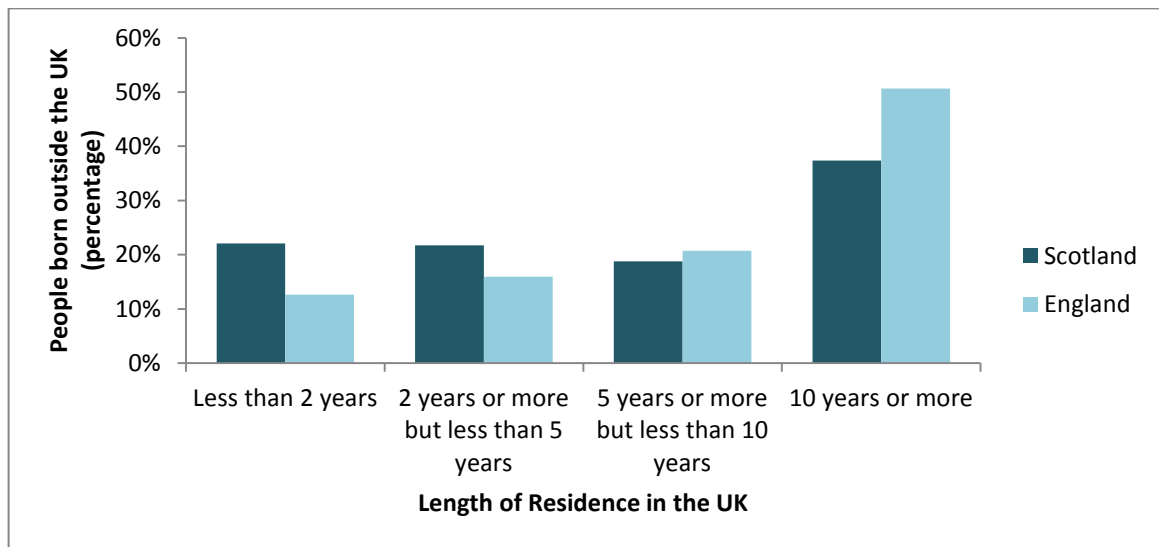


Figure 11: Length of residence in the UK, Scotland and England, 2011.

Source: Authors own analysis of 2011 Census (NRS, 2013d and ONS, 2013).

3 THE REGIONAL SCALE - COMPARING SCOTLAND WITH ENGLISH REGIONS

3.1 COUNTRY OF BIRTH

The evidence so far shows that there are some interesting distinctions between the quantity and quality of international migration to Scotland compared with England. However, overall there are also many similarities. Comparing Scotland (5.2 million) with England (53 million) does have its limitations, thus it is possible to argue that a more pertinent comparison would be to consider how Scotland compares with English regions. The basis for this more detailed comparison is that London and the South East can be

thought of in economic terms and in particular in labour market terms as a global city region, and that all other regions of the UK need to be understood as positioned within a wider structural context as dependent regional labour markets (Findlay, 2008, 2009).

Once Census datasets are disaggregated a comparison between the regions within England and Scotland becomes possible. The result is a less different picture of Scotland's migration experience. Figure 12 reveals the proportion of foreign born residents across the English regions and Scotland. It is quickly apparent that the statistical outlier is not Scotland but London; the proportion of residents not born in the UK in Scotland is much closer to the situation in the regions within England with exception of London.

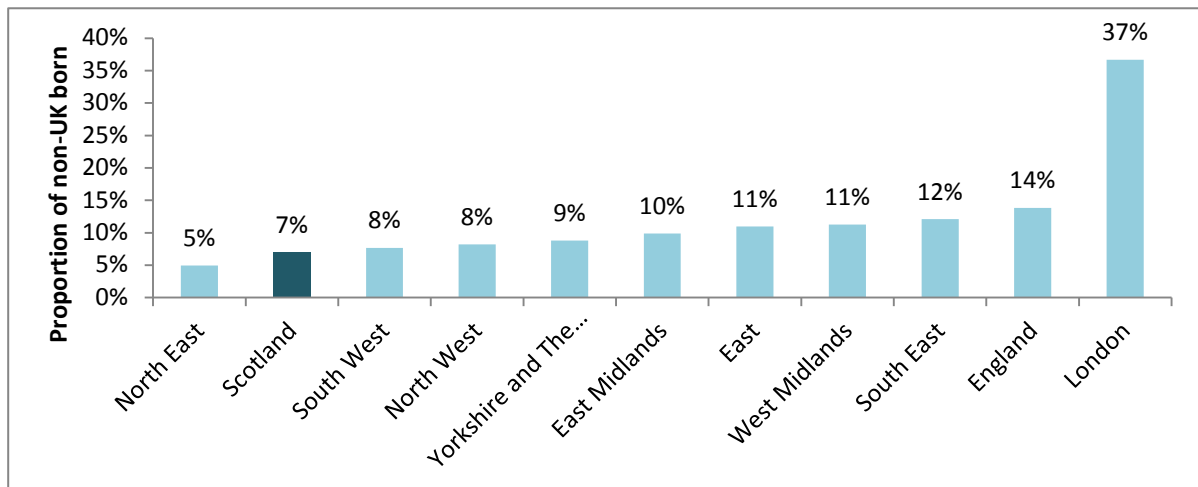


Figure 12: Proportion of population born outside UK, 2011.

Source: Authors own analysis of 2011 Census (NRS, 2013d and ONS, 2013).

Figure 13 presents similar data that demonstrates the key difference is between London and other English regions rather than between England and Scotland. The UK capital has the largest proportion of non-UK born residents with over 25% born in “Other countries” across the world. In contrast Scotland has a population of 93% UK born with less than 5% from other countries. The chart demonstrates that Scotland is comparable with many other English regions with regard to the proportion of foreign born residents. The North East and South West of England both have similar demographic compositions.

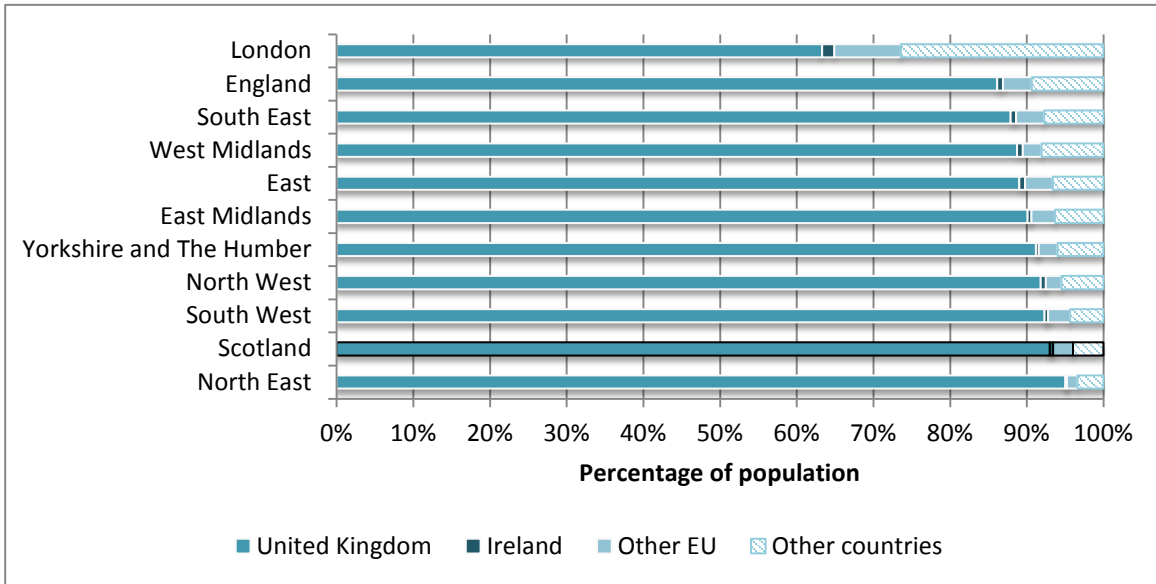


Figure 13: Country of Birth: Scotland and England by region, 2011

Source: Authors own analysis of 2011 Census (NRS, 2013d and ONS, 2013)

3.2 ETHNICITY

The pattern is repeated in Figure 14 where the totals for London reveal a more ethnically diverse population than any other region in England or Scotland. Conversely Scotland is the least ethnically diverse location shown. More than 95% of the population were “White” with fewer people of a “Mixed” ethnicity than any other region. However the proportion of “Asian” and “Black” residents in Scotland is comparable with the proportion in the North East and South West of England.

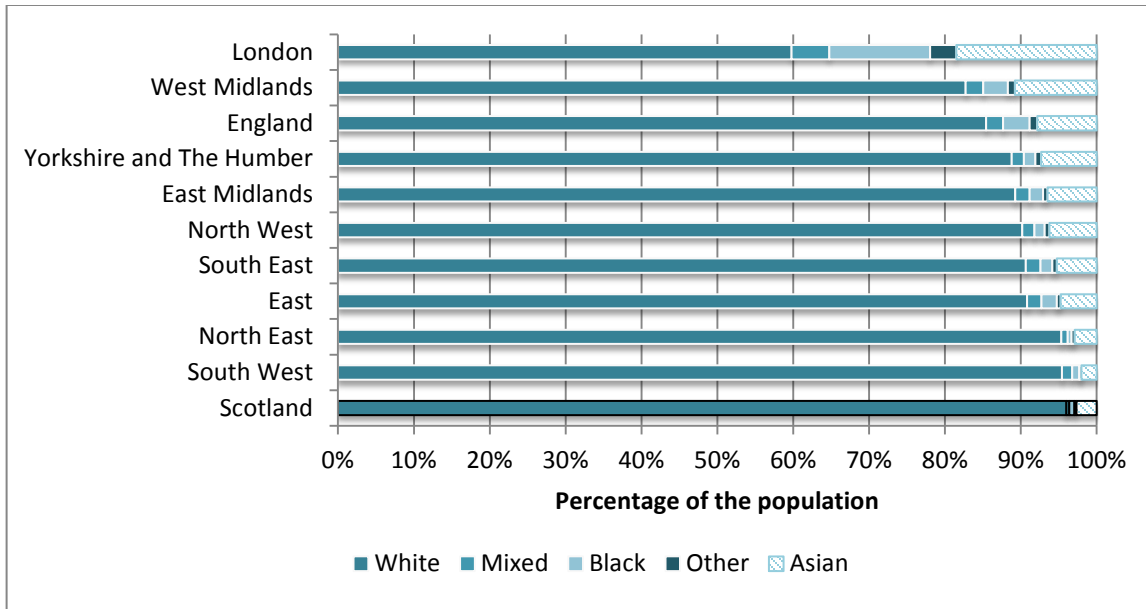


Figure 14: Ethnic Group: Scotland and England by region, 2011.

Source: Authors own analysis of 2011 Census (NRS, 2013d and ONS, 2013).

3.3 CHARACTERISTIC OF MIGRANTS: AGE AND YEAR OF ARRIVAL / LENGTH OF RESIDENCY

Analysis of the age of migrants on arrival in the UK by region of residence repeats the same story. Figure 15 examines migrant cohorts by age on arrival in the UK. Although Scotland has a large proportion of its population arriving aged 0-4 years old, it is ranked third in this chart, with the percentage of this cohort greater in the South West and North East of the England. London is shown to be the statistical outlier and Scotland is comparable with regions of a similar size and economic character.

Figure 16 reveals the regional variation of migrants arriving in the UK aged 25-29 years. Again London is shown to lie at one end of the spectrum, relative to other English regions and Scotland.

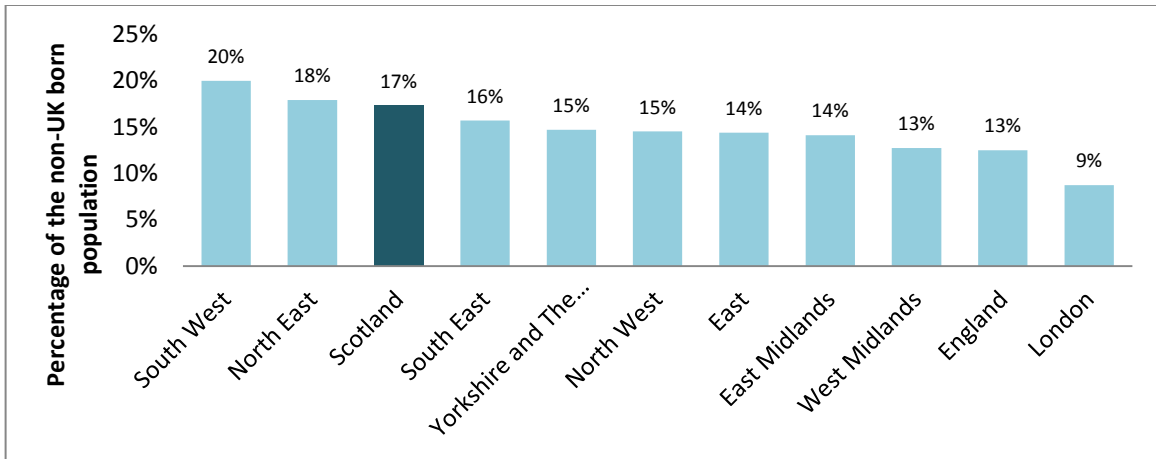


Figure 15: Proportion of non-UK born population who arrived aged 0-4 years Scotland and England by region, 2011.

Source: Authors own analysis of 2011 Census (NRS, 2013d and ONS, 2013).

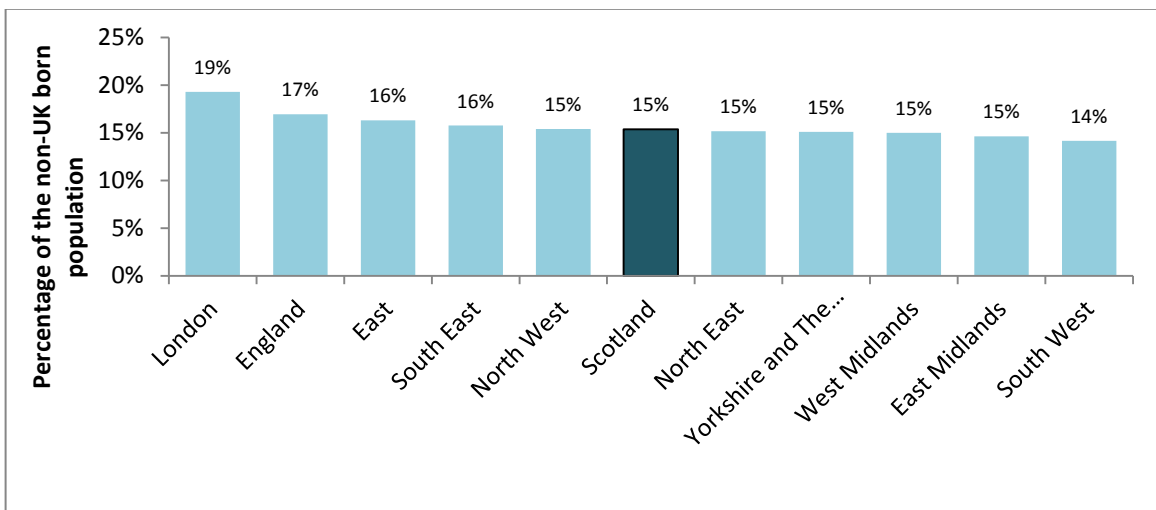


Figure 16: Proportion of non-UK born population who arrived aged 25-29 years Scotland and England by region, 2011.

Source: Authors own analysis of 2011 Census (NRS, 2013d and ONS, 2013).

It has already been noted (Figure 9) that the number of people arriving in Scotland between 2001 and 2011 was a radical shift from the past and distinct from the trend in England. Figure 17 examines this same dataset from a regional perspective. It reveals that while there is variation across England, the recent trends in Scotland are still distinct from any region in England. The graph illustrates that the majority (63%) of migrants to Scotland arrived in the decade before the last census; in the West Midlands, London and

the South East more migrants arrived before 2001 than after. Scotland also had fewer migrants than any other English region to arrive between 1991 and 2011 (11% whereas the total for London is 20%). Moreover the trends for London are consistent with the pattern across England, even when the data is ranked London displays a similar proportion of migrants to other regions arriving over the last seven decades. The clear exception is Scotland which remains distinct even when comparisons are made at a different scale, with reference to regions within England rather than the national average.

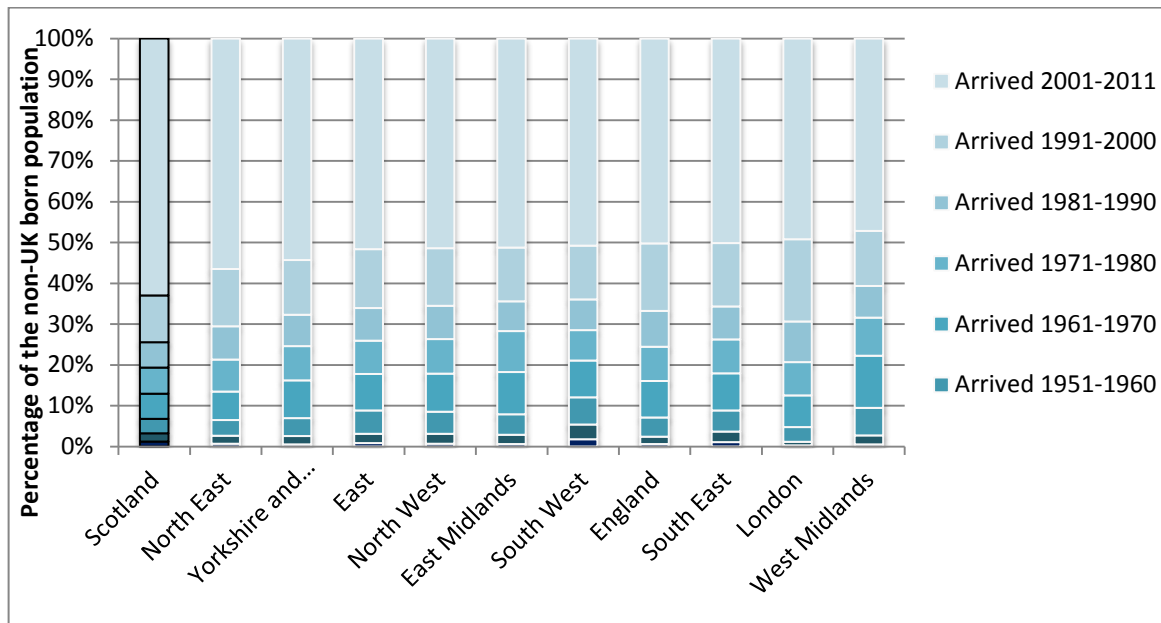


Figure 17: Most recent year of arrival in the UK of people born outside the UK: Scotland and England by region, 2011.

Source: Authors own analysis of 2011 Census (NRS, 2013d and ONS, 2013).

Figure 18 examines ‘length of residency’ rather than ‘year of arrival’; however the data simply reinforces the trends revealed in Figure 18. Ranked in order of those who have been in the UK for 10 years or more, Scotland still has the largest proportion of recent migrants. The chart reveals the varied distribution of recent migrants to the UK with 22% of Scotland’s migrants arriving within the last two years in contrast the West Midlands, London and the South East of England have seen a smaller proportion. These numbers no doubt reflect the existing migrant communities in these regions which are sizeable in comparison with Scotland’s. Inversely Scotland has the smallest proportion of

migrants (anywhere in the UK) to have been resident in the UK for longer than 10 years. This raises questions as to why migrants to Scotland appear to stay for a shorter length of time than elsewhere in England. Again, the proportion varies across English regions but Scotland remains the outlier with only 37% of its migrant population resident for longer than ten years. Historically, Scotland has been a country of net out-migration, with net migration gains only occurring in the early 1990's. This pattern is distinct from parts of England, particularly London and the West Midlands which saw an influx of migrants in the 1950's and 1960's. These historic trends may explain the figures in part but are not the complete answer. Migration to Scotland does appear more transient with migrants settling for shorter periods. It also reinforces the finding that recent migration to Scotland has outstripped the proportion to all other regions.

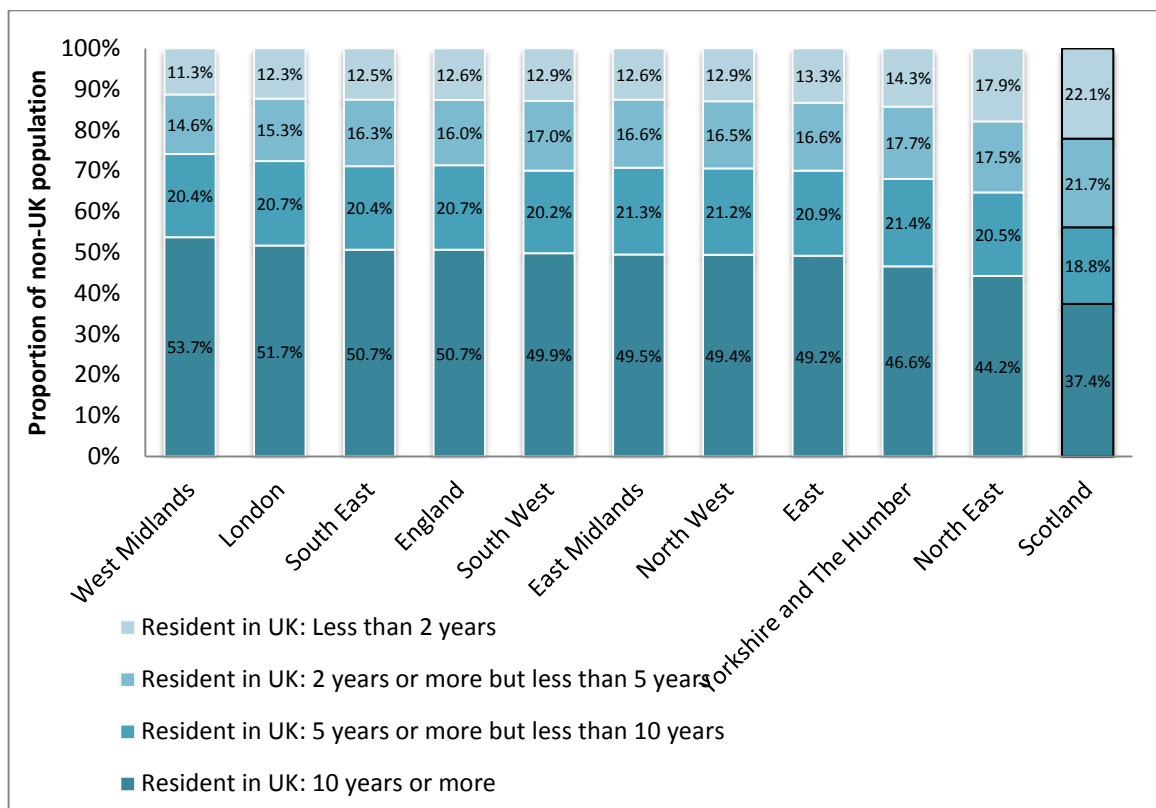


Figure 18: Length of residence in the UK, Scotland and England by region, 2011.

Source: Authors own analysis of 2011 Census (NRS, 2013d and ONS, 2013).

In summary, this analysis has provided an opportunity to explore the nature of international migration across the regions of England, examining whether the picture in Scotland is similar to regions within England. The evidence presents a mixed picture. London has a clear impact on the UK and English average and Scotland has been revealed to be more consistent with other parts of England in terms of several migration indicators. However, in terms of the recent wave of migrants, Scotland continues to look distinct from the rest of England, including London.

4 THE LOCAL SCOTTISH PERSPECTIVE

4.1 COUNTRY OF BIRTH

From examining international migration at the UK and then regional scales, we now turn to consider the local picture in Scotland. Just as the English average obscured regional variations it is important to establish to what extent this is true at a more detailed local level within Scotland. Figures 19-20 provide a specific focus on Council areas within Scotland.

Figure 19 ranks the thirty two council areas by the proportion of residents born in the UK. Aberdeen City lies at one end of the spectrum of Scottish local authorities with 16% of its population born outside the UK. It is noticeable that Scotland's four largest cities boasted the most heterogeneous populations, including not only large populations of EU born migrants, but also the largest proportions of migrants from outside the EU. By contrast only 3% of people in East Ayrshire were born outside the UK with only 2% born outside the EU. A key feature of Figure 19 is the general picture of immigration that is presented. Although Scotland in 2011 displays variations between council areas in the scale and significance of immigration, the level of variation between local areas is generally much less than across equivalent areas of England.

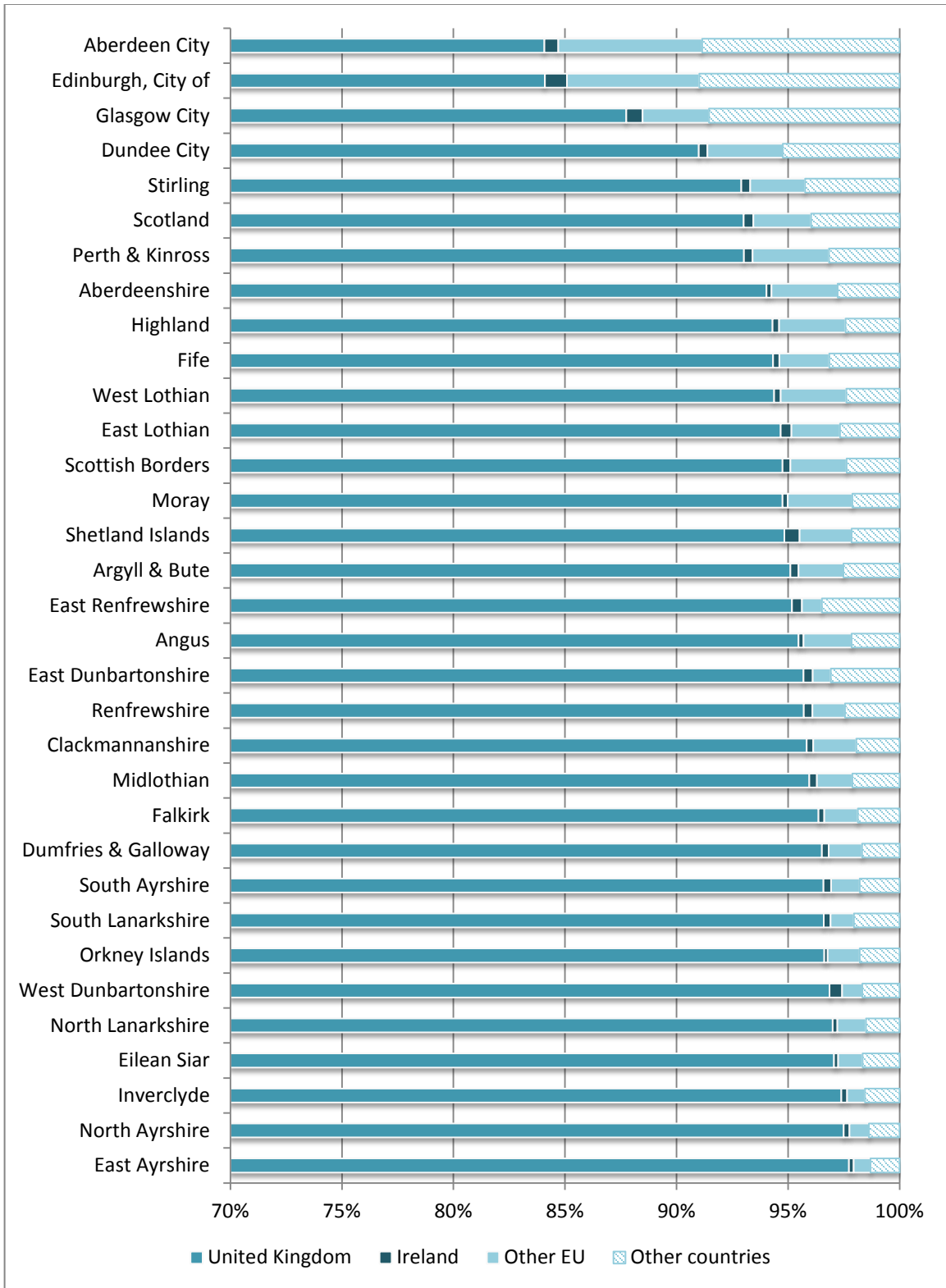


Figure 19: Country of Birth, Scotland Council Areas 2011 Census.

Source: 2011 Census (NRS, 2013d).

A much more detailed analysis of local variations in migration within Scotland has been undertaken by others (Anderson, forthcoming) and is not developed further in this paper. Amongst the many lessons from such analysis is the key message that migration is indeed, as suggested in Section 1.1, a critical social process that produces labour and housing market outcomes across a hierarchy of scales and that analysts who focus only on the ‘national’ scale fail to recognize many critical policy issues.

4.2 CHANGES OVER TIME

Figure 20 highlights changes in the non-UK born population of Scotland over the last decade. The graph reveals that all councils in Scotland have experienced an increase in the number of non-UK born residents since 2001. The average growth in the non-UK born population between 2001 and 2011 was 3.2% although some Council areas have seen as little as 0.2% growth (Inverclyde). In contrast the greatest change occurred in Aberdeen City which saw a 9.7% increase in the number of residents born outside the UK between 2001-2011. The areas which saw the greatest increases over the last decade (Dundee, Glasgow, Edinburgh and Aberdeen) were all cities with an existing migrant community. Figure 20 reveals that the places with a larger foreign born population in 2001 were, not surprisingly also the council areas that experienced the largest growth in migrant numbers in the last decade. What is interesting is that the sources of recent migration, as shown earlier in this paper, have changed so dramatically. Sustained labour market demand for immigrants (rather than so called ‘chain migration’ associated with recruitment of further migrants from the places of origin in the past) has been the dominant mechanism producing the increased concentration of migrant populations in Scotland’s cities.

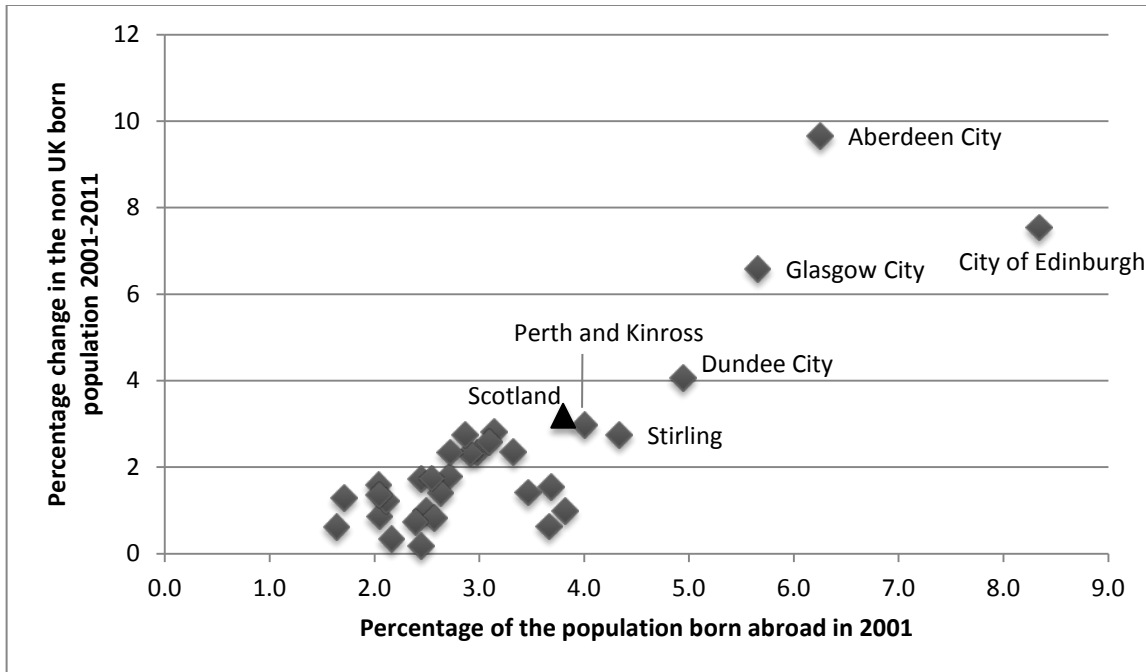


Figure 20: Council areas in Scotland – comparing percentage of non-UK born residents in 2001 with population change between 2001-2011.

Source: Authors own analysis of 2011 Census (NRS, 2013d).

5 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

This paper has sought to ask “Is migration to Scotland distinctive?” The answer to this deceptively simple question has been shown to be rather complex. By limiting investigation to the snapshot provided by the 2011 Census datasets currently released (November 2013), the authors have been able to reach a small number of significant conclusions. More profound conclusions will only be possible when the full Census release on migration is made in 2014. The overarching conclusion reached by this paper is that the scale at which one undertakes analysis of migration has a strong influence on the answer one is likely to reach on whether Scotland is in some way distinctive in terms of its connection to the global economy through migration.

In the context of the constitutional change debate most comparative data at state level present a stark contrast between Scotland and England, and this is as true for migration as it is for other aspects of Scotland’s economy and society. Analysis at this scale would lead to the conclusion that England and Scotland are rather different.

England ranks among the top ten countries in Europe for the proportion of residents that are foreign born, whereas Scotland has among the lowest. The rate of growth of migrant communities in the decade before the last Census showed quite important differences between the England and Scotland. For example, the proportional increase in Polish migrants to Scotland has been much greater than Poles to England. Equally significant, the analysis shows that the impact of Eastern and Central European migration has been different for Scotland, helping the country achieve its demographic growth targets (Figure 2), but only through the attraction of a migrant cohort who have recently come to the county and who may not remain in Scotland in the future (Figure 11).

In examining Scotland alongside regions within England it was apparent that London has a much more diverse population than anywhere else in England. In fact, London stands in contrast to many areas of the country, particularly ‘peripheral’ regions such as the South West, the North East and Scotland. The ‘London-effect’ clearly has a bearing on UK and English averages in relation to most migrant statistics which underlines the importance of examining the data at a range of scales rather than defaulting always to considering only aggregate Scottish/English data.

This analysis has important policy implications that impact on the current debate on constitutional change. While it is possible to argue that current UK immigration policy does not serve the interests of the Scottish economy particularly well, given the powerful influence of London in shaping perceptions of UK’s immigration needs, it is seldom recognized that the same argument is true for other regions of England. Moreover, as Bell et al (2013b) have argued, establishing migration policies suited to the different needs of regional economies is a policy option that has been taken up by some states such as Canada (Wright, 2013, 3) and is an option open to the Scottish and UK governments regardless of the outcome of the 2014 referendum on Scottish independence.

This paper has provided Census evidence that immigration to Scotland has many distinctive elements at national, regional and local levels, it has not sought to explore and analyse the economic and policy implications of developing a more nuanced approach to immigration policy. Nevertheless we suggest that the evidence highlights the need for a tailored policy framework, not just for Scotland but for regions within England too. The detailed and comprehensive perspective provided by the 2011 Census has cast a spotlight

on the lack of a homogeneous national immigration picture. In order for migration to support economic growth goals it seems incongruous to continue to support a policy framework which only meets the needs of part of the UK economy while neglecting the requirements of others. In practice, the political and practical obstacles to adopting a more nuanced approach are sizeable. However, in a period of national debate about constitutional change and appropriate governance, the timing could not be better to explore the policy options that might serve more effectively the interests not only of Scotland but also of many regions within England.

REFERENCES

- Anderson, B. and Blinder, S.** (2012) 'Who counts as a migrant? Definitions and their consequences' *Migration Observatory Briefing*, Oxford, UK: Centre on Migration Policy and Society.
- Anderson, B.** (2010) 'Mobilising Migrants, Making Citizens: Migrant domestic workers as political agents' *Journal of Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 33(1), 60-74.
- Anderson, M.** (forthcoming) 'Scotland's population histories since c1850' (provisional title).
- Bell, D., Findlay, A., McCollum, D., Tindall, S. and Wright, R.** (2013a) 'Migration Policy and Constitutional Change in Scotland' presented at *The Economics of Constitutional Change Conference*, 19th-20th September 2013, Edinburgh.
- Bell, D. and Rutherford, A.** (2013b) 'Individual and Geographic Factors in the Formation of Care Networks in the UK' *Population, Space and Place* 19(6): 727-737.
- Burton, J., Nandi, A. and Platt L.** (2008) 'Who are the UK's Minority Ethnic Groups? Issues of Identification and Measurement in a Longitudinal Survey' *Institute for Social and Economic Research University of Essex. Issue No. 2008-26: Essex*. Available at <https://www.iser.essex.ac.uk/publications/working-papers/iser/2008-26.pdf>
- Brettell, C., Hollifield, J.F. and Chiswick, B. R.** (eds) (2008) '*Migration Theory: Talking Across Disciplines*', 2nd edition (Routledge, New York) p63-82,
- Dustmann, C. and Weiss, Y.** (2007) 'Return Migration: Theory and Empirical Evidence from the UK'. *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, 45:236-256.
- Ehrkamp, P.** (2006) "We Turks are no Germans': Assimilation discourses and the dialectical construction of identities in Germany'. *Environment and Planning A*, 38 (9): 1673-1692
- Findlay, A., Mason, C., Harrison, R., Houston, D. and McCollum D.** (2008) 'Getting off the escalator? A study of Scots out-migration from a global city region'. *Environment and Planning A*. 40 (9): 2169-2185.
- Findlay, A., Mason, C., Houston, D., McCollum, D. and Harrison, R.** (2009) 'Escalators, Elevators and Travelators: The Occupational Mobility of Migrants to South-East England'. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 35(6): 861-879.
- Findlay, A. and McCollum, D.** (2013) 'Recruitment and employment regimes'. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 30, 10-19.
- Guibernau, M.** (2007) '*The Identity of Nations*'. Policy Press: Cambridge.
- Gower, M. and Hawkins, O.** (2013). 'Immigration and asylum policy: Government plans and progress made'. *House of Commons Library Note*. Available at - <http://www.parliament.uk/briefing-papers/SN05829>. Accessed October 2013.
- Higher Education Statistics Agency.** (2013) *HESA dataset 2010/2011*. HESA: Cheltenham
- Herod, A.** (2011) '*Scale*'. Routledge, London.
- Jones, P., Woodward, K. and Marston, S.** (2007) 'Flattening ontologies of globalization: The Nollywood case' *Globalizations* 4 (1): 45-63
- McCollum, D., Cook, L., Chiroro, C., Platts, A., MacLeod, F. and Findlay, A.** (2012) 'Spatial, sectoral and temporal trends in A8 migration to the UK 2004-2011 Evidence from the Worker Registration Scheme' *Centre for Population Change Working Paper 26*. ESRC Centre for Population Change: Southampton.
- McCollum, D., Findlay, A., Bell, D. and Bijak, J.** (2013a) 'Patterns and perceptions of migration, is Scotland distinct from the rest of the UK?' *Centre for Population Change Briefing Paper 10*. ESRC Centre for Population Change: Southampton.

- McCollum, D., Shubin, S., Apsite, E. and Krisjane, Z.** (2013b) 'Re-thinking Labour Migration Channels: The Experience of Latvia from EU Accession to Economic Recession'. *Population, Space and Place* 19(6):688-702.
- Mooney, G. and Scott, G.** (eds) (2012) '*Social Justice and Social Policy in Scotland*'. Policy Press: Bristol.
- National Records of Scotland.** (2013a) 'Mid-Year Population Estimates'. Available at: <http://www.gro-scotland.gov.uk/statistics/theme/population/estimates/mid-year/2012/index.html> Accessed November 2013
- National Records of Scotland.** (2013b) 'High Level Summary of Statistics: Population and Migration'. <http://www.gro-scotland.gov.uk/files2/stats/high-level-summary/j11198/j1119805.htm>. Accessed November 2013.
- National Records of Scotland.** (2013c) 'Scottish Census Glossary'. Available at <http://www.scotlandscensus.gov.uk/en/reference/glossary.html>. Accessed November 2013.
- National Records of Scotland** (2013d) 'Release 2a 2011 Census'. Available at <http://www.scotlandscensus.gov.uk/en/censusresults/downloadablefilesr2.html>. Accessed November 2013.
- Office for National Statistics.** (2013) 'Detailed country of birth and nationality analysis from the 2011 Census of England and Wales'. London, May 2013. Available at http://www.nomisweb.co.uk/census/2011/all_tables?release=3.2b&sort=name Accessed November 2013.
- Potter, R.B. and Phillips, J.** (2006) 'Mad dogs and transnational migrants? Bajan-Brit second-generation migrants and accusations of madness'. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 96 (3). pp. 586-600.
- Sime, D., Fox, R. and Pietka, E.** (2011) 'At home abroad: Life experiences of children of migrant workers in Scotland: Report for Practitioners and Policy Makers'. University of Strathclyde, Glasgow 2011. Available at http://www.strath.ac.uk/media/publications/pressreleases/2012/At_Home_Abroad_Report.pdf
- Scottish Government, The.** (2007) 'The Government economic strategy'. The Scottish Government, Edinburgh. Available at www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2007/11/12115041. Accessed October 2013.
- Scottish Government, The** (2013). '*Scotland's Future: a Summary*'. TSG, Edinburgh.
- Smith, N.** (1992) 'Geography, difference and the politics of scale' in J.Doherty et al (eds) *Postmodernism and the Social Sciences*, 57-79, St Martin's Press: New York.
- Spencer, S.** (2003) 'The Politics of Migration'. Blackwell, Oxford.
- Trevena, P., McGhee, D. and Heath, S.** (2013) 'Location, Location? A Critical Examination of Patterns and Determinants of Internal Mobility Among Post-accession Polish Migrants in the UK'. *Population, Space and Place* 19(6): 671-687.
- Wright, R.E.** (2013) 'Sub-National Immigration Policy: Can it work in the UK?' *Migration Observatory Policy Primer*, Oxford, UK: Centre on Migration Policy and Society.

ESRC Centre for Population Change
 Building 58, Room 2001
 Faculty of Social and Human Sciences
 University of Southampton
 SO17 1BJ

T: +44 (0)2380 592579
 E: cpc@soton.ac.uk
www.cpc.ac.uk

To subscribe to the CPC newsletter and keep up-to-date with research activity, news and events, please register online:
www.cpc.ac.uk/newsletter

You can also follow CPC on Twitter, Facebook and Mendeley for our latest research and updates:



www.facebook.com/CPCpopulation



www.twitter.com/CPCpopulation



www.mendeley.com/groups/3241781/centre-for-population-change

The ESRC Centre for Population Change (CPC) is a joint initiative between the University of Southampton and a consortium of Scottish universities including St Andrews, Edinburgh, Stirling and Strathclyde, in partnership with the Office for National Statistics and National Records of Scotland. The Centre is funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) grant number RES-625-28-0001.

