

ASPECTS OF MIGRATION BETWEEN SCOTLAND AND THE  
REST OF GREAT BRITAIN 1966-71

The 1971 Census revealed 166,590 people\* resident in England and Wales who had been resident in Scotland five years previously, and 124,340 people\*\* then resident in Scotland whose place of residence five years earlier had been in England and Wales. These figures highlight the fact that although Scotland has historically experienced net emigration to England and Wales, this net emigration is the resolution of two much larger offsetting gross flows. The characteristics of these gross flows hold the key to any understanding of the dynamics of Scottish migration. The object of this article is to analyse certain socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the underlying Scottish population. The data presented are culled from the Migration and General volumes of the 1971 Census of Population and the analysis throughout relates primarily to what are termed "five-year migrants", i.e. to those whose usual address on the night of the census differed from their usual address on the same night five years previously and involved a change of residence between Scotland and England and Wales.

Age and Sex Structure

Whereas the median age of the Scottish population in 1971 was just over 30 years, on average migrants into and out of Scotland tended to be younger. Migrants into Scotland had a median age of between 23 and 28 whilst those leaving Scotland to move to England and Wales had a median age of between 22 and 27. As the census columns classify migrants by their age at the date of the census, it is difficult to be more specific in the absence of information on the time pattern of migration. However, for those who migrated in the year immediately preceding the census median ages were of the order of 23.5 and 22.2 respectively.

Table 1 reveals that migration takes place predominantly amongst those aged under thirty. The numbers involved in the older age groups are marginal. Thus for instance in the five year period 1966-1971, those aged over 65 accounted for only 5% or 6,500 of the Scottish inflow, and were almost balanced by an outflow of 6,140.

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\* Census 1971 Migration Great Britain Part 1 Table 1A

\*\* Census 1971 Migration Great Britain Part 1 Table 5B

Table 1      Age Distribution

<u>Age</u>	<u>Scottish population</u>	<u>Migrants into Scotland from England &amp; Wales</u>	<u>Migrants into England &amp; Wales from Scotland</u>
	%	%	%
0-4	8.5	-	-
5-9	9.0	13.2	11.4
10-14	8.5	8.2	8.0
15-19	7.5	6.1	8.7
20-24	7.5	13.1	19.2
25-29	6.1	15.2	15.4
30-34	5.7	11.7	10.2
35-39	5.8	8.5	7.1
40-44	6.0	5.8	5.5
45-49	6.2	4.4	4.4
50-54	5.6	3.7	3.0
55-59	5.9	2.5	2.0
60-64	5.6	2.5	1.5
65-69	4.7	2.4	1.4
70-74	3.4	1.3	0.8
75+	4.2	1.5	1.4

Source:      *Census 1971 Scotland Migration Table Part 1*  
                  *Table 5B*

The notion of Scotland becoming a haven of the aged appears to be unfounded. There is little difference in the sex composition of the inflow and outflow streams. In both cases males account for approximately 51% of the total flow. Nor is there any significant difference between the age distribution of the sexes except in the case of those aged over 55 where women are proportionately more important.

This is in part explained by differences in the migratory behaviour of widowed members of the two sexes. Migrating widows greatly outnumber their male counterparts. One possible explanation may be that reduced financial independence following the death of the male breadwinner may induce the surviving party to migrate to join relatives or mature offspring. However, census data can neither accept or reject this hypothesis.

Table 2 Sex Distribution of Widowed Migrants 1966-71

	<u>Migrants into Scotland</u>	<u>Migrants into England &amp; Wales</u>
Total widowed	3,950	4,760
Male	850	1,180
Female	3,100	3,580

Source: *Census 1971 Migration Scotland Part 1*  
*Table 5B*

### Marital Status of Migrants

As the census records the marital status of migrants on the day of the census it is impossible to attribute a marital distribution to five year migrants at the time of migration using published census data. This data problem does not loom as large in the case of one year migrants\*, under the plausible assumption that the number who marry in the year following migration is small.

Table 3 Marital Status of One Year Migrants 1970-71

	<u>Migrants into Scotland</u>		<u>Migrants to England &amp; Wales</u>	
	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Single	54.3	49.0	58.1	50.4
Married	45.7	51.0	41.9	49.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: *Census 1971 Migration Scotland Part 1*  
*Table 5A*

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\* Those whose usual address on the day of the census differed from their usual address one year previously and required a change of residence between Scotland and England & Wales.

It appears that a female migrant is more likely to be married than a male and of the four sub-flows the Scottish male migrant is most likely to be single. The overall conclusion to be derived from Table 3 is that for an important component of the migrant flow the decision making unit is the household and not the individual. This hypothesis is strengthened if those most likely to be single, the under 19 years old, are excluded from Table 3.

Table 4 Marital Status of One Year Migrants Aged 20 and Over

	Migrants into Scotland		Migrants to England & Wales	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
	%	%	%	%
Single	30.6	18.6	31.6	19.0
Married	69.4	81.4	68.4	81.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: *Census 1971 Migration Scotland Part 1*  
Table 5A

Female migrants still emerge as more likely to be married than males on the basis of Table 4, but overall the married migrant emerges as the norm rather than the exception.

#### Family Composition

The greater propensity of the young to migrate is highlighted by the fact that only 23% \* of the married couples amongst the one year migrants in either direction had dependant children. Such children accounted for 30% \*\* of the total migrant flow in each direction. Taken in conjunction with the figures in Table 3 above, this implies that over 70% of all migrants between Scotland and the rest of Great Britain appear to move as part of a family unit. The presence of children does not appear to restrain migration, the proportion of married 5 year migrants under 65 who

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\* Census 1971 Migration Scotland Volume 3 Table 24

\*\* *ibid*

have no dependants \* is the same as the percentage of the married population in Great Britain as a whole who have no dependants.\*\*

### Origin and Destination

It has been suggested elsewhere [1] that return migration accounts for over a quarter of all migration movement between Scotland and England and Wales. A comparison of the origins and destinations of migrants can throw some light on this question. An important return migration component would suggest a strong correlation between origins and destinations.

Table 5 Five Year Migrants 1966-71

Region	Destination of Scottish Emigrants to Rest of G B %	Origin of Scottish Immigrants from Rest of G B %
North	9.8	11.8
Yorkshire & Humberside	8.3	8.9
North west	13.2	12.0
East Midlands	8.7	6.9
West Midlands	8.5	7.7
East Anglia	3.5	3.3
South East	37.8	37.1
South West	7.9	8.7
Wales	2.3	3.5

Mean absolute difference 1.03

Source: *Census 1971 Scotland Migration Vol. 3 Table 29*  
*Census 1971 Scotland Migration Vol. 3 Table 30*

It is obvious from Table 5 that the degree of correlation is high, reflecting the role of previous migrants as a source of information to future migrants and as a potential stock of return migrants. [1]

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\* Census 1971 Migration Scotland Volume 3 Table 24

\*\* Census 1971 Household Composition Tables p.224

The destination of Scottish migrants to the rest of Great Britain does not appear to be greatly affected by the fact of the migrant having been born in Scotland or born elsewhere. The only major discrepancy between the destinations of the two flows, as revealed in Table 6, is the case of the South West Region to which migrants born outside Scotland appear to have a greater tendency to gravitate than those born in Scotland.

Table 6 Migrants from Scotland to the Rest of Great Britain  
1966-71

Region of Destination	Born Scotland	Born Elsewhere
	%	%
Northern	9.6	10.2
Yorkshire & Humberside	8.2	8.4
North West	13.9	11.6
East Midlands	9.4	7.3
West Midlands	8.7	8.1
East Anglia	3.4	3.9
South East	38.3	37.0
South West	6.6	10.6
Wales	2.1	2.7

Mean absolute difference 1.26%

Source: *Census Scotland 1971 Migration Vol.III*  
*Table 30*

The same cannot be said of migrants to Scotland from the rest of Great Britain where the distribution by origin of those born in Scotland differs much more markedly from that of those born elsewhere.

Table 7 Migrants from the Rest of Great Britain to Scotland  
1966-71

Region of Origin	Born Scotland	Born Elsewhere
	%	%
Northern	10.4	12.7
Yorkshire & Humberside	10.0	8.3
North West	10.3	12.9
East Midlands	8.7	5.9
West Midlands	9.4	6.8
East Anglia	3.1	3.4
South East	39.7	35.6
South West	5.9	10.3
Wales	2.5	4.1

Mean absolute difference 2.49%

Source: *Census 1971 Scotland Migration Vol.III*  
*Table 29*

The mean absolute difference between the two series is twice as large in the case of immigrants than in that of emigrants, reflecting perhaps a greater incidence of return migration amongst expatriate Scots than amongst non-Scots resident in Scotland.

### Labour Force Status

The low average age of migrants would suggest that a high proportion of the migrant stream are economically active. Census tabulations suggest that this is indeed the case, but reveal a large differential between the two sexes.

Table 8 Labour Force Status of Migrants 1966-71

	Migrants from Scotland			Migrants to Scotland		
	Male	Female %	Total	Male	Female %	Total
Economically active	72.7	38.7	56.0	68.2	30.0	49.7
Under 15 & students	23.4	22.5	23.0	26.5	25.4	26.0
Retired	2.7	3.7	3.2	4.4	4.8	4.6
Other economically inactive	1.2	35.1	17.8	0.9	39.8	19.7

Source: *Census 1971 Scotland Migration Tables Part IV*  
*Table 32*

The outflow contains a somewhat higher proportion of economically active than the inflow for both sexes, while the inflow is weighted more heavily in favour of dependant children and students. Not surprisingly, both flows contain a greater proportion of economically active persons than do their parent populations. When the employment status of this segment of the migrant flows is investigated in Table 9, little difference emerges between inflow and outflow.

### Socio-Economic Status

Attention is confined here to the socio-economic status of economically active migrants. To do otherwise necessitates attributing the socio-economic status of the household head to all members of the household regardless of their individual labour force status. Table 10 presents a frequency distribution of economically active Scottish population by socio-economic group. (S.E.G.). It can be seen that with the exception of employers -

Table 9      Employment Status of Economically Active Migrants  
1966-71

	Migrants from Scotland	Migrants to Scotland
	%	%
Self employed	3.3	4.9
Employees	96.7	95.1

Source:      *Census 1971 Scotland Migration Tables Part IV*  
              *Table 32*

small establishments (S.E.G.2.1), socio economic groups 1 to 7 display a greater propensity to emigrate than their presence in the underlying Scottish population would suggest. With the exception of members of the armed forces the converse is true for S.E.G.'s below order 7. Significant differences also emerge between the socio-economic composition of the inflow and outflow streams. The inflow of migrants to Scotland is more heavily weighted towards professional workers (S.E.G.'s 3,4) and ancillary workers and artists (S.E.G. 5.1) while junior non-manual (S.E.G.6) and skilled manual workers (S.E.G. 9) are proportionately more important in the Scottish outflow.

In view of the large absolute difference between the sizes of the two streams, the frequency representation of Table 10 may hide important features of the data. Accordingly, Table 11 presents actual numbers of economically active migrants by socio-economic group. Scotland's net loss of such migrants is concentrated in a small number of groups. Junior non manual (S.E.G.6) and skilled manual workers (S.E.G.9) account for 49% of the net loss over the period 1966-71. The proportion rises to 71% if the next most important groups, ancillary workers and artists (S.E.G.5.1) and semi-skilled manual workers (S.E.G. 10) are included. The former group (S.E.G. 5.1) remain a source of loss in spite of their greater proportional importance in the inflow stream, due to the much greater size of the outflow.

### Household Tenure

In an earlier paper [2], attention has been drawn to the influence of housing tenure on migration behaviour, showing that those resident in public authority housing appeared to have a low



Table 10 Economically Active Migrants by Socio-Economic Group

<u>Socio-Economic Group</u>	1	2	3
	%	%	%
1.1 Employers - large estabs.	-	-	-
1.2 Managers - large estabs.	2.4	5.8	4.2
2.1 Employers - small estabs.	2.1	1.3	0.6
2.2 Managers - small estabs.	2.9	5.7	5.0
3 Prof. workers - self employed	0.5	1.1	0.7
4 Prof. workers - employees	2.3	10.1	7.6
5.1 Anc. workers & Artists	6.6	12.9	8.4
5.2 Foremen, Supervisors non-manual	0.5	0.6	0.8
6 Junior non-manual	18.6	15.9	19.9
7 Personal service workers	5.0	3.8	5.1
8 Foremen, supervisors, manual	2.3	1.7	1.3
9 Skilled manual	21.2	11.1	14.5
10 Semi-skilled manual	12.1	6.6	8.1
11 Unskilled manual	9.2	4.2	5.1
12 Own account	1.8	1.5	1.6
13 Farmers - employers, managers	0.8	0.4	0.2
14 Farmers - own account	0.8	0.2	-
15 Agricultural workers	1.8	1.2	0.8
16 Members of armed forces	0.8	12.9	9.7
17 Inadequately described	<u>8.0</u>	<u>2.8</u>	<u>2.6</u>
Total:	100.0	100.0	100.0

1. Economically active Scottish population by socio-economic group
2. Economically active migrants from England & Wales to Scotland
3. Economically active migrants from Scotland to England & Wales

Sources: *Census 1971 Economic Activity Tables Great Britain*  
*Part IV Table 30*  
*Census 1971 Migration Tables Scotland Part IV Table 32*

Table 11 Economically Active Migrants between Scotland and Rest of Great Britain 1966-71

Socio-economic Group	To Scotland	From Scotland	Net
1.1 Employers - large estabs.	3	-	3
1.2 Managers - large estabs.	361	389	- 28
2.1 Employers - small estabs.	82	51	31
2.1 Managers - small estabs.	351	464	-113
3 Prof. workers - self employed	68	68	-
4 Prof. workers - employees	621	705	- 84
5.1 Ancillary workers & Artists	799	1145	-346
5.2 Foremen, Supervisors non-manual	39	78	- 39
6 Junior non-manual	983	1859	-876
7 Personal service	235	473	-238
8 Foremen, supervisors, manual	106	125	- 19
9 Skilled manual	688	1352	-664
10 Semi-skilled manual	406	755	-349
11 Unskilled manual	259	475	-216
12 Own account workers	91	145	- 54
13 Farmers, employers, managers	22	17	5
14 Farmers, own account	15	5	10
15 Agricultural workers	76	77	- 1
16 Armed forces	799	909	-110
17 Inadequately described	173	239	- 63

Source: *Census 1971 Migration Tables Scotland Part IV*  
Table 32

propensity to migrate outwith the local authority region in which they were resident. This phenomenon is striking when attention is restricted to migration between Scotland and the rest of Great Britain.

Table 12            Household Tenure %

	Owner occupied	Local authority	Private rented	Total
Scottish Households 1971	29.3	53.5	17.2	100.0
Migrants to Scotland 1966-71*	43.7	29.1	27.2	100.0
Migrants from Scotland 1966-71*	46.7	17.3	26.0	100.0
England & Wales Households 1966-71	50.1	28.2	21.7	100.0
Migrants within Local Auth. areas of Scotland 1966-71	20.4	68.1	11.5	100.0

Source:        *Census 1971 Migration Scotland Part II Table 20*  
                   *Census 1971 Housing Report Scotland Table 2*  
                   *Census 1971 England & Wales Housing Part I Table 3*

Table 12 would appear to indicate that local authority tenants are unlikely to migrate outwith Scotland. It has been suggested that this is a direct consequence of the criteria employed by local authorities in allocating houses, and that the large volume of public housing in Scotland leads to structural unemployment by impeding labour mobility. However, local authority tenants may be concentrated in those socio-economic groupings where economic circumstances discourage migration. Census results can throw little further light on this question as migrants are classified by their household tenure at the census date, and not by that prior to migration. Thus, the low proportion of Scottish emigrants who were resident in local authority housing on census night may reflect a failure on their part to secure such accommodation in England and Wales rather than a lower propensity to migrate.

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\* Excluding "migrants not in private households".

### Summary & Conclusions

1. Over the period 1966-71, just over two thirds of immigrants\* to Scotland came from England and Wales. It is not possible to be equally specific about the destination of emigrants from Scotland, using published census data. However, it appears [3] that over the years 1951-75, almost half of Scotland's net loss of population was accounted for by net migration to the rest of the UK.
2. Migrants tend to be younger than the average of the Scottish population .
3. Over 75% of migrants aged 20 and over are married.
4. Almost three quarters of migrants enumerated migrate as part of a family unit.
5. Almost 70% of male migrants are economically active. For female migrants the figure is just above 30%.
6. The higher socio-economic groups assume greater proportional importance in the outflows from Scotland than their importance in the Scottish population.
7. Nevertheless, almost half of Scotland's net loss of economically active migrants consists of junior non-manual and skilled manual workers.
8. Local authority tenants in Scotland display a much lower propensity to migrate to England and Wales than do their counterparts in the owner occupied or privately rented sectors.

These conclusions and inferences drawn from the tables in this paper must of necessity be qualitative owing to the aggregated nature of the source data. Unfortunately the published results of the 1971 Census have concentrated on small area statistics within Scotland at the expense of more meaningful and fruitful processing of specific tabulations concerning the total migration flows between Scotland and the rest of Great Britain.

### References

- [1] D N F Bell & F X Kirwan Return Migration in a Scottish Context. Fraser of Allander Institute Discussion Paper No 5. May 1977
- [2] D N F Bell & F X Kirwan Scottish Migration : Some Thoughts on a Human Capital Approach. Fraser of Allander Institute Quarterly Economic Commentary, January 1977.
- [3] The Scottish Abstract of Statistics No.1 1971 and No.6 1976, H M S O.

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\* Census 1971 Scotland Migration Tables Part II