



# THÈSE

En vue de l'obtention du

## DOCTORAT DE L'UNIVERSITÉ DE TOULOUSE

Délivré par l'Université de Toulouse – Jean Jaurès

---

Présentée et soutenue par

**Wafa EL FEKIH SAID**

25 octobre 2019

### **The Evolution of the Political Discourse over Immigration and Integration in Post-Devolution Scotland**

---

**ED ALLPH@ - Anglais**

**Unité de recherche**

Laboratoire Cultures Anglo-Saxonnes

**Directeur de Thèse**

**Jean BERTON**

**Jury**

**M. Gilles LEYDIER, Rapporteur**

**Mme Edwige CAMP-PIETRAIN, Rapporteur**

**Mme Nathalie DUCLOS, Examinatrice**

**Mme Annie THIEC, Examinatrice**

**M. Jean BERTON, Directeur de thèse**



**Université Toulouse 2-Jean Jaurès**

**École Doctorale ALLPH@**

**THÈSE**

pour obtenir le grade de  
DOCTEUR DE L'UNIVERSITÉ  
en civilisation britannique

# **The Evolution of the Political Discourse over Immigration and Integration in Post-Devolution Scotland**

**EL FEKIH SAID Wafa**

Présentée et soutenue publiquement  
le 25 octobre 2019

Directeur de Recherche

**Jean BERTON**

Jury

**M. Gilles LEYDIER**, Rapporteur

**Mme Edwige CAMP-PIETRAIN**, Rapporteur

**Mme Nathalie DUCLOS**, Examinatrice

**Mme Annie THIEC**, Examinatrice

**M. Jean BERTON**, Directeur de thèse

To my parents.

---

## Acknowledgements

---

No words can properly describe the extent of my gratitude for all those who through their support have contributed to the completion of this project.

I would like to express my deepest thanks to my supervisor, Professor Jean Berton, for his help and guidance through the course of producing this thesis. His suggestions in terms of the investigation's direction and continuous support have been crucial to the completion of this study. He has been strict on scientific rigour and perseverance and helped me find my way back whenever I felt disoriented. He also encouraged me to attend conferences and events and pushed me to overcome my fears and to continuously share my work.

I must also mention the people who provided guidance and advice during my visits to Scotland, especially Satnam Virdee and David McCrone who provided valuable advice on my work. I also want to thank Nasar Meer for all the works provided on integration in Scotland. I am grateful to Rami Ousta and the BEMIS team who allowed me to their offices on my visits to Scotland and attend meetings and workshops. Special thanks to Craig French who oriented me during my visits to Scotland and recommended useful contacts from Police Scotland and lawyers specialized in immigration.

No proper visit to Scotland would have been possible without my friend and travel partner Paul Read. Thanks to him, I was able to visit different parts of Scotland, even the most remote places, thanks to his perfect travel plans.

I would also like to thank my parents for their constant support and patience; and I would like to express my gratitude to my uncle Abder and my Aunt Maryse who have accompanied me throughout the PhD years.

Finally, I wish to thank my love whose encouragement at the final stages of the PhD has been precious to me.



## CONTENTS LIST

|                                                                                                                     |               |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------|
| LIST OF TABLES.....                                                                                                 | 12            |
| LIST OF FIGURES.....                                                                                                | 12            |
| LIST OF ACRONYMS.....                                                                                               | 14            |
| <br><b>INTRODUCTION.....</b>                                                                                        | <br><b>15</b> |
| <br><b>ORIGIN OF THE SUBJECT MATTER .....</b>                                                                       | <br><b>17</b> |
| <b>THE TITLE .....</b>                                                                                              | <b>18</b>     |
| <b>THE RESEARCH QUESTION .....</b>                                                                                  | <b>23</b>     |
| <b>POLITICAL BACKGROUND .....</b>                                                                                   | <b>25</b>     |
| <b>LITERATURE REVIEW .....</b>                                                                                      | <b>30</b>     |
| <b>THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....</b>                                                                                   | <b>31</b>     |
| <b>PRIMARY SOURCES .....</b>                                                                                        | <b>33</b>     |
| <b>METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH .....</b>                                                                                | <b>34</b>     |
| DEFINING 'DISCOURSE' .....                                                                                          | 35            |
| DISCOURSE ANALYSIS METHODOLOGY .....                                                                                | 36            |
| Mixed-method approach .....                                                                                         | 42            |
| <b>PLAN OF THE DISSERTATION .....</b>                                                                               | <b>52</b>     |
| <br><b>PART I. GENERAL OVERVIEW .....</b>                                                                           | <br><b>55</b> |
| INTRODUCTION TO PART I.....                                                                                         | 57            |
| <b>CHAPTER I: SOLVING THE AMBIGUITY AROUND KEYWORDS .....</b>                                                       | <b>58</b>     |
| 1. DEFINING IMMIGRATION AND IMMIGRANT.....                                                                          | 58            |
| 1.1 The case of Scotland .....                                                                                      | 66            |
| 1.2 Immigrants vs. Ethnic minorities.....                                                                           | 67            |
| 2. DEFINING RACE AND ETHNICITY .....                                                                                | 67            |
| 2.1 Defining Race.....                                                                                              | 67            |
| 2.2 Defining Ethnicity.....                                                                                         | 69            |
| 3. DEFINING INTEGRATION .....                                                                                       | 70            |
| 3.1 Theories on integration .....                                                                                   | 71            |
| 3.2 Integration in practice.....                                                                                    | 75            |
| 4. DEFINING CITIZENSHIP .....                                                                                       | 81            |
| 5. THE CIVIC VS. ETHNIC DEBATE.....                                                                                 | 84            |
| CONCLUSION.....                                                                                                     | 86            |
| <b>CHAPTER II: THE MULTICULTURAL HISTORY OF SCOTLAND AND THE EVOLUTION OF SCOTTISH NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS .....</b> | <b>88</b>     |
| 1. EARLY SCOTLAND .....                                                                                             | 89            |

|                                                                      |            |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| 2. THE SCOTTISH WARS OF INDEPENDENCE .....                           | 93         |
| 3. THE 1707 ACT OF UNION .....                                       | 95         |
| 4. HIGHLANDERS AND THE HIGHLANDS CLEARANCES .....                    | 98         |
| 5. IRISH IMMIGRATION .....                                           | 99         |
| 6. SCOTTISH EMIGRATION .....                                         | 100        |
| CONCLUSION .....                                                     | 101        |
| <b>CHAPTER III. WHO ARE SCOTLAND'S ETHNIC MINORITIES TODAY?.....</b> | <b>103</b> |
| 1. THE 2011 POPULATION CENSUS .....                                  | 104        |
| 2. COMPARISON BETWEEN SCOTLAND AND THE REST OF THE UK .....          | 105        |
| 3. SCOTLAND'S MINORITIES' EVOLUTION FROM 2001 TO 2011 .....          | 106        |
| 4. GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF SCOTLAND'S MINORITIES .....          | 109        |
| 5. SCOTLAND'S POPULATION BY RELIGION, AGE AND LANGUAGE .....         | 112        |
| 6. NATIONAL IDENTITIES AND ETHNICITY IN SCOTLAND .....               | 114        |
| CONCLUSION .....                                                     | 117        |
| <b>CONCLUSION TO PART I.....</b>                                     | <b>118</b> |

## **PART II. THE MULTI-LEVEL POLITICS OF IMMIGRATION AND INTEGRATION IN SCOTLAND AND THE UK ..... 119**

|                                                                                                                                                                                   |            |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| INTRODUCTION TO PART II.....                                                                                                                                                      | 121        |
| <b>CHAPTER I: PRE-DEVOLUTION MAIN INTEGRATION AND IMMIGRATION STRATEGIES: AN<br/>OVERVIEW OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF IMMIGRATION AND INTEGRATION LEGISLATIONS SINCE 1945<br/>.....</b> | <b>122</b> |
| 1. THE 1948 BRITISH NATIONALITY ACT .....                                                                                                                                         | 124        |
| 2. THE COMMONWEALTH AND IMMIGRANTS ACT OF 1962 .....                                                                                                                              | 126        |
| 3. THE RACE RELATIONS ACTS AND 'DUAL STATE INTERVENTIONISM' .....                                                                                                                 | 128        |
| 4. ANTI-IMMIGRANT SENTIMENTS .....                                                                                                                                                | 130        |
| 5. MORE RESTRICTIONS ON IMMIGRATION .....                                                                                                                                         | 130        |
| 6. IMMIGRATION AND INTEGRATION UNDER THATCHER .....                                                                                                                               | 131        |
| 6.1 The Primary Purpose Rule .....                                                                                                                                                | 131        |
| 6.2 The British Nationality Act of 1981 .....                                                                                                                                     | 132        |
| 6.3 Backlash of immigration and integration policies .....                                                                                                                        | 133        |
| 6.4 Main initiatives on integration .....                                                                                                                                         | 135        |
| 7. NEW LABOUR IN POWER .....                                                                                                                                                      | 137        |
| CONCLUSION .....                                                                                                                                                                  | 137        |
| <b>CHAPTER II. THE MULTI-LEVEL ASPECT OF POST-DEVOLUTION POLITICS OF IMMIGRATION AND<br/>INTEGRATION .....</b>                                                                    | <b>139</b> |
| 1. LABOUR GOVERNMENTS' INITIATIVES ON IMMIGRATION AND INTEGRATION .....                                                                                                           | 139        |
| 1.1 The Asylum and Immigration Act 1999 .....                                                                                                                                     | 139        |
| 1.2 New Labour's answer to riots: 'Community cohesion' .....                                                                                                                      | 140        |
| 1.3 Anti-terrorism and managed migration .....                                                                                                                                    | 142        |
| 1.4 Citizenship under New Labour .....                                                                                                                                            | 148        |

|     |                                                                                                       |                |
|-----|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------|
| 1.5 | Integration under New Labour .....                                                                    | 149            |
| 2.  | CONSERVATIVE GOVERNMENTS' MAIN APPROACH TO IMMIGRATION AND INTEGRATION .....                          | 151            |
| 2.1 | Towards stricter immigration policy under the coalition government .....                              | 151            |
| 2.2 | More restrictive measures on immigration .....                                                        | 153            |
| 2.3 | The May-led government and Brexit .....                                                               | 154            |
| 3.  | SCOTLAND'S POLICIES AND INITIATIVES ON IMMIGRATION INTEGRATION .....                                  | 156            |
| 3.1 | Coalition governments' initiatives on immigration and integration .....                               | 156            |
| 3.2 | SNP-led governments' initiatives on integration .....                                                 | 159            |
| 3.3 | Third sector in Scotland .....                                                                        | 165            |
| 3.4 | Other initiatives from Police Scotland .....                                                          | 167            |
| 3.5 | Local Councils .....                                                                                  | 168            |
|     | CONCLUSION .....                                                                                      | 170            |
|     | <b>CHAPTER III: THE IMPACT OF SUPRANATIONAL INSTITUTIONS ON IMMIGRATION AND<br/>INTEGRATION .....</b> | <b>172</b>     |
| 1.  | THE EUROPEAN UNION .....                                                                              | 172            |
| 1.1 | The EU on immigration and asylum .....                                                                | 173            |
| 1.2 | The EU and integration .....                                                                          | 176            |
| 2.  | THE IMPACT OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS ON IMMIGRATION AND INTEGRATION .....                        | 179            |
| 2.1 | The UN Influence .....                                                                                | 179            |
|     | CONCLUSION .....                                                                                      | 181            |
|     | <b>CONCLUSION TO PART II .....</b>                                                                    | <b>183</b>     |
|     | <br><b>PART III. THE EVOLUTION OF THE POLITICAL DISCOURSE IN POST<br/>DEVOLUTION SCOTLAND .....</b>   | <br><b>185</b> |
|     | <br><b>INTRODUCTION TO PART III .....</b>                                                             | <br><b>187</b> |
|     | <b>CHAPTER I: THE CORPUS OF THE POLITICAL DISCOURSE OVER IMMIGRATION AND INTEGRATION<br/>.....</b>    | <b>189</b>     |
| 1.  | OVERVIEW OF SCOTTISH CONSERVATIVE PARTY MANIFESTOS .....                                              | 189            |
| 1.1 | Scottish elections .....                                                                              | 189            |
| 1.2 | British general elections .....                                                                       | 193            |
| 2.  | THE SCOTTISH LABOUR PARTY .....                                                                       | 196            |
| 2.1 | Scottish elections .....                                                                              | 196            |
| 2.2 | British General elections .....                                                                       | 199            |
| 3.  | THE SCOTTISH LIBERAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY .....                                                           | 202            |
| 3.1 | Scottish elections .....                                                                              | 202            |
| 3.2 | British General elections .....                                                                       | 205            |
| 4.  | THE SCOTTISH NATIONAL PARTY .....                                                                     | 208            |
| 4.1 | Scottish elections .....                                                                              | 208            |

|                                                                                                   |                |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------|
| 4.2 British General elections.....                                                                | 211            |
| CONCLUSION .....                                                                                  | 214            |
| <b>CHAPTER II: OVERVIEW OF THE MAIN PARTIES' HISTORY AND IDEOLOGY .....</b>                       | <b>216</b>     |
| 1. THE SCOTTISH NATIONAL PARTY .....                                                              | 217            |
| 2. SCOTTISH LABOUR PARTY.....                                                                     | 222            |
| 3. SCOTTISH CONSERVATIVE AND UNIONIST PARTY.....                                                  | 225            |
| 4. SCOTTISH LIBERAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY .....                                                        | 228            |
| 5. OTHER PARTIES IN SCOTLAND.....                                                                 | 230            |
| 6. OVERVIEW OF ELECTION RESULTS AND PARTY MEMBERSHIP .....                                        | 231            |
| CONCLUSION .....                                                                                  | 234            |
| <b>CHAPTER III: THE EVOLUTION OF THE NARRATIVE ON IMMIGRATION AND INTEGRATION .....</b>           | <b>236</b>     |
| 1. ANALYSIS OF SCOTTISH ELECTIONS MANIFESTOS .....                                                | 237            |
| 1.1 Analysis according to categories .....                                                        | 240            |
| 1.2 Evolution of the discourse.....                                                               | 250            |
| 1.3 Multi-modal aspects .....                                                                     | 258            |
| 2. ANALYSIS OF GENERAL ELECTION MANIFESTOS 2001-2015.....                                         | 267            |
| 2.1 Analysis in relation to categories .....                                                      | 269            |
| 2.2 Analysis of the evolution of political parties' policies .....                                | 284            |
| 2.3 Multi-modal aspects .....                                                                     | 293            |
| 3. ANALYSIS OF DEBATES AND SPEECHES.....                                                          | 301            |
| 3.1 Theresa May's speech .....                                                                    | 301            |
| 3.2 David Cameron's speech on immigration (2013).....                                             | 303            |
| 3.3 Ruth Davidson's speech .....                                                                  | 304            |
| 3.4 Diane Abbott speech on Labour's plans for a simpler, fairer immigration system<br>(2018)..... | 305            |
| 3.5 Ed Miliband at the Royal Festival Hall(2012).....                                             | 306            |
| 3.6 The SNP's White Paper on independence.....                                                    | 306            |
| 3.7 Nicola Sturgeon's speech at the SNP conference in Aberdeen (2018).....                        | 308            |
| 4. ANALYSIS OF THE 2017 'SNAP' ELECTION.....                                                      | 309            |
| 5. ASSESSMENT .....                                                                               | 316            |
| CONCLUSION .....                                                                                  | 327            |
| <b>CONCLUSION TO PART III.....</b>                                                                | <b>328</b>     |
| <br><b>GENERAL CONCLUSION .....</b>                                                               | <br><b>333</b> |
| 1. INTRODUCTION .....                                                                             | 335            |
| 2. SUMMARY OF OBSERVATIONS AND RESEARCH CONTRIBUTIONS .....                                       | 335            |
| 3. DIFFICULTIES AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY.....                                                 | 340            |
| 4. SUGGESTED FUTURE RESEARCH.....                                                                 | 341            |

|                           |            |
|---------------------------|------------|
| <b>BIBLIOGRAPHY .....</b> | <b>343</b> |
| <b>APPENDIX .....</b>     | <b>389</b> |
| <b>INDEX.....</b>         | <b>401</b> |

## LIST OF TABLES

|                                                                                                                   |     |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Table 1: Scottish population by ethnic group, 2001 and 2011 (Bemis) .....                                         | 108 |
| Table 2: Ethnic distribution in the City of Glasgow 2011(Scotland Census, online)<br>.....                        | 112 |
| Table 3 Distribution per spoken language 2011 in Scotland (Scotland Census, online)<br>.....                      | 114 |
| Table 4: Grants to student visa holders of an extension of stay under a work visa (UK<br>Parliament, online)..... | 158 |
| Table 5: Attitudes of political parties to keywords in Scottish elections .....                                   | 251 |
| Table 6 Analysis of general elections according to key term.....                                                  | 284 |
| Table 7: Number of occurrences of terms related to nationality in the 2017 manifesto<br>.....                     | 310 |

## LIST OF FIGURES

|                                                                                                          |     |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Figure 1 : Template used for the discourse analysis of election manifestos .....                         | 49  |
| Figure 2: Ethnic minority distribution in the UK (National Records of Scotland,<br>2014, p.8) .....      | 106 |
| Figure 3: Scotland's population projection per age (Scotland Census, 2014) .....                         | 107 |
| Figure 4: Ethnic Groups in Scotland 2015(Scottish Surveys Core Questions 2015,<br>online).....           | 109 |
| Figure 5 : Polish community distribution in Scotland in 2011(Scotland Census,<br>online).....            | 110 |
| Figure 6: Minority ethnic groups by council area, Scotland (National Records of<br>Scotland, 2013) ..... | 111 |
| Figure 7: National identities and ethnicity in Scotland, 2011' (Simpson & Smith,<br>2014, p.1) .....     | 115 |
| Figure 8: Newspaper coverage of the arrival of the Empire Windrush (British<br>Library, online). .....   | 123 |
| Figure 9: Scotland only Shortage Occupation List (latest issue) (UK Government,<br>2019, online) .....   | 146 |
| Figure 10: One Scotland Many Cultures billboard advertisement (Scottish<br>Government, 2007) .....       | 160 |

|                                                                                                                                                     |     |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Figure 11: #WeAreScotland campaign Homepage(Scottish Government, online).                                                                           | 161 |
| Figure 12: New Scots section in the SNP official website (Scottish National Party, online) .....                                                    | 163 |
| Figure 13: The Shetland Food Fair 2014 –(Promote Shetland, online).....                                                                             | 169 |
| Figure 14: First page of the Scottish Conservative and Unionist Party for the 1999 Scottish election (Scottish conservative party, 1999, p.1) ..... | 190 |
| Figure 15: Humorous photo in the SNP's manifesto (2005, p.9).....                                                                                   | 212 |
| Figure 16: General elections results for Scotland 2001-2017.....                                                                                    | 232 |
| Figure 17: Scottish elections results 1999-2016 .....                                                                                               | 232 |
| Figure 18: Scottish Conservatives' Manifesto of 1999 – photo of children of different ethnic background used in Section 'Law and order' .....       | 259 |
| Figure 19: SNP manifesto of 1999 – Photo of a man from an ethnic background – Section 'Democracy' .....                                             | 260 |
| Figure 20: SNP manifesto of 2003 _front coverof the manifesto showing people from different ethnic backgrounds.....                                 | 261 |
| Figure 21: Labour 2007_ Photo a young girl with 'building futures' white t-shirt in 'building futures' section .....                                | 263 |
| Figure 22: SNP_2011_ Photos of Ahmad Bashir MSP in 'Our people' section .....                                                                       | 264 |
| Figure 23: Labour Manifesto of 2016_ Photo of Kesia Dugdale and a female worker in the 'Welcoming Communities' section.....                         | 265 |
| Figure 24: SNP Manifesto 2016_ Photos of people from different ethnic backgrounds in different situations in the first page of the manifesto.....   | 266 |
| Figure 25: Photo of a refugee and her testimony (SNP, 2016, p.22).....                                                                              | 267 |
| Figure 26: Map of the UK with a unionist message(Scottish Conservative Party, 2010) .....                                                           | 286 |
| Figure 27 photos of people in different everyday situations from the Scottish Conservative Party manifesto of 2005 .....                            | 294 |
| Figure 28 Photo of a doctor in the Scottish Conservatives' manifesto (2015, p.32)                                                                   | 295 |
| Figure 29: Photos of people in different situations from the Scottish Labour Party Manifesto (2015, p.10).....                                      | 296 |
| Figure 30: Photo of Kashif, small business owner in the Scottish Labour manifesto (2015, p.90) .....                                                | 297 |
| Figure 31: Front page of the Scottish Liberal Democrats' manifesto(2005) .....                                                                      | 298 |
| Figure 32: Last page of the Scottish Liberal Democrats' manifesto (2005, p.16)...                                                                   | 299 |
| Figure 33: Photo of Leader with a pupil(Scottish Liberal Democrats manifesto, 2010, p.34) .....                                                     | 299 |
| Figure 34 : Photo of a participant in the SNP's YES campaign from the SNP manifesto of 2015 (p.13) .....                                            | 300 |

## LIST OF ACRONYMS

BAME: Black, Asian, and Minority Ethnic  
BEMIS: Black and Ethnic Minorities Infrastructure  
BME: Black and Minority Ethnicity  
BSA: British Social Attitudes  
CDA: Critical Discourse Analysis  
CEMVO: Council of Ethnic minority Voluntary Sector  
CMP: Comparative Manifesto Project  
CL: Critical Linguistics  
COSLA: Convention of Scottish Local Authorities  
EEC: European Economic Community  
EHRC: Equality and Human Rights Commission  
ELERC: Edinburgh and Lothian's Racial Equality Council  
ESRC: Economic and Social Research Council  
FPTP: First Past the Post  
FTWiss Fresh Talent Working in Scotland Scheme  
GRAMNet : Glasgow Refugee Asylum and Migration Network  
HC: House of Commons  
HND: Higher National Diploma  
HSMP: Highly Skilled Migrant Programme  
ICMPD: International Centre for Migration Policy Development  
LTIM: Long Term International Migration  
MAC: Migration Advisory Committee  
MIF: Migration Impact Forum  
NPS: National Party of Scotland  
PDA: Political Discourse Analysis  
ScotPHO: Scottish Public Health Observatory  
SEMSA: Scottish Ethnic Minority Sports Association  
SHRA: Scottish Home Rule Association  
SNP: Scottish National Party  
SP: Scottish Party  
SSE: Scottish Standard English  
STUC: Scottish Trades Union Congress  
UNHCR: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

# **INTRODUCTION**



## ORIGIN OF THE SUBJECT MATTER

The initial formulations of this research project go back to my first years of master's research. My acquaintance with the Scottish case study started during my master's project when I worked on the evolution of Scottish perceptions of national identity after devolution. At the time, the success of the SNP in Scotland and the possible independence referendum instigated debates on the future of Britishness and the possible break-up of the UK. Articles on post-devolution politics in Scotland were the starting point for my master's dissertation. The initial hypothesis was that the political context of devolution has helped promote the expression of national identity which can be perceived in Scottish political preferences. Thus, the research project sought to explore and assess the elements of change and continuity in the Scottish public perception of national identity with particular emphasis on the impact of the devolution context. A content analysis methodology of two newspapers, *The Scotsman* and *The Independent*, was performed. Alongside the content analysis findings, a series of different elections results and opinion polls that were conducted during the period 1997 – 1999 confirmed a more favourable attitude towards the Scottish National Party, the Scottish Parliament and to certain extent Scottish independence.

Interest in Scottish culture and history, and interest in the evolution of Scottish politics were a major motivation to choose to work on the Scottish case study. A particularly interesting aspect of the case study is the situation of Scotland<sup>1</sup> as a 'stateless nation'<sup>2</sup>, increasingly marked by self-quest and need for recognition of its national identity within the larger and dominating state identity.

---

<sup>1</sup>'Scotland' is used in its neutral form, thus reference to Scotland will be through 'it', except in citations where the writer uses 'she' instead.

<sup>2</sup> The status of Scotland as a 'stateless nation' has been subject to debate. The reopening of the Scottish Parliament on the 1<sup>st</sup> of July 1999 has resulted in growing decision-making power at the level of Scotland. The works of Jacques Leruez *L'Ecosse, une Nation sans Etat* (1983) and *L'Ecosse*,

In addition, trips to different parts of Scotland also helped me understand Scotland's multicultural and multi-linguistic heritage. The welcoming nature of the people was quite striking to me and spurred questions about how different Scotland is from the rest of the UK in relation to immigrants and whether devolution has resulted in different immigration and integration policy trajectories and strategies.

In this introductory chapter, the choice of the title will be explained in relation to the topics of immigration and integration and in the context of post-devolution Scotland. The introductory chapter then will move on to expose the main research questions and the political context in Scotland. Being crucial to the understanding of the political discourse, it seems only logical to give an overview of the events leading to devolution, being the main vehicle of political calls for autonomy in Scotland. Then, the methodology and sources will be exposed and finally the structure of the forthcoming chapters will be explained.

## THE TITLE

The title of this dissertation *the Evolution of the Political Discourse over Immigration and Integration in Post-Devolution Scotland* is an attempt to uncover the complexity of multi-level politics in relation to immigration and integration.

My choice to work on the topics of immigration and integration is based on their multifaceted multidimensional nature. In fact different actors are involved in the debate on and formulation of policy, including politics, businesses, associations and immigrants.

The most interesting aspect related to immigration and integration in the specific case of Scotland is their influence and interaction in multi-level politics as well as the responses that are formulated according to wider global contexts. International institutions such as the European Union or the United Nations have an impact on decision making at the local level. The multi-level aspect of politics in

---

*Vieille Nation, Jeune Etat* (2000) convey the concept of a 'stateless nation' and the evolution of such a concept in the case of Scotland.

Scotland attributes some power and autonomy to local authorities but at the same time the process is still dependent on and linked to the central government. If one takes the examples of immigration and integration, the two processes happen at different levels of power as immigration is a reserved matter and integration is a devolved one. In addition, the influence of supranational institutions is worth taking into consideration. The EU, for example, exerts power into converging politics among member states. It would be interesting to explore such complex mechanisms of multi-level governance in terms of immigration and integration, both processes supposedly need to be coherent to ensure efficiency. This leads me to question the success of such politics in the light of diverging policies among member states within Europe and even within the same state as is the case of Scotland.

In addition, immigration is one of the most important challenges facing modern societies today. The importance of such a theme lies in the fact that economic and demographic needs motivating open immigration policy in host countries generally clash with public hostility towards newcomers as a threat to employment, public order and safety; not to mention the possible repercussions on sending countries such as brain drain and population decline. Immigration is not limited to the act of crossing borders but has lifelong repercussions that affect the immigrant as well as the host society he lives in. For this reason the word 'immigration' is unequivocally linked to 'integration'. As Angels Pascual De Sans (1992, cited in Morén-Alegret, 2017, online) suggests, migration often serves as a front for other phenomena and conflicts, making of the integration of newcomers as important a process as immigration itself.

For a country like Scotland, immigration has a more important dimension than the rest of the UK. In fact, having experienced a long trend of emigration, the country suffers from a demographic deficit (See Wright R.E., 2008 for more information) and the need for repopulating the country has been voiced as a demographic crisis (Hepburn, 2014a, online). The political actors in Scotland stress the importance of immigration to the country, making the debate over such an issue more salient, especially, in the context of devolution. In fact, despite having the exclusive power to manage immigration, the central government is criticized for not taking into consideration the specific demographic needs of Scotland. Thus, lacking

the power over immigration, Scotland has to align with the central government's plans which do not necessarily reflect the needs of the country. More importantly, in multi-level politics, immigration and integration become more complicated to deal with as the central government has power over immigration policy, when the devolved governments are in charge of all related issues to the accommodation of newcomers such as health, education, housing, and culture. The resulting policies are characterized by a lack of coherent immigration and integration strategies. In this respect, since devolution, Scotland has also developed divergent integration policies from England. As immigration is rarely examined from a multi-level perspective, it is thus interesting to analyse issues of immigration and integration at different levels of politics including the influence of EU legislation and policy, still in place until the finalisation of Brexit. In the context of EU membership, the relatively uncontrolled nature of immigration processes regarding EU nationals and the erasure of borders between member states as well as the outflow of illegal immigrants and asylum seekers makes immigration more difficult to manage for the British government.

The political and public attitudes on immigration and integration started to diverge since devolution, resulting in a distinctive vision on such issues and sometimes conflicting policy strategies between local and central (See the work of Hassan & Shaw, 2012 for examples of political divergence from national to local, and McLaren, 2014 for public attitudes). The focus on the political discourse on immigration and integration mainly seeks to explore the diverging aspects of Scottish politics from their British counterparts through the analysis of the respective election manifestos of dominant parties in Scotland.

The analysis of the political discourse over immigration and integration in Scotland, as opposed to other aspects such as public attitudes, can be explained by the position of Scotland as a stateless nation with a strong sense of nationalism. In fact, through the decentralisation of power, Scotland is given an opportunity to reconstruct itself in distinction from the rest of the UK. The decision to opt for the devolution settlement is a clear indicator of Scots' willingness to decide on their own affairs. As a result, the post-devolution political scene has been more converging than expected, especially on immigration and integration (Barker, 2015, No page number). This consensus within the political elite in Scotland is said to be part of the

nation-building project (Meer, 2015, pp.4-5), resulting in a political mobilisation towards policy strategies that may be different from British parties' orientations. Thus, tracing the evolution of the political discourse over immigration and integration is motivated by an interest in the manifestation of a distinct political strategy among the political elite in Scotland within the nation-building project.

The use of political manifestos as primary source for analysing the political discourse of the political actors in Scotland can only seem logical as manifestos do represent the official form of different parties' pledges and policy strategies as well as reflecting the different parties' main lines of ideology.

I chose to work on the period starting from 1999, the date when devolution was put into effect. 1999 marked the actual reopening of the Scottish Parliament by the Queen and the first Scottish parliamentary election. The success of the devolution referendum in 1997 shows a discontent with the policies that are run at the level of the UK. Vernon Bogdanor describes the process as the most radical constitutional change in the UK since the Great Reform of 1832 as it seeks to reconcile two conflicting principles: The supremacy of parliament and self-government (Bogdanor, 2001, p.1). This implies a certain degree of autonomy to local government within a framework of a supreme parliament. In the case of Scotland, devolution have had profound implications on how the country is governed and may have led to constitutional demands of independence or calls for more powers to the devolved governments. The constitutional debate within the UK about how it should govern its territory is far from over, and can be expected to continue in the light of recent events such as the Brexit referendum success. This situation has created major challenges between local and central governments on how to address such issues as immigration and integration.

Recent constitutional and political changes also need to be taken into consideration as they affect the political organization in the country. One may state the success of the Brexit referendum and before the unequivocal decision of the UK to leave the EU, which raised concerns in Scotland and instigated calls from Scottish nationalists for a second independence referendum for Scotland.

Choosing to work on Scotland as a case study is also based on its situation of a multi-ethnic country, with a rich multicultural and multilingual heritage, that at the

same time manifests a strong sense of national identity. An interesting aspect of Scotland is the apparent harmony between a strong sense of nationalism and its predisposition to diversity, with the SNP advocating ‘multicultural nationalism’ (Miller, 2008, p.2). The concept of ‘multicultural nationalism’ is in itself an enigmatic juxtaposition that is worth investigating in the context of the evolution of post-devolution politics.

Today, nationalism<sup>3</sup> is increasingly coupled with xenophobia, and nationalist movements have often gained success by voicing anti-immigration rhetoric in their campaigns. However, the strong sense of nationalism in Scotland doesn’t seem to raise the same rejection towards immigrants and the absence of far right parties like UKIP from the Scottish political scene is a key element that distinguishes it from England and Wales (Leydier, 2017, p.10). The merging of ethnic minorities in the society of Scotland has been to a certain extent thanks to the Scottish Government’s promotion of a ‘civic’ Scottish identity and multicultural strategy. Political actors in Scotland have advanced a very positive image of the country as welcoming to immigrants and an image of Scottishness as an inclusive identity based on territorial markers rather than ethnicity.

The focus on post-devolution Scotland is also revealing of an interest in the complexity of multi-level politics in the UK and unveils the growing decision-making power at the local level, especially in relation to devolved governments’ growing power which can be seen at the level of their distinctive approaches over immigration, resulting in tensions over policy coordination. In the situation of Scotland, with the growing power of nationalist calls for independence, Scottish parties tend to demarcate from the central government strategies, providing an opportunity for the analysis of different immigration and integration approaches. Studying the politics of immigration and integration becomes interesting, not only over how multi-level politics are implemented on such issues, but also how

---

<sup>3</sup>Nationalism can be defined as ‘a nation’s wish and attempt to be politically independent’ (Cambridge dictionary, online) and ‘loyalty and devotion to a nation’ (Merriam-Webster, online). In ‘stateless’ nations like Scotland, nationalism can result in calls for independence. The rise of nationalism in Scotland can be linked to the rise of autonomist and separatist movements, notably the SNP.

immigration has become an important dimension of party competition in post-devolution Scotland.

## THE RESEARCH QUESTION

The project is centred on the idea that post-devolution Scotland is developing its own political and policy trajectory in the context of the nation-building project (Keating & Cairney, 2005, p.56), and the research question is the following: How are the narratives of Scottish nationhood assembled and deployed to fit the multicultural discourse?

The starting point for this question is that the new multi-level system of governance has created an opportunity for the political elite in Scotland to shape their own integration model according to a civic form of Scottish identity<sup>4</sup>. A civic identity would be more inclusive of ethnic minorities and newcomers. This aspect of Scottish identity is said to be the result of Scotland's history of institutional autonomy. In fact, since 1707, Scotland has retained power over key institutions such as education, religion and law. This resulted in an institutional structure that is thought to be different, i.e. less class-based, than England or what is called the egalitarian myth in Scotland (McCrone, 2001, p.79). An example of such difference at the level of the institutions is the educational system in Scotland, considered as more 'egalitarian' than the rest of the UK. The result of such institutional autonomy and egalitarian approach is the development of a national identity that is based on civic rather than ethnic markers (Leith & Soule, 2012, pp.6-7). Thus, in the context of the post-devolution nation-building project, a civic identity would be more inclusive of ethnic minorities. A second hypothesis on the inclusiveness of Scottish identity is related to the history of diversity in Scotland that could create a certain predisposition to accept minorities. Scotland is also a nation with a multi-linguistic

---

<sup>4</sup>According to a BSA report, there are two widely accepted conceptions of nationality: civic and ethnic. The civic formulation of identity involves the totality of the people living within the boundary of the state and thus it is an inclusive form of identity involving identification with the legal and political institutions of the state. (Park & Kiss, 2014, p.3)

heritage. Language today constitutes an important dimension in the nation-building project as Gaelic and Scots are presented as an important part and distinctive aspect of Scottish culture. Taking into consideration the historical and linguistic diversity of Scotland, the integration of newcomers in the new context of devolution might become an asset. It is claimed that in multinational societies like the UK, diversity can be better accepted as it can help push forward regionalist claims against the state (Barker, 2015, No page number). According to Barker, migrants could prove to be 'potential allies' for the nationalist cause in multinational societies (Barker, 2015, p.1).

It is also claimed that shared colonial history may have an impact on the extent of successful immigrant integration as countries with no colonial history have been experiencing more successful integration both for the immigrant and acceptance from host society (Oostindie, 2015, online). The absence of colonial history cannot apply for the case of Scotland because of its active participation in the building and expansion of the British Empire. However, the political elite in Scotland have always tended to detach themselves from the colonial history of the empire, making the national rhetoric more prone to accept and be accepted by minorities (Meer, 2015, p.11). As Andrew Mycock puts it 'national narratives must remain largely positive and not dwell on the imperial sins of the past' (2009, p.351), this leaves us with a 'conundrum' on the degree of involvement of Scotland in the empire and the national narrative produced in this regard (Devine, 2006, p.2).

The same reasoning applies to immigration as the different political parties attempt to orient policy strategies towards satisfying the specific demographic needs in Scotland, despite having no real power over immigration at the local level.

In relation to these elements, another objective of the thesis is to explore the dynamics and the narratives of Scottish nationhood in relation to the multicultural discourse. The analytical focus of this research question falls on the political discourse over immigration and integration in post-devolution Scotland, providing material for investigation through the examination of political manifestos. Evidence is drawn from a corpus of texts composed of parties' political manifestos as well as party speeches and election broadcasts. An important objective from such analysis is

the assessment of the aspects of divergence between the multicultural model in Scotland and the current British model.

The main research question can be linked to other questions on the success of the multicultural model, promoted by the political elite in Scotland as inclusive of ethnic minorities and their claims in an already complex multinational environment. The possible tensions and paradoxes could emanate from the intersection between multiculturalism and multinationalism. This may raise questions on the civic aspect of Scottish national identity and its inclusiveness of minorities. So, this research project will analyse and assess the multicultural model advanced by the political elite in Scotland for their nation-building project and the possible tensions emanating from the multiculturalism/multinationalism formula. The remainder of the introductory chapter will explore the political background preceding and leading to devolution, introduce the methodology and indicate the structure of the thesis.

## **POLITICAL BACKGROUND**

Instead of recounting all the major historical events that led to devolution, this section will be more of an overview of the key historical and political periods that have helped promote the devolution cause, a cause that has dramatically changed the politics in the UK. In this respect, it is undeniable that devolution has had a significant impact on the governance and politics in Scotland. Also referred to as ‘new politics’ (Paterson et al., 2001, p.17), devolution has resulted in a new form of rivalry among the main political parties at the local level, in addition to the traditional form of competition for Scotland’s seats in general elections.

The multi-level aspect of the devolution process has resulted in the division of policy administration between local and central government prerogatives. Thus, issues affecting Scotland at the local level such as education, housing and culture are dealt with at the devolved level of government. On the other hand, issues such as defence, foreign policy and immigration are exclusively managed at the level of the central government. This division is also reflected in the political parties’ electoral strategies, as Scottish election manifestos generally focus on devolved matters and

general elections generally centre on the reserved ones, with exceptions for issues such as immigration which reveals the importance of such topic for Scotland.

The historical context of the creation of the United Kingdom as a 'Union State' has been surrounded with a lot of controversy. Michael Keating even describes the UK's 'union-state' as 'an unusual constitutional animal, which is difficult to fit into the standard categories of political and legal analysis', referring to the diffuse nature of the uncodified constitution in the UK (2010, p.01). Different commentators agree on the haphazard aspect of the Union and the failure to develop a single national and linguistic consciousness (Bogdanor, 2001, p.4; Keating, 2010, p.1). Bogdanor describes the creation of the United Kingdom as 'the outcome of a series of historical contingencies' (2001, p.04), reflecting the non-voluntary aspect of the Union. The union between England and Scotland was more of a gradual process that was finalised with the parliamentary union of 1707. In spite of the controversy over the means used to achieve it, the *Act of Union* was a crucial turning point in Scottish history as it led to the joint assimilation of both England and Scotland into the British State.

It is important to highlight the fact that Scotland among the four constituent parts of the UK enjoyed a form of decentralisation of power before the devolution settlement. In fact, according to the *1707 Act of Union*, Scotland was retaining power over key institutions as part of the bargain. This eventually resulted in the creation of a Scottish Office in 1886 and Scotland retaining power over its legal, religious and education systems, thus, having 'separate arrangements for the handling of executive business, but no separate legislature to which the Scottish Executive could be held responsible' (Bogdanor, 2001, p.117). Scottish institutions preserved a high degree of autonomy, contributing to the creation of a distinct Scottish public sphere (Keating, 2010, p.4) and reinforced the sense of Scottishness.

This form of decentralisation is an indicator of Scotland's distinctive policy orientation, which can also be seen at the level of voting preferences in Scotland. Soule notes that since the 1960s there is a certain voting pattern among Scots that has emerged, a pattern that is distinctly more to the left than the rest of the UK. In order to understand this variation, it is important to define the ideological centre of the political spectrum. Soule defines the centre as where the groundswell of public and

elite opinion can be found (Soule, 2006, p.25). The importance to determine where the centre is positioned lies in the fact that political parties seek to reach the centre as it is where the majority of voters are situated (Soule, 2006, p.25). In this respect, Scotland's centre is situated slightly to the left in comparison to England's (Soule, 2006, p.26). The result of such variation can be seen at the level of different electoral preferences (See for example Curtice et al. 2002; Soule, 2006). Following this logic, the Scots would be more likely to vote for the Scottish Labour Party or the SNP. Soule also draws attention to the fact that political parties in Scotland give more importance to certain policy areas such as education and culture which can reflect the importance of such institutions for the Scots (2006, p.32). This, according to Soule's hypothesis, is a result of the positioning of the ideological centre to the left in Scotland (2006, p.32).

Similar voting patterns have characterized elections in the UK until the 1960s when a clearly Labour-dominated Scotland started to dissociate from the rest of the UK in terms of voting preferences. The inclination to vote for the Labour Party in general elections may be explained by the already mentioned tendency of Scottish voters to identify with left wing parties. In addition, it is often argued that Scottish electorate has been predominantly a working class majority, which explains the popularity of the Labour Party in the region.

Another important characteristic of the 1960s was the ascent of the SNP, bringing a nationalist flavour to Scottish politics (McCrone, 2001, cited in Soule 2006, p.3). Gradually The SNP imposed itself as Scotland's second party pushing the Tories to the third place. This particularly reflected public disappointment with main parties' failure to deal with Scottish affairs and was an indication of Scotland's rising nationalism that found expression in voting for the SNP. According to T.M. Devine, 'a vote for the SNP came to be regarded as an act of protest, a manifestation of Scottish discontent about government policy rather than a commitment to Scottish independence' (2006, p.144). Thus, public preference for the SNP must not be confused with a constitutional preference of independence; rather it reflects a divergence from traditional parties' policy towards a party that is estimated to better represent Scotland's interests. Public discontent further reinforced the Home Rule claim and by 1974. Home Rule could no longer be ignored by the Labour Party, then

in power, resulting in the 1979 first devolution referendum for Scotland and Wales. Scotland's vote on the referendum was unable to meet the 40 % threshold and many factors led to its failure. One of the main reasons agreed upon by many commentators was the bad timing for the referendum, as it coincided with an important economic crisis. In such situations, people would be more concerned with immediate problems such as employment rather than constitutional matters (Devine, 2006, p.589). A year after the failure of the first devolution referendum, a cross party group formed a *Campaign for a Scottish Assembly*, claiming for the right of Scotland to decide for itself and blaming the British State for becoming 'too centralised' (Brown, McCrone and Paterson, 1996, p.63-4). Scotland was seen to live a 'democratic deficit' due to the lack of representation of its own priorities and needs by successive British governments. This became evident especially during the Thatcher years (Cairney, 2011; DalleMulle, 2017, online). In fact, the Anglo-centred vision of politics under Thatcher led to a growing hostility towards the British Government (Leydier, 1994, p.1046). In addition to the growing disenchantment with the British State and the rise of Scottish nationalism embodied by the SNP, commentators also refer to the end of the empire as one of the main factors leading to devolution. A prominent nationalist noted in his *Scottish Empire*: 'the existence of the empire has been the most important factor in securing the relationship of Scotland and England in the last three centuries' (cited in Callander, 1987, p.73). The empire was seen as 'vital economic cement' that exerted much influence on the development of British national consciousness and identity (Devine, 2006, p.619).

Despite attempts to keep the Home Rule cause alive through the creation of groups like 'Scotland United', 'Common Cause' and 'Democracy for Scotland', devolution was kept out of the agenda for the following 20 years. The Scots would have to wait until 1997 to vote on a second devolution referendum, introduced by New Labour as an electoral promise. Taking place on the 11<sup>th</sup> of September 1997, the Second referendum asked two questions: First whether there should be a Scottish parliament and whether this parliament should have tax-varying powers. The results of the referendum were in favour of both questions, resulting in the subsequent *Scotland Act of 1998* that allowed for the establishment of a Scottish parliament.

The electoral system in post-devolution Scotland is different from the rest of the UK. It is a mixed form of electoral system that relies both on proportionality and the FPTP system<sup>5</sup>. This allows for a more representative form of government but at the same time makes it more difficult for a party to win a majority in an election. Thus, the new form of electoral system is more likely to produce a coalition, as was the case for the two successive coalition governments between Scottish Labour and Scottish Liberal Democrats (1999 to 2007). During this period, the Scottish Labour Party was seen as the dominant political force with the SNP as the main opposition. Scottish Labour had the advantage of dealing with a Labour central leadership. However, the party still had to mediate between central and regional party priorities (Vampa, 2016, p.178). The subsequent elections were characterized by SNP victories in 2007, 2011, and 2016. According to Davide Vampa, the SNP gradually became the ‘natural’ ruling force in Scotland (2016, p.180), mainly because of the widely shared perception that it was ‘good for Scotland’ (Mitchell et al. 2012, p.74), in addition to the disappointment with New Labour policies (Mooney et al. 2008, p.386). The Scottish Conservatives have experienced poor results in the post-devolution Scottish parliamentary elections and found themselves excluded from the competition until the 2016 election<sup>6</sup>.

The new post-devolution context has instilled a new form of politics and new dynamic of electoral behaviour has emerged. Post-devolution elections have been characterized by a shift in voting for left wing parties, at the expense of the Scottish Conservatives (Soule, 2006, p.8). This trend reinforces Soule’s idea that the ideological centre in Scotland is more to the left, which explains the success of left wing parties compared to the only right wing party in Scotland.<sup>7</sup> Overall, the Scots have been inclined to vote for the Scottish Labour Party in general elections and for the SNP in the Scottish elections. However, in more recent elections, Scottish voting behaviour has changed. Vampa describes the phenomenon as a ‘spillover’ effect

---

<sup>5</sup>The electoral system in Scotland is called the Additional Member System. This system allows people to have a local constituency MSP and also adds other members to make the overall result more proportional. In this way more viewpoints are represented in Parliament (Scottish Parliament, online).

<sup>6</sup> Results of the 2016 election were as follows: SNP 63, The Scottish Conservatives 31, Scottish Labour 24, Scottish Green Party 6, Scottish Liberal Democrats 5 out of 129 total seats.

<sup>7</sup> Exception for the 2016 election

from Scottish elections, as for the first time the SNP was able to widely win Scotland's seats in the 2015 general election (2016, p.180).

The post-devolution political context has been characterized by the affirmation of the SNP's place in Scottish politics. In fact, the party has been able to rise from a fringe party to form the main opposition in the first Labour administrations and to the party in power since 2007. In 2007, SNP leader Alex Salmond, introduced *Choosing Scotland's Future: A National Conversation* which addressed the independence referendum. The independence White Paper also addressed devolution and the need to expand Scotland's powers. Being part of the reserved matters, the referendum had to be validated first at the level of the British Parliament and the power was temporarily transferred to the Scottish parliament to put this process into effect (Duclos, 2014, pp.9-11). The SNP was then able to push forward the independence cause through an independence referendum in September 2014. After much campaigning and media attention, the referendum failed, reflecting much division on the issue. However, despite the failure of the 2014 independence referendum, the political elite were able to guarantee further devolved powers to Scotland.

A second referendum is planned following the results of the Brexit referendum. The project has been mainly motivated by the decision of the UK to withdraw its membership from the European Union, further escalating the tensions between Scotland and the British State and reinforcing what Nicola Sturgeon calls the 'democratic deficit' in Scotland (Sturgeon, 2017,online). One may consider that Brexit results in Scotland reinforce the First Minister's argument, as 62% of the electorate voted against leaving the EU (Duclos, 2017, p.50).

The following section will uncover the methodological approach and the different sources used in the forthcoming exposition.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

A significant body of scholarly literature has explored and discussed the politics in post-devolution Scotland. Fields of study vary from the politics of devolution (Keating, 2010; Hassan & Warhurst, 2000; Paterson et al., 2001), to the

analysis of voting behaviour and public attitudes (Curtice et al., 2002; Bromly et al., 2006), and the sociological aspect of post-devolution Scotland (McCrone, 2001; 2017). This is by no means an extensive list of all important academic works on the politics of post devolution Scotland. At the level of political discourse, the research is rarer. Works that can be cited are *Scottish Political Parties and the 2014 Independence Referendum* (Lynch & Adamson, 2014) and *The Construction and Negotiation of meaning in Scottish Political Discourse: A Case Study of the 2003 Parliament Election* (Soule, 2006). One of the most prominent works on the political discourse in Scotland is *The Political Discourse of National Identity in Scotland*, closely analysing the discourse in election manifestos in relation to identity (Leith & Soule, 2012).

As far as the policies of immigration and integration are concerned, these two policy areas have not been viewed from a multi-level Scottish perspective in the same work, except for a number of works that covered either immigration or integration in Scotland (For example Thiec, 2014; Green, 2014). Among the few works that covered such topics from a multi-level perspective are *The Politics of Immigration in Multilevel States* (Hepburn & Zapata Barrero, 2014), *Nationalism, Identity and the Governance of Diversity: Old Politics, New Arrivals* (Barker, 2015) and *Naturalization Policies, Education and Citizenship: Multicultural and Multi-Nation Societies in International Perspective* (Kiwan, 2013).

## THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

One of the main theoretical bases of this thesis is concerned with the construction of national identity. Positions vary from views of a Scottish national identity finding its expression in a broader sense of Britishness, to a nationalist view of a Scottish national identity articulated in politics. National identity becomes a crucial part of studying the political discourse on immigration and integration. In multinational countries, the political elite's responses to such issues can be crucial in the determination of the position envisaged towards migrants and diversity. In the case of Scotland, the political elite have been keen to develop a civic and territorial definition of membership (Hepburn, 2014a, online). This form of nationalist identity

is constructed according to Scotland's distinctive educational and legal systems rather than any form of ethno-cultural definition (Henderson, 2007, online). This definition has been developed in contrast to the growing anti-immigrant sentiment and opposition to multiculturalism south of the border as a way to distinguish Scotland from the rest of the UK (Barker, 2015, online).

In *Who do think you are? Making Sense of National Identities in Modern Britain*, David McCrone highlighted the fact that there might be problems of national and ethnic identities in Britain. Generally, in Scotland the concept of 'national' or 'civic' identities is used more than 'ethnic' identity (2002, pp.302-308). The same reasoning will be followed in this study as it will concentrate on 'civic' Scottish identity as compared to 'ethnic' ones. The terms used will be national identity for Scottish identity as opposed to state identity i.e. British identity.

The civic and ethnic definitions of identity take us back to the debate over identity construction and the question on whether history and thus ethnicity are the main pillars of national identity. In Tom Nairn's *After Britain: New Labour and the Return of Scotland*, Nairn acknowledges the importance of identity in politics and uses different historical accounts to argue for the presence of a strong Scottish identity concealed under Britishness, resulting in a long state of hibernation. Similarly, he admits that long-term considerations of power and collective consciousness are more important than economic matters. He believes that Scottish identity has always been present but has been kept in 'self-subordination' in order to guarantee the continuity and preservation of Scottishness without trouble. This subordination to British identity created an absence of self-confidence and a 'split personality' (Nairn, 2000, p.102).

The same idea that highlights the importance of history in shaping a collective consciousness can be found in Ernest Renan's book *Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?* [What is a Nation?]. Ernest Renan defines a nation as an entity based on common values between individuals and a common history that results in a collective identity. 'The nation, even as the individual is the end product of a long period of work, sacrifice and devotion ...to have common glories in the past, a common will in the present; to have accomplished great things together[...] that is the essential condition of being a nation' (cited in Pittock, 2001, p.5).

Benedict Anderson's idea of identity as an 'imagined' entity is different. National identity represents a sense of belonging to an 'imagined' community according to Anderson's seminal work *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and spread of Nationalism* (1991). Thus, identities are fluid, chosen, invented and changeable. Ernest Gellner follows the same line of thought as Anderson and presents identity as 'modular' and subject to change (1994, p.97). Identity is influenced by the volatility of and transitory character of allegiances in politics. The same idea of modular identity is used by Stuart Hall who states that theorising on identity in modern theories is more about 'routes' than 'roots' (1992, cited in McCrone, 2017, p. 12). Identity in this respect becomes contextual, ever changing and shifting as opposed to something fixed and fundamental.

Taken separately, however, none of these definitions completely corresponds to the current reality of complex identity formation. This work considers the historical perspective of identity formation, which acknowledges the presence of Scottish national collective consciousness. The existence of a Scottish national folk history different from the rest of the UK is revealing of a strong national consciousness. However, the formulation of a civic, inclusive national identity in Scotland falls perfectly into the Anderson's idea of identity being 'imagined' and thus continuously subject to change.

## PRIMARY SOURCES

This work relies essentially on election manifestos for both Scottish and general parliamentary elections. The intention behind the choice of electoral manifestos lies in their rich representation of different political parties' policy strategies and main lines of ideology. In fact, political party manifestos are the best embodiment of the political ideology and commitments of political parties in an official form. Despite being less read than other sources of information like newspapers and dedicated websites, manifestos do represent the political statement of political parties in terms of key policy areas including immigration and integration. Soule describes manifestos as the 'major location of extensive accounts of both individual policy detail and extensive proposed policy programmes for

campaigning parties' (2006, p.20). The comprehensiveness of manifestos makes them interesting material for studying the political discourse (Soule, 2006, p.20). In addition, manifestos can be considered as the official form of the different parties' electoral promises and these can be questioned and assessed on the basis of the pledges made to the electorate.

To trace the evolution of post-devolution discourse among political actors in Scotland, the consideration of Scottish election manifestos throughout the period from 1999 to 2017 is necessary. This includes the 1999, 2003, 2007, 2011 and 2016 manifestos. For comparison purposes, the British election manifestos for Scottish parties will be analysed to highlight the diverging aspect of British politics from the Scottish ones. Consequently, the manifestos for the 2001, 2005, 2010 and 2015 general elections, as well as the 2017 snap election will be analysed. The analysis will be limited to the manifestos of the four major political parties in Scotland i.e. the Scottish National Party, the Scottish Labour Party, the Scottish Conservative Party, and the Scottish Liberal Democrats. This delimitation is restricted to the parties that are likely to be in power or to form the main opposition and thus to affect the politics of immigration and integration in a way or the other.

In addition, speeches and articles by the main parties' leaders and MPs / MSPs will be analysed in order to consolidate my findings.

## **METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH**

This thesis stems from a mixed method approach, relying mainly on a discourse analysis methodology of election manifestos as well as newspaper articles to decipher the political elite discourse on immigration and integration in Scotland. In this part, it may be necessary to explore the different methodological nuances on discourse and critical discourse analysis in an attempt to combine different methodologies in the mixed method approach. First a definition of the term 'discourse' is essential to understand the importance of such an approach.

## Defining 'discourse'

Text and speech are a central element in discourse analysis approaches. Whether in a written or spoken form, discourse has ignited much interest in relation to its linguistic structure, explicit and implicit meanings and the power it can carry with that. The term 'discourse' derives from the Latin word *discursus* which means literally 'running here and there' and 'interview, speech'. Vass interprets it as 'indulging in something', or 'giving information' (Vass, 1992, cited in Titscher et al. 2000, p.25). This reflects the importance of the message carried in a discourse for its potential reader. The Oxford English Dictionaries distinguish between two forms of language use i.e. in speech and in writing. The main aim behind discourse is to produce meaning (Oxford English Dictionaries, online).

Discourse can carry different meanings. A list of definitions established by Elisa Vass range from a general conception as speech, conversation, discussion to a Foucauldian perspective a 'rule-governed behaviour that leads to a chain of similarly interrelated system of statements' (Vass, 1992, Cited in Titscher et al. 2000, pp.25-26).

Language or discourse is based on empirical ideology research which is fundamentally concerned with meaning and the way it is generated (Verschueren, 2011, p.21). The richness and ambivalence of language reveal its political potential (Chilton & Schäffner, 2002, p.3) as it can be used from simple exchange of utterances to establishing one's dominance over others. The multiplicity of meanings is conveyed in the following definition:

Lastly, instead of gradually reducing the rather fluctuating meaning of the word 'discourse', I believe that I have in fact added to its meanings: treating it sometimes as the general domain of all statements, sometimes as an individualizable group of statements, and sometimes as a regulated practice that accounts for a certain number of statements; and have I not allowed this same word 'discourse', which should have served as a boundary around the term 'statement', to vary as I shifted my analysis or its point of application, as the statement itself faded from view? (Foucault, 1972, Cited in Titscher et al. 2000, p.25).

The definition of discourse can vary according to the different forms and uses of the term, which can be reflected in a palette of different meanings and can be

considered in terms of relations of power from a critical discourse analysis perspective. The relationship between discourse and power can be summarized in the following quote:

Since discourse is so socially consequential, it gives rise to important issues of power. Discursive practices may have major ideological effects - that is, they can help produce and reproduce unequal power relations [...] through the ways in which they represent things and position people (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997, p.258).

Another definition of 'discourse' is provided by Teun Van Dijk as text in context (1977, Cited in Titscher et al. 2000, p.26). According to Van Dijk, discourse should be understood within its context. Considering all these definitions, 'discourse' becomes a rich element of investigation that can reveal explicit as well as hidden meanings and messages within its context.

In the investigation of a particular phenomenon or case study, context becomes particularly appropriate to study, especially for the case of Scotland where context is historically, politically and culturally rich and complex. In such complex case studies, the use of one particular method would not satisfy the required task as the context needs to involve different levels of analysis (Titscher et al., 2000, p.43). When dealing with the politics of integration and immigration in Scotland, an analysis of the political discourse becomes a crucial element in the understanding of the multicultural modal advanced by different political actors in Scotland within the nation-building project. Thus, this research project involves a mixed-method approach combining content and discourse analysis of party manifestos and speeches. This requires an in-depth analysis of the multicultural discourse of the political elite, which can be performed through the investigation of party election manifestos and through speeches from representatives of different political parties and key actors in immigration and integration in Scotland.

## **Discourse analysis methodology**

Analytical approaches to text and discourse emerged in the 1970s and have focused on language and power relations in society which initially concentrated on

formal aspects of language (See for example Chomsky, 1957) i.e. the sentence and its components as the basic units of analysis.

The theoretical approaches to discourse analysis stress the importance of discourse in the creation of knowledge but differ in their evaluation of the concept in society. The many meanings and strategies involved in political rhetoric require a critical approach to discourse analysis. Critical discourse analysis or CDA involves the analysis of discourse and being 'critical' in the sense of being 'skeptical' and proposing alternatives (Wodak, 2007, online). In the words of McGregor: 'Our words are never neutral. Our words convey how we see ourselves as a profession, our identity, knowledge, values, beliefs, and our truths—our discourse permeates everything we do<sup>8</sup>(online). CDA can be defined as:

Critical Discourse Analysis sees discourse - language in use in speech and writing - as a form of 'social practice'. Describing discourse as social practice implies a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and situation(s), institution(s) and social structure(s) which frame it: the discursive event is shaped by them, but it also shapes them. That is, discourse is socially constituted, as well as socially conditioned - it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people. It is constitutive both in the sense that it helps sustain and reproduce the social status quo, and in the sense that it contributes to transforming it (Wodak, 1996, p.15).

According to Wodak, Critical Discourse Analysis or Critical Linguistics take particular interest in the relation between language and power and are 'fundamentally concerned with analysing opaque as well as structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language' (2009, p.10). As a critical science, CDA starts from prevailing social problems, and thereby chooses the perspective of those who suffer most, and critically analyses those in power, those who have the opportunity to solve these problems (Van Dijk, 1993, p.252). To achieve this, context becomes a crucial element in CDA. Critical discourse analysis is a critical theory which sees the use of language as a form of social practice.

---

<sup>8</sup> 'Our words are never neutral' first stated in Fiske, 1994.

CDA approaches evolved to be more focused ‘social and political engagement’ as linked to ‘sociologically informed construction of society’ (Wodak, 2009, p.7). Different methodological and theoretical approaches revolve around CDA and CL focusing on micro-linguistic features, macro-linguistic features, and textual discursive or contextual features. At the same time, these approaches share similarities, and in the words of Van Dijk ‘are at a shared perspective on doing linguistic, semiotic or discourse analysis’ (1993, p.131).

CDA approaches derive from influences such as the philosophical tradition of the Frankfurt School. Michel Foucault has also been a major influence in a number of CDA theories. In fact, when we speak of CDA, relations of dominance and discourse are often evoked in that the way a discourse is formulated is a manifestation for a struggle for power. This can be reflected in Foucauldian theory of discourse analysis of language and power. In this work, the relevance of dominance and power cannot be the same as other works based on the Foucauldian method but at the same time, political manifestos can be seen as a clear attempt for competition for power as political parties’ main objectives in the publication of election manifestos, is to be re-elected and thus power and dominance can be seen as a major driving force behind manifestos. Following this reasoning, political discourse becomes interesting to analyse as real power is at stake and political parties generally adapt their ideology and manifestos according to popular opinion as well. Thus, many election topics may be found in all parties manifestos one year but be absent in the following election.

An approach to CDA is advanced by Norman Fairclough as a problem-oriented approach through a threefold analysis of the interrelated dimensions of discourse that are at different levels of analysis. To Fairclough a discourse is ‘a way of signifying a particular domain of social practice from a particular perspective’ (1995, p.14). His method starts with the text as object of analysis. This approach involves three distinct processes: description, interpretation, and explanation and focuses mainly on Functional Systematic Linguistics drawing mainly on Foucauldian theory.

Another approach to CDA is Ruth Wodak’s ‘discourse historical approach’. It puts a particular emphasis on the historical perspective in discourse analysis.

Wodak's method is a problem-oriented approach that analyses changes in discursive practices over time and in various genres. The main focus in this research methodology revolves around interdisciplinarity and combines theoretical research and empirical research involving the analysis of large data corpora and ethnography (Wodak, 2007 online). According to Wodak, 'discourse is socially constitutive as well as socially conditioned. It constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities, and the relationships between people and groups of people.' (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997, p.258). The primary focus is on text analysis, argumentation theory and rhetoric more than Functional systematic Linguistics FSL (Wodak, 2007 online).

Teun Van Dijk's 'multi-disciplinary CDA' is a socio-cognitive approach that focuses on social variables such as action, context, power and ideology. In 'multi-disciplinary CDA', context is crucial as well as multimodal discourse. It answers specific questions such as how is the text positioned? Whose interests are negated or served in this positioning? What are the consequences of this positioning? (Janks, 1997, p.329).

The various schools and methods differ in their theoretical underpinnings but are compatible in many ways and share similarities (Wodak, 2007, online) such as the reference to systematic functional grammar, endeavours to make clear power relationships, and the historical nature of discourses which explains the importance of context. However, it is important to note that CDA needs to be understood as an approach not as a single method (Meyer, 2001, p.14). Following the same reasoning, the choice of methodology for my research project can be seen as an approach or a 'guiding methodology' to be adapted to the specific case of political manifestos rather than a number of guidelines that need to be followed.

In a similar vein with CDA, we can find theories on political discourse analysis or PDA that specifically deals with the reproduction of political power, abuse or domination through political discourse. As an 'analysis of political discourse' or a 'political approach to discourse', PDA investigates on what could be an adequate way of 'doing' political discourse analysis (Van Dijk, 1997, p.11). PDA involves both political discourse and critical enterprise (Van Dijk, 1997, p.11). It deals with the discursive conditions and consequences of social and political

inequality that result from such domination (Fairclough 1995, Cited in Van Dijk, 1997, p.11). According to Van Dijk, 'text and context mutually define each other' (1997, p.14). This shows the importance of context for PDA methodology. Context would include actions, participants, as well as the political and communicative events and encounters and elements that constitute the broader context in addition to the prevailing official norms, ideologies and attitudes about a particular topic. Moreover, PDA goes beyond simply discourse analysis to explore political explanations and discursive contributions of the text in society in relation to theories of domination and power; which differs from the aim of this research discourse analysis. It is possible to find elements of domination and power relations in manifestos, as the ultimate objective for political parties is winning the election. However, domination and power relations cannot be said to be the only motives behind the manifestos under study. In fact, one of the main aspects of the multicultural model developed in post-devolution Scotland is the wide consensus among political parties on multicultural policies in the context of the nation building project. This requires a different approach to analyse the political manifestos of post-devolution Scottish elections through a discourse analysis focusing on context rather than a critically centred endeavour. Thus, this study takes as its object the discourse analysis of election manifestos of the major political parties from 1999 to 2016 through a discourse analytical approach that seeks to demonstrate how political ideology is embedded in and propagated through discourse (See for example Chilton and Schäffner, 2002).

The main purpose of using the discourse analysis methodology is to understand and to track elements of change and continuity in the immigration and integration rhetoric in Scotland through exploring the agendas of political parties. The manifesto constitutes the statement par excellence of the way a party chooses to present itself to the public and although election manifestos may no longer be the key element in political campaigning, they are still of vital importance in setting the tone of the campaign and defining the battleground on which the fight will be won or lost (Richards, 2001, p.155). It is the official statement of party's commitments and promises in an election.

The principles of Jef Verschueren's approach to discourse analysis revolve around the idea that research must allow interpretation with regard for what can inter-subjectively constitute evidence. A lot of emphasis is placed on perspective which requires the findings to be tested against the broader pragmatic context. Verschueren also estimates that discourse analysis generally starts from basic intuitions related to the researcher's involvement and knowledge of the topic. This idea of intuition and presupposition is shared by Cicourel in the following statement: 'the field worker cannot begin to describe any social event without some specification of his scientific theory, i.e. his theory of objects, his model of the actor, or the kind of social order presupposed' (Cicourel, 1964, p.51). As intuitions may result in a possibility of bias, Verschueren stresses the need to base conclusions on empirical evidence and 'counter-screening'. A second rule for carrying out the research appropriately is to gather an appropriate amount of data so that an aspect of meaning would emerge coherently in terms of 'conceptual connectedness' and an identifiable pattern of meaning would emerge.

Another important characteristic of Verschueren's method is the importance given to context in the discourse analysis. Context in this case has multiple dimensions all of which are very important in the research process, including the immediate context of situation, the linguistic context, and the wider context. Verschueren stresses the importance of focusing on detail without forgetting the broader picture. In the case of political manifestos the need for a wider form of interpretation is important for the analysis. Context may be crucial to the way manifestos are formulated and may influence the discourse and the overall theme. This can be particularly relevant within the Scottish case study, where the multi-level aspect of politics can become crucial when dealing with immigration and integration policies.

This research method differs from Wodak and Fairclough's approaches as the initial diagnosis does not need to focus on a problem but an area of interest. The importance of context in Verschueren's method is stated as follows 'nothing can be said... about the ideological caliber of an utterance without the further exploration of the wider discourse it fits into' (2011, p.8).

Verschueren also refers to relations of power in dominance in the political discourse but argues that there are good reasons not to restrict social relations in the public sphere to relations of domination. A domination perspective cannot be taken as a starting point for analysis since there can be interactions and relations and none of which are dominant (2011, p.10)

### **Mixed-method approach**

A discourse analytical methodology following the balanced approach (Breeze, 2011, p.11) of Jef Verschueren to Scottish election manifestos is retained for this research project. The balanced approach is used as a 'guiding methodology' and adapted to political manifesto type of text which can be different from other texts in the language used, tone, and language codes etc...<sup>9</sup>

- *Verschueren's 'Pragmatic Guidelines and procedures'*

Interpretation according to Verschueren is an integral part of the research process. It involves the task of choice-making using 'variability', 'negotiability' and 'adaptability' of language, reflecting the importance of context and structure as the anchoring points to the methodology.

According to Verschueren, the methodological guidelines involve a number of steps to be followed starting from a thorough knowledge of the data as an important part of the research analysis process. This requires a thorough knowledge of the amount of data to be analysed.

The second step in the discourse analysis is to investigate the context of the data which involves the investigation of the immediate context of the situation, the linguistic context as well as the wider context. According to Verschueren, context is not a stable 'outside reality', thus, the investigated discourse needs to be analysed in relation to the context of investigation as well as in relation to different elements such

---

<sup>9</sup>Verschueren's approach was used by Breeze in the analysis of the 2010 general election manifestos (Breeze, 2011).

as the social , political and historical contexts in order to check how it carves out lines of vision in the world it refers to.

In order to investigate the immediate context, certain elements need to be specified including the utterer or writer and the interpreter or potential audience. In fact, it is crucial to know the actors involved and how they relate to each other through their use of deixis and language codes to determine closeness and distance between the different actors involved including the audience. Another important aspect to be determined is about the social settings and institutions involved and to question whether there is an institutional embedding in the discourse. The third element to be analysed is concerned with the temporal and spatial settings. The last element to take into consideration in the analysis involves multi-modal aspects including graphic features accompanying the text that can add to the message intended by the writer.

As far as the linguistic context is concerned, intertextuality, sequencing and contextual cohesion are the most important elements to be taken into consideration in discourse analysis. Intertextuality involves the positioning of parts in the text in relation to each other through recounting and the possible dominance of a number of 'master narratives' over others. Sequencing is about the structuring of the text.

The third step in the discourse analysis consists in 'tracing the dynamics of meaning generation in relation to issues pertaining to social structures, processes and relations' (2011, p.117). This core task can be performed mechanically in the case of straight forward language and according to 'conventions of language use'. It also involves the investigation of the use of languages, codes and styles deployed in the text. In addition, carriers of information structure that determine how the information is chunked (in the form of numbered chapters and paragraphs, font changes and layout) are also important to consider. Such semiotic signals participate in the creation of meaning. Word choice , grammatical relations, case categories and semantic roles , moods and modalities , as well as the calibration between given, new and accessible information are all crucial elements to investigate In addition to the coherence between topics and the rhetorical structure used to build the message.

Other aspects to be investigated are the carriers of implicit meaning, the interactional elements such as the use of deixis, and the meta-pragmatic functioning

ranging from hedges, question tags, quotations and to reported speech. Ultimately, identifying any strategies of meaning generation will show the interplay between explicit and implicit which would be quite revealing in the case party manifestos.

The last step in the discourse analysis is to question whether the assembled observations can be seen to represent an identifiable pattern of meaning in relation to issues pertaining to social structures, processes and relations. This sheds light on the importance of the way a story is told and the overall message it carries.

In the case of political party manifestos, a discourse analysis based on the balanced approach would be appropriate in that manifestos may seem quite straight forward in the language used and the topics covered as well as pledges and commitments, however, when analysing the texts at deeper levels of meaning, other conclusions may arise. In addition, the stance on certain controversial topics like immigration and diversity may not be stated directly or may not be clearly embraced or rejected. Using these guidelines as a guiding methodology, first, the manifestos will be considered as a whole explaining the pre-election context, political parties' main line of ideology and especially the post-devolution the political context. The macrostructure of texts will be then discussed as well as the multi-modal aspect of the documents when relevant to the research question. It is crucial to consider the manifestos as a whole first with their sequencing and relational elements. This can reveal more on the party's main commitments and priorities and how is multicultural discourse positioned among other electoral issues. Elements of presence and elements of absence can be revealing of the political parties' stances on multiculturalism.

The second part of the analysis is specifically directed towards the multicultural discourse. As multiculturalism can be referred to indirectly through other connected issues such as equality or culture that became clear when testing the discourse methodology on a sample party manifesto. In the sample testing, a major problem of interpretation appeared as diversity can be indirectly or implicitly referred to through adjacent issues. In this case it is impossible to detect these references except through the analysis of all topics present in the manifestos. A similar problem was encountered by Leith and Soule in their analysis of identity in British general election manifestos through the CMP platform. The main issue for

Leith and Soule was that within the database, confusion occurs between Britishness and Scottishness as categories of nationalism, which can be major obstacle when analysing identity in Scotland. The solution to overcome this was to adapt the content analysis categories and add collocations to keywords in order for the system to make the difference between Britishness and Scottishness. Noticing a similar problem in my sample analysis of election manifestos, as there is indirect reference to immigration and integration within different subsections and in other cases there is no reference to diversity at all, a possible solution could be performed through categorization. Categorization allows for a differential treatment to comparable phenomena (Verschueren, 2011, p.139). Thus, following the same reasoning adopted in Leith and Soule's discourse analysis, six categories were added to my discourse analysis template in order to create a more organised and systematic analysis which goes hand in hand with Verschueren's attempt to establish a pattern of presence or absence.

- *Categories*

In order to ensure a rigorous analysis of the manifestos, a delimitation of a number of categories or key terms is performed. The purpose of this delimitation is to extract the maximum information possible on the topics of immigration and integration through a consideration of all possible related topics. The idea of categories is influenced by the format of the Comparative Manifesto Project that uses different categories and subcategories for the content analysis of different topics. However, in this discourse analytical approach, the analysis will not be a quantitative one as is the case of the CMP but mainly a qualitative analysis. The different categories chosen for the discourse analysis are the following: Identity, equality, anti-discrimination, culture, immigration and diversity. These six categories involve different policy strategies related to migration, ethnic minorities and their integration, and they will help shed light on the different parties' strategies and opinion through the discourse analytical approach and through establishing the patterns of absence and / or presence of such key terms in the different manifestos. Thus, the analysis of the immigration and integration discourses was performed according to six categories that can be related in different ways to multiculturalism in Scotland.

The first category is identity. In fact, identity is an important aspect of the multicultural discourse in Scotland when political actors and academics preach for a civic inclusive plural Scottishness in comparison to other forms of exclusive nationalism promoted across Europe. Thus, references to identity in manifestos become relevant to the discourse analysis. In the specific case of Scotland, national identity holds a special and crucial place in Scottish elections manifestos. The relevance of identity to the study lays in the fact that national identity and nationalism can be exclusive of immigrants and minorities. This is not the case of Scottish identity as imagined and formulated by the political elite in Scotland. In fact, Scottish national identity is promoted by politicians as well as scholars in Scotland as a civic form of identity (McCrone, 2001, p.177).

The civic aspect of national identity in Scotland becomes a defining feature that distinguishes Scotland from the rest of the UK. It explains the inclusive nature of Scottishness by the fact that Scots have developed a different approach to politics in a civic fashion in reaction to the already existing British system. This allows for the development of distinctive Scottish identity thanks to its history of 'institutional autonomy' (Paterson, 1994, p.3-45), as explained in this passage by Ichijo:

Civic politics in Scotland was born out of the Scottish people's frustration with the existing political situation and has been articulating and expressing the Scottish people's desire for a constitutional change in the form of literature, declarations, meetings and marches. Just as it became part of contemporary Scottish society, it also contributed to the redefinition of Scottish identity (2004, p.52)

Several studies have looked at Scotland's civic identity and attribute it to its distinctive church, legal and educational systems (Withers, 2001, p.159). National identity has, thus, been essentially perpetuated through the institutions in Scotland. For Graeme Morton, 'one national identity maintained through the institutions and civic culture of civil society, and another in the unthinking patriotism of the British state' (1998, p.169).

The second category used in the discourse analysis is equality<sup>10</sup>. Equality can be a crucial element to analyse at the discursive level in relation to the inclusion of ethnic minorities and equality of opportunity. The integration policies in Britain since post-WWII have given much importance to equality and have been encouraging anti-discrimination laws. Equality of opportunity has also been encouraged with the different acts passed in this sense giving much relevance to the choice of this term in the discourse analysis. Equality is a key electoral issue for political parties. In Scotland, there is broad consensus and commitment to equality in relation to different policy areas. An example can be seen in this SNP commitment to equality in the context of independence: Independence ‘will create a partnership of equals’ (Scottish National Party, 2011, p.28) or ‘We are passionate about independence and equality for our nation’ (Scottish National Party, 2007, p.7) showing the importance of equality similar to that given to independence.

Often related to equality is anti-discrimination, the third category used for the analysis. Anti-discrimination is generally used together with equality to refer to the ensemble of policies aimed to fight discriminatory behaviour against minorities. This is especially performed in relation to the discrimination at work and in the recruitment processes envisaged both in the public and private sectors. Considered separately, anti-discrimination is prescribed in the long tradition of British integration policy since post WWII. Hence the importance is to maintain the same policies for anti-discrimination laws by the main political parties.

The fourth category chosen to delimit the discourse analysis is culture. Culture is a key component when discussing multiculturalism as it celebrates the plurality of cultures and their peaceful coexistence. Scotland in this sense is a crossroad of cultures, witnessing successive invasions and migrations throughout its history. It is, thus, interesting to investigate the actual coexistence of Scotland’s cultures and the place of the newly established cultures within this already rich and complex heritage. More importantly, the analysis of election manifestos will determine the way the political elite define and broadcast Scottish culture. Terms like

---

<sup>10</sup>Essentially in England, society has been marked by class division with a dichotomy between upper and lower classes and ‘us’ vs. ‘them’ rhetoric; today political parties dedicate much attention to equality as a key electoral goal.

heritage become crucial in defining culture in relation to the multicultural history of Scotland. Similarly, the way political parties address linguistic diversity can be very interesting to analyse in relation to culture. Being a multilingual country, it is important for the political parties to announce their strategies towards Scotland's different languages and define their status. This is particularly true for the Gaelic language, a language that bears a symbolic importance for the Scots in defining their identity, thus, requiring much attention from political parties. The same applies to Scots language and the debate surrounding its status in Scotland. In fact, the status of Scots language is still debatable. Scots or 'Scotch' language is described by John Sinclair in 1782 as a dialect of the Saxon or Old English<sup>11</sup> (1782, p.257). A. J. Aitken, former editor of *A Dictionary of The Older Scottish Tongue* also highlights the confusion about modern Scots as a language: 'If Scots is not now a full "language" it is something more than a mere "dialect" ... a semi-language' (1985, cited in Crystal, 2012, p.181). This situation has evolved since the devolution settlement as the main political parties have continuously supported Scots as one of Scotland's languages.

Another category to be analysed is diversity. This category includes all direct references to diversity and multiculturalism as an electoral issue and the way these were deployed to attract voters from ethnic minorities. Diversity can also be used to describe Scotland's rich cultural heritage. In this case, the term would fall into the category culture rather than diversity, since the meaning doesn't convey diversity in relation to ethnic minorities. It is also interesting to investigate the positioning of diversity and multiculturalism in relation to other electoral topics and all the multi-modal aspects and semiotic processes used to achieve that.

Immigration is the last key term. Being part of the central government prerogatives, immigration is not decided on at the level of Scotland. However, in the manifestos, there is a number of instances where immigration is mentioned especially in relation the demographic needs of the country. Another key term that I chose to put under the immigration category is the discourse related to refugees and asylum seekers. Recently these topics have been extensively covered especially in

---

<sup>11</sup> Illustration is given through different examples and illustrations throughout the book.

the aftermath of the Syrian war and the refugees' crisis in Europe. As generally the asylum system is related to the immigration strategy planned at the central government level, it was only logical to put immigration and asylum under the same category.

Thus, using Verschueren's balanced method at the micro level, the discourses surrounding these six topics will be explored including the examination of lexical choices and use of metaphor. Inspired by Verschueren's approach, the following template was elaborated and used to analyse the different manifestos.

| Discourse Analysis aspects                                                                           | Con_16 | Lab_16 | Lib_16 | Snp_16 |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| <b>Overall statement</b>                                                                             |        |        |        |        |
| General Overview (wider and immediate context of situation/ political party positions in government) |        |        |        |        |
| Structuring/ Sequencing (Main topics and the way they are organized)                                 |        |        |        |        |
| Multi-modal aspects                                                                                  |        |        |        |        |
| General patterns (Interactional elements)                                                            |        |        |        |        |
| Communicative style                                                                                  |        |        |        |        |
| Interactional elements                                                                               |        |        |        |        |
| Spatial framework                                                                                    |        |        |        |        |
| Temporal framework                                                                                   |        |        |        |        |
| <b>Main issues of analysis</b>                                                                       |        |        |        |        |
| Equality                                                                                             |        |        |        |        |
| Anti-discrimination                                                                                  |        |        |        |        |
| Culture                                                                                              |        |        |        |        |
| Identity                                                                                             |        |        |        |        |
| Immigration                                                                                          |        |        |        |        |
| Diversity                                                                                            |        |        |        |        |
| <b>Pattern of Presence or absence</b>                                                                |        |        |        |        |

Figure 1 : Template used for the discourse analysis of election manifestos

- *Comparative Manifesto Project*

The Comparative Manifesto Project or CMP has been extensively used for the analysis of election manifestos<sup>12</sup>. In addition to providing an important database of political parties' manifestos from different countries, the CMP has also the advantage of offering reliable quantitative analysis according to different topics or policy areas. This can provide easy access and comprehensive analysis of political statements on different issues. It also allows for the production of statistics that may unveil a certain trend in party politics if used on a defined period of time. The coding process can reveal the importance of a specific policy area compared to the overall statement. Through its grouping under 7 specific policy areas, such as 'freedom and democracy', 'economy', and 'the fabric of society' and to 56 subsections related to common areas, the platform makes it easier to get results according to the required field of research. Leith and Soule use this method in the analysis of the political discourse and national identity in Scotland and recognise the need to adapt the original CMP system to the main research question through the inclusion of a number of keywords and the addition of new categories. For example, in order to make the difference between British nationalism and Scottish nationalism, it was necessary to include 'Gaelic language policy' under the 'multicultural' code (Leith & Soule, 2012, p.43).

The CMP revolves around a content analysis methodology as 'a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication' (Berelson 1952, p.18). The systematic and objective aspect of content analysis methodology can be found in this quote: 'Content analysis is any research technique for making inferences by systematically and objectively identifying specified characteristics of messages' (Holsti 1968, p.601).

The CMP is a method of quantitative content allowing for the analysis of the policies, issues, and positions taken by political parties. It aims to discover party and presidential stances by quantifying their statements and messages to their electorate. In the coding instructions section of this online database, the process is defined as a

---

<sup>12</sup>See, for example, Budge et al. 2001; Leith & Soule, 2012.

unified classification scheme with an accompanying set of rules developed to make such statements comparable (Volkens et al., 2016, p.2). The central question in the manifesto coding is: What message is the party/presidential candidate trying to convey to voters? Which are the issues the party/presidential candidate regards as important? (Volkens et al., 2016, p.5).

In order to achieve the content analysis of party manifestos in the CMP, a number of coding units was elaborated by specialists. The coding unit is a quasi-sentence. One quasi-sentence contains exactly one statement or ‘message’. In many cases, parties make one statement per sentence, which results in one quasi-sentence equalling one full sentence. Therefore, the basic unitising rule is that one sentence is, at minimum, one quasi-sentence (Volkens et al., 2016, p.6). The CMP developed a category system whereby each quasi-sentence of every manifesto is coded into one, and only one, of 56 standard categories. The 56 categories are grouped into 7 major policy areas and are designed to be comparable between parties, countries, elections, and across time.

Despite its relevance to political discourse analysis, the Comparative Manifesto Project has a number of limitations<sup>13</sup>. For example, the Comparative Manifesto Project use of a quantitative method of analysis can fail to detect hidden meanings or figures of speech despite the effort to find appropriate solutions. When statements are not very clear and are more difficult to code or when facing such an ambiguous sentence, the coders use the meaning of the quasi-sentence and double check it with all codes in the category scheme. This helps assure that the quasi-sentence does not simply fall into one of the lesser used, ‘rare’ categories. This can be limiting as the coding results can overlook crucial information in the manifestos. In addition, the CMP covers only general election in the UK. In this case, it won’t be possible to compare the results to the ones of Scottish elections manifestos. Thus, the analysis of party manifestos will be performed only using Jef Verschueren’s method.

---

<sup>13</sup>Several studies investigate the limitations and errors in the CMP. See for example (Zulianello, 2013).

## PLAN OF THE DISSERTATION

Following the analysis of the methodology and sources, the structure of the dissertation will be explained. Part I is an overview of the Scottish case study in relation to its multicultural, multi-ethnic constitution with a focus on the history of diversity in Scotland. This direction is meant to strengthen the hypothesis that the multicultural heritage of Scotland may lead to a better predisposition to accept minorities and is a reminder of the concept of civic identity promoted by the political elite. This part will also include an overview of the current distribution of ethnic minorities across Scotland in order to provide a more comprehensive view and clear understanding of the situation in the country. In fact, one of the possible criticisms of my thesis stems from the fact that Scotland does not have an important immigrant population compared to the rest of the UK. The answer to this assumption necessitates a delimitation of the terms migrant and ethnic minorities as both terms are crucial to the understanding of the diversity of the society of Scotland. In addition, the use of such terms has been surrounded by confusion, especially considering the frequently erroneous and misleading use of the terms by mass media. The result would be a mis-comprehension of the difference between migrant and a person of an ethnic minority group and a misuse and overgeneralization of both terms to design any person of colour or ethnic background. This view is dismissive of people of white ethnicity from the count. The definition of other key terms is also necessary in order to explain the choice of such words over others and avoid confusions.

Part II explores the layered aspect of immigration and integration politics in multi-level states. It examines the pre-devolution immigration and integration strategies at the level of the UK notably the dual-state interventionism promoted by Roy Jenkins in the 1960s and continued by different political parties in power afterwards. The chapter then moves on to investigate the post-devolution main lines of policy both at the local and national levels and the way immigration and integration policies interact in a devolved system. Finally, the influence of supranational institutions will be explored with particular focus on the impact of EU membership in converging and harmonizing policies among member states, taking

into consideration the imminent exit of the UK from the EU and possible challenges surrounding Brexit.

Part III then goes on to examine manifestos in depth from the perspective of discursive strategies deployed by the different political parties. First an overview of the corpus as well as the main political parties' histories and lines of ideology is highlighted. Part III also addresses the evolution of the political discourse over immigration and integration in Scottish and British elections contexts through a discourse analysis of elections manifestos. It draws attention to how multi-level politics operate on issues of immigration and integration together within the specific case of Scotland as a nation with a strong sense of nationalism. The importance of the nationalist agenda and the contextual pressures at the national and international levels are shown to affect the discursive strategies of the different political parties. Subsequently, within the same part an analysis of speeches by party leaders is performed. The choice to supplement my work with a different perspective is meant to complement and enrich the analysis from the generally austere and concise nature of manifestos. An assessment of the Scottish multicultural model in comparison with the British model and an investigation of the possible tensions between multi-nationalism and multiculturalism in post-devolution Scotland will close the third part.

The final part of this research project is a summary of the different results and observations of this thesis. The conclusion also takes the opportunity to indicate the unique contributions of this research project and to discuss the strengths and weaknesses of the study, before finally suggesting possible routes for future research.



**PART I.**  
**GENERAL OVERVIEW**



## **Introduction to part I**

This part includes three chapters that aim at clarifying key concepts in relation to the title. Terms like ‘immigration’ or ‘integration’ can be confusing and difficult to interpret. Hence, it is necessary to elucidate the ambiguity around them. Other terms like ‘ethnic’, ‘civic’ and ‘citizenship’ are not found in the title of this dissertation, but defining them is deemed necessary to the understanding of the political context in Scotland. As the whole narrative provided by the political elite in Scotland revolves around the civic and ethnic dichotomy, presenting Scotland as a civic nation that is more inclusive of minorities is continuously embraced. The result of civic Scottishness and inclusive citizenship, in addition to the multicultural policy can maximize the chances for a successful integration of newcomers.

In addition, as my research’s main aim is to analyse the evolution of the political discourse, the notion of context becomes a crucial part of the research. Knowing the cultural heritage of Scotland and the ethnic construction of the Scottish population can support the hypothesis that the multicultural history of Scotland results in a better acceptance of minorities (it is so in theory, but in practice there is evidence of racism in Scotland). In addition to exposing the history of diversity of the nation, different events that have impacted Scotland’s history are explored. Events such as the Wars of Independence were important to unite the people against a common enemy and helped shape the nation and national identity.

Last point, an overview of the current ethnic distribution in Scotland is necessary to have an idea about the possible impacts of successive immigration and integration strategies on the nation.

## **CHAPTER I: SOLVING THE AMBIGUITY AROUND KEYWORDS**

One of the major obstacles when working on issues of immigration and integration is to reach consensus over the terminology used in the literature under study. For example, discussing the integration of migrants might reveal tricky without defining fundamental terms related to it. According to Barbara Wilczek, neither ‘integration’ nor ‘migration’ not even ‘migrants’ are clear-cut terms (2012, p.28). In addition, in the quest of sensation and controversy, the media and the politicians making use of such terms as ‘immigration’ or ‘migrants’ might be misleading for the reader. For the purpose of this thesis, it is important to delimit and define the key terms used in this research.

To start with, two keywords are often distorted and used in different contexts according to different purposes and motivations: ‘immigration’, and ‘integration’. These terms are generally closely associated, though often not well understood, as different definitions arise according to different contexts, as will be explored in the following chapters.

### **1. Defining immigration and immigrant**

The term ‘immigration’ has been extensively used during the last years together with ‘migrants’ generally in reference to illegal immigration or refugees issues<sup>14</sup>, further reinforcing the confusion between ‘immigrant’ or ‘migrant’ and

---

<sup>14</sup>An example is the use of the expression ‘crise des migrants’ by the French media to describe the outburst of illegal immigrants in Europe.

‘refugee’ or ‘asylum seeker’<sup>15</sup>. According to the International Organization for Migration, ‘immigration’ is defined as the movement of a person or a group of persons, either across an international border, or within a state (IOM, online). The definition offered in the UNESCO website is not very different. It describes the concept of ‘migration’ as the crossing of the boundary of a political or administrative unit for a certain minimum period of time. It includes the movement of refugees, displaced persons, uprooted people as well as economic migrants (UNESCO, online). Distinction can be made according to different forms of migration, motives and legal statuses. The UNESCO also makes the distinction between internal and international migration.

Another distinction in the forms of migrations is the one between immigration and emigration. We can use a very basic dictionary definition of these terms from the Oxford English Dictionary: Emigration as ‘the act of leaving one’s own country to settle permanently in another; moving abroad’ (Oxford English Dictionary, online) and of immigration as ‘the action of coming to live permanently in a foreign country’ (Oxford English Dictionary, online). These definitions reflect the intention and the will to settle in a different country than the one born in. In the case of Scotland, both terms become crucial to define as they are recurrently used. In fact, until recently, Scotland has always been a country of high emigration rates and this has affected the country at the demographic level. In addition, the contribution of the Scottish Diaspora is very important, especially in relation to Scottish national identity. Despite its low rates, immigration is also important in Scotland. The need for repopulating the country is one of the reasons behind such an interest. The politics of multiculturalism advanced by different political parties in the country is another reason for the importance given to immigration and asylum.

---

<sup>15</sup> According to the UNESCO website: ‘Asylum seeker describes someone who has applied for protection as a refugee and is awaiting the determination of his or her status. Refugee is the term used to describe a person who has already been granted protection. Asylum seekers can become refugees if the local immigration or refugee authority deems them as fitting the international definition of refugee’ (UNESCO, online).

The motivations behind migration are various, including migration for economic, political and cultural purposes (Carment & Winch, 1989, p.99). The legal status of an immigrant is also an important factor to take into consideration as it determines his rights and duties in a host country. With the surge of illegal immigrants in Europe in the last 10 years, governments have implemented tougher immigration border control policies on illegal immigrants and closed the door on presumably fake asylum seekers and refugees.

Terms related to immigration are formulated differently in host countries (Gourévitch, 2007, p.164). In the UK, thanks to the points-based system implemented in 2008, common categorisations have been implemented for immigrants, including the category 'temporary worker', 'general' or 'intra-company transfer' for work visas (UK Government, online). These variations in categories and definitions further reinforce the complexity of the task of defining the term 'immigrant'.

The definition of immigrant can be confusing and misleading. In media and politics, 'migrant'; 'immigrant' and 'foreigner' are generally used interchangeably to refer to new settlers who are not nationals of a country<sup>16</sup>. In public debates the definition of who is an immigrant is unclear and confusing. McLaren and Johnson argue that while, for example, the distinction between immigrant and asylum seeker is clear for legal scholars, it is unlikely that ordinary citizens make such a clear distinction, and even British policy until recently tended to conflate the two (McLaren & Johnson, 2004, p.170). Apart from describing newcomers or new settlers, the term immigrant is often confused in public debates with ethnic or religious minorities and with asylum seekers (Saggar & Drean, 2001, p.19; Crawley, 2009, p.3). In such situations, people from ethnic backgrounds are categorized as immigrants, whether nationals of the host country or not, which may lead to erroneous conclusions. There are multiple definitions of the term 'migrant'. This can be problematic when analysing public debates and media discourses, also, it is

---

<sup>16</sup>See for example article in *The Sun Newspaper* 'One in ten people living in the UK are now foreigners – nearly double the proportion of just a decade ago' in reference to immigrants. The use of foreigner can be seen as a means to accentuate the distance and detachment from the immigrants (Hawkes, 2017, online).

important to define precisely the term especially in relation to who can be considered an immigrant in the UK? Should we exclude short-term visitors, seasonal workers, and asylum seekers from the definition?

The Merriam-Webster dictionary defines ‘immigrant’ as ‘a person who comes to a country to live there’ (Merriam-Webster, online). The motives or length of stay are not stated in this definition but it highlights the idea of intention of residence. An article of the Migration Observatory<sup>17</sup> draws attention to the distinction made in dictionary definitions between an immigrant and a migrant and explains the possible consequences for the lack of a harmonized definition (Anderson & Blinder, 2017, online). ‘Immigrants’ are defined as people who are or intend to be settled in their new country (Anderson & Blinder, 2017, online) and ‘migrants’ are temporarily resident, and in some scholarly and everyday usage ‘migration’ refers to internal migration (Anderson and Blinder, 2017, online). Taking into consideration these definitions and broader uses of the terms in politics and policy discourse, ‘migrant’ and ‘immigrant’ can be used as synonyms but the term ‘migrant’ also implies a broader aspect of the process as it may include internal migration.

The term ‘foreigner’ is defined as ‘one not native to a place or community’ (Merriam-Webster, Online). Synonyms of ‘foreigner’ are the terms ‘non-native’, ‘outsider’, ‘stranger’ and related to it we can find the term ‘alien’ (Merriam-Webster, Online). All these terms reflect distance and detachment and do not convey the meaning of ‘immigrant’ or ‘migrant’ as defined in the previous paragraph. Taking into consideration all these variations in the definitions, the words ‘migrant’ or ‘immigrant’ and ‘foreigner’ cannot be used interchangeably.

The Migration Observatory in *Who Counts as a Migrant? Definitions and their Consequences* highlights the difficulty behind defining the term ‘immigrant’ and the variations emanating from such an attempt (Anderson & Blinder, 2017, online). According to the same article, different definitions range from criteria such as ‘foreign birth’, ‘foreign citizenship’ and ‘movement into a new country to stay temporarily or to settle for the long-term’ (Anderson & Blinder, 2017, online). Such

---

<sup>17</sup>The Migration Observatory provides analysis and publications on international migration and public policy. It is part of COMPAS- University of Oxford.

definitions would exclude immigrants' children who are UK-born but still not nationals of the country. It is, thus, important to decide on how to define the term 'immigrant' and whether the children who are born in the host country should be considered as immigrants when they did not acquire citizenship yet. In addition, many foreign-born people become citizens of the host country, a situation that results in more confusion on whether to still consider them as immigrants or nationals of that country.

Another misleading element in the attempt to define the term 'migrant' can be found in the following definition. 'Migrant is defined as an individual who is subject to immigration controls' (Anderson & Blinder, 2017, online). This definition is considered as conflicting as, in the context of the European Union, European nationals are not subject to immigration controls but are not British nationals either<sup>18</sup>.

Other definitions of the term 'immigrant' can be misleading. Here, a number of definitions according to different countries will be examined, which may be revealing of different perceptions and different legislations aimed for new settlers. In addition, in the aftermath of the Brexit referendum, different speculations on the situation European residents in the UK have been formulated but no legal measures have been taken so far.

The definition of '*immigré*' or 'immigrant' according to the French High Council of Integration is a foreign born person who resides in France, excluding foreign born French nationals. Interestingly, the High Council of Integration draws a difference between 'foreigner' or '*étranger*' and 'immigrant' '*immigré*' as two different concepts that do not necessarily have the same meaning. More importantly, the attribute of 'immigrant' is permanent according to French law even when the immigrant acquires the French nationality. Thus, the definition of immigrant in this case is related to the country of birth exclusively (INSEE, online)<sup>19</sup>.

---

<sup>18</sup>This definition is valid until the implementation of Brexit.

<sup>19</sup>Selon la définition adoptée par le Haut Conseil à l'Intégration, un immigré est « une personne née étrangère à l'étranger et résidant en France. » Les personnes nées françaises à l'étranger et vivant en France ne sont donc pas comptabilisées. À l'inverse, certains immigrés ont pu devenir français, les autres restant étrangers. Les populations étrangère et immigrée ne se confondent pas totalement : un immigré n'est pas nécessairement étranger et réciproquement, certains étrangers sont nés en France

The Canadian definition of who is an ‘immigrant’ is different. The National Statistics Institute of Canada provides the following definition: ‘Persons residing in Canada who were born outside of Canada, excluding temporary foreign workers, Canadian citizens born outside Canada and those with student or working visas’ (Statistics Canada, online). This definition shows a different vision of ‘immigrant’ revolving around citizenship or nationality. Thus, a foreign-born citizen of Canada would no longer be considered as an ‘immigrant’. This reveals a more inclusive approach to immigration and integration.

For the USA, definitions are formulated around the term ‘alien’ instead of ‘immigrant’ or ‘foreigner’. The Homeland Security website redirects all definitions of ‘immigrant’ to ‘permanent resident alien’<sup>20</sup> (U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services, Online). ‘Immigrant’ would thus mean: ‘an alien admitted to the United States as a lawful permanent resident’. A legally accepted immigrant would thus be described as ‘permanent resident alien’ whereas illegally entering persons would be categorised as immigrants. In this definition, there is no mention of children of immigrant parents born in the USA or of categorisation according to length of stay or citizenship. The definition is revealing of the USA’s approach towards immigration and integration as the status of American citizen is not granted to ‘permanent resident aliens’ according to length of stay but there are stricter provisions for such procedure. The existence of a large number of illegal entries to the USA might be the reason behind the reference to it in the definition.

It is also interesting under converging EU immigration politics to check the EU immigration glossary. The glossary provides one for the term ‘immigration’ as ‘the action by which a person from a non-EU country establishes his or her usual residence in the territory of an EU country for a period that is, or is expected to be, at

---

(essentiellement des mineurs). La qualité d'immigré est permanente : un individu continue à appartenir à la population immigrée même s'il devient français par acquisition. C'est le pays de naissance, et non la nationalité à la naissance, qui définit l'origine géographique d'un immigré.

<sup>20</sup>An alien admitted to the United States as a lawful permanent resident. Permanent residents are also commonly referred to as immigrants; however, the Immigration and Nationality Act (INA) broadly defines an immigrant as any alien in the United States, except one legally admitted under specific non-immigrant categories (INA section 101(a)(15)). An illegal alien who entered the United States without inspection, for example, would be strictly defined as an immigrant under the INA but is not a permanent resident alien. Lawful permanent residents are legally accorded the privilege of residing permanently in the United States.

least twelve months' (European Commission, online). This definition provides more precision on the meaning of 'immigrant' as: a non-EU born resident of an EU country. It also specifies the minimum length of stay to consider someone an 'immigrant' in a European context as of a minimum of 12 months. It is also revealing of an important principle and objective of the EU which is European citizenship. In fact, European citizenship grants the privilege of free circulation in member states to European nationals, facilitating their migration and integration to different countries within the EU. European citizenship can be problematic in my attempt to define an 'immigrant' in the British context, as it constitutes a problem of interpretation of whether EU nationals residing in Scotland should be categorized as 'immigrants'. It is important in this case to get a definition of the term from a British perspective and check whether it is inclusive of EU nationals. There is no clear definition of the term 'migrant' or 'immigrant' in law but distinction can be made according to the 'right of abode<sup>21</sup>' in the UK which provides the possibility 'to live or work in the UK without any immigration restrictions' (HM Government, online). The right of abode is granted automatically to all British citizens, as well as Commonwealth citizens under certain conditions<sup>22</sup>. This does not provide us with a clear definition of the term 'immigrant' but does make the distinction clear between British citizens, Commonwealth citizens who have the right of abode in the UK, excluding EU citizens from the definition. This makes it clear that in the UK, the definition of immigrant is formulated in terms of British citizenship not of EU nationality in addition to some cases of Commonwealth citizens resident in the UK who, until 1982, had been considered as British subjects<sup>23,24</sup>.

---

<sup>21</sup>The statutory regime governing immigration in the UK is currently contained in the Immigration Act 1971 and the Immigration Rules made under it. Section 3 of the Immigration Act requires individuals who are neither British nor Commonwealth citizens with the right of abode in the UK, nor members of the European Economic Area, to obtain leave to enter the UK from an immigration officer upon their arrival (Library of Congress, online).

<sup>22</sup>You have right of abode if all the following apply:  
 one of your parents was born in the UK and a citizen of the United Kingdom and colonies when you were born or adopted  
 you were a Commonwealth citizen on 31 December 1982

<sup>23</sup>*British Nationality Act of 1948* granted British citizenship to all Commonwealth citizens.

According to Hussain, on the different theories of immigration, 3 main perspectives arise when speaking about British immigration policy: the liberal view, the centrist view and the nationalist view.

According to the Liberal view, immigration policy should be unrestricted provided that newcomers obey the law of the host country and acknowledge the established structure of authority (Hussain, 1997, p.4). The Liberal view encourages the free movement of people. The centrist view promotes the idea that immigration should be allowed but through some control (Hussain, 1997, p.4). In this case, there should be limitations on entries in order to avoid mass influx of immigrants, which could be detrimental on the host country (Hussain, 1997, p.4). Last, the nationalist perception is that immigration should be completely stopped<sup>25</sup>.

After WWII, two major pieces of legislation have shaped immigration policy in the UK: the *1948 British Nationality Act* and the *1981 British Nationality Act* (enforced in 1983), with one aiming at receiving more immigration and the other at restricting it. The idea of citizenship has been reserved for some time to all the citizens of the Commonwealth as British subjects thanks to the *British Nationality Act of 1948* that granted the same rights to all British subjects. According to Meer et al., the act reflects a *jus soli* or ‘right of the soil’ approach to citizenship with a doctrine of allegiance to the Crown as shown in the following quote: ‘those born as subject of the crown remained subjects regardless of emigration or even naturalisation’ (Koslowski, quoted in Meer et al., 2015, pp.8-9). However, British nationality has been redefined in 1983 with the *British Nationality Act of 1981* as it restricted British citizenship and all the rights allocated to it. The UK immigration policy will be explored in more detail in Part II.

In the light of all the definitions gathered, it is possible to conclude that the term ‘immigrant’ would be linked to all foreign born residents of the UK, excluding British nationals. This definition would be categorising immigrants from non-immigrants by the criterion of British citizenship, thus, excluding children of foreign born parents who are born in the UK (who in this case do not have the British

---

<sup>24</sup> The right of abode is not to be mistaken with the ‘indefinite leave to remain’ which refers to the right of settlement in the UK granted to migrants.

<sup>25</sup> This view can be challenged when examining the SNP’s position on immigration.

nationality)<sup>26</sup>, Commonwealth citizens (except for those with the right of abode), as well as European citizens. As there is no legal specification of minimum length of stay, no minimum period would be used as a criterion to denote the immigrant status. Short term visitors and students will not be considered as ‘immigrants’.

### 1.1 The case of Scotland

The specific nature of the UK as a unitary state calls into question the use of the words ‘foreigner’ or ‘immigrant’ in different contexts. For example, would an English person be considered a foreigner in Scotland when he is a national of the country? Here we can take the example of English residents in Scotland, because of the old history of animosity between the English and the Scots. ‘Not-England’ is often described as an element that defines Scotland (McCrone, 2017, p.5). The anti-English sentiment even arises to Anglophobia, especially in the context of sports (Hussain & Miller, 2006, p.69). For example, one of the participants in Hussain and Miller’s research on Anglophobia states: ‘When Scotland play England, God help you if you are in a pub surrounded by Scots and you are supporting England’ (2006, p.69). Watson also acknowledges the existence of ‘anti-Englishness’ but warns against the exaggeration of such a sentiment (2003, p.143). In legal terms, both the English and the Scots are British nationals. Still, pieces of research on Anglophobia generally categorize the English as ‘immigrants’ (See for example Hussain & Miller, 2006, p.70).

---

<sup>26</sup>The situation for children born in the UK to citizens European Economic Area is different from that of children born to parents who are not European. Children born in the UK to citizens of the EEC may be British citizens depending on when they were born. Children born:

- From 1 January 1983 to 2 October 2000 will be British citizens if either parent was living in the UK at the time;
- From 2 October 2000 to 29 April 2006 will only be British citizens if at least one parent had obtained indefinite leave to remain or the unconditional right to permanent residence in the UK prior to the birth;
- On or after 30 April 2006 will be British citizens if at least one parent lived in the UK continuously for five years pursuant to their rights under European law prior to the birth.

Similar rules apply to children of Swiss citizens born in the UK from 1 June 2002 onwards (About Immigration, online).

## **1.2 Immigrants vs. Ethnic minorities**

It is also important to draw the distinction between the term immigrant and a person from ethnic background. ‘Ethnic minorities’ is an expression mainly used in relation to people who are in the minority within a population on the grounds of race, colour, culture, language, religion or nationality (McFarquhar, 2011, p88). The term is used to capture all who have arrived to live or/ and work in Scotland including, for example, migrant workers, Gypsy travellers, refugee and asylum seekers (BEMIS, online). This would comprise both European and non-European citizens now living in Scotland, including, English, Welsh, and Irish people. Today there is more talk of visible and invisible minorities in order to raise awareness of the diversity that exists in Scotland. It is necessary to also define race and ethnicity as part of this endeavour.

## **2. Defining race and ethnicity**

The concepts of race and ethnicity are very much related to the topic of integration. In this case, distinction is made according to ethnic belonging and identification, including people who are born in the host country or the ones who hold the citizenship status. A division between majority and minority cultures arises as majority generally represents the main culture of the country (See for example Swann, 1985<sup>27</sup>). Distinction between different ethnic groups is generally made on the grounds of race, colour, culture, language, religion or nationality (EHRC, online).

### **2.1 Defining Race**

Another word often associated to ethnicity, yet more controversial in its use, is the term race. The concept of race is defined as ‘a group of people sharing the same culture, history, language, etc.; an ethnic group’ (Oxford English dictionaries, online). This definition provides a broader understanding of race than the more

---

<sup>27</sup>The Swann Report refers to majority/ minority groups in relation to accessibility to education to ‘all ethnic groups, both minority and majority’.

simplistic and widely used distinction on the basis of skin colour. Today, the concept of 'race' is central to contemporary debates on discrimination, affirmative action, racial profiling, hate crimes, and other issues (Hoffman, 2004, p.1093). Nevertheless, research demonstrates that the concept of 'race' is elusive and has no reliable definition (Hoffman, 2004 p.1094). When we speak of diversity, discrimination, or inequality, it is unclear whether we are referring to colour, socio-economic status, continent of origin, or some other factor. According to Hoffman, the term 'race' subsumes so many different ideas in people's minds, thus, it is not a useful platform for social discourse (Hoffman, 2004, p.1093).

McCrone points out to the fact that race cannot operate as a meaningfully analytic concept as these attributes were given to people by others (2017, p.325). Following Robert Miles logic that discredits the existence of biological differences between 'races', the use of 'race' as a distinctive feature to categorize people becomes inappropriate. It is more common today to speak of somatic and cultural differences between people (Miles, 1993, p.2). Hence, today the use of the terms ethnic minorities is more appropriate (McCrone, 2017, p.326). The use of the term race with inverted commas according to McCrone is to stress that it has dubious descriptive value (2017, p.326).

The concept of race is controversial. It is difficult to define racial categories with no consistent agreement about an objective set of categories. According to the Scottish Public Health Observatory, there is wider genetic variation between individuals within one 'racial' group (such as 'white') than there is between different 'racial' groups (ScotPHO, online). Thus, classifying individuals by their physical appearance and skin colour is unreliable and of questionable validity (ScotPHO, online). Despite these difficulties, the term 'race' is still widely used in legal and policy contexts. (ScotPHO, online)

## 2.2 Defining Ethnicity

The phrases ‘ethnic minorities<sup>28</sup>’ or ‘minority groups’ are of more common usage in academic and public policy sphere than the term ‘race’ (McCrone, 2017, p.326). ‘Ethnic’, according to McCrone, can also be a characteristic of the majority group (2017, p.326). The dictionary definitions of the term ‘ethnic’ vary from ‘relating to a population subgroup (within a larger or dominant national or cultural group) with a common national or cultural tradition’ (Oxford English dictionary, online) to ‘relating to a particular race of people’ in the Cambridge dictionary (Cambridge dictionary, online). The dictionary definitions show that both race and ethnicity are related. However, today the use of ‘cultural group’ or ‘ethnic minority group’ can be more appropriate than ‘particular race of people’.

Eriksen defines ethnicity as referring to ‘aspects of relationships between groups which consider themselves, and are regarded by others, as being culturally distinctive’ (1993, p.4). Ethnicity is also defined as: ‘the social group a person belongs to, and either identifies with or is identified with by others, as a result of a mix of cultural and other factors including language, diet, religion, ancestry and physical features traditionally associated with race’ (ScotPHO, online).

Another important aspect of ethnicity today is that it is subjective and exclusively linked to the person’s self-perception. According to Kapai, ‘the ethnicity of a person is determined by self-identification. The classification of ethnicity is determined with reference to a combination of concepts such as culture, origins, nationality, colour and language’ (2015, p.2). According to Afkhami and Acik Toprak (reformulated by Richards),

ethnicity’ is measured in the UK census and other official data sets by asking individuals to self-identify by selecting from categories that may include nationality (Chinese, Indian, Irish), broader geographic or ancestral categories (African, Asian, Arab), colour (White, Black), and combinations of these... including explicitly ‘mixed’ categories such as ‘White and Black Caribbean’.

---

<sup>28</sup> The Latin origin of the term ‘minor’ or ‘minoris’ means ‘those inferior in rank/grade/age, subordinate’ (The Latin Dictionary, online). Today, the term minority conveys the idea of numerical inferiority in comparison to the group that constitutes the majority. This majority/minority duality is a reminder of the division between upper and lower class in the UK (This division supposedly does not exist in Scotland because of the horizontal organization promoted in the Presbyterian Church).

Thus, in different census on minorities, self-identification is completely subjective and dependent on the respondent's self-perception (Quoted in Richards, 2016, p.33).

Today there is more talk of visible and invisible minorities in order to raise awareness of the diversity that exists in Scotland. According to Karim, the idea of 'visibility' in 'visible minority' is predicated to a large extent on skin colour (1996, p.4). Recognizing the factor of visibility in racial discrimination, the employment equity policy sought to create safeguards for persons it classified as visible minority individuals. However, the concept of 'visibility' becomes problematic because it valorises the same element that race classification systems have used in designating 'races', namely, skin colour (Karim, 1996, p.4). The distinction between visible and invisible minorities helps to acknowledge the existence of a diverse palette of minorities who sometimes cannot be distinguished in terms of physical features but still feel different. In Scotland, we can state for example, the important Irish minority. The acknowledgement of the existence of these minorities further enriches diversity and helps to fight discrimination against them.

### **3. Defining integration**

The integration of newcomers is a crucial process undertaken in host societies but is generally underestimated, resulting in the failure to adapt to the new norms of the host country. This can be seen in the attempts of different ethnic minority groups to dissociate from the national identity that is meant to bind all the people together. In order to assess what a successful integration would require in terms of policies, it is important first to go through the different attempts to define the term 'integration'.

Integration is quite a complex concept, where there is no consensus over one definition in social sciences (Bolzman, 2001, p.159). Defining the concept might reveal to be a difficult task due to the fuzzy and broad nature of the term. It is even described as a 'treacherous' concept (Banton, 2001, pp.151-52). Still, examining integration models in practice can further clarify the uses of the term in policy areas. Though integration is extensively used in reference to the strategies implemented by different governments, still it is a concept that can have a broad array of meanings. In

this case, integration is used to include strategies that can be completely different in their aim and means to achieve it, which can allow political parties to avoid controversial terms related to integration<sup>29</sup>. Loch distinguishes between the uses of integration in public, political and academic discourses (2014, p.623). In addition to the theoretical definitions of the term, different models of integration will be explored to highlight the variety of meanings that integration can have, notably in relation to the assimilation, and the multicultural models.

### 3.1 Theories on integration

To integrate according to The Oxford Dictionary of English - Second Edition means ‘to combine with another to form a whole; integration: the intermixing of people who were previously segregated’ (Oxford English Dictionary, online). This definition reveals the importance of being part of the community to integrate and entails a minimum of social interaction as a result.

At the academic level, there are diverse approaches to the concept of integration that sometimes diverge, revealing the difficulty of the task. Rainer Bauböck (1994, p.9-10) describes it as a ‘rather elusive term’ that is generally linked to social integration. Loch also highlights the complexity of the concept of integration in academic discourses (2014, p.623).

Social integration, according to Emile Durkheim’s key contribution to social integration theory, reveals the power exerted by society on individuals. In his famous work *Suicide* (1951), Durkheim concluded that suicide is related mainly to the degree of integration into society and its institutions. According to Durkheim, ‘egoistic suicide results from the fact that society is not sufficiently integrated at all points to keep all its members under control’ (Durkheim, cited in Johnson 1965, p.883). This assertion shows the importance of society in the process of social integration. This theory if applied to immigrant integration shows the reasons for the

---

<sup>29</sup>We can state for example the unpopularity of the term ‘multiculturalism’ among the political parties and the limited use of the term in manifestos.

failure of some non-nationals to integrate in the absence of ‘central energy to retain, fix, and organize them’ (Durkheim cited in Haidt & Graham 2009, p.378).

The Migration Observatory in an article on integration draws attention to the fact that part of the confusion around the term integration is that it can be used in academic and policy debates to mean different things (Spencer, 2011, p.3). Thus, there is no specific definition of integration. Integration, as much as multiculturalism, has different meanings. Politicians use frequently the term integration to describe their policy strategies to immigrants’ integration which can be misleading as there are no clear guidelines for a policy model called integration. Integration is a concept *fourre-tout*<sup>30</sup> that avoids the use of terms which are not accepted among ethnic minorities, such as assimilation.

Academics adopt the term integration to describe a model to accommodate newcomers that is neither assimilation nor multiculturalism. For example, Mboup in his *Analyse Comparative des Politiques Publiques d’Immigration* describes the UK’s integration policies since 1945 as: integration<sup>31</sup> (Mboup, 2001, p.127). Dasen, referring to a study by Berry, concludes that ‘integration’ is the preferred strategy for migrants (Dasen, 2001, p. 197). In the two examples, integration embodies different meanings. When in the first example, integration conveys integration in its broader definition, used both when describing an assimilationist trend and a pluricultural one (Mboup, 2001, p127). In the second example, integration refers to a specific model that entails the partial maintenance of the cultural heritage of migrants (Dasen, 2001, p. 197). In political discourse, integration is receiving broad consensus and is often used in opposition to multiculturalism (Wieviorka, 2013, pp.634- 640). It seems, thus, that integration has become the ‘magic formula’, to borrow the expression from Michel Wieviorka, for political decision makers. Still, the term can be confusing and unspecific when describing actual policies (2013, p.638).

In its broader definition, integration may refer to the integration of individuals or groups into society (Loch, 2014, p.624). Talcott Parsons claims that there are two

---

<sup>30</sup>Vincent Latour used the expression to describe ‘community cohesion’ integration strategy (Latour, 2014, p.215).

<sup>31</sup> According to Mboup , the UK integration model can be called integration, but in different trends for example assimilationist from 1945-1960

kinds of integration mechanisms: Social integration that results from normative consensus among individuals and system integration that is about the non –normative integration process. In the tradition of Durkheim, Parsons stresses the importance of loyalty and solidarity in the integration process (Parsons, cited in Hamilton, 1992, p.259). According to Landecker, integration is about the smallest units of group life involving the cultural standards and the persons and happens at different levels such as cultural integration, normative integration, communicative integration, and functional integration (1951, pp.332-340).

Michel Gevrey also affirms the existence of multiple stages in the integration process. A successful integration for a migrant would entail favourable conditions including:

Employment: recognition of qualifications, permanent job

Education: learning the host country language, preparation of children for school, ability to access professional trainings

Housing and access to public space

Social protection equality of rights

Culture sharing

Citizenship right to vote in local elections (Gevrey, 2004, pp.204-205).

Thus, migrant integration would be performed primarily on a local level: It is where migrants study, work and participate in social life.

Arthur Paecht in a chapter entitled *Revaloriser l'Assimilation*, focuses on the absence of uniformity in the integration models. He describes integration as a complex process that should occur at multiple levels: cultural integration in the form of language acquisition and the appropriation of the host country's culture, and economic and social integration. He also questions whether it is possible to integrate without assimilation (2004, p21-24).

The UK has not developed a specific agenda in relation to integration. Saggar and Somerville clearly assert that 'the British model of integration has never been clearly defined' (2012, p.1). In addition, the fuzzy aspect of integration results in the creation of different meanings to different people. Hence, this ambiguity reflects a form of ambivalence (Saggar & Somerville, 2012, p.1). The politics of integration in the UK are more advanced at the level of anti-discrimination policies according to

Christophe Bertossi (2004, p.63). The British model of integration can be summarized in a definition by Home Secretary Roy Jenkins as:

Integration is perhaps a rather loose word. I do not regard it as meaning the loss, by immigrants, of their own national characteristics and culture. I do not think we need in this country a 'melting pot'<sup>32</sup>, which will turn everybody out in a common mould... I define integration, therefore, not as a flattening process of assimilation but as equal opportunity, coupled with cultural diversity in an atmosphere of mutual tolerance (1967, p.267).

The so-called 'Jenkins formula', thus, provided a multi-layered answer to the important influx of immigration resulting from the *1948 British Nationality Act*, consisting of restricting immigration and redefining British nationality, as well as fighting racial discrimination. This definition confirms the UK tendency to detach from the widespread assimilationist trends of the time like the idea of 'the melting pot' characterising the American society. It rejects assimilation in favour of integration and stresses tolerance towards different cultures and the importance of providing equal opportunities for ethnic minorities. The same trend has continued with different successive governments, whether Conservative or Labour-led, the characterizing strategy regarding immigration and integration has been restrictive immigration or 'managed migration' coupled with anti-discrimination policies.

Academics diverge on the approaches to take in respect to integration, as well as on the success of existing policy models. Rex and Singh, for example, stress the wide use of multiculturalism in popular discourse in the media and in politics, and the overall positive connotation of the term when speaking of integration (2003, p.3-4).

The approaches to the implementation of integration strategies are diverse. There are different policy models adopted by different countries, the most important of which will be discussed in the following section. However, in the current context of increasing segmented and globalised societies, some question the validity of today's national models of integration (Loch, 2014, p.630). Loch even speaks of an 'integration crisis' in Western societies (2014, pp. 624-625).

---

<sup>32</sup> The idea of 'melting pot' contradicts the multicultural and unitary aspect of Britain as a union between the English, the Scots, the Welsh and the Irish.

### 3.2 Integration in practice

The multicultural aspect of Western societies is an increasingly recognized fact that needs to be dealt with at the level of government policies. When we speak of national models of integration, this generally involves the social processes, politics and policies (Finotelli & Michalowski, 2012, pp. 231-232)

When dealing with the integration process, it is inevitable to come across the North American experiences, considered by many as successful models. Canada for example is considered as a successful model of multiculturalism. It is thus interesting to explore the models of integration adopted by North American countries. *Forbes* magazine even describes the Canadian model of integration as ‘the distinguishing factor that makes Canada great’ (Semotiuk, 2017, online), when other countries shy away from multiculturalism<sup>33</sup>. Other integration models are being promoted as an alternative, especially in an assimilation trend (See for example Paecht, 2004). The following section examines the different concepts related to the integration of immigrants.

- **Assimilation**

One of the main integration processes in North American countries and some parts of Europe is assimilation. Today assimilation seems an unpopular option as Nathan Glazer describes it (Glazer, 1993, p.123), and is generally linked to ethnocentrism especially in its earliest conceptions (Alba & Nee, 2005, p64). Assimilation is described by Richard Alba and Victor Nee in *the Handbook of International Migration* as a ‘social process that occurs spontaneously and often unintentionally in the course of interaction between majority and minority groups’ (1999, p.137). This definition highlights the inevitable character of assimilation in normal social interactions, a view shared by other writers.

Formulations of the concept of assimilation go back to the Chicago School of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century with Robert E Park and W I Thomas. Park and Burgess define assimilation as ‘a process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups

---

<sup>33</sup>See for example Cameron speech on the failure of multiculturalism in February 2011.

acquire the memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other persons and groups and, by sharing their experience and history are incorporated with them in common cultural life' (1924, p.735). This definition does not seem to imply an erasure of one's culture and the acquiring of a new identity. It refers to the inevitable process of 'fusion' that happens during assimilation.

Another prominent advocate of assimilation is Milton Gordon. Gordon also stressed the inevitability of the assimilation of minority groups into the majority through the process of acculturation as the 'entrance of the minority group into social cliques, clubs, and institutions of the core society at the primary group level' (Gordon, 1964, 80-81).

Undoubtedly, the most famous example of assimilation is the American model of integration. The 'melting pot' idea emerged to denote the process of assimilation of immigrants into American society. Gordon describes this assimilation process as the prevalent ideology in the American historical experience. The melting pot is seen as the result of a mass immigration to the 'virgin continent' (Gordon, 1961, p.270). This process according to Gordon was widely adopted among scholars (1961, p.271) and was said to have 'promoted the formation of a composite nationality for the American people .... In the crucible of the frontier the immigrants were Americanized, liberated, and fused into a mixed race, English in neither nationality nor characteristics' (Turner, 1920, quoted in Gordon 1961, p.272).

In a collection of essays entitled *Définir l'Intégration? Perspectives Nationales et Representations Symboliques*, attempts were made to define the term integration according to different national models. Micheline Labelle and Azzedine Mahraoui distinguish between three different periods of integration in North America (2001, p21-22). The first period was characterized by an assimilationist trend as can be reflected in Milton Gordon's *Assimilation in American Life*. Gordon presents the integration process as a complex process that needs to be performed at different levels including cultural assimilation (language, religion, culture), structural assimilation (interaction within the institutions of host society), and self-identification with the host society among the indicators for the success of the assimilation process (1961, pp.279-283).

The concept of assimilation disappeared gradually as it was considered as ethnocentric (Rumbaut, 1997 p.484) in favour of a different model called integration. This period was characterized by social and political protests of the end of the 1960s. There was no longer an accent on the capacity of the immigrant to adapt but on the conflict emanating from such an attempt. Nathan Glazer and Daniel Patrick Moynihan in 1963 criticized the concept of melting pot and lamented the ‘failure to melt’ stating: ‘The point about the melting pot... is that it did not happen’ (Cited in Brubaker, 2014, p. 39).

Despite the negative connotation of assimilation today, and the limited use of the term in public and political debates, there is an assimilationist tendency in the politics of integration in Europe that can be seen at the level of language and citizenship tests, as well as citizenship ceremonies that are more recurrent and widely adopted in European countries. Today, with the rise of nationalist populist parties to power across Europe, there are calls for the assimilation of immigrants in order to guarantee a successful integration<sup>34</sup>. Arthur Paecht wonders whether integration is possible without assimilation and concludes that a successful integration would entail assimilation in order to preserve the basic principles of the Republic such as secularism, in reference to France (2004, p.23-24). The concept of ‘segmented assimilation’ is also promoted to justify the need for assimilation or for being partly assimilated<sup>35</sup>.

- ***Multiculturalism***

The 1980s saw a new form of integration model that stresses the importance and positive contribution of ethnic pluralism. The multiculturalist approach to integration mainly focuses on the importance of the participation of ethnic minorities in political and social life as well as their empowerment. Horace Kallen was a precursor of the multiculturalist movement in the USA. Kallen rejected the idea of ‘Americanization’ in favour of ‘cultural pluralism’ and the recognition of ethnic

---

<sup>34</sup>An example is Front National Party leader Marine Le Pen’s proposed model of integration of ‘Assimilation républicaine’ or republican assimilation. (De Calignon, 2017, online)

<sup>35</sup>See for example the work of Portes and Zhou (1993).

minorities (Ratner, 1984, p.185). For Kallen democracy constituted the ferment of American national identity (Ghorra-Gobin, 1994, p. 162).

The following definition provided by Beck highlights the importance of the 'home-land' cultural dimension of the migrant that multiculturalism attempts to cater (Beck, 2002, pp. 36-37):

Multiculturalism, for all its assertion of a world of variety and of the principle of plurality, fosters a collective image of humanity in which the individual remains dependent on his cultural sphere. He (or she) is the product of the language, the traditions, the convictions, the customs and landscapes in which he came into the world and in which he grew up, so that this 'home-land' is regarded as a closed, self-sufficient and sacrosanct unity, which must be protected against every possible threat.

The advocates of multiculturalism rejected assimilation and integration; instead they sought recognition and compensation for victims of discrimination (Joppke, 1996, p.450). Christian Joppke describes multiculturalism in relation to equality as 'the seeking of equal rights and recognition for ethnic, racial, religious, or sexually defined groups' (1996, p.449). He defines multiculturalism as a movement that stresses equality and emancipation (1996, p.449). Multiculturalism is seen as a valuable means for remaking public identities to achieve equality of citizenship (Modood, 2005, p.5).

Described as the 'politics of recognition' (Taylor, 1994, p.38), the main aim of multiculturalism as a political concept is the celebration of difference and diversity and the focus on equality as a main objective. According to this assumption, all cultures become equally important and any distinction between majority and minority cultures is no longer valid. Bhikhu Parekh in his famous report entitled *The Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain* draws attention to the possible misinterpretations of the term 'minority', as it has connotations of 'less important' and 'marginal' (2000, Notes on terminology). This can perpetuate the myth of 'white homogeneity' (Parekh, 2000, Notes on terminology). Parekh, in his definition of multiculturalism in Britain, also distinguishes between the 'liberal view' or 'liberal multiculturalism' as called by Will Kymlicka (2017), and the 'pluralist view' (Parekh, 2000, pp.43-44). According to Modood (2016), liberal multiculturalists accept institutional privileging of the majority culture as legitimate, whereas,

multiculturalists (or the pluralist view) consider that the state should treat all cultures equally without acknowledging a difference between majority and minorities<sup>36</sup>.

In Britain, multiculturalism as a public policy has been the result of a succession of Race Relations Acts (notably 1965, 1968 and 1976) that aimed at promoting racial equality and fighting discrimination against the important immigrant population that came thanks to the *1948 British Nationality Act*. In the 1980s, the multicultural character of British society became evident and undeniable<sup>37</sup> as portrayed in the Swann Report, a report aiming at the establishment of a pluralist society (Swann, 1985, p.36):

We consider that a multiracial society such as ours would in fact function most effectively and harmoniously on the basis of pluralism which enables, expects and encourages members of all ethnic groups, both minority and majority, to participate fully in shaping the society as a whole within a framework of commonly accepted values, practices and procedures, whilst also allowing and, where necessary, assisting the ethnic minority communities in maintaining their distinct ethnic identities within the common framework.

With the increasing unpopularity of immigration and multiculturalism, Meer and Modood still assert the existence of a multicultural policy orientation through the rejection of assimilation, stating: “it amounts to a *British* multiculturalism which, although lacking an official ‘Multicultural Act’ or ‘Charter’ in the way of Australia or Canada, rejected the idea of integration being based upon a drive for unity through an uncompromising cultural ‘assimilation’ over 40 years ago” (Meer & Modood, 2014, p.667).

A number of criticisms accompanied the debate on multiculturalism in Britain. Multiculturalism is said to have fostered social fragmentation and threatened solidarity<sup>38</sup> (Goodhart, 2004). Multiculturalism is also criticized for promoting separateness and encouraging people to live ‘parallel lives’ (Cantle, 2001), which

---

<sup>36</sup> This concept explained by Tariq Modood in a conference on ‘majoritarian interculturalism and multicultural nationalism’ organised by HDEA – University of Sorbonne - Paris

<sup>37</sup> The Rushdie Affair is said to be a turning point for multiculturalism in Britain as it challenged the Race Relations Acts that existed (See Meer, 2010, p.25).

<sup>38</sup> David Goodhart acknowledges the existence of region and class-based division but considers diversity as conflicting to solidarity and to the already existing welfare system (Goodhart, 2004, online).

contradicts the notions of community and communitarianism that are characteristic of British society. Some even claim that multiculturalism poses a threat to British values (Cameron, cited in Butt, 16 December 2011), and blame some ethnic minorities for being ‘too diverse’ to integrate <sup>39</sup> (Modood and Meer, 2014, p.665).

An alternative for the increasingly criticized and seemingly unsuccessful multicultural model could be an approach to integration that comprises at least partial assimilation (Modood & Meer, 2014, p.661). Parekh also conveys the idea that multiculturalism should proceed on the grounds of established values. He refers to minorities who ‘insist on retaining their separate cultures, they should not complain if they are viewed as outsiders and subjected to discriminatory treatment’ (2000, p.197).

In political discourse, the abandoning of multiculturalism becomes evident in the limited use of the term in party manifestos as will be further investigated in Part III. Meer & Modood question if multiculturalism was fully abandoned in Britain and has become a ‘zombie category’ to borrow the term from Beck<sup>40</sup> (cited in Meer & Modood, 2014, p.659). Former PM David Cameron has been a staunch opponent of multiculturalism, stating that it has ‘encouraged culturally different people to live apart from one another and apart from the mainstream’ (Cameron, 2011). He even declared the death of multiculturalism in the same speech.

The ‘obituaries’ of British multiculturalism among the political decision makers (Meer & Modood, 2014, p.659) reveal a deep division on the topic and gradual abandonment of multiculturalism in favour of integration or social cohesion. Shukra et al. question the use of social cohesion as an integration policy for assimilationist objectives (2004, pp.188-189) stating: ‘What had previously been termed integration was now called cohesion. [...] Put crudely, could social cohesion be used for progressive ends or was it inherently assimilationist?’. At the level of policy, the assimilationist turn can be seen in the introduction of citizenship tests

---

<sup>39</sup> Several events such as the 7/7/2005 London bombings and the multiple terrorist attacks on France have consolidated the theory of the failure of multiculturalism as most of the protagonists are European citizens with immigrants background (Colombo, 2015).

<sup>40</sup> Zombie categories, according to Beck, govern our thinking but are not really able to capture the contemporary milieu (cited in Meer & Modood, 2014).

since 2005 as well as the implementation of language tests for those intending to settle in the UK (*The Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act of 2002*).

The growing multicultural aspect of societies raises questions of belonging and allegiances especially when taking into consideration a multi-level perspective of analysis: the local, national and global. From a multi-level perspective, the threat that multiculturalism can pose on national identity reflects the return of alternative political strategies such as assimilation to secure the survival of the national identity within the wider state identity. An example of such a conflict between state and national identity can be seen in Quebec. Considering the multicultural model of Canada a threat to its national identity, Quebec has opted for a different model that recognises the existence of a majority culture and a minority culture. This duality present in Quebec's intercultural model of integration secures the survival of francophone Quebec within the wider Canadian framework. This entails the preserving of fundamental national values (Modood, 2016).

Despite sharing similarities with Quebec's intercultural model, the political elite in Scotland clearly advocate a multicultural integration model. The SNP leader and former First Minister Alex Salmond even declared 'Scotland is not Quebec ... the linguistic and ethnic basis [of Quebec] nationalism is a two-edged sword ... we [in Scotland] follow that path of civic nationalism' (*The Scotsman*, 1 November 1995, quoted in Hussain & Miller 2006, p.5).

Another important element of analysis in relation to integration policies is the concept of citizenship. Claudio Bolzman argues that the legal status granted to immigrants may influence their acceptance or exclusion in society (2001, p.161). This status will also be key to their access to other 'privileges' already provided to nationals such as the job market and welfare system (2001, p.162).

## 4. Defining citizenship

Citizenship is crucial to evaluating the integration policies of a country. When dealing with citizenship and nationality, a different terminology applies than the terms used so far in relation to immigration and integration. Generally, the term 'citizen' comes in direct opposition with 'alien', 'noncitizen' or 'foreigner'

(Merriam-Webster Dictionaries, online). The term foreigner is related to the attribution of different rights and duties to those conceded to citizens. Thus, the attributes of foreignness have been restricted to those persons who are not considered citizens of a state (Morén-Alegret, 2017, online). Citizens of a country enjoy rights, privileges and duties such as the right to vote, which can be crucial to the successful integration of newcomers and to their participation in the social and political life.

Citizenship can also be used as synonym to nationality. According to Patrick Weil, nationality consists of ‘drawing the boundary within which some human beings are included and others excluded as foreigners, permitting some of them to acquire citizenship with certain conditions and some citizens to lose citizenship ... all this is a state prerogative which requires legal tools’ (Weil, 2001, p.17). However, both concepts are quite complex and depending on the context, they can have different meanings<sup>41</sup>. Citizenship is generally used to refer to a specific legal relationship between a state and a person (*The Economist*, 2017, online), whereas nationality can have a broader connotation.<sup>42</sup>

The notion of citizenship has developed progressively in modern nation-states to include civil, political and social rights (Marshall cited in Meer, 2010, p10,). Civil rights include individual rights such as freedom of movement and freedom of speech (Meer, 2010, p.10). Political rights include the right to vote and to participate in the exercise of political power (Meer, 2010, p.10), and social rights grant access to economic welfare and security (Meer, 2010, p.10). Meer also acknowledges the existence of ‘citizenship contract’ where the state has to guarantee these and the individual is bound to a number of duties such as paying taxes and obeying the law (Meer, 2010, p.10). To these three rights, Bolzman adds economic rights or the right to work and cultural rights i.e. the right to preserve certain aspects of one’s culture, for example, language and religion (2001, p.165).

---

<sup>41</sup>In the case of Scotland, the two concepts can be confusing and can have different connotations, as we generally distinguish between Scottish national identity and British state identity or citizenship.

<sup>42</sup> Eligibility to apply for citizenship differs. In Europe, host countries generally require a minimum of 5 years residence, host country language proficiency, minimum income and to pass a citizenship/integration test (MIPEX, online). According to a Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX) report, dual nationality is increasingly accepted (MIPEX, online).

Citizenship can have a different meaning and a more complex dimension than a legal status. Its importance lies in its ability to reinforce the sense of appurtenance to a political entity as well as the ability to enjoy a number of rights and privileges (Balibar, cited in Bolzman, 2001, p.163). Bolzman recognizes that the main issues related to immigrants are centring on equality and difference (2001, p.167). In fact, certain host societies do not grant to foreigners the same political rights given to nationals (2001, p.167). Bolzman concludes that in some assimilationist models, integration as a goal becomes a 'lure' that can't be attained for migrants (2001, p.178). In other words the limitations to citizenship rights can become an obstacle that prevents the successful integration of migrants.

Nasar Meer also draws attention to notions of inclusion and exclusion in the idea of citizenship, present in the distinction between citizen and noncitizen (2010, p.9). He states: 'While citizenship takes a legal form, it also operates socially through the reciprocal balance of rights and responsibilities that confer upon its bearers a civic status' (Meer, 2010, p.8). According to T.H. Marshall, citizenship should be 'a status bestowed on all those who are full members of a community' (1950, pp.28-29). Such an affirmation contrasts governmental policies aimed at limiting citizenship right to noncitizens and restricting access to nationality through measures such as citizenship tests and language tests.

In the UK, The first piece of legislation that dealt with the citizenship policy for immigrants was the *British Nationality Act of 1948*. The Act facilitated new entries of Commonwealth immigrants into Britain and provided the status of British citizens for newcomers. The *British Nationality Act of 1948* is considered as the most important piece of legislation that has changed the demographic landscape in the UK. The rationale behind such a decision is still debatable and scholars point out to the reluctance of the UK to allow colonial immigrants (See Latour, 2014, p.94). Still, the act is a cornerstone in British immigration policy.

In Scotland, the concept of citizenship takes a different dimension. The legal signification of the word would entail that in Scotland as in the different parts of the UK, we can speak of British citizenship and naturalisation processes involve

questions on British history and culture. However, for the Scottish political elite, newcomers are entitled to become 'New Scots' (SNP website, online<sup>43</sup>). Thus, citizenship has a different meaning in Scotland; one that exceeds the legal boundaries as it is inclusive of migrants who identify with being Scottish. Being Scottish in this case doesn't necessarily have any relation with the legal status of British citizenship. This strategy is part of the political elite's attempt to present Scottish identity as a 'civic' identity, open to newcomers rather than an 'ethnic' one. This opens up questions about the debate between civic and ethnic aspects of Scottish identity.

## 5. The Civic vs. Ethnic debate

Identity is widely discussed across social sciences but remains a complex and debatable concept. Brubaker and Cooper note that 'identity tends to mean too much..., too little..., or nothing at all' (2000, p.1). This reflects the elastic aspect of identity. Recent work has addressed the possibility of having multiple identities, especially when talking about national identity (See for example McCrone, 2002; Brubaker and Cooper, 2000).

Different commentators and sociologists worked on the Scottish case study and agreed on the fact that Scottish national identity is civic rather than ethnic (See for example McCrone and Bechhofer, 2015). On the other hand, Leith and Soule in *the Political Discourse and National Identity in Scotland* question how civic is Scottish identity? (2012, p.147-149), revealing their scepticism towards the civic aspect of Scottish identity.

The independence referendum has triggered much controversy about the entitlement to vote and revived the debate about Scottish identity, especially considering the important number and influence of the Scottish Diaspora. Jon Kelly in an article ironically questions 'Who, after all, is Scottish? Those born in Scotland? People with Scottish ancestry? Anyone who is partial to Tunnock's teacakes and the

---

<sup>43</sup>In the SNP website, different groups are created in order to keep people informed of the party's work according to their interests and affiliation. We can find the 'New Scots' among these groups Available at: <https://www.snp.org/groups/new-scots/>

music of Jimmy Shand?’ (Kelly, 2012, online). For James Mitchell, residency is the only logical definition of Scottishness in terms of political representation (Cited in Kelly, 2012, online), further reinforcing the civic aspect of Scottish identity advanced by the political elite in Scotland. The decision to use residency<sup>44</sup> as the main criterion to vote for the independence referendum can be read in the declaration on ‘Independence for Scotland’ which voices the idea that the people who lived in Scotland are best placed to make decisions for Scotland (cited in Thiec, 2015, p.1). Thus, one may consider the independence referendum a proof of the SNP’s promotion of civic identity.

Leith and Soule thoroughly examine the evolution of the political elite’s discourse over identity in post-devolution Scottish elections’ manifestos. The distinctiveness of Scotland can be found in the long tradition of institutional autonomy that was preserved following the *Act of Union* of 1707, as explained in the following quote:

What mattered to the making and maintenance of Scots and Scotland was not a mawkish background glance at the past but an autonomous civil society made up of independent protestant church, autonomous local government and distinctively legal and education systems (Cited in Leith & Soule, 2012, p. 3).

Several studies have looked at Scotland’s civic identity, attributing it to its distinctive church, legal and educational systems (Henderson, 2007). Thus, national identity has been essentially perpetuated through the institutions in Scotland. For Graeme Morton, ‘one national identity maintained through the institutions and civic culture of civil society, and another in the unthinking patriotism of the British state’ (1998, p.169). The result was a form of national identity that is civic rather than ethnic (McCrone, 2017, p.329).

The political elite also embraced this definition of Scotland as reflecting a civic, inclusive form of nationalism that stands in stark contrast with the more ethnic English nationalism. Therefore, post-devolution Scotland has revealed a new project

---

<sup>44</sup> Eligibility to vote for the Independence Referendum is similar to the one set for Scottish parliamentary election. It is based on residency including residents from the Commonwealth, residents from Ireland and EU residents in Scotland (Camp-Pietrain, 2014, p.55).

to reconstruct a nation that is based on civic and territorial markers<sup>45</sup> rather than on ethnic ones (Hepburn & Rosie, 2014, p.246).

This vision of a civic inclusive multicultural Scotland can be found in political manifestos of the major political parties as it has been commonly embraced and promoted. Bashir Ahmed, the first MSP from a minority group, stated: ‘It isn’t important where you come from, what matters is where we are going together as a nation<sup>46</sup>’ (Quoted in Meer, 2017, online).

Despite having no power over the immigration and naturalisation processes, the Scottish political elite seem to favour a civic Scottishness based on *jus soli* or ‘right of the soil’ rather than *jus sanguinis* or ‘right of the blood’. It is important to note though that British national identity can also be said to be based on *jus soli* as British citizenship is open to people who are willing to acquire it, similarly to other countries such as France, where nationality rests on the principles of *liberté égalité et fraternité* of the republic.

## Conclusion

The task of exploring the different meanings of the terms immigration and integration reveals the complexity of the debate over such concepts. Solving the ambiguity around these key terms becomes essential to understanding the political and public debates.

Other important elements of analysis include identity. Immigration and integration hold an important part within the civic vs. ethnic debate over identity. This raises questions on whether immigration influences the development of the ethnic vs. civic debate and eventually moves towards a multicultural form of nationalism. Multicultural nationalism reflects ‘a vision of a community which

---

<sup>45</sup>According to McCrone, ‘identity markers are those social characteristics of an individual that they might present to others to support their national identity claim. Markers are also those characteristics that people use to *attribute* national identity to others and to *receive* claims and attributions made by others’ (2002, p.308). Among the identity markers, one can state: place of birth, ancestry, place of residence, accent, physical appearance, dress, behaviour and contribution to place (McCrone, 2002, p.308).

<sup>46</sup>Quote also used by Alex Salmond.

respects and promotes the cultural autonomy and status equality of its component ethnic groups' (Brown, 2000, p.126-127). It can be considered as part of the Scottish political parties' attempt to promote a civic and inclusive form of national identity. This form of national identity can be linked to the preservation of autonomous institutions in Scotland after the union of parliaments in 1707 (McCrone, 2017, p.66). The history of Scotland can also be seen as an important factor contributing to the inclusiveness of today's Scottish identity.

## CHAPTER II: THE MULTICULTURAL HISTORY OF SCOTLAND AND THE EVOLUTION OF SCOTTISH NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS

Since the end of WWII, Scotland has been marked by the arrival of heterogeneous groups of different origins. In this evolving context, much emphasis is put on the impact of different in and out-migrations on Scottish society. In fact, for centuries people have migrated to and from Scotland. This has added up to the heterogeneity of the Scottish people. In addition, different events and processes have contributed to the building-up of Scottish identity throughout time such as the Wars of Independence, the union of parliaments in 1707 or the Highland Clearances. Hence, the interest in the multicultural history of Scotland lies in the importance of such history in building today's Scottish multicultural society.

Moreover, the politicization of identity makes certain aspects of history more important and controversial than others. For example, nationalist accounts emphasized the corruption and bribery behind the *Act of Union* of 1707 (See for example *The Scotsman Newspaper*, 2007, online). Another example is the political elite's attempts to detach from Scotland's involvement in the empire (Meer, 2015, pp.11-12), which may be regarded as an attempt to broadcast a positive image of the country. Thus, politicization of Scottish history can result in the development of a new narrative that promotes a plural and multicultural orientation.

The following section is an attempt to give an overview of Scotland's multicultural history, a history that is marked by migrations, invasions, and alliances, which can be helpful to understand the complexity and evolution of Scottish national identity.

The study of the ethnic origins of Scotland was coupled with historical controversy in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. Historians such as John Pinkerton advanced the hypothesis that the Scots were Teutonic rather than Celtic, a hypothesis rejected later

by Colin Kidd (1999, p.204). ‘Celtic’ refers to the group of languages amongst which are Irish, Scots, Gaelic, Welsh (Brittonic), and Breton. Thus, Celts can be a reference to the people of Britain or Ireland in addition the people originally from Europe who settled in the British Isles (Powell, 2014, p.105).

## 1. Early Scotland

From its early history, Scotland has been a land marked by a natural division into Lowland and Highland. The result is a difference in landscapes, climates and nature of soil that have deeply affected the lives of the inhabitants (Collingwood & Meyers, 1937, p.3). According to Collingwood and Meyers, this difference also made the Lowland more accessible to invasion and more attractive to invaders. The Highlands were difficult to conquer and hard to live in, resulting in the establishment of a population that is tenacious of old customs, stubborn to resist any kind of change and conservative in temperament (Collingwood & Meyers, 1937, p.3). This resistance of the Picts<sup>47</sup> becomes clear when reading the history of the Roman conquest of Britain.

The Roman attempts to invade the northern part of Britain was often unsuccessful, leading to the building of two walls during two different periods, Hadrian’s Wall and later on Antonine’s Wall, as a strategy to establish a permanent frontier to repel the tribes of the North (Collingwood & Meyers, 1937, p.121). At the time, what came later to be called Scotland was far from united and was composed of different tribes.

One of the authoritative works on the origins of Scots is T.C. Smout’s *History of the Scottish People, 1560-1830*. Smout states that the people who occupied Scotland were of various origins and are generally categorized into five ethnic groups (Smout, 1985, p.18) or ‘founding peoples’ (McCrone, 2017, p7): the Picts in the north and east, the Scots around Dalriada in the west, the Norse in the north and western isles, and the Angles in the south east (McCrone, 2017, pp.7-8). These

---

<sup>47</sup>Known as ‘Picti’ or the ‘painted ones’ for Romans, the Picts fought against Romans’ and Angles’ conquests, but then disappeared from history ‘swallowed’ by another group, the Gaels (BBC, Online).

different groups populated Scotland in the dark ages as separate tribes or clans and each of these groups has contributed with its diversity and brought something to the region: Christianity was brought to the Britons (Kingdom of Strathclyde), Scotti and Picts of Scotland by Irish missionaries during the 6<sup>th</sup> century (Mitchison, 1970, p.4). The Picts were the oldest Celtic people (Smout, 1985, p.18), and the Scotti came mainly from Ireland and built the Kingdom of Dalriada (Mitchison, 1970, p.6).

The Norwegians, or Norsemen, from Scandinavia, marked the last of the great mass movements of peoples and southward expansion (Mitchison, 1970, p.11). The 'union' of Dalriada and Pictland and creation of a kingdom was initiated in 843 by King Kenneth Mac Alpine who united the different tribes to form Alba (Smout, 1985, p.19). Alba is the Gaelic word for Scotland, and Gaelic was the main language spoken in the 10<sup>th</sup> century (Skutsch, 2013, p.1068). By 1034, the different peoples of Scotland owed common allegiance to the king of Alba (Smout, 1985, p.20)<sup>48</sup>. Thus, Alba was mainly a Gaelic kingdom with Pictish roots (Tranter, 2012, p.1). According to T.C. Smout, the kingdom of Alba was mainly influenced by an Irish-Celtic culture as the union was performed thanks to the Scotti (Smout, 1985, p.20). The effort to unite was highlighted in a later period in the famous *Declaration of Arbroath* of 1320 which states about the people of Scotland:

The Britons they first drove out, the Picts they utterly destroyed, and, even though very often assailed by the Norwegians, the Danes and the English, they took possession of that home with many victories and untold efforts; and, as the historians of old time bear witness, they have held it free of all bondage ever since. (*The Scotsman*, online)

However, despite the union, at the time, different laws applied to different parts of the kingdom. Smout refers to the work of an anonymous chronicler who stated 'that wicked army was composed of Normans, Germans, English of Northumbrians and Cumbrians, of men of Teviotdale and Lothian, of Picts who are commonly called Galwegians, and the Scots' (quoted in Smout, 1985, p.20). According to Smout, 'Scotland [...] was much less an identifiable state than a

---

<sup>48</sup>Among the kings of Alba, King MacBeth was a popular king in his days, and not the tyrant depicted by W. Shakespeare to serve the intentions of the English playwright.

confederacy of peoples with distinct characteristics and traditions... held together only by allegiance to the person of the king' (Smout, 1985, p.20). This further reflects the appurtenance to place rather than the sense of tribe.

At the time Christianity started to propagate in Scotland, thanks to the work of St Columba and other missionaries (Smout, 1985, p.20). It is important to note that one of the main consequences of the Roman invasion of the southern part of the isle of 'Britannia' was the introduction of Roman Catholicism which later on spread to the rest of the island. The main religion before that mainly centred on Celtic deities (Forbes, 1866, p.104).

The Norman Conquest has also had great impact on the newly established kingdom, as it propagated feudalism across the island, and the kings started to propagate the values of European civilization. All of these elements helped accentuate the distinction between Lowlander and Highlander (Smout, 1985, p.24). The different tribes north of the river Forth mainly spoke Gaelic, contrarily to the ones living south of the river, i.e. the Celtic-speaking Welsh (or Britons) and the Germanic-speaking Angles (Clarkson, 2012, online). Moreover evidence from Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of English people* reveals that North Britons spoke neither English nor Gaelic: known as 'Cumbrians' or 'Welsh', they spoke a language descended from an indigenous tongue known as 'Brittonic' (Clarkson, 2012, online). Successive monarchs further promoted the establishment of a 'Norman Scotland', thanks to the foundations of burghs that were effective except in the western third, Highlands and islands, where the system of clans still predominated (Smout, 1985, p.41). The gap between Highlanders and Lowlanders still widened as the part of Southern Scotland became more Europeanised and more united (Smout, 1985, p.30). One of the features of such a gap can be seen at the level of languages with Gaelic being spoken widely across Scotland.

Still, it is important to note that despite being united under one kingdom, the ethnic and cultural composition of Scotland was still very heterogeneous, a part from the already mentioned Highlands / Lowlands distinction. Evidence can be seen in the way King William the Lion addressed his subjects as 'faithful subjects, French, English, Scots, Welsh, and Gallovidian' (Cited in Smout, 1985, p.31). Dauvit Broun asserts that 'at the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century the kingdom was seen by contemporaries as

comprising several countries, with the Scots identified as the inhabitants of the Forth' (Broun, 2013, p.6). The diversity of Scotland was also characterized by interaction and exchange with England. For instance, Dauvit Broun noted that the monks of Melrose — a town at the heart of North Anglia — spoke English and may have become Scots without ceasing to be English (2015, p186).

Scandinavian invasions and influence is also worth mentioning. An example of Scandinavian influence can be seen at the level of language<sup>49</sup> (Geipel, 1971, p.20). The area where Scandinavian influence was specifically strong is known as the great Scandinavian belt inherited from the Danish kingdom of Danelag, or Danelaw — it can be defined as 'a belt stretching from Cumberland and Westmorland in the west to the north and East Ridings of Yorkshire in the east, often including part of Lincolnshire but excluding the old kingdom of Bernica in Durham and Northumberland' (Samuels 1985, p.269 quoted in Hogg, 1992, p.203). Holman argues that despite having no written sources for the Vikings past in Scotland, one of the most important clues for Vikings presence is the Scandinavian place-names throughout Scotland that are revealing of Norse influence. Scandinavian names can be found in the western isles and along the western coast (Holman, 2012, online; Berton, 1989a<sup>50</sup>).

Norse invasions had also an influence on parts of the mainland and especially on the Isles of Scotland. By the 10<sup>th</sup> century, the Norse had settled, thus, affecting the language and culture of the locals (Murray, 2017, online). An example of Norse influence is the Hebrides. Other Isles such as Orkney and Shetland fully endorsed Norse customs and law (Murray, 2017, online).

---

<sup>49</sup>Geipel refers to words displaying an occlusive G or K for example as part of Scandinavian influence (1971, p.20)

<sup>50</sup> See Berton, (1989b) on the linguistic and ethnological history of the British Isles and Nicolaisen, W. F. H. (2011) for more information on the origin and significance of Scottish place-names.

## 2. The Scottish Wars of Independence

A very important part in Scottish history and the collective consciousness of Scots are the Wars of Independence (1296-1328), fought against the auld enemy England. Today, these are famous not only thanks to 'Braveheart', the Hollywood interpretation of the combat of William Wallace in the fight against the English, but are also a symbol of Scottish heroism and the fact that they are still found in Scottish history textbooks is revealing of their importance in the development of a collective Scottish consciousness. William Wallace, leader of the battles against the English, became a martyr, the very symbol of Scotland's struggle for freedom. For centuries after its publication, *The Wallace*, a poem of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, was the second most popular book in Scotland after the Bible (BBC News, 2014, online).

Another important figure of the Wars of Independence is Robert Bruce. Robert Bruce's struggle for the Scottish crown was different from William Wallace's endeavour. Robert Bruce's legacy to Scotland was the *Declaration of Arbroath* which clearly states that:

As long as but a hundred of us remain alive, never will we on any conditions be brought under English rule. It is in truth not for glory, nor riches, nor honours, that we are fighting, but for freedom - for that alone, which no honest man gives up but with life itself (National Records of Scotland, online).

The *Declaration of Arbroath* is considered by many as the foundation of the Scottish nation in its quest for freedom.

The importance of the Wars of Independence lies in their symbolic significance for the Scottish people and their influence on creating a sense of Scottish identity. In *the History of Scotland, Volume 1*, Sir Walter Scott applauds the Scottish people for their 'extreme valour and firmness in defending their independence against the most formidable odds' (Scott, 1830, p.1). Eriksonas sees the Wars of Independence as 'a point of departure' for Scottish identity (2004, p.55). The Wars of Independence are crucial for understanding who the Scots were and help construct a Scottish identity that is based on not being English (McCrone, 2017, p.5). Blind Harry's vernacular verses *The Wallace*, are more appreciated among

Scots than *The Bruce*<sup>51</sup>. According to David McCrone, ‘Scotland’ might have existed as early as the first millennium, but it was the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries, and above all the Wars of Independence, at the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, which arguably made Scotland (2017, p.5). Gradually Scotland developed a sense of itself as ‘not-England’ (McCrone, 2017, p.5). More importantly, the wars helped unite ethnically diverse populations in a common cause. The existence of the English state as a neighbour helped mould diverse peoples into a single nation in the face of this common threat (McCrone, 2017, p.11)

From the 15<sup>th</sup> century onwards, the Scots language had been increasingly acknowledged as an official language. This period saw the emergence of two different languages: Gaelic and Scots, which reflect a deep cleavage between North and South. The distinction for Withers became between Lowland ‘civility’ and Highland ‘barbarism’ (Withers, 1988, p.64).

Another important element that completely changed religious life in Scotland was the Reformation. The Reformation of 1560 brought an end to the ‘auld alliance’ with the French and started a new but short-lived period of amity with England<sup>52</sup> (Lynch, 2007, p.440). The reformulation of Scottish Protestant identity resulted in clashes between Catholics and Protestants, Highlanders and Lowlanders, especially before the 18<sup>th</sup> century, when the majority of people in the Highlands were Roman Catholics. Different wars in Scotland such as the Civil war 1568-73, the Bishops’ Wars of the 1630s and the religious wars in the 1640s show a pattern of internal conflicts and division within Scotland. The rise of Protestantism throughout Great Britain has contributed to the spread English language throughout Scotland (Ellis & Barber, 2013, p.92).

For the Anglo-Scottish relations, it wasn’t until the union of the crown in 1603 that the question of supremacy was settled, as the Scottish king James VI inherited the title of king of England and of Ireland in 1603, as King James I, from the childless queen, Elizabeth I of England, also known as the self-named Virgin Queen. The establishment of the *Act of Union* of 1707 reinforced the idea of a

---

<sup>51</sup> According to this website <https://www.bartleby.com/212/0503.html>

<sup>52</sup> Despite sharing similar goals in fighting Catholicism, the Calvinistic nature of the Kirk was not in harmony with the key principles of the Church of England.

‘forever after’ union. Since then, there were few attempts to break the Union, one of which was Prince Charles Edward Stuart’s uprising against the King of Great Britain, with a disastrous defeat at the battle of Culloden (1746). It is also important to note that most of the inhabitants of Lowland Scotland had supported the suppression of Gaelic speaking and largely Catholic Highlanders after their defeat at Culloden in 1746 (McCrone, 2017, p.18).

### 3. The 1707 Act of Union

The *Act of Union* had an undeniable impact on the society of Scotland as it allowed for British involvement in Scottish politics, yet permitting to retain quite distinctive features of Scottish identity (Dickson & Treble, 1992, p.37). A lot of controversy surrounded the union of parliaments’ process at the time. Robert Burns famously lamented the end of Scottish identity because of the union saying:

Farewell to all our Scottish fame,  
Farewell our ancient glory!  
Farewell even to the Scottish name.  
So famed in martial story!  
Now Sark runs over Salway sands,  
And Tweed runs to the ocean,  
To mark where England's province stands –  
Such a parcel of rogues in a nation!<sup>53</sup>  
(Burns, retrieved from Robert Burns Federation, online)

Despite being coupled with much disapproval, the union was seen as a strategic tool to diminish potential Jacobite danger (Devine, 1995, p.55) — meaning

---

<sup>53</sup>The original poem and its English translation can be found on:  
[http://robertburnsfederation.com/poems/translations/a\\_parcel\\_of\\_rogues\\_in\\_a\\_nation.htm](http://robertburnsfederation.com/poems/translations/a_parcel_of_rogues_in_a_nation.htm)

risks of civil war led by the pro-Stuarts against the pro-Hanovers. According to McCrone, the union can be seen as a '*mariage de raison*' that joined British patriotism with Scottish national identity (McCrone, 2017, p.15) as it allowed for Scots better opportunities across the empire. In addition, the union didn't mean that Scotland was completely absorbed by dominant England as it retained power over key institutions of law, religion, and education. This has allowed Scotland to preserve its own national identity within the Union, and to promote its own vision of life. However this view can be challenged as many historians do affirm the predominance of British national identity after the *Act of Union* of 1707. According to Vance, the *Act of Union* has brought change on the way Scots conceived their identity, making of them 'North Britons' rather than Scots especially at the academic and literary levels (Vance, 2001, p.179; Kidd, 1996, p.361-2).

The *Act of Union* of 1707 also asserted a Protestant Britain through securing only Protestant succession to the throne, thus consolidating the *Act of Settlement of 1701*. It clearly states: 'all Papists, and Persons marrying Papists, shall be excluded from, and for ever incapable to inherit, possess, or enjoy the imperial Crown of Great-Britain, and the Dominions thereunto belonging' (Act of Union, 1707, online), thus barring the return of Stuarts.

The impact of the union of parliaments on Scotland was significant politically and at the religious and cultural levels. It also provided an opportunity for the Scots to thrive and be active players in the nascent empire, which impacted perceptions of national identity. A number of historians, to varying degrees, lament the disappearance of Scottish identity after the union and the anglicization of Scottishness. In the *Strange Death of Scottish History*, Marinell Ash claimed that by the late Victorian era interest in Scottish history became associated with 'a narrow parochialism' rejected by most Scots (1980, p.10). This resulted in the 'death' of Scottish history in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century with a failure to produce a nationalist historical consensus and a consistent national historiography<sup>54</sup>. Colin Kidd also supported this idea pointing out that interest in Scottish history in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century

---

<sup>54</sup>This statement stands in contradiction with Walter Scott's imagination of national identity in his works. His Waverly Novels are referred to as providing a 'revolutionary historiography' within a 'romantic narrative' (Hamilton, 1994).

is seen as associated with parochialism (1997, p.86). A different and more inclusive view of British historiography can be found in Linda Colley's *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* that clearly reflected modern concern with British identity as related to English, Scottish and Welsh identities. Colley presented Britishness as an over-arching identity, which existed alongside attachments to the three nations of England, Scotland and Wales. The book primarily focuses on the period between the *Act of Union* in 1707 and the accession of Queen Victoria in 1837 and its impact on the 'forging' of British national identity. Following Anderson's theoretical approach on identity construction, Colley advances the idea of superimposed and inclusive British national identity that started from the *Act of Union 1707* (2009, p.6). This more integrative view of British history contrasts with the interest generally dedicated to English history as exclusively synonymous to British history, a perspective chosen by Whig historians. Colin Kidd follows the Whig interpretation of history arguing that Scottish history could only be expressed in relation to English history, which became the basis of British Whig identity. Kidd considers that what emerged from the Union of 1707 was not a unifying British national identity, but an 'Anglo-British' identity which was essentially based on English values, customs and institutions. For Kidd, this was an identity, which was embraced by enlightened Scots. In this respect, the Pre-1707 Scottish history was critically dismissed from 18<sup>th</sup> century historical literature. It was depicted simply in terms of feudal factions, political instability and economic backwardness, in stark contrast to the material progress of England in the medieval and early modern centuries (Kidd, 2003, p.167). Kidd lamented the lack of a 'usable past' like the English constitutional history (2003, p.20-21). Thus, Scottish history defines itself only in terms of 'Anglo-British' historiography.

The same post-union period witnessed the emergence of an image of a romantic Scotland instigated by the interest of Queen Victoria in the Highlands. The Highlands were also extensively romanticized in the works of Sir Walter Scott who

turned the backward perception of the region into a ‘picturesque, romantic, loyal and a hive of industry and inventiveness’<sup>55</sup> (Kelly, quoted in Higgins, 2010).

Ironically, the romantic Scotland at the time, contrasts the crude reality of highland clearances and mass emigration and the attempt to wipe out the Gaelic highland culture paradoxically.

#### **4. Highlanders and the Highlands clearances**

According to Smout, during the 14<sup>th</sup> century highlanders emerged for the first time as a people with their own identity (1985, p.39). Highlanders, lived in clans based on kinship and had separate laws, culture and language, creating conflict of racial as well as cultural nature (Smout, 1985, p.39) with the Southern part of Scotland. The rift between Highlander and Lowlander became so important that in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, people were called ‘Irish’ (Smout, 1985, p.311) on account of their language (Erse) close to the Irish language. Differences existed at many levels such as language, for example. Religion is also another element of divergence between Highlands and Lowlands (Smout, 1985, p.312). In fact, the north was a mix of Presbyterian, Roman Catholic and Episcopalian. It was even claimed about the people in the Highlands that ‘they practiced their own starting ceremonies of taboo and propitiation’ (Smout, 1985, p.312). Social organization in the Highlands was also different as it obeyed the laws of the clan as a martial society (Smout, 1985, p.313).

The Highland Clearances were an important part of Scottish history as it resulted in the eviction and migration of people in the Highlands and the Islands and the depopulation of the area. T.M. Devine defines it as the process by which between 1760 and 1860 the inhabitants of entire districts in the Scottish Highlands and Islands were displaced and evicted of their lands (Devine, 1995, p.133). Views on the clearances vary whether it was a necessary step for the modernization of the

---

<sup>55</sup>This view of Walter Scott’s works is challenged among critics, who draw attention to the interplay of English and Scots languages in the Waverly novels seen as carrying a nationalist message (See for example J.M. D’Arcy, 2005).

agricultural process in Scotland or an intentional strategy to depopulate the region from undesirable Catholic and Gaelic-speaking population. The clearances happened at different scales, speeds and modes of disposition (Devine, 1995, p.134). Most common methods were the evictions; in addition to sanctioning measures such as the confiscation of cattle stock of those in arrears (Devine, 1995, p.134). The main consequence of such a draconian process was the great wave of transatlantic emigration (Devine, 1995, p.136). Paradoxically, during the same period Scotland witnessed an important influx of Irish immigrants that had a huge impact on the Scottish society.

## 5. Irish immigration

Scotland experienced in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries a remarkable growth of its population, mostly due to important immigration from Ireland. Irish immigration was also important in the rest of Great Britain. By 1841, around 300,000 of Irish births were registered in England and 126,000 in Scotland. The impact in Scotland was much greater especially with the decline in population growth due to high emigration. The proportion of the Irish in Scotland in 1852 constituted 7% of the population<sup>56</sup> (Macdonald, 1937, p.10)

In addition, internal migration within Scotland was an important phenomenon resulting from the growth of industry in Central Scotland (MacDonald, 1937, p.77). Irish immigration centred on the rural areas of the Lowlands and even reached the Highlands in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (MacDonald, 1937, p.78). Irish immigrants worked mainly in agriculture, but also in industry and mining with much lower wages than their Scottish counterparts. Emigration to Scotland was said to have been encouraged by employers themselves through providing cheap fares for crossing from Belfast to Glasgow (Macdonald, 1937, p.79-80). At some point, immigration from Ireland became so important that by 1819 the city of Glasgow registered 15,000 Irishmen, accounting for 1 in 10 in the entire city (Smout, 1985, p.246).

---

<sup>56</sup>Mass immigration from Ireland started in the 1840s as a result of the Great Famine also known as the Potato Famine.

The Irish Diaspora today make up a large proportion of Scottish society, but the integration of Irish immigrants into Scottish society was coupled with hostility and rejection, especially for their Catholic faith. Suspicion and mistrust towards the Irish community escalated to the submission of a report, in 1923, to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, entitled *The Menace of the Irish Race to our Scottish Nationality*. It expressed fears about the development of Irish ghettos in Glasgow and Edinburgh and noted ‘Wheresoever knives and razors are used, wheresoever sneak thefts and mean pilfering are easy and safe, wheresoever dirty acts of sexual baseness are committed, there you will find the Irishman in Scotland with all but a monopoly of business’<sup>57</sup> (quoted in Edward, 2008, online).

Today, religious discrimination is still present in Scotland mainly in the form of sectarianism. Described as ‘Scotland’s shame’, sectarianism is still present despite the Scottish Government’s efforts to eradicate it (Davidson, 2018, online).

## 6. Scottish emigration

Emigration was also of great impact in Scotland. ‘Fever of emigration’ (MacDonald, 1937, p.141), registered a peak in (1768- 1775) when over 20,000 left for the colonies and about 2/3 of them were Highlanders (Smout, 1985, p.246).

The main emigration trends were for Europe. European countries such as France, the Baltic, and Scandinavia were prime destinations in the 1600. Recruitment also played an important factor in Scottish emigration, as many were recruited as mercenaries in Europe. Among the main reasons for emigration in the 18<sup>th</sup> century one can state changes in agricultural processes that resulted in rural depopulation (Macdonald, 1937, p.17-18). In addition, rapid industrialization was also an important catalyst for migration (Macdonald, 1937, p17-18).

---

<sup>57</sup>Report of Committee to Consider Overtures from the Presbytery of Glasgow and from the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr on "Irish Immigrants" and the "Education (Scotland) Act 1918", in Reports on the Schemes of the Church of Scotland with the Legislative Acts Passed by the General Assembly, 29 May, 1923, p.750.

Later on, inclination to seek better opportunities and political asylum accelerated emigration overseas. About 1.84million people left Scotland for non-European destinations between 1825 and 1914 (McCrone, 2017, p.92). More comprehensive data reveal that around 27,000 Scots immigrated to North America between 1763 and 1815 (Lynch, 2007, p.232). It was estimated that approximately 1,900,000 emigrants left Scotland for non-European locations (Lynch, 2007, p.232). 44% went to the USA, 28% to Canada, and 25% to Australia or New Zealand (Lynch, 2007, p.232).

It is also important to note that many Scots left Scotland for better opportunities in England (Morton, 2012, p.250). It was estimated that by 2011 there were 700,000 Scots-born people living in England (McCrone, 2017, p.92). Described as the ‘forgotten diaspora’ by Graeme Morton, the Scots who moved to England, Wales and Ireland constituted an important part of the Scottish population who left the country (Morton, 2012, p.250).

Emigration has had profound demographic consequences on Scotland’s population<sup>58</sup>. It can be considered as the main factor for the diminution of the rate of natural increase. Net migration, or the difference between the number of immigrants and the number of emigrants, reached its peak in the 1920s (Dickson & Treble, 1992, p.4). Only recently has net migration been able to maintain positive values (Scottish Government, 2010). The impact of the Scottish Diaspora on Scottish culture and politics is also worth taking into consideration.

## Conclusion

Such stories from the past such as the Wars of Independence and the union of parliaments have helped shape Scottish identity and consciousness today. One of the main stories or histories of pre-union Scotland is the Wars of Independence making up an important part of the Scottish historical accounts. The resistance of William Wallace to the English king’s attempts to invade the region is a mix of history and

---

<sup>58</sup>More information on Scotland’s main emigration trends can be found in Houston & Withers (1990).

myth that make part of Scotland's heritage. In addition, the history of diversity of the Scots makes the delineation of a clear historical lineage from past to present a difficult task (McCrone, 2017, p.4). The characterization of Scotland as 'mongrel nation' (For example Salmond's speech in 1995) which means deriving from no pure race but an amalgam of peoples united by territory rather than ethnicity (McCrone, 2017, p.7), reinforces the inclusiveness of Scottish identity.

### CHAPTER III. WHO ARE SCOTLAND'S ETHNIC MINORITIES TODAY?

Since the end of WWII, the UK has been widely affected by immigration, especially from Commonwealth countries, in addition to the uninterrupted immigration from Europe and Ireland. This has affected the population of the country and its ethnic composition and clearly set Britain as a multicultural and multi-ethnic country. In order to understand the difference between different ethnicities that reflect personal identifications, it is important to delimit the concept of ethnicity. According to the EHRC, ethnicity can be defined as ‘the protected characteristic of Race. It refers to a group of people defined by their race, colour, and nationality (including citizenship) ethnic or national origins.’(EHRC, online).According to this definition, any person can identify with one or many ethnic groups including the one referring to the country of origin and the host country especially if he is a national of the latter.

Despite relatively low immigration rates compared to the rest of the UK (Office of National Statistics, 2018, online <sup>59</sup>), Scotland does have a diverse multicultural and multi-ethnic community as was previously explained. Diversity in Scotland has evolved from a predominantly white multicultural mix notably composed of Irish immigration (Table 1).Other important minorities in Scotland include English residents as well as a declining but still present Gaelic speaking community. In addition, in recent years, a more heterogeneous composition has

---

<sup>59</sup> The 2018 dataset on *Long-term international migration 2.06, area of destination or origin within the UK* offers a comprehensive list of data from the 2011 Census and other reports in the form of compiled tables.

added up to the already diverse population, which will be explored later on in this chapter.

## 1. The 2011 population census

The most recent and reliable source of information on ethnic minorities in Scotland is the 2011 Census. According to the census, around 4% of Scotland's population recognized their ethnicity as being independent of the White Scottish/ Other characteristics of the census<sup>60</sup> (Scotland Census, online). It is important to note that the results of the 2011 Census for Scotland rely on people's responses on how they identify themselves, the result of which is subjective and can lead to multiple and possibly confusing answers. This is especially true when interviewees are confronted with questions of national identification as Scottish, British, both Scottish and British or other identifications<sup>61</sup>. This can be misleading about how people of ethnic minorities' backgrounds identify. In this case dual identification is possible but still presents limitations on how people identify with British and/or Scottish or other identities. The 2011 Census for England and Wales mainly uses different criteria for categorisation, based on place of birth, which can be simpler for identification. However, this categorisation does not take into account UK- born minorities. The 2011 Census for England and Wales also differentiates between UK and non-UK citizens which can provide more accuracy to the statistics.

---

<sup>60</sup> The distribution of EM in Scotland is available at: <https://www.scotlandscensus.gov.uk/ods-analyser/jsf/tableView/tableView.xhtml>

<sup>61</sup>For dual national self-identifications, the 'Moreno question' is frequently used in case studies involving 'stateless' nations (See for example Moreno, 2005).

## 2. Comparison between Scotland and the rest of the UK

According to an analysis produced by the Office of National Statistics and the Home Office, 13% of the population in England and Wales was born overseas i.e. about 7.5 million people (Office for National Statistics, 2015, online). This is an impressive number compared to the total population of Scotland that barely exceeds 5million people (National Records of Scotland, 2013, p.3).

Figure 2 shows the ethnic minorities' distribution in the different constituent parts of the UK from the 2011 census. According to the graph, England and Wales share a similar ethnic composition with Scotland. The 'Asian' group constitutes the largest minority ethnic group in each of the UK nations. People who identified as 'Asian' represented 7.7% of the population in England and 2.7% of the Scottish population, 2.2% of the population in Wales, and 1.1% of the population in Northern Ireland in 2011.

According to the same graph, each minority ethnic group makes up a larger proportion of the population in England than the rest of the UK, revealing inclination to settle in England. Similar results can be found in the dataset provided by the Office of National Statistics on international migration (2018, online). The results show a more important pattern of immigration to England than the rest of the UK. This may be due to better economic opportunities in England and the already important concentration of immigrant communities in England's most important cities notably London. A number of England's neighbourhoods are known for ethnic minority concentration. We can state for example, Bradford or Oldham which witnessed intense ethnic conflicts in 2001(Casciani, 2006, online).

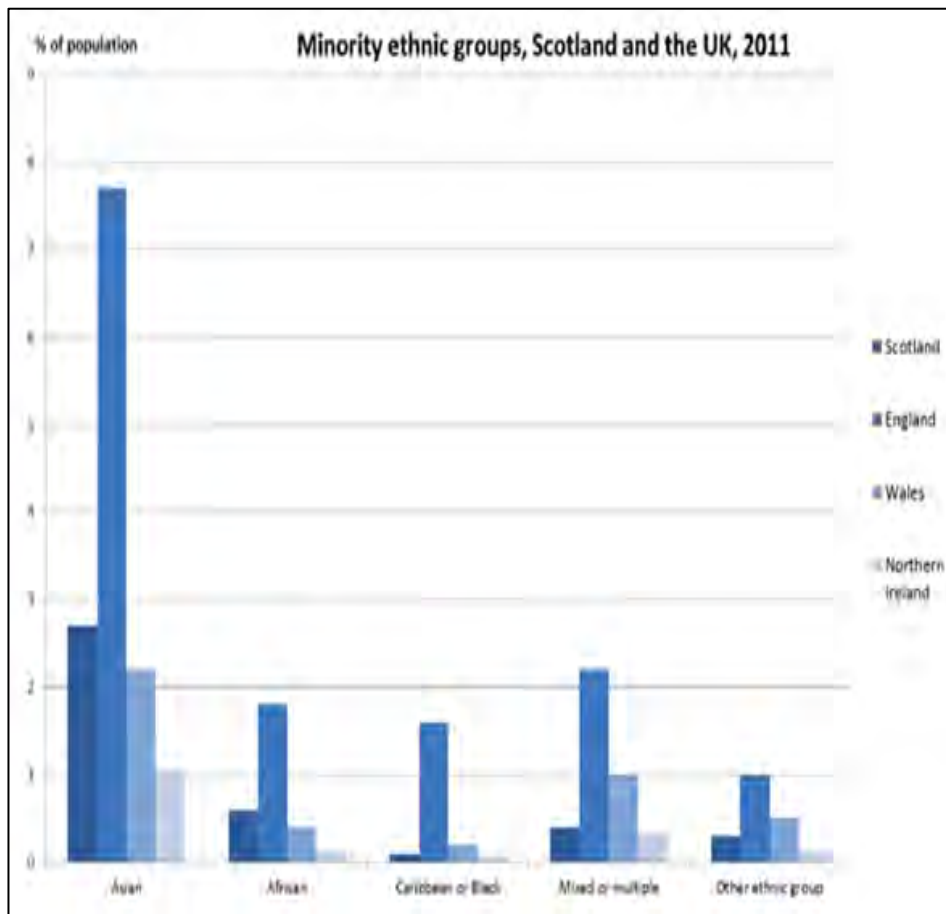


Figure 2: Ethnic minority distribution in the UK (National Records of Scotland, 2014, p.8)

### 3. Scotland's minorities' evolution from 2001 to 2011

The evolution of minorities in Scotland can become a crucial element when considering the country's demographic crisis. A study on Scotland's population for 2026 and 2041<sup>62</sup> (Figure 3) shows an intensification of the scale of the population aged 75 and over. This reflects the extent of the demographic crisis in Scotland. The importance of the percentage of aged population contrasts the negative evolution of the younger population, for example, for those aged between 25 to 44 is expected to

<sup>62</sup>The population is projected to age as the large number of people around age 50 in 2016 become aged 75 by 2041. This is the effect of baby boomers of the 1960s ageing over the next 25 years (Scotland Census, 2014).

evolve from 5% to -3% in 2041. These figures reflect the importance and extent of the Scottish demographic crisis and the need to address it.

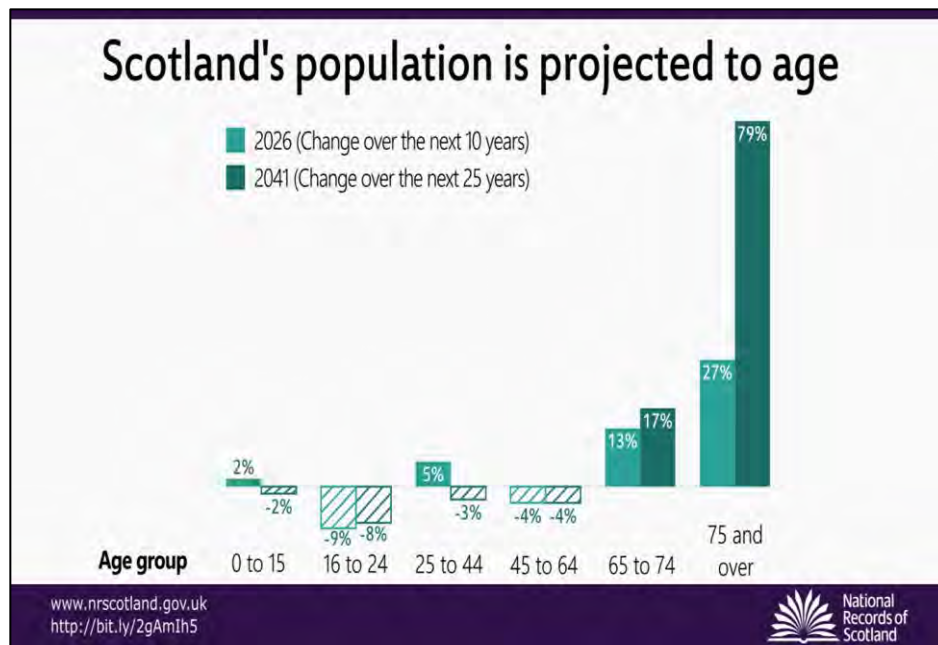


Figure 3: Scotland's population projection per age (Scotland Census, 2014)

The study of the three last censuses in Scotland reveals changes in the demography and ethnic distribution of the country. According to a briefing on the 2011 census, 7% of the people in Scotland were born outside of the UK, 15 % were born in Poland, 6.4 % in India and 6.2 % in the Republic of Ireland. (Krausova & Vargas-Silva, 2013, p.2). It is also important to note that between 2001 and 2011, the non-UK population increased at a higher rate than in England and Wales (Krausova & Vargas-Silva, 2013, p.2).

Table 1 shows the evolution of ethnic minority distribution in Scotland between 2001 and 2011 censuses. The trend reflects the evolution in number of minority groups such as African and Caribbean minorities. According to the table, the size of the minority ethnic population in 2011 was just over 200,000. It has doubled since 2001 when just over 100,000 or 2% of the total population of Scotland (based on the 2001 ethnicity classification) were from a minority ethnic group.

| Ethnic Group            | 2001 Census Population |                    | 2011 Census Population |                    |
|-------------------------|------------------------|--------------------|------------------------|--------------------|
|                         | % of total population  | % of EM population | % of total population  | % of EM population |
| White British           | 95,5                   | n/a                | 91,8                   | n/a                |
| White Irish             | 1,0                    | n/a                | 1,0                    | n/a                |
| Other White             | 1,5                    | n/a                | 3,2                    | n/a                |
| Mixed                   | 0,3                    | 12,6               | 0,4                    | 9,4                |
| Indian                  | 0,3                    | 14,8               | 0,6                    | 15,5               |
| Pakistani               | 0,6                    | 31,3               | 0,9                    | 23,4               |
| Bangladeshi             | 0,0                    | 1,9                | 0,1                    | 1,8                |
| Other Asian             | 0,1                    | 6,1                | 0,4                    | 10,0               |
| Caribbean               | 0,0                    | 1,7                | 0,1                    | 2,8                |
| African                 | 0,1                    | 5,0                | 0,6                    | 13,8               |
| Other Black             | 0,0                    | 1,1                | 0,0                    | 0,6                |
| Chinese                 | 0,3                    | 13,0               | 0,6                    | 16,0               |
| Other                   | 0,2                    | 9,4                | 0,3                    | 6,8                |
| All minority population | 2,0                    | 100,0              | 4,0                    | 100,0              |

*Table 1: Scottish population by ethnic group, 2001 and 2011 (Bemis)*

The largest minority ethnic group, the Asian population (3% of the total population or 141,000 people) increased by 1% (69,000) since 2001 (Scotland's Census, online), with the Pakistani community as the most important in size both in 2001 and 2011. It is important to note that the information retrieved from the 2001 and 2011 censuses presents a number of limitations as it overlooks the importance of invisible minorities such as the Polish community, which is today the most important community in Scotland.

A more recent survey states that minority ethnic adults constitute 3.7% of the population in 2015, while 78.6% are 'white Scottish'. According to the same survey, the Asian community still constitutes the most important non-white minority, followed by the 'White- Polish' community which constitutes 1.6%. 'All other ethnic groups' make up 1.4 % of the population.

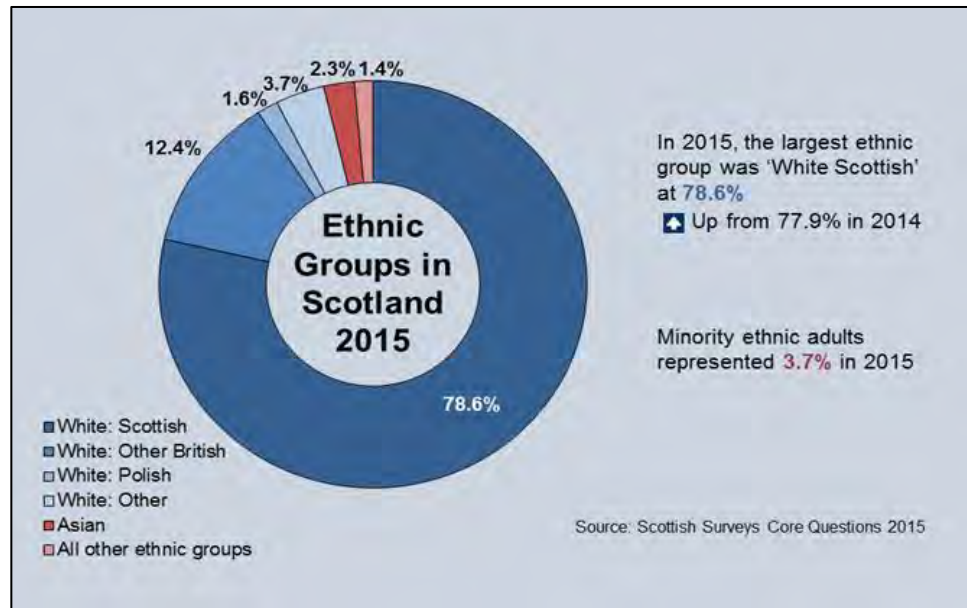


Figure 4: Ethnic Groups in Scotland 2015(Scottish Surveys Core Questions 2015, online)

#### 4. Geographical distribution of Scotland's minorities

The geographical distribution of minorities in Scotland varies with a high concentration around the main cities such as Glasgow, Edinburgh or Aberdeen. Glasgow has been historically the place of concentration of different influxes of migration, due to the centralisation of industrial activity in the area. This has resulted in the creation of small congregation of communities like 'little Moscow'. A briefing on the census also shows that Aberdeen has the highest population share in the region (16%) (Krausova & Vargas-Silva, 2013, p.2).

The 2011 Census database provides comprehensive and interactive tools to access information on EM distribution<sup>63</sup>. The analysis of the map according to different minorities' concentration throughout Scotland reveals a tendency to live in the main cities of Scotland. A clear pattern emerges from analysis of the maps, with the concentration of minorities of the same ethnic group around the same geographical area. For example, the Asian community is mainly localized around the central belt, especially the city of Glasgow and Paisley. Similarly for the African community who is mainly located around Paisley. On the other hand, the Polish community, one of the most important in numbers in Scotland, is scattered throughout Scotland with an important concentration around Edinburgh and Aberdeen (Figure5).

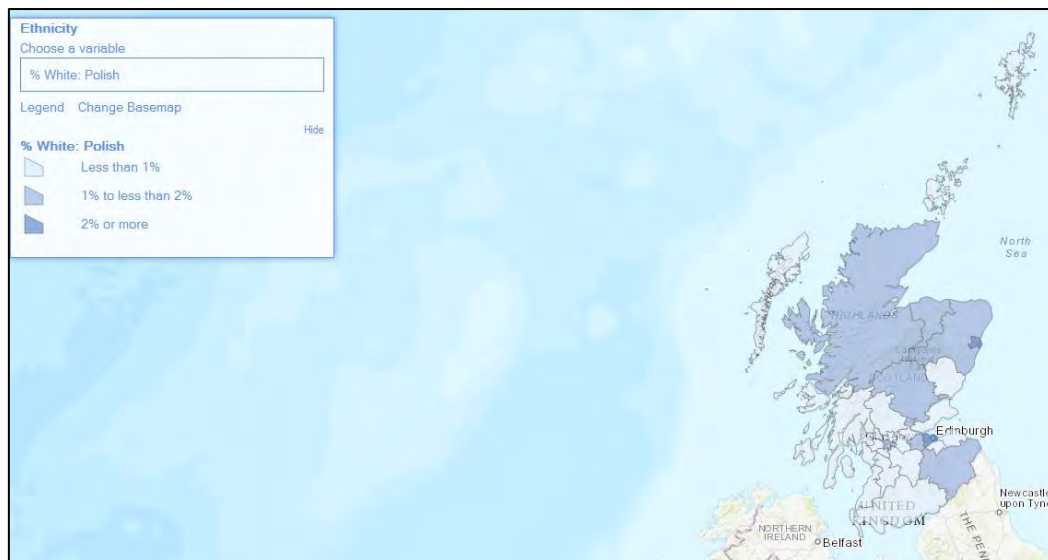


Figure 5 : Polish community distribution in Scotland in 2011(Scotland Census, online)

<sup>63</sup> The interactive maps on ethnic distribution in Scotland are available at : [https://www.scotlandscensus.gov.uk/ods-web/datavis.jsp?theme=Ethnicity\\_v3\\_November\\_2013](https://www.scotlandscensus.gov.uk/ods-web/datavis.jsp?theme=Ethnicity_v3_November_2013)

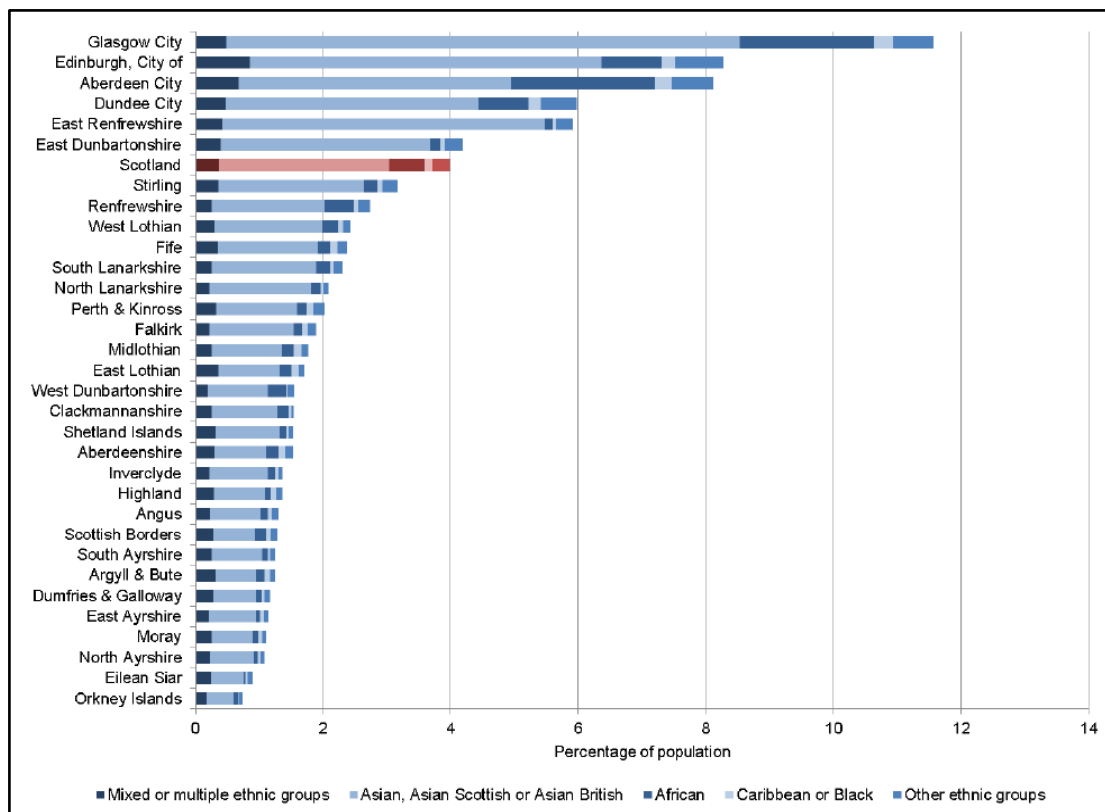


Figure 6: Minority ethnic groups by council area, Scotland (National Records of Scotland, 2013)

According to figure 6 from the 2011 Census results, Glasgow still has the most important concentration of ethnicities. In fact, around 12% of the population are from a minority ethnic group. In comparison, the City of Edinburgh and Aberdeen City count 8% and Dundee City comes fourth with 6%. Glasgow also counts the most important concentration of ‘Asian, Asian Scottish or Asian British’ ethnic minorities who constitute 8.1% of the population (Table 2). The Asian minority is highly present in different cities of Scotland such as Edinburgh, and East Renfrewshire. The different minorities can be found in all regions of Scotland.

Table 2 shows the percentage of the main ethnic minority groups in Scotland and in the city of Glasgow, taking into consideration invisible minorities such as Irish and Polish communities. According to the table, the ‘white-Polish’ ethnicity has become one of the most important recognizable minorities that outpaced the ‘white-Irish’ minority. ‘Other ethnic groups’ are also mainly concentrated in Glasgow, making 3.5% of the population. In table 2, the White Scottish group constitutes only

78.6% in Glasgow reflecting the diversity of the city of Glasgow. White Scottish constitutes 84% of the population which can be reflective of the diversity of the country with 6% constituting different ethnic minority groups in Scotland, including ‘Other British’, ‘Irish’, and ‘Polish’.

|                                          | <i>Glasgow City Council<br/>Area 2011</i> | <i>Scotland2011</i> |
|------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|---------------------|
| All people                               | 593,245                                   | 5,295,403           |
| % White – Scottish                       | 78.6                                      | 84.0                |
| % White - Other British                  | 4.1                                       | 7.9                 |
| % White – Irish                          | 1.9                                       | 1.0                 |
| % White – Polish                         | 1.4                                       | 1.2                 |
| % White – Other                          | 2.4                                       | 2.0                 |
| % Asian, Asian Scottish or Asian British | 8.1                                       | 2.7                 |
| % Other ethnic groups                    | 3.5                                       | 1.3                 |

*Table 2: Ethnic distribution in the City of Glasgow 2011(Scotland Census, online)*

## **5. Scotland’s population by religion, age and language**

Throughout its history, Scotland has witnessed different religions starting from Celtic deities in early Scotland to the establishment of a majoritarian Protestant faith<sup>64</sup>through the Presbyterian Church. Other religions such as Catholicism have been maintained or introduced thanks to immigration.

According to a 2011 census data explorer on religious affiliation, the most common answer for the ‘white-Scottish’ ethnic group is ‘Church of Scotland’ and ‘no-religion’. ‘Roman Catholic’ comes third with 15%. ‘No religion’ was also the

---

<sup>64</sup>Majoritarianism is a political philosophy that asserts the rule of the majority. Majoritarianism can carry the risk of disregarding the rights of the minority (ÖZKIRIMLI, 2018, online).

most common answer for the following groups: For the ‘white-Irish’ and ‘white-Polish’, ‘Roman Catholic’ is the most common answer. The ‘Asian’ and ‘Other Ethnic groups’ mostly answered ‘Muslim’ for religious affiliation. Thus, ‘Church of Scotland’ and ‘No religion’ make out the most important religious affiliations in Scotland with ‘Roman Catholic’ coming third (Scotland Census, 2014). According to the 2011 census, ‘No religion’ was the most common response for all age bands up to 45 to 49, whilst from age bands 50 to 54 upwards; ‘Church of Scotland’ was the most common answer, with the highest proportion in the 80 to 84 and 85 and over age bands (60%). This shows a move towards the secularisation of Scottish society.

According to the census, 29 % of ‘White: Scottish’ people were aged 16 to 39. This reflects a trend of an aging population in the country whereas, minority ethnic groups in Scotland had a younger age profile than white UK groups. This distribution of ethnic groups by age band was similar for males and females (Scotland census, online). The census also reveals that 55 to 74 year olds were the highest proportion of people with some skills in Scots, with 43 % stating they could do one or a combination of read, write, speak or understand Scots<sup>65</sup>.

Table 3 shows the distribution of people according to the different languages of Scotland. According to table 3, most of the people aged over 3 speak English. Only 3.9 % declare using a language other than English at home. As far as other languages are concerned, 30.1% are able to speak Scots and only 1.1% declare being able to speak Gaelic. The limited number of Gaelic speaking population reveals the gradual decline of the language throughout history. However, government efforts towards reintroducing Gaelic language education at schools and the promotion of the use of Gaelic culture and media may impact the use of language. Despite its limited use, Gaelic has become an important part of Scottish culture especially with the rise of nationalism in Scotland. Gaelic is used as a distinctive element of Scottish identity.

---

<sup>65</sup> It is worth noting that there is a distinction between speaking Scots and speaking English with a Scottish accent (See Speak Scots website) Also, a number of Scots believe they speak English when they speak Scots.

|                                              |           |
|----------------------------------------------|-----------|
| All people aged 3 and over                   | 5,118,223 |
| % Speaks English well or very well           | 98.6      |
| % Does not speak English well                | 1.2       |
| % Does not speak English at all              | 0.2       |
| % Able to speak Gaelic                       | 1.1       |
| % Able to speak Scots                        | 30.1      |
| % Uses a language other than English at home | 3.9       |

*Table 3 Distribution per spoken language 2011 in Scotland (Scotland Census, online)*

## 6. National identities and ethnicity in Scotland

The multinational and multi-ethnic aspect of Scotland makes the identification with one identity rather difficult. However, the ascent of the SNP to power links the issue of ethnicity to the nationalist cause. This can be seen at the level of the efforts of the SNP to involve people from ethnic minority groups in politics and in the party structure. More generally, the political elite interest in the civic and territorial aspect of Scottish national identity makes the analysis of ethnic minorities' national identifications revealing of the effectiveness of such an approach. In the 2011 Census, people were asked about their ethnic as well as national identities. In relation to national identification, the question was 'What do you feel is your national identity?' (Simpson & Smith, 2014, p.2). According to the census, 83% of the population of Scotland felt they had some degree of Scottish national identity, including 62% who felt Scottish only. 18% felt Scottish and British. 2% felt Scottish plus another identity.

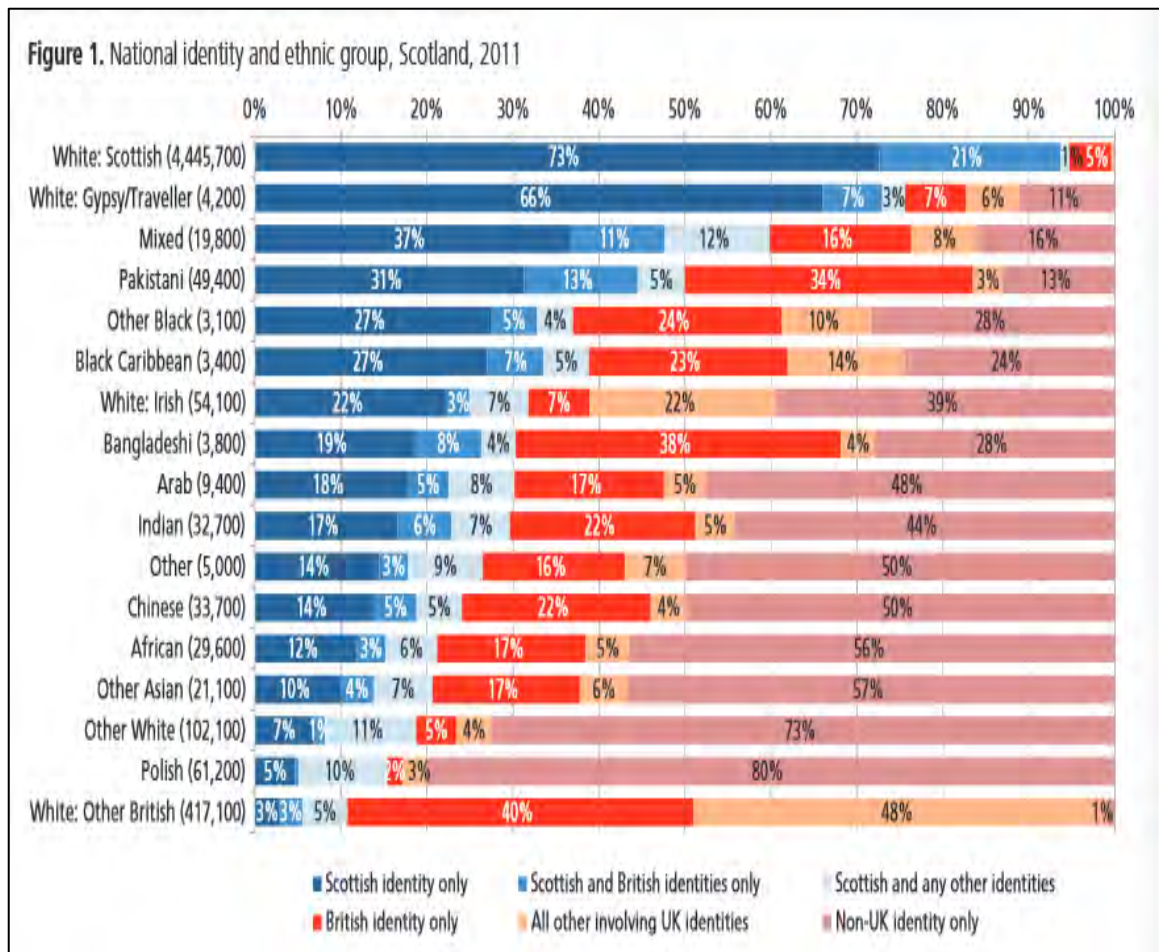


Figure 7: National identities and ethnicity in Scotland, 2011' (Simpson & Smith, 2014, p.1)

According to figure 7, different options were presented in the 2011 Census among which we have : 'Scottish only', 'British only', 'Scottish and British identities', 'all other involving identities UK identities', 'only Scottish and any other identities' and 'non –UK identity only'. The results varied according to the different ethnic groups. For example those who declared having mixed identities declare in majority (37%) that they feel Scottish only White Irish declare identifying with non-UK identity only in majority with 39%. the Polish minority also identifies with Non –UK identity only. Other ethnic minorities would identify mostly with British identity like for instance the Bangladeshi minority and the Pakistanis with 38% and 34% respectively. Thus, according to the 2011 census results , the connection between different ethnic minorities and their national identification is very variable and does not necessarily obey a precise rule , as while certain groups do identify in majority

with Scottish national identity, other groups do mostly identify with non-UK identities and very few identify with Scottish and other identities.

According to the 2011 Census results, 34 % of all minority ethnic groups felt they had some Scottish identity either on its own or in combination with another identity (Scotland Census, online). In terms of national identification, the group 'Other British' is the least likely to identify with Scottish identity and the Polish community mostly identifies with non-UK identity with 80%.

An ESRC research on dynamics of diversity reveals a tendency to identify with non-UK identity are more likely to retain a non-UK identity especially for the European residents as they have rights/ privileges in the UK that others would not acquire unless they receive citizenship (Simpson & Smith, 2014, p.4). The report also explains Asian identification with British national identity as possibly because of the emphasis on Britishness in citizenship regulations (Simpson & Smith, 2014, p.1).

The 2011 Census also reveals that 62 % of the total population stated 'Scottish identity only' as their national identity, of which 98 % stated their ethnicity as 'White: Scottish' (Scotland's Census, 2014). Evidence from the census also reveals that Scottish-born residents are more likely to identify with Scottish national identity.

In relation to national identity, all minorities do identify to some extent with Scottish national identity, a trend that is more pronounced than identification with English national identity in England (Simpson & Smith, 2014, p.3). According to the ESRC report on the 2011 Census, longer established populations are more likely to identify with British identity. This reveals a certain change from traditional British-centred immigration and integration politics to a more Scottish perspective. The ESRC report also notes the association between birthplace and Scottish national identification as more than 90% of people born in Scotland identify with 'Scottish and British identities only' or 'Scottish identity' and 72 % feel only Scottish (figure 6). Different sources on national identity reveal different results which reflect the complexity and nuanced aspect of such an issue, especially in multinational post-devolution context. It is difficult to grasp the extent of minorities' identification with Scottish identity with the already complicated context of Scottish-British

nationalities. However, evidence shows that identification with Scottish identity is more pronounced than identification with English identity which reveals more predispositions to embrace Scottish identity by ethnic minorities. The link between place of birth and national identity reinforces the idea that Scottish identity is based on territoriality rather than ethnicity.

According to the census, for most national identities the most common answer to the religion question was 'no religion'. However 'Roman Catholic' was the most common answer for 'Other identity only' (36 %), and 'Church of Scotland' (44 %) was the most common answer for 'Scottish and British identities only' (Simpson & Smith, 2014, p.4). A more detailed version of the census shows that among the different proposed religions, most do identify in majority with Scottish and/ or British identities with the exception of the Hindus (Simpson & Smith, 2014, p.4).

## **Conclusion**

The analysis of different censuses shows that the ethnic distribution in Scotland is becoming today more heterogeneous. The main input to Scotland is the result of immigration, notably from the EU, with the Polish community constituting the most important minority. This raises questions on the possible impact of Brexit on the influx of EU migrants to the region. In addition, taking into consideration the projections of Scotland's population evolution, immigration becomes an important challenge to the Scottish Government to tackle the demographic crisis.

The 2011 Census results show that the national identification as Scottish can be primarily linked to place of birth, with people born in Scotland being more likely to identify as 'Scottish only'. This reinforces the idea that Scottish identity is based on territorial markers rather than ethnicity.

## CONCLUSION TO PART I

Part I offers an overview of the key concepts and the historical context that can be helpful in understanding the evolution of the discourse over immigration and integration. First, as a necessary step in the understanding of the key concepts used in this research work, the defining of keywords related to immigration and integration reveal the multidimensional aspect of such an issue. In the case of Scotland, the exploring of the concepts of citizenship in relation to national identity as well as the exposing of the ongoing civic vs. ethnic debate are crucial to understand the political elite's portrayal of Scottish identity in relation to newcomers.

The inclusiveness and civic aspect of Scottish identity often promoted by different Scottish political parties can be better understood when examining the multicultural history of the country. In fact, Scotland has witnessed invasions and migrations that changed the ethnic distribution of the country. This aspect of the Scottish population is often used to promote the inclusiveness of Scottish identity, and to further highlight the ethnic and exclusive aspect of Englishness.

Today's Scottish population is diverse and is characterized by different national identifications ranging from Scottish, British and other forms of identification. The analysis of the different Scottish and British censuses also reveal the evolution of Scotland's population towards a more ethnically diverse society, a trend that is slower than in England. This evolution draws attention to the rise of ethnic minorities as key players in electoral competition and is a crucial element in analysing the evolution of the political discourse on immigration and integration.

These findings corroborate the idea that the political elite in Scotland promote an identity that is civic and inclusive in the context of post-devolution nation-building. The historical and linguistic diversity in Scotland can be seen as providing a better predisposition to accept minorities, and a history of institutional autonomy consolidates the distinctiveness of Scotland's integration model.

**PART II.**

**THE MULTI-LEVEL POLITICS  
OF IMMIGRATION AND  
INTEGRATION IN SCOTLAND  
AND THE UK**



## Introduction to Part II

In this second part, the broader context of immigration and integration politics in Britain is covered. Different actors intervene at the level of immigration and integration politics including the political parties, whether in power or in opposition, third sector, think tanks, and media. The impact of supranational institutions such as the EU and UN is also to be taken into account.

The first chapter of this part deals with pre-devolution politics in the UK, with emphasis on important government initiatives and legislation such as the *1948 British Nationality Act* or the different *Race Relations Acts* that followed.

The second chapter focuses on the post-devolution framework and the multi-level aspect of British politics. The main post-devolution pieces of legislation and government briefings and reports will be explored in order to show the impact and changes brought by devolution politics on immigration and integration.

The last chapter of the second part deals with the importance and impact of supranational institutions such as the EU, especially in regards of integration and anti-discrimination policies. The recent events of Brexit might bring changes to the EU authority in terms of immigration and integration, as well as the free circulation right for EU citizens. The impact of Brexit and current preliminary negotiations are, thus, taken into consideration.

## **CHAPTER I: PRE-DEVOLUTION MAIN INTEGRATION AND IMMIGRATION STRATEGIES: AN OVERVIEW OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF IMMIGRATION AND INTEGRATION LEGISLATION SINCE 1945**

Britain has always been a land of migration. For example, England heavily relied on workforce from Scotland, Wales and Ireland after the Industrial revolution (Mboup, 2001, p.120). The most important source of migration was from Ireland (Mason, 2000, p.20). This also affected Scotland with important flows of Irish immigrants settling in different parts of the country.

Evidence also reveals immigration from the colonies and resulting permanent black settlements. As a consequence of the former practice of slave trade, a growing black population started to develop from the 16<sup>th</sup> century onwards (Mason, 2000, p.20), especially in port cities such as Bristol, Liverpool and London (Mason, 2000, p.20). The issue of immigration was already present in the late-Victorian era with the arrival of large numbers of Jewish refugees to Britain (Hutton, 2017, p.7). To regulate immigration, a first *Aliens Act* was introduced in 1905. It allowed for the control of immigrants upon their arrival and gave the power to dedicated authorities to authorize or refuse entry to British territories (Hutton, 2017, p.8). The Act did not have much impact on immigration flows (Hutton, 2017, p.8) but ‘has always had symbolic importance as representing the modern onset of immigration control’ (Wray, 2011, p.303).



Figure 8: Newspaper coverage of the arrival of the *Empire Windrush* (British Library, [online](https://www.britishlibrary.org/online)).

Two other Acts were passed in 1914 to regulate immigration: the *Aliens Restriction Act* controlled the movement of aliens through registration with the police (Hutton, 2017, p.10). The second Act was the *British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act*. It defined the status of British subject as every person born in the King's dominions (Jones, 1948, p.158). The Act consolidated the dominant imperial rhetoric

of *civis Britannicus sum* (I am a British citizen) (Hutton, 2017, p11); however, other initiatives aimed at restricting access for black immigrants. For example, the *Special Restriction (Coloured Alien Seamen) Order* of 1925 required alien seamen to register with the police regardless if they are British subjects or not (Dummett & Nicol, 1990, p. 167-168).

## 1. The 1948 British Nationality Act

Debate over immigration in the UK started to take a dramatic turn in 1948 with the arrival of Empire Windrush, carrying 492 passengers from the Caribbean (Lees, 2014, p.158). As can be seen in figure 8, the immediate media reaction to coloured migration was positive, calling immigrants from Jamaica ‘sons of Empire’. This is founded on a predominant idea that Commonwealth citizens are British subjects (Mboup, 2001, p.122). The needs in workforce and falling birth rates were the key motivations for mass immigration (Dummett&Nicol, 1990, pp.171-177) and these were compensated thanks to immigration from the Commonwealth after the vote of the *British Nationality Act of 1948*. The Act clearly states that:

Every person who under this Act is a citizen of the United Kingdom and Colonies or who under any enactment for the time being in force in any country mentioned in subsection (3) of this section is a citizen of that country shall by virtue of that citizenship have the status of a British subject (British Nationality Act, 1948, p.1).

According to the Act, ‘Commonwealth citizen’ can also be used to denote British subjects (British Nationality Act, 1948, p.1); and to acquire citizenship an oath of allegiance must be sworn. The Act also provides more precision on the conditions to acquire British citizenship i.e. by descent, by registration, by naturalisation, or by incorporation of territory (British Nationality Act, 1948, p.3-6). Overall, the *British Nationality Act* established a citizenship based on common allegiance (Wade, 1948, p.67), resulting in a ‘common code for British nationality’ (Jones, 1948, p.158). Another important factor that might have led to the vote of the *British Nationality Act of 1948* is the wave of decolonisation running through the empire (Paul, 1997, p. 21-22). According to Paul, the *1948 British Nationality Act*

can be seen as a means for the “imagined political community of imperial ‘Britishness’ to defend a practical policy – maintenance of the empire” (Paul, 1997, p.21-22). Extending British citizenship to Commonwealth citizens can be seen as a way to keep British colonies together through allegiance to the Crown (Paul, 1997, p. 21-22).

The generous post-WWII immigration policy despite being short-lived (*The Economist*, 2017, online) had resulted in an important influx of immigration. The so-called ‘Windrush’ generation (Wray, 2018, online) profoundly affected Britain (*The Economist*, 2017, online). This was intensified by the subsequent family reunion arrivals which further impacted Britain’s ethnic distribution (Latour, 2014, p.118).

There was much scepticism around the possible repercussions of the *British Nationality Act of 1948* as can be seen in the following passage from a report from the Royal Commission on Population: ‘immigration on a large scale into a fully established society like ours would only be welcomed without reserve if the immigrants were of good stock and were not prevented by their religion or race from intermarrying with the host population and becoming merged in it’ (1958, Cited in Abbott, 2005, online). Another example of ambivalence towards Commonwealth immigration can be found in a statement by the Home Secretary, James Ede, who stated during the debate for the passage of the Act: ‘[I]t is true that we cannot admit all these backward peoples immediately into the full rights that British subjects in this country enjoy; but [...] we must give these people a feeling that on that homespun dignity of man we recognise them as fellow-citizens’ (Cited in Hutton, 2017, p.13). The Act also aimed at proving that within the Commonwealth ‘everyone was a British subject but some subjects were more British than others’ (Paul, 1997, p.22). The Act was also criticized for being too liberal (Sachdeva, 1993, p.18), and thus unable to secure cohesion.

It is important to note that the UK relied a lot on immigration from Europe under the *European Voluntary Workers* (Mboup, 2001, p.120). Immigration from Europe was even a preferred option for cultural and ‘racial’ similarities of European immigrants (Latour, 2014, p.93).

Hostility against the newly settled population amounted to a motion from the Central Council of the Conservative Party (1955) to control immigration from the

Commonwealth. It is also claimed that in 1952, the government instituted covert measures to restrict immigration from the Commonwealth (Hutton, 2017, p.14).

At the same time, public hostility escalated to the Notting Hill Riots of 1958 when white people went on the rampage (Mason, 2000, p.26). In a leaflet issued by the Afro-Asian West Indian Union, the different attacks were enumerated, including the smashing of windows of cafes and shops owned by 'coloured persons' and the murder of Kelso Cochrane, an Antiguan carpenter, in Notting Hill (Afro-Asian West Indian Union, 1959, p.1). The leaflet also stated that: 'the majority of white citizens did not approve this hooliganism' (Afro-Asian West Indian Union, 1959, p.1). The riots were condemned by the media as a 'shameful episode' (See British Pathé video on the riots, 1958), and the government at the time had to react to violence against the Black population.

## **2. The Commonwealth and Immigrants Act of 1962**

One of the government's responses to the riots was *The Commonwealth and Immigrants Act of 1962*, adopted in an attempt to limit immigration (Mboup, 2001, p.121). According to McKay, the crucial factor involved for the passage of the Act was the rise in immigrant figures in 1960 and 1961 (2011, p.3). Immigration reached 46,850 in 1956 and then rose again in 1960 and 1961 (McKay, 2008, p.3).

The *Commonwealth and Immigrants Act of 1962* established controls on the entry of Commonwealth citizens (Mason, 2000, p.26), and introduced a system of vouchers required for immigrants to enter the UK (Mason, 2000, p.26). Three types of vouchers were available: *Category A* vouchers were for those brought for a specific job to do. *Category B* vouchers were for skilled workers and *Category C* vouchers were for those who did not meet the criteria of the first two and were limited in number (Mason, 2000, p.26). The vouchers system aimed at instituting a selective immigration that fills the specific needs of the country and is a reminder of the points based system, used today in the UK. The Act is described as "the process by which 'imperial subjects' were increasingly subjected to immigration controls"

(Wolton, 2006, p.456). The post-war period of Commonwealth immigration posed a challenge to British citizenship and raised questions about the integration of newcomers. The colour bar aspect of the vouchers system was evident as it favoured white immigrants from the Old Commonwealth and the Act was denounced by activists as discriminatory (Bourne, 2015, online).

Subsequently, in the 1960s, the Labour government initiated new sets of law in order to limit the influx of 'coloured' immigration (Mason, 2000, p.26). It extended the restrictions on the *Commonwealth and Immigrants Act* of 1962, to which it was initially opposed. It abolished *Category C* vouchers which allowed entry for unskilled workers. Another restrictive piece of legislation introduced by the Labour government was the *Commonwealth Immigration Act of 1968*. Mason explains the Act and its uses as follows:

The Act created, for the first time, a distinction between those UK passport holders who had a right of entry and abode in Britain and those who did not. In order to qualify for this right, a passport holder had to have been born, adopted, or naturalized in the UK or to have one parent or grandparent who had been born, adopted, or naturalized in the UK. This principle was to become known as *partiality*. Its effect was to retain a right of entry for many citizens of 'old' Commonwealth countries such as Australia and Canada... while removing this right from many UK citizens resident in the New Commonwealth... It is clear that the intention was indeed to differentiate between those whose skin colour was thought of as 'white' and those whose skin was not (Mason, 2000, p.27)

The right of abode is still a distinction used between those who have the right to stay in the UK and those who do not. However, the Act shows a real intention to limit the permanent settlement of black immigrants through restrictions on access to citizenship. The rationale behind such measures is to limit immigration from the newly independent African colonies, a situation that seemed problematic for the management of citizenship for British subjects of newly independent nations. The Act limited entry of East African British subjects through a system of quotas that set a limit of 1,500 immigrants per year (Hutton, 2017, p.17). According to Sachdeva, the Acts are seen as 'attempts to distinguish between applicants on racial grounds without appearing to, by making the distinction between those with ancestral links to the UK and those with greater links to former existing colonies' (1993, p.24).

### 3. The Race Relations Acts and ‘dual state interventionism’

In addition, two *Race Relations Acts* (1965, 1968) were enforced in order to fight discrimination against the newly settled migrants. They were also promoted by the *Campaign Against Racial Discrimination*, the main lobby group at the time. The main political parties realized the need to protect ethnic minorities from discrimination and to provide them with ‘equality of opportunity’ (Solomos, 1989 p35). This idea was formulated in a White Paper that preceded the Race relations Act entitled *Immigration from the Commonwealth*. The measures advocated in the White Paper aimed ‘to promote integration in the widest sense of the word, in terms of housing, health, education and everything that needs to be done to minimise the possible social disturbance arising from this social problem’ (quoted in Solomos 1989 , p.36). According to Solomos, the *Immigration for the Commonwealth* White Paper reflects the logic behind the *1965 and 1968 Race Relations Acts*, as well as the *1976 Race Relations Act* (1989, p.36), which is to combine between immigration controls and integration measures (1989, p.36). This ideology is embodied in Roy Hattersley’s statement: ‘without integration, limitation is inexcusable; without limitation, integration is impossible’ (Quoted in Solomos, 1989, p.37), which reflects the general view that immigration is the problem (Solomos, 1989, p.37).

This view of integration was embraced by former Home Secretary Roy Jenkins. He implemented an integration strategy that aimed at fighting discrimination while at the same time limiting immigration. Also called ‘dual state interventionism’ (Solomos, cited in Latour, 2009, p.2), this strategy was implemented through the different *Race Relations Acts* and subsequent immigration Acts that further restricted access and facilitated deportations. Jenkins also worried about the integration of the already settled immigrants. He stated:

The next generation however who will not be immigrants but coloured Britons... will expect full opportunities to deploy their skills. If we frustrate those expectations we shall not only be subjecting our own economy to the most grievous self-inflicted wound, but we shall irreparably damage the quality of life in our society by creating an American type situation in which an indigenous minority which is no longer an immigrant group feels itself

discriminated against on the grounds of colour alone... it is (essential) to deal with racial problems before they assume such a magnitude that they become, if not insoluble, then capable of solution only at immense cost and effort, and over a very considerable period of time. (1967, quoted in Solomos, 1991, pp.84-85)

The tone adopted in Jenkins's speech reflects the importance given to equality of opportunity, an aspect that was not appropriately covered in the first two *Race relations Acts*. In fact, the first *Race Relations Act* condemned discrimination in public spaces and the call for racial hatred. It also created a *Race Relations Board (RRB)* which coordinated the work of nine regional Conciliation Committees to deal with complaints of racial discrimination (Anwar, 1991, p.5). According to Solomos, the first *Race Relations Act* consisted in the enunciation of general principles against discrimination and did not cover important areas. The second Act condemned discrimination in relation to housing and employment and expanded the work of the *RRB* to investigate complaints and provide compensation for victims of racial discrimination (Anwar, 1991, p.5). The Act also created the *Community Relations Commission (CRC)*, which aimed at promoting good community relations and to providing advice for the Home Secretary on race relations in addition to taking over the responsibility of dealing with local Community Relations Councils (Anwar, 1991, p.5). The *Race Relations Act of 1968* was important in that it established that anti-discrimination was a key principle, and one that government would legislate on (Khan, 2018, online). Criticisms of the first Race Relations Act were related to their 'gap between policy and practice' and lack of necessary provisions for the implementation of the different measures taken in the Acts (Solomos, 1989, p.37).

The first two Acts were followed by the *Race Relations Act of 1976* which extended the work of the first two *Race Relations Acts* to cover indirect discrimination. It also created the *Commission for Racial Equality (CRE)*, which grouped the *RRB* and the *CRC*. The *CRE* aimed to address racial discrimination and promote racial equality. In relation to education, English language and British values were taught at schools and children of immigrants were given an important place in schools (Mboup, 2001, p.125).

Other pieces of legislation like the *Immigrants Appeals Act in 1969* aimed at further restricting immigration and facilitating deportations. The Act is seen as

means to exclude socially undesirable immigrants (Clayton et al., 2012, p.563) through granting more powers to deport immigrants who lived in the UK for less than five years (Hutton, 2017, p.19). It also created a structure of appeals against decisions by the secretary of state (Hutton, 2017, p.18).

#### **4. Anti-immigrant sentiments**

In reaction to the situation with an increasingly diverse Britain, Enoch Powell, a staunch opponent of ‘coloured’ immigration warned against the influx of migrants in his famous *Rivers of Blood* speech in 1968:

In 15 or 20 years, on present trends, there will be in this country three and a half million Commonwealth immigrants and their descendants. That is not my figure[...].As time goes on, the proportion of this total who are immigrant descendants, those born in England, who arrived here by exactly the same route as the rest of us, will rapidly increase. Already by 1985 the native-born would constitute the majority. It is this fact which creates the extreme urgency of action now, of just that kind of action which is hardest for politicians to take, action where the difficulties lie in the present but the evils to be prevented or minimised lie several parliaments ahead (Cited in *The Telegraph*, 2007, online).

Enoch Powell, despite being dismissed from the Conservative Party for his speech, received much acclaim from the public (Latour, 2014, p.125). Powell’s speech reflects the widespread growing hostility towards immigration in the Conservative political sphere (Mboup, 2001, p.123). And subsequently, the 1970s saw the rise of the National Front political party, which enthusiastically adopted the Powellite idea of repatriating Black and Asian immigrants (Hiro, 1991 cited in Bowling, 1999, p.40).

#### **5. More restrictions on immigration**

In 1971, distinction was made between *partials* (term used until the *British Nationality Act of 1981*) and others. The *1971 Immigration Act* further restricted immigration by requiring a work permit for those who do not enjoy the right of

abode i.e. *partials*, regardless whether immigrants are from the Commonwealth or not (Mason, 2000, p.27). However, Partiality was generally a right denied to almost all non-white Commonwealth citizens (Solomos, 1993, p.70). To regulate arrivals to the UK, work permits were issued by the employer to perform a specific job. Permits were valid for a twelve months period and thus needed to be renewed annually and changing from one job to another would require permission from the Department of Employment (Mason, 2000, p.27). The Act also allowed for *Voluntary Repatriation Scheme*, a measure to deport those who breach the conditions of the permit.

## 6. Immigration and integration under Thatcher

The election of the Conservative government in 1979, led by Margaret Thatcher resulted in a stricter approach towards immigration. Asifa Hussain examined the Conservative policy under Thatcher and concluded that despite looking like a centrist immigration strategy, official Conservative policy belonged between the centrist and nationalist viewpoints (1997, p.5) ‘allowing for a measured amount of immigration tempered by various restriction’ (Hussain, 1997, p.5). Margaret Thatcher clearly expressed fears from immigration stating in a televised show: ‘people are really rather afraid that this country might be rather swamped by people with a different culture’ (Thatcher, 1978). According to Solomos, Thatcher chose to focus on race and the dangers of minorities to British values as a symbol of the neo-conservative ideology (1993, p.70). Conservatives were even being criticized for discriminating immigration policy, with stricter immigration towards immigrants from coloured and black nations (Hussain, 1997, p.6). The Conservative government also refused to strengthen the 1976 *Race Relations Acts* or to plan provisions to fight discrimination (Solomos, 1993, p.72), reflecting a ‘hard-line’ stance on integration (Hussain, 1997, p.6).

### 6.1 The Primary Purpose Rule

The Conservative government also instituted the Primary Purpose Rule to immigration law in 1980. The aim behind the Primary Purpose Rule is to stop

fraudulent application to join spouses and to prove that the primary purpose for immigration is marriage (Travers, 1999, p.71). It is considered as a successful strategy to restrict or delay secondary immigration to the UK through marriage (Travers, 1999, p.69). The initiative was perceived negatively (Hutton, 2017, p.26) and even considered as a ‘sordid episode in immigration history’ (Bevan, 1986, p.254). According to Hutton, the rule was a clear example of the implicit gender and race discrimination inherent in the immigration system at the time (2017, p.22). It refused entry to husbands and fiancés of British women (Hutton, 2017, p.22). Other amendments to the Primary Purpose Rule aimed first at further restricting access (1979) and achieving some progress on other levels. For example, in 1982, it allowed only British citizen women and with one parent born in the UK to sponsor husbands, a situation which then changed in 1983 to include all British women regardless of their birthplace. The Primary Purpose Rule was extended to wives and fiancées of male British citizens as well with a number of conditions stipulated to be granted access to British territories. The Primary Purpose Rule was abandoned in 1997 by the Labour Party. It was condemned by the Home Office minister who stated that:

It is arbitrary, unfair and ineffective and has penalised genuine marriages, divided families and unnecessarily increased the administrative burden on the immigration system. The rule has also placed British citizens resident here at a disadvantage compared with other EU nationals resident in Britain (Cited in Hutton, 2017, p.31).

## **6.2 The British Nationality Act of 1981**

Immigration from the Commonwealth was completely stopped under Thatcher, thanks to The *British Nationality Act of 1981*. The Act aligned between immigration and citizenship law (Mason, 2000, p.28). Under the Act, British citizenship was granted to the so-called *partials* i.e. those who had the right of abode from 1968 and 1971 *Immigration Acts*. In addition, two other categories of British citizens were added: *British Dependent Territories Citizenship* and *British Overseas Citizenship*, who had no right of abode.

The Act partially abolished *jus soli* rights to citizenship (Hutton, 2017, p.25) as children can no longer become British citizens upon birth in Britain (Hutton, 2017, p.25). According to Hutton, the *British Nationality Act* of 1981 confirmed the

idea of British citizenship not as an automatic right but as an earned one (Hutton, 2017, p25). In addition, criticisms of the Act revolved around its discriminatory nature as expressed in the following quote:

decisions about whom to accept and whom to reject were made on the basis of race... this was not openly acknowledged but achieved indirectly through immigration measures that cut across rather than complemented nationality laws and which then informed new hierarchical nationality laws which awarded unwanted citizens a nationality that did not fulfil a basic functional criterion, i.e. access to the territory. This was exacerbated by the loss of *ius solis* for some of those born on the territory (Sawyer and Wray, 2014, p.10).

The Conservative government's approach to immigration was seen as racist and the Act as a 'reinforcement of effective racial discrimination' (Dummett&Nicol, 1990, p.245). It put an end to immigration from the Commonwealth and clearly defined British citizenship.

### **6.3 Backlash of immigration and integration policies**

Media have also extensively focused on immigration and subsequent important government spending to accommodate newcomers or immigration 'cost' (Lees, 2014, p.162). Thus, immigration, thanks to public and media attention, has gradually become a major challenge for political parties and key electoral topic (Lees, 2014, p.162). However, the Conservative Party's 'hard-line' on immigration (Hussain, 1997, p.6), was criticized for racializing the political discourse (Solomos, 1993, p.72-75). In a parliamentary debate Gerald Kaufman, from the Labour opposition, accused the Conservative Party of mixing immigration with race. He stated:

Viewed objectively, immigration should be neither a problem nor an issue in Britain. Substantial primary immigration ended at least a decade and a half ago, and there is no prospect of starting again. In most years there is a net emigration from the United Kingdom. In the year only 15.5 % of immigrants came from the West Indies, Africa and the Indian sub-continent – the areas from which according to the government, there is the greatest pressure to migrate to the United Kingdom (Cited in Solomos, 1993, p.75).

In relation to integration, the newly settled immigrant population generally lived in the same neighbourhoods resulting gradually in a geographical segregation.

This segregation amounted to the 1981 Riots in Brixton resulting from clashes between black youth and the police.

Another step towards fighting institutional racism was the publication of the *Scarman Report* in 1981; and later on the *Police and Criminal Evidence Act(1984)* put more restriction on the work of the police (Latour, 2014, p.170). The *Scarman Report*, commissioned by the British Government to investigate on the Brixton riots, drew attention to the importance of social conditions in evaluating the causes of the riots stating that: ‘the disorders in Brixton cannot be fully understood unless they are seen in the context of the complex political, social and economic factors which brought them about’ (Scarman, cited in HC Debate, 25 November 1981). Disadvantaged conditions, like urban decay, poor housing and poor employment prospects, are a common experience for ethnic minorities who also suffer racial discrimination (Raison, 1984, p.252). The Thatcher-led government was criticized for its inability to adjust government policies to address social conditions raised in the *Scarman Report* (Law, 2015, online).

In 1993, the murder of Stephen Lawrence also instigated much media attention leading to the *MacPherson Report* in 1999. The report concluded on the Stephen Lawrence murder case that the flaws in the investigation were the result of ‘professional incompetence, institutional racism and a failure of leadership by senior officers’ (Macpherson 1999, p.317). The report accused the London Police of being ‘institutionally racist’ (Lees, 2014, p.159) and provided a new definition of a racial incident in order to oblige the police to investigate every incident for racial motivations (Travis, 2013, online). The publication of the report also contributed to changing the legal landscape thanks to the implementation of 67 out of 70 recommendations of the report within two years of its publication (Travis, 2013, online).

The publication of the *Satanic Verses* in 1988 had triggered important reactions from the Muslim communities in Britain. Discontent led to the creation of a number of associations to protect Muslims’ rights like the *Muslim Council of Britain*. In the same year a new *Immigration Act* was enacted. The Act limited the right of men living in the UK to be joined by their families unless they provide proof of adequate accommodation and financial support (Hussain, 1997, p.47). The Act was

considered by the then Home Secretary Douglas Hurd as ‘sensible and limited changes to ensure that our immigration law is flexible, effective and strong enough’ (Cited in Hutton, 2017, p.28), however in public debates, it was seen differently and was criticized for separating families (Hussain, 1997, pp.48-49). It was seen as ‘another phase in the toughening of Britain’s immigration policy which once again seemed to be discriminatory against black and coloured people’ (Hussain, 1997, p.49).

A report issued in 1998, providing comprehensive data on arrests made between 1993 and 1994 reveals that discriminatory behaviour against minorities still existed. For example, ‘the proportion of black people among those arrested was much greater than their presence in local populations. They were more likely than whites or Asians to have been arrested following a stop/search’(Phillips & Brown, 1998, p.184) and ‘Black suspects were more likely to have been arrested for robbery than those from other ethnic groups, while Asians were more likely to have been arrested for fraud and forgery and theft from vehicle offences’ (Phillips & Brown, 1998, p.184).

#### **6.4 Main initiatives on integration**

- ***The Swann Report***

Other initiatives were proposed in relation to integration during the 1980s. For example, the publication of *Education for all* or the *Swann Report* has had an important impact on the multicultural orientation of British integration policies. The report clearly stresses the importance of providing ‘education for all’ for the government. It states: ‘the government is firmly committed to the principle that all children, irrespective of race, colour or ethnic origin, should have a good education which develops their abilities and aptitudes to the full and brings about a true sense of belonging to Britain’ (Swann, 1985, online). According to the report, concerns about education started from a noticeable underachievement of children of West Indian origin in a report on the West Indian Community in 1977 (Swann, 1985, online). One of the main factors for poor results at school is racism. The report draws attention to the fact that “West Indian pupils may be subconsciously influenced by

stereotyped, negative or patronising views of their abilities and potential, which may prove a self-fulfilling prophecy, and can be seen as a form of 'unintentional racism'" (Swann, 1985, online). The report seeks "to achieve a balance between [...] the maintenance and active support of the essential elements of the cultures and lifestyles of all ethnic groups within it and [...] the acceptance by all groups of a set of shared values distinctive of the society as a whole" (Cited in Jones, 1986, p.107). "[A]ll ethnic groups, both minority and majority, to participate fully in shaping society [...] whilst also allowing, and where necessary assisting the ethnic minority communities in maintaining their distinct ethnic identities within a framework of commonly accepted values" (cited in Modood & May, 2001, p.307).

The goals, stated in the report, show an interest in pursuing a multicultural orientation in relation to integration, but within a British framework. The 'diversity within unity' approach requires a redefinition of people's conception of 'being British' (Jones, 1986, p.107). The report, despite promoting multicultural education and acknowledging the need to protect cultural diversity, is criticized for not accommodating minorities' needs (Modood & May, 2001, p.307). Modood and May give the examples of the report's rejection of bilingual education (Modood & May, 2001, p.307); and minority languages, according to the report, needed to be restricted to home use (Modood & May, 2001, p.307). The report also rejected separate schools for ethnic minorities like 'Islamic schools', despite acknowledging the existence of Anglican, Catholic and Jewish schools (Modood & May, 2001, p.307). The Swann Report, despite being criticized by multiculturalists, symbolised a clear embracement of multiculturalist integration strategies.

- ***The Asylum and Immigration Appeals Act of 1993***

As far as asylum is concerned, different provisions were taken with the passage of two Acts. *The Asylum and Immigration Appeals Act of 1993* makes provisions for asylum seekers including housing provisions (1993, pp.3-5) and the right to appeal against the refusal to be granted asylum (1993, p.6). The Act built on the earlier *1971 Immigrants Act* which did not make any restriction on the refugee status. After a noticeable rise in asylum applications, the *Asylum and Immigration Act* of 1996 was enacted. It aimed mainly at condemning illegal employment.

Section 8 of the *Asylum and Immigration Act of 1996* sets out the law on the prevention of illegal working. Under the Act, employers risk conviction if they hire illegal workers (1996, p.6)

## 7. New Labour in power

The election of New Labour in 1997 brought change in immigration policy with the abolition of the Primary Purpose Rule (stated as an electoral promise).

*Fairer, Faster and Firmer —a modern approach to immigration and asylum* White Paper published in 1998 was one of the first steps of New Labour in government. It set for the fair and efficient control of immigration i.e. ‘to facilitate legitimate travellers as well as preventing people entering or remaining in the country’ (Home Office, 1998, online). The main objective of the *Fairer, Faster, Firmer* White Paper is to ‘modernise’ (Home Office, 1998, online) the whole approach to immigration. The main changes proposed are to strengthen pre-, on- and after-arrival controls, to fight illegal immigration, to provide faster decisions on asylum application, and to encourage citizenship (Home office, 1998, online). These changes are considered in the White Paper as a major break from previous immigration legislation (Home Office, 1998 online), they mark a move towards economic migration (Somerville, 2007, pp.29-38) relying on skilled workforce.

## Conclusion

The main immigration and integration pieces of legislation in the UK before the devolution settlement show the maintenance of a strict approach towards immigration (except for the much contested *1948 British Nationality Act*). The general direction of policy was consistent and aimed at limiting non-white immigration (Wray, 2011, p.139). The main immigration initiatives were criticized for being discriminatory against non-white Commonwealth citizens performed through rules such the Primary Purpose Rule and instituting the right of abode as a main condition for British citizenship. At the level of integration, promoting good

race relations had been the main concern of successive governments since the 1960s. This was concretized through different Race relations Acts aiming at fighting discrimination against ethnic minorities. However, the riots of the early 1980s reveal the shortcomings of the governments' approach towards integration. The setting of multicultural education programmes after the publication of the *Swann Report* in 1985 reveal a multiculturalist turn in British integration strategies; and New Labour's rise to power signalled a new approach towards integration as exposed in the *Fairer, Faster and Firmer* White Paper. Before the devolution settlement, Scotland, as a constituent part of the UK with limited powers, completely depended on the decisions made by the British governments. Still, it is important to note that, even before devolution, the SNP formulated a vision of Scotland as diverse society. The party described Scotland as the 'tartan nation' that is 'composed of a myriad of threads of different colours all equally important to the beauty of the resulting material' (cited in Thiec, 2009, p.41).

Another important aspect of the generous post WWII immigration policy has been the increasingly diverse Britain, an aspect that also affected but to a lesser-extent Scotland.

## **CHAPTER II. THE MULTI-LEVEL ASPECT OF POST-DEVOLUTION POLITICS OF IMMIGRATION AND INTEGRATION**

The devolution settlement has had an important impact on the politics of immigration and integration in Britain. First, integration-related matters such as housing, health, education are decentralised and thus managed at the local level, giving more autonomy to the different areas on devolved matters. The devolution settlement has also resulted in a growing power and desire of asserting its distinctiveness at the level of Scotland, especially in centralized matters, on which Scotland has no power over at the local level. Still, on issues such as immigration, Scotland's needs are voiced by political actors and initiatives promoted to attract more immigrants. Devolution has also created opportunities for the SNP and other local parties to have a say in politics. The multi-level aspect of politics will be highlighted in the following part in relation to different immigration and integration policies.

### **1. Labour governments' initiatives on immigration and integration**

#### **1.1 The Asylum and Immigration Act 1999**

One of the first pieces of legislation enacted during the first Labour administration was *the Asylum and Immigration Act 1999*. Under the Act, the powers of the State Secretary (i.e. Home Secretary) were increased with respect to 'giving,

refusing or varying of leave to enter the United Kingdom.’ (*Asylum and Immigration Act*, 1999, p.1) The Act also addressed illegal immigration (See p.27-28) and planned penalties against carriers of illegal passengers (*Asylum and Immigration Act*, 1999, p.21-26). In relation to asylum, the Act included provisions for faster treatment of asylum applications. It also restricted marriages for immigration purposes by requiring registrars to report marriages thought of as a sham (*Asylum and Immigration Act*, 1999, p.31). The Act was followed by the establishment of a Highly Skilled Migrant Programme (HSMP), which provided work permits for skilled migrants (even in the absence of a job offer). A number of criteria were used to select migrants. For example, English language proficiency was one of the conditions to be selected. Language proficiency was determined thanks to qualifications such as IELTS tests results, Bachelor degrees taught in English, or other alternative English tests. The HSMP is the precursor of the points-based system and was replaced by the category ‘highly-skilled worker’ (Tier1, general) under the points-based system (UK Border Agency, online).

Labour’s immigration strategy marked a ‘sharp turn’ from previous Conservative-led governments (Hutton, 2017, p.29). It put much emphasis on ‘economic migration’ (Somerville, 2007, pp.29-38) which implied acknowledging the benefits of immigration and the need to regulate it. However, the restrictive measures of the HSMP could not control spousal migrants. It was argued that spousal migration ‘had the potential to derail the government’s control over the quality of entrants’ (Wray, 2011, p.141). It was also difficult to control migration from the ever expanding EU.

## 1.2 New Labour’s answer to riots: ‘Community cohesion’

At the level of race relations legislation, a new *Race Relations (Amendment) Act* was passed in 2000. It further extended the provisions of the 1976 *Race relations Act* in relation to discrimination by police and other public authorities (*Race Relations Amendment Act*, 2000, p.1). The Act was seen as a response to the murder of Stephen Lawrence — this murder case which attracted much attention and resulted in important changes in the police and legal institutions. Race equality was embraced by the Labour governments as a key objective (Hutton, 2017, p.30) and the

party's strategy was seen as a continuation of previous governments 'dual interventionism' approach of 'enacting both external immigration control and internal race equality measures' (Hutton, 2017, p.30).

The riots in Bradford, Oldham and Burnley in the summer of 2001 were mainly caused by attacks on Asian communities by racist gangs and the failure of the police to provide protection from this threat (Kundnani, 2001, online). Unrest culminated to violent confrontations between young Asians and the police. Kundnani concludes that the main reason behind such violence is 'the violence of communities fragmented by colour lines, class lines and police lines. It was the violence of hopelessness. It was 'the violence of the violated' (2001, online). One of the main factors leading to such an important social unrest was segregation. The *Cantle Report*, issued in the aftermath of the riots, confirms the existence of segregation between different communities. It revealed that minorities in Britain were leading 'parallel lives' (Home Office, 2001, p.9). The *Cantle Report* drew attention to the physical segregation between communities. According to the report, segregation ranges from 'separate educational arrangements, community and voluntary bodies, employment, places of worship, language, social and cultural networks, means that many communities operate on the basis of a series of parallel lives' (Cantle, 2001, p.9). The solution is to promote community cohesion based on shared sense of citizenship (Cantle, 2001, p.10-11). According to the report, the main strategy to ensure community cohesion is through 'a well-resourced national debate, heavily influenced by younger people', a 'more coherent approach to education, housing, regeneration, employment and other programmes' and through 'the promotion of cross cultural contact between different communities at all levels, foster understanding and respect, and break down barriers'. (Cantle, 2001, p.11) The report concludes that:

Whilst the physical segregation of housing estates and inner city areas came as no surprise, the team was particularly struck by the depth of polarisation of our towns and cities. The extent to which these physical divisions were compounded by so many other aspects of our daily lives, was very evident. Separate educational arrangements, community and voluntary bodies, employment, places of worship, language, social and cultural networks, means that many communities operate on the basis of a series of parallel

lives. These lives often do not seem to touch at any point, let alone overlap and promote any meaningful interchanges (Cantle, 2001, p.9).

### 1.3 Anti-terrorism and managed migration

The 9/11 attacks have also had an important impact on immigration and integration legislation. One of the Anti-terrorism measures was the *Anti-terrorism, Crime and Security Act 2001*, which extended provisions on terrorism and security. It granted power to the Home Secretary to detain or deport, without charge or trial, foreign nationals who are suspected of terrorism (*Anti-terrorism Crime and Security Act*, 2001, p.10-13). The issue of detention of foreign nationals has instigated debate on the 'civilized values' of the UK (Wolton, 2006, p.463).

The publication of the White Paper *Secure Borders, Safe Haven* in 2002 confirmed New Labour's main immigration and integration strategies. *Secure Borders, Safe Haven* encourages selective economic immigration or 'managed' immigration (Home Office, 2002, p.9). As far as asylum is concerned, the White Paper tackles the problem of fake asylum applications (Home Office, 2002, p.13). In addition, *Secure Borders, Safe Haven* presents the notion of common citizenship as the solution to the problem of integration (Young, 2003, p.451). In this case, citizenship is referred to as a crucial process in integration (Home Office, 2002, p.10). British national identity is presented as an inclusive form of identity and the multi-ethnic and multicultural aspect of Britain is recognized and celebrated (Home Office, 2002, p.10). Thus, *Secure Borders, Safe Haven* reflects New Labour's commitment to a form of 'multiculturalism, underpinned by a notion of common citizenship' (Young, 2003, p.451). According to Young, the White Paper's policy solution lies in social inclusion (2003, p.453). This also signalled the abandoning of a multiculturalist approach to integration in favour of 'community cohesion' (Latour, 2014, p.220). Other publications followed like *Community Cohesion* or the *Cantle Report* (2001) and *Building Cohesive Communities* (2002). They focus on problems related to integration especially following the riots in Northern England.

During the first Blair administration, another two laws on asylum, immigration and citizenship were enacted: the *Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act 2002* and *The Asylum and Immigration Act 2004*. The first Act was enacted 'to

make provision about nationality, immigration and asylum; to create offences in connection with international traffic in prostitution; to make provision about international projects connected with migration; and for connected purposes' (*Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act, 2002*, online). The Act extended the power to detain. It also limited financial support for asylum seekers and gave the power to the Secretary of State (i.e. Home Secretary) to restrict the application of section 96(1)(b) of the Immigration and Asylum Act 1999 (c. 33) (support for asylum-seeker: essential living needs) (*Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act, 2002*, online).

The *Asylum and Immigration Act of 2004* also required the obtaining of a *Certificate of Approval* to marry in the UK for foreign nationals settled in the UK and intending to marry. This provision was abandoned in 2011 but reflects increasing suspicion towards sham marriages and the government intention to control immigration.

In 2005 the publication of the White Paper *Controlling our borders: Making migration work for Britain* further revealed New Labour's main strategies on immigration and asylum. The White Paper consisted of a five-year strategy for asylum and immigration and included proposals based on three principles: 'enforce strict controls to root out abuse', 'ensure Britain continues to benefit from people from abroad who work hard' and put forward solutions that are 'clear' 'workable' and 'in the best interests' of Britain (Home Office, 2005, p.5). According to the White Paper, these principles could be achieved through the establishment of a points-based system, requiring a sponsor for migrants, phasing out low skilled migration from the EU, and accepting 'genuine' refugees (Home Office, 2005, p.9). The White Paper also calls for the establishment of language tests and restricting immigration only for skilled workers (Home Office, 2005, p.9). In addition, tighter security controls such as fingerprinting and introducing pre-boarding electronic checks as well as detention of failed asylum seekers are envisaged (Home Office, 2005, p.10). It is even argued that Labour's policy orientation was 'based less on race or skin colour and more on conformity to cultural and legal norms and, arguably, on considerations of social class' (Wray, 2011, p.172).

- *The points-based system*

New Labour's vision of a 'managed' immigration system was concretized in 2008 through the establishment of a points-based system for immigration similar to the ones used in Australia and Canada, in addition to the restructuring of the Home Office and the creation of the UK Border Agency. The system is defined in a briefing by the Migration Policy Institute as: 'Points-based systems admit immigrants with a sufficient number of qualifications from a list that typically includes language skills, work experience, and education' (Papademetriou & Sumption, 2011, p.1).

There are five 'tiers' in the points-based system, containing different visa categories. The UK's points-based system does not only cover work visas. The main category for skilled workers is Tier 2. Restrictions were applied to Tier 2 in order to protect resident workers such as requiring employers to prove that no suitable candidate was found within the resident workforce (Gower, 2018, p.3). In addition, visa sponsorships for the category Tier 2 (General) have been limited to an annual cap of 20,700 (Gower, 2018, p.3).

The points-based system also dedicated categories for student visas, sportspeople, and entrepreneurs and investors (Gower, 2018, p.6). In addition, the tier for low-skilled workers is not in use, because 'it has been assumed that any need for low-skilled workers can be met from within the UK/European Economic Area (EEA) workforce' (Gower, 2018, p.3). Overall, the point-based system can be seen as a solution to effectively control immigration.

According to a paper by the Migration Policy Institute:

Points systems appeal to policymakers because they are transparent, flexible and can be adjusted to meet evolving economic needs or respond to evidence on immigrants' integration outcomes. But since employers are not involved in selection, points systems often admit immigrants who are unable to find work at their skill level once they arrive. This undermines both integration and the long-term economic benefits of immigration. (Papademetriou & Sumption, 2011, p.1)

Thus, the points-based system is mainly used for economic migration i.e. allowing for immigration that meets the specific needs of the country<sup>66</sup>. However, it is important to note that in many occasions demand exceeded supply. For example the government was obliged in 2018 to exempt doctor and nursing posts from the visa sponsorship limit (Gower, 2018, p.3).

---

<sup>66</sup> The points-based system is generally contrasted with ‘employer-led selection’, a system which allows employers to select workers they need and thus guarantee jobs for immigrants upon arrival (Papademetriou & Sumption, 2011, p.1). However, this system can result in labour exploitation due to dependence on the employer (Papademetriou & Sumption, 2011, p.1). Hybrid selection systems are a combination between the points-based system and employer-driven selection (Papademetriou & Sumption, 2011, pp.1-2).

- *Shortage Occupation Lists*

| Standard Occupational Classification (SOC) code and description | Job titles included on the Scotland only Shortage Occupation List and further criteria                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| All                                                             | All job titles and occupations on the United Kingdom Shortage Occupation List                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| 2211 Medical practitioners                                      | Only the following jobs in this occupation code:<br><br>jobs on the United Kingdom Shortage Occupation List<br>consultant in clinical oncology<br>non-consultant, non-training, medical staff post in clinical radiology<br>CT3 trainee and ST4 to ST7 trainee in clinical radiology<br>all grades except CPT1 in psychiatry<br>all grades in anaesthetics, paediatrics, obstetrics and gynaecology |
| 2217 Medical radiographers                                      | Only the following jobs in this occupation code:<br><br>jobs on the United Kingdom Shortage Occupation List<br>medical physicist<br>staff working in diagnostics radiology (including magnetic resonance imaging)                                                                                                                                                                                   |

Figure 9: Scotland only Shortage Occupation List (latest issue) (UK Government, 2019, online)

Under the points-based system, a *Shortage Occupation List* for the Tier 2 category is regularly elaborated by the Migration Advisory Committee for occupations deemed to be suffering from labour shortage. The Migration Advisory Committee was set up in 2007 in order to advise on the specific needs of the labour market and to produce Shortage Occupation Lists for jobs where ‘there are shortages which can sensibly be filled by enabling employers to recruit migrants’ (MAC, 2008a, p.11).

It is important to note that, two Shortage Occupation Lists are regularly issued - one for Britain and one for Scotland - in order to meet the specific needs of Scotland. Figure 9 shows the latest Scotland only Shortage Occupation List which includes the occupations needed for Scotland as: ‘medical practitioners’ and ‘medical

radiographers' with more specification on the specialties needed. The Migration Advisory Committee takes into consideration three criteria in establishing the shortage Occupation lists: 'skilled', 'shortage' and 'sensible' (MAC, 2008b, p.1), which relies on labour needs and disregards the demographic crisis in Scotland. The overlooking of Scotland's aging population problem was one of the main criticisms of the Scotland Only Occupation List and one of the main concerns of the Scottish Government (EHRC, 2009, p.22). The EHRC's article *Room for Manoeuvre? The options for addressing immigration-policy divergence between Holyrood and Westminster* assessed the possibility of taking into consideration the specific demography of Scotland in the elaboration of the Shortage Occupation Lists. It states: 'given that the MAC is open to reconsidering building in regional perspectives in the longer term, there is the possibility of redefining what counts as 'sensible', in light of the Scottish Government's population-growth aim' (EHRC, 2009, p.22). According to Annie Thiec, Labour's strategies reflected a different perception of migration and citizenship from that in Scotland (Thiec, 2014, p.217).

Through the points-based system the Labour government opted for a temporary migration (Thiec, 2014, p.217) and restricted access to permanent migration (Thiec, 2014, p.217). Labour also promoted the objective of an 'earned' citizenship. For example in the government response to consultation entitled *the Path to Citizenship: Next steps in reforming the immigration system*, the idea of 'earned citizenship' is promoted. The government's response adds more restrictions on the criteria to be granted British nationality (Lees, 2014, p.171). It addresses issues of "who can qualify for citizenship; the stages in the journey; how migrants should 'earn' the right to progress between stages" (Home Office, 2008, p.6). The language used in the *Path to Citizenship: Next steps in reforming the immigration system* clearly reflects the 'earned' and privileged aspect of the new citizenship regulations. Other restrictions include 'delaying access to public services until full citizenship or permanent residence is achieved' (Home Office, 2008, p.6). The 'journey' (Home Office, 2008, p.7) to acquiring citizenship involves different stages which are speaking English, working hard and paying taxes, obeying the law, and demonstrating active citizenship (Home Office, 2008, p.13).

- *The Migration Impacts Forum*

Another initiative launched in 2007 is *The Migration Impacts Forum*, which represents joint work between the Home Office and the Department for Communities and Local Government (EHRC, 2009, p.11). The main aim behind the forum has been to initiate dialogue on the impact of migration on local areas (EHRC, 2009, p.11).

#### 1.4 Citizenship under New labour

In 2009, the British Parliament adopted a new law on immigration: *The Borders, Citizenship and Immigration Act* aiming at restricting access to British citizenship (Lees, 2014, p.171). The Act provides more precision on entitlement to citizenship and amends a number of provisions of the *1981 British Nationality Act* (for example granting citizenship for Children born in UK to members of the armed forces (Borders Citizenship and Immigration Act, 2009, p.36). The Act also amends rules of naturalisation requiring those who live in the UK to have certain residential status to entitle for British citizenship (Borders Citizenship and Immigration Act, 2009, p.32). In addition, under the Act, a new category of temporary form of settlement; the ‘probationary citizenship leave’ is created (Borders Citizenship and Immigration Act, 2009, p.31).

Other restrictive measures to obtaining citizenship include the introduction of a citizenship test in 2005. A 45-min test is compulsory for those seeking to become British citizens (BBC News, 2005, online). The new test requires 75% of correct answers to the questions to pass, and failed applicants are allowed to retake it until they pass.

An important point of debate in light of the test is the extent to which British citizenship has become difficult to attain. Bartram even argues that such assimilationist integration policies as the British citizenship test are perhaps intended primarily to reassure anxious citizens that the government is ‘doing something’ about immigration (Bartram, 2019, p.1). This raises questions about the real meaning of citizenship and belonging. Catherine Puzzo also questions whether citizenship in the UK is a right or a privilege (Puzzo, 2016, p.2). On the other hand, immigration

Minister Tony McNulty described the test as ‘a test of [applicants’] preparedness to become citizens, in keeping with the language requirement as well’ (Cited in BBC News, 2005).

At the time, the Brown-led Labour government put much effort into promoting Britishness and British national identity and in presenting a vision of Britain as a diverse and tolerant society, contrasting with the more nationalist view of Conservative governments’ from 1979 to 1997. For example Gordon Brown keynote speech to the Fabian Conference in 2006 on the Future of Britishness reflects the Labour government’s approach:

Take also the unity of the United Kingdom and its component parts. While we have always been a country of different nations and thus of plural identities – a Welshman can be Welsh and British, just as a Cornishman or woman is Cornish, English and British - and may be Muslim, Pakistani or Afro-Caribbean, Cornish, English and British – there is always a risk that, when people are insecure, they retreat into more exclusive identities rooted in 19th century conceptions of blood, race and territory – when instead, we the British people should be able to gain great strength from celebrating a British identity which is bigger than the sum of its parts and a union that is strong because of the values we share and because of the way these values are expressed through our history and our institutions. (Brown, 2006, online)

Britishness is presented as an inclusive identity that can be embraced together with other identities and ‘there is a national identity that we can all hold in common: the overarching factor – British citizenship – that brings the nation together’ (Ministry of Justice, July 2007). Gordon Brown’s vision of a national identity centred on Britishness crystallised in the form of government initiatives such as the citizenship ceremonies for migrants who pass the citizenship test (Leydier, 2008, p.1).

### **1.5 Integration under New Labour**

As far as integration is concerned, the Labour government expressed commitment to secure better integration since 2002 (Lees, 2014, p.171), calling for ‘community cohesion’ as an integration strategy. ‘Community cohesion’ moves away from past governmental approaches which resulted in growing separateness and segregation as revealed in the *Cantle Report* (2001). According to Lees, this

integration model can be described as ‘liberal multiculturalism’ (Lees, 2014, p.183). The multicultural approach to integration is reinforced through the publication of the *Parekh Report* in 2000. Entitled *the Future of multi-ethnic Britain*, the report acknowledges and celebrates the growing diversity in Britain, including the diversity between the four constituent parts of the UK (Parekh, 2000, online). It also addresses several areas which need more work in order to achieve equality as key objective in the report (Parekh, 2000, online). According to the report, equality and respect for difference ‘must be held together, mutually challenging and supportive’ (Parekh, 2000, online).

In terms of equality legislation, the Labour governments followed the same approach than their predecessors, putting much focus on race equality through two major pieces of legislation: The *Equality Act of 2006* and the *Race Equality Act of 2010*. The *Equality Act of 2006* main objectives are

to make provision for the establishment of the Commission for Equality and Human Rights; to dissolve the Equal Opportunities Commission, the Commission for Racial Equality and the Disability Rights Commission; to make provision about discrimination on grounds of religion or belief; to enable provision to be made about discrimination on grounds of sexual orientation; to impose duties relating to sex discrimination on persons performing public functions; to amend the Disability Discrimination Act 1995; and for connected purposes (*Equality Act*, 2006, p.1).

Thus, in addition to creating the *Commission for Equality and Human Rights*, the Act expands provisions to fight discrimination on the grounds of religion, sexual orientation and disability.

Another piece of legislation covering equality-related issues is the *Equality Act of 2010*. It was initiated by the Labour government and passed under the following coalition government. The Act aimed ‘to reform and harmonise equality law and restate the greater part of the enactments relating to discrimination and harassment related to certain personal characteristics’ (*Equality Act* 2010, p.1). It further expanded equality measures to include gender equality through requiring certain employers ‘to publish information about the differences in pay between male and female employees’ (*Equality Act*, 2010, p.1). Increasing equality of opportunity was also stated as one of the objectives the *Equality Act* of 2010.

## 2. Conservative governments' main approach to immigration and integration

### 2.1 Towards stricter immigration policy under the coalition government

In 2010, the Conservative – Liberal Democrats' coalition government led by David Cameron put more restrictions on immigration through imposing a system of quotas to limit the number of immigrants — reducing the number of immigration from Tiers 1 and 2. In addition, the *Post-study work visa* granted for students was stopped. Subsequently, British universities asked for the reinstatement of the Post-study work visa (O'Carroll, 2018, online).

- *End of post-study work visa*

The end of the post-study work visa was seen negatively in Scotland. According to a report on *Student Immigration System in Scotland*, the Scottish Trade Union Scotland expressed concerns that the proposals by the UK Border Agency were to close Tier 1 post-study work route which would be detrimental to Scottish economy (Scottish Affairs Committee, 2011, p.43). The report clearly condemns the British Government's decision to end the post-study work visa programme stating:

It seems absurd that we would deliberately close off access for highly qualified people, who have lived in Scotland and are settled within the community to work and contribute to our society... we believe that Scotland should promote migration patterns where people settle here permanently (Scottish Affairs Committee, 2011, p.43).

The STUC's attitude towards immigration reveals detachment and divergence from the British Government's immigration strategy. In fact, Scotland's vision of immigration is for permanent settlement whereas the British Government's calls for temporary migration (Thiec, 2014, p.217). According to the STUC, student's work visas 'can help rebalance the age distribution and provides a greater opportunity for migrants to contribute to Scottish economy'. In addition, international students

contribute to the Scottish economy as they provide funding for Scottish universities (Scottish Affairs Committee, 2011 p.43).

- *Cameron and the failure of 'state multiculturalism'*

In 2010, a language requirement was imposed on partners applying for entry to the UK. Theresa May, then Home Secretary, explained this provision as a means to 'help promote integration, remove cultural barriers and protect public services' (cited in Bale & Hampshire, 2012, p.100). This measure reflected the Conservative Party's approach to integration. Subsequently, Prime Minister David Cameron continuously pondered on the failure of state multiculturalism (See for example Cameron, 2011, online). In his famous speech at Munich security conference in 2011, Cameron announced the failure of 'state multiculturalism' stating that: 'under the doctrine of state multiculturalism, we have encouraged different cultures to live separate lives, apart from each other and apart from the mainstream' (2011, online). Olivier Esteves draws attention to the choice of such an event on security, terrorism and the radicalisation of Muslim youths to make a statement on multiculturalism (2014, p.22).

- *Restrictions on family migration and on illegal immigration*

A number of changes were introduced on the immigration system under the coalition government, especially in relation to family migration (Hutton, 2017, p.38), with the aim of 'stopping abuse, promoting integration and reducing the burden on the taxpayer' (Home Office, 2011, p.3). One of the major changes involves the introduction of minimum income threshold for spousal migration in 2012 (Hutton, 2017, p.38). Under this provision, every person who wants to sponsor a spouse must have a minimum income of £18,600 per year (Hutton, 2017, p.38). This provision was heavily criticized as the minimum income required cannot be attained by an important proportion of the British population (Migration Observatory, 2018). In addition, the minimum income requirement, instead of promoting integration, may result in a feeling of alienation from British society as a result of the impact of the measure (Wray et al., 2015, online).

The government also increased the probationary period for spouses to claim indefinite leave to remain (Hutton, 2017, p.39). Initially set to two years, the minimum period of residence was increased to five years. This measure together with the language and income requirements clearly aimed at further controlling immigration and at fighting suspected sham marriages. The Home Office also issued instructions on *Genuine and Subsisting Relationship* to determine whether marriages with foreign nationals are genuine (Hutton, 2017, p.41). Criteria of assessment involved ‘factors which may indicate a non-genuine relationship include being unable to communicate in a shared language, being unable to recount accurate personal details about the other and how they met, having had very few or no guests at the wedding and having ‘a lack of appropriate contribution to the responsibilities of the marriage’ (Hutton, 2017, p.41).

In 2014, a new *Immigration Act* was passed. The Act increased the power to investigate suspected sham marriages. It increased powers to remove migrants without a proper leave to remain and it limited appeal rights to those on refusal of a human rights claim (Hutton, 2017, p.40). Under the Act, the rights of illegal immigrants to access services such as health and housing were restricted (Hutton, 2017, p.40). The Act also sought to control the powers of the courts to take decisions, by codifying what the courts ought and ought not to take into consideration in such cases (Hutton, 2017, p.41). This measure was meant ‘to prevent the courts from taking their own view on the proportionality of any interference with article 8 rights in particular cases’ (Hutton, 2017, p.40).

As Home Secretary, Theresa May’s measures aimed at further restricting immigration. She was criticized for ‘tightening eligibility and announcing crackdown after crackdown in order to meet the government’s ultimately unmeetable target of reducing net migration’ (Partos & Bale, 2015, p.170).

## **2.2 More restrictive measures on immigration**

Another restrictive immigration policy is the *Immigration Act of 2016*. It further restricted the rights of appeal for migrants (Immigration Act, 2016, pp.63-65). The Act also reaffirmed the offences for employing an illegal worker (Immigration Act, 2016, p.23) and set English language requirements for public

sector workers. According to the *Immigration Act of 2016*, ‘a public authority must ensure that each person who works for the public authority in a customer-facing role speaks fluent English’ (Immigration Act, 2016, p.65).

Changes on the *2016 Immigration Act* were proposed by the May government in 2018. This includes the *Dubs Amendment* which deals with the status of children who have been refused asylum and thus risk deportation. According to the UK visas and Immigration website, the *Dubs Amendment* allowed for:

The creation of a new form of leave for children ... who do not qualify for refugee or humanitarian protection leave will still be able to remain in the UK long term. Those who qualify for this new form of leave will be able to study work, access public funds and healthcare and apply for settlement after 5 years, without paying a fee (HM Government, 2018, online).

In addition, the Home Office formulated plans to remove doctors and nurses from the Tier 2 visa category, and to make it easier for students to come and study in the UK, the Home Office has expanded the list of universities from which students will be able to benefit from a streamlined application process.

### **2.3 The May-led government and Brexit**

Today, more immigration concerns are voiced after the decision to leave the EU in 2016 (Grierson, 2018, online), putting more pressure on the Conservative government for its future plans on immigration. In a pre-referendum article The Migration Observatory stressed the ‘enormous uncertainty’ about the policies envisaged for EU citizens seeking to move to the UK (Migration Observatory, 2016, online). The article exposed the different options that the UK could pursue to regulate immigration from EU countries including the extension of existing non-EU immigration rules to European migrants or the application of an ‘Australian-style points-based system’, similar to the existing immigration system. The article also drew attention to the situation of EU citizens already living in the UK, and to Brits overseas and stressed the need to negotiate the terms of the UK-EU relationship especially in terms of free movement of people (Migration observatory, 2016, online).

Recently, a White Paper was presented to the British Parliament on the *Future Relationship between the United Kingdom and the European Union*. ‘Ending free movement’ is set as one of the main decisions in the Prime Minister’s foreword (Home Office, 2018, p.1). According to the White Paper, Brexit would mean regaining control over borders. It states:

In future it will be for the UK Government and Parliament to determine the domestic immigration rules that will apply. Free movement of people will end as the UK leaves the EU. The Immigration Bill will bring EU migration under UK law, enabling the UK to set out its future immigration system in domestic legislation (Home Office, 2018, p.32).

The Home Office refers to ‘putting in place a new immigration system’ (2018, p.6), without providing more specification on the type of immigration system envisaged for EU migrants. The post-Brexit immigration system is thought to be ‘a system that works for all parts of the UK’. It will mainly rely on the Migration Advisory Committee to establish information on EU patterns of migration (Home Office, 2018, p.32). Thus, the Conservative government is seemingly planning to pursue a similar immigration strategy for all migrants, affirming that ‘the UK’s future immigration arrangements will set out how those from the EU and elsewhere can apply to come and work in the UK’ (Home Office, 2018, p.32). In addition, the immigration system envisaged in the White Paper will be based on selective immigration ‘to continue to attract the brightest and best, from the EU and elsewhere’ (Home Office, 2018, p.32). Reducing migration is still stated as a main objective of the government (Home Office, 2018, p.32). The Paper also states that ‘existing workers’ rights enjoyed under EU law will continue to be available in UK law on the day of withdrawal (Home Office, 2018, p.41). The White Paper also advocates the establishment of new framework that facilitates the movement of UK and EU citizens to each other’s countries (Home Office, 2018, p.9).

In an interview with *the Guardian Newspaper*, Home Secretary, Sajid Javid, announced tougher immigration and citizenship rules after Brexit (Grierson & Walker, 2018, online). New measures proposed by the Home Secretary include tougher English language requirements and a new ‘British values test’ for citizenship to replace ‘Life in the UK’ (Grierson & Walker, 2018). According to Sajid, integration can be fulfilled only through selective immigration. He declares: ‘I’m

determined to break down barriers to integration wherever I find them. Take, for example, the most basic barrier of all: language' (Grierson & Walker, 2018, online).

### **3. Scotland's policies and initiatives on immigration integration**

The devolution settlement has completely changed politics in Scotland. For immigration and integration, decisions are made on different levels of government as part of decentralisation of power. Immigration, citizenship and asylum are part of the British Government's prerogatives. The Concordat between the Scottish Executive and the Home Office in 1999 clearly establishes the extent of power of the UK in matters of immigration and asylum. It states:

Areas where the UK Government, and in particular the Secretary of State for the Home Department, retain responsibility under the Scotland Act (reserved matters) include the constitution of the United Kingdom, the functions of the security services, national security, immigration and asylum matters, criminal law in relation to drugs, elections to the Scottish Parliament, the UK Parliament and the European Parliament and race equality (Scottish Government, 1999, p.1).

At the same time, the range of policies for the integration of newcomers such as education, housing, health are part of the Scottish Government's responsibilities, which can create tension between the two levels of governance (Thiec, 2014, p.206).

#### **3.1 Coalition governments' initiatives on immigration and integration**

- ***The Fresh Talent Initiative***

The first Labour-led coalition government introduced the Fresh Talent Initiative in 2004. The initiative was considered as a 'very innovative piece of policy making' (Cavanagh et al., 2008, p.4). It aimed at addressing the demographic challenge in Scotland by attracting more migration. Jack McConnell, the then First Minister, stressed the welcoming nature of the Scots, stating: 'across the world, Scots enjoy a reputation of being warm, welcoming, friendly people.' (Scottish Executive,

2004, online). Through this statement, the First Minister infers that newcomers will find no difficulties integrating the society. Also, under the first post-devolution government, an Equality Unit was created within the Executive in order to facilitate the integration of equality into policy development. Considered as a 'policy solution tailored to particular Scottish needs' (Cavanagh et al. 2008, p.4), the Fresh Talent Initiative mainly stressed the importance of communication to promote the image of Scotland abroad. A Relocation Advisory Service was also created to provide advice for those wishing to settle in Scotland (Scottish Government, online). The Fresh Talent Initiative can be considered as a 'variation' or exception to the rule as it allowed the Scottish Government to have some power over immigration by allowing foreign graduates to stay and work in Scotland (EHRC, 2009, p.17).

One of the main achievements of the Fresh Talent Initiative is the Working in Scotland Scheme (FTWiSS), which was launched in 2005 and allowed international graduates from Scottish universities to live and work in Scotland for two years without the need of a work permit<sup>67</sup> (Scottish Government, online). The scheme was managed by the Home Office and in 2007 the programme expanded to the rest of the UK under the name of International Graduate Scheme. The scheme was replaced by the post-study work visa after the introduction of the points-based system.

---

<sup>67</sup>Eligibility for the programme includes graduation from a Scottish university or college and the obtaining of a Higher National Diploma, degree, Masters or PhD course. In addition a minimum residence period in Scotland during the studies and proof of self-maintaining are also required (UK Government, 2007, pp. 4-7).

| Category                               | 2011          | 2012          | 2013         | 2014         |
|----------------------------------------|---------------|---------------|--------------|--------------|
| Tier 1                                 | 44,246        | 35,476        | 1,595        | 887          |
| <i>Of which:</i>                       |               |               |              |              |
| <i>Tier 1 - Post Study</i>             | 43,319        | 34,895        | 556          | 48           |
| <i>Tier 1 - General</i>                | 682           | 148           | 31           | 4            |
| <i>Tier 1 - Investors</i>              | 68            | 85            | 148          | 283          |
| <i>Tier 1 - Entrepreneurs</i>          | 177           | 321           | 688          | 266          |
| <i>Tier 1 - Graduate Entrepreneur</i>  | -             | 27            | 171          | 286          |
| Tier 2                                 | 1,730         | 2,614         | 4,175        | 5,639        |
| <i>Of which:</i>                       |               |               |              |              |
| <i>Tier 2 - General</i>                | 1,670         | 2,538         | 4,109        | 5,596        |
| <i>Tier 2 - Intra Company Transfer</i> | 0             | 1             | 5            | 5            |
| <i>Tier 2 - Minister of Religion</i>   | 59            | 74            | 62           | 37           |
| <i>Tier 2 - Sportsperson</i>           | 1             | 1             | 0            | 1            |
| Tier 5                                 | 0             | 134           | 210          | 388          |
| <b>Total</b>                           | <b>45,976</b> | <b>38,224</b> | <b>5,980</b> | <b>6,914</b> |

Table 4: Grants to student visa holders of an extension of stay under a work visa (UK Parliament, online)

The end of the post-study Work visa in 2010 has resulted in a fall in numbers of visas granted for graduates from British universities (table 4). The consequence has been a widespread outrage in Scotland where Scottish political actors called for the reinstatement of the post-study work visa (See for example SNP, 2017; Scottish Liberal Democrats, 2017). Universities in Scotland also expressed disapproval of the coalition government measure<sup>68</sup>.

---

<sup>68</sup>See for example Edinburgh University report submitted to the Scottish Parliament's Devolution Committee evidence session into post-study work visas for international students (University of Edinburgh, online).

The exact impact of such a decision on Scotland cannot be estimated (UK Parliament, online). A review on the progress of the Fresh Talent Initiative acknowledges that ‘because FTWiSS was never articulated in terms of targets and performance indicators – in some senses this was actively avoided – it is difficult to make an assessment of its overall impact’ (Cavanagh et al. 2008, p.6). According to a progress report on the Fresh Talent Initiative in 2006 the rationale for the initiative remained sound (Rogerson et al. 2006 p.36). However, figures from Table 5 show an important fall in the number of applications for work visas for international students, by over 80%.

- ***One Scotland, Many Cultures***

The Labour – Liberal Democrats coalition has also sought to fight racism and discrimination through the ‘One Scotland, Many Cultures’ campaign which was continued by subsequent SNP administrations from 2007 onwards. ‘One Scotland, Many Cultures’ aims at tackling racism and discrimination and has been used as ‘the masthead’ for race equality in Scotland (Brown, 2010, p.6). The Scottish Government states that the objectives of the campaign are ‘to raise awareness of racism among the general public, draw attention to its negative impact on society, and promote the benefits of a diverse population to Scotland’ (Scottish Government, 2006, online). The campaign has also encouraged ethnic minorities to report race-related incidents, as a number of victims prefer to keep a low profile and refrain from reporting incidents of harassment. It also used TV and radio in the period between February and March 2006 to promote the ‘One Scotland, Many Cultures’ campaign.

### **3.2 SNP-led governments’ initiatives on integration**

The ‘One Scotland, Many Cultures’ initiative was continued by subsequent SNP governments. One of the actions of the campaign was performed through the displaying of two billboard advertisements across Scotland (Scottish Government, 2007, online). The billboards consisted of the two words ‘discrimination’ and ‘racism’ against a blue background and are scrapped by white paint. The image is a reminder of the Scottish flag and reflects the non-acceptance of racism and

discrimination as being part of Scotland and Scottish national identity. The Scottish Government's website explains the advert as: 'the Saltire powerfully overcoming and ridding Scotland of racism' (Scottish Government, 2007, online). The use of graffiti style also aims at attracting and sensitizing young Scots on the issues of discrimination and racism. Louise Macdonald, Deputy Chief Executive of Young Scot affirmed that: 'the One Scotland campaign has helped to increase awareness and understanding of race issues and the consultation was designed to complement and support that whilst also taking things a step further by giving young people a voice on racism' (Scottish Government, 2007, online).



*Figure 10: One Scotland Many Cultures billboard advertisement (Scottish Government, 2007)*

The initiative was extended later on to include other forms of discrimination under the 'One Scotland' campaign. The official website for the campaign clearly promotes equality. It states: 'Scotland believes in equality for all. No one should be denied opportunities because of age, disability, gender, gender identity, race, religion or belief, or sexual orientation' (One Scotland, online). One of the last of One Scotland campaigns has been '#WeAreScotland'. It aims at celebrating diversity through exposing and telling the experiences of people who decided to live in Scotland. The campaign covers different forms of discrimination throughout different other campaigns such as 'hate crime' 'race campaign' and 'LGBT campaign' (Figure 11).

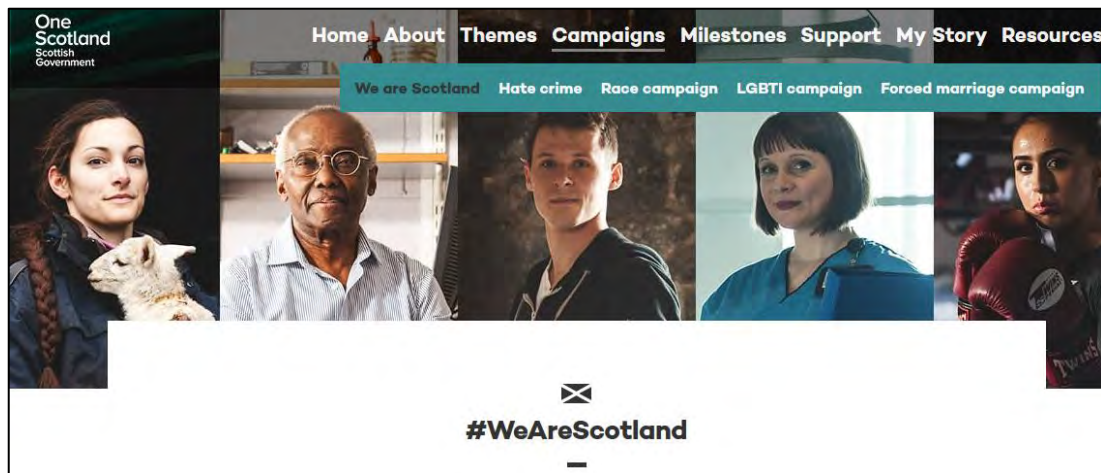


Figure 11: #WeAreScotland campaign Homepage<sup>69</sup>(Scottish Government, online)

The #WeAreScotland's campaign website reflects the intention to promote and valorise diversity with people from diverse ethnic backgrounds and different walks of life used in the home page. In addition, in its homepage, the campaign is presented as follows:

Yes, we. Because no matter what your race, creed, colour or culture, you're welcome here. After all, it's the contribution of the many that makes Scotland what it is: one great country. The truth is, all of us – living, working, laughing, sharing and loving life in Scotland – have more in common than that which divides us. This is Scotland standing up for what matters at a time when it couldn't matter more. Because the reality is – and the evidence shows – a more equal, more diverse society makes for a more productive, happier society. So it's with pride we say that in Scotland there's no V, there's just you, me and we. And we are Scotland' (Scottish Government, online).

The description further reinforces the positive aspect of multiculturalism and the contribution of minorities to Scottish society. The video advert used for the campaign further reinforces these elements<sup>70</sup>. It also refers to the problem of sectarianism that is still present in Scotland. The advert promotes inclusiveness and acceptance and calls for active participation in Scottish society in order for Scotland to be 'standing up for those calling this land their home' (Scottish Government,

<sup>69</sup>A new campaign promoting inward migration has been developed in 2019 under the hashtag #Scotlandisnow.

<sup>70</sup>The video advert can be found on the #WeAreScotland's campaign website.

online). The website also highlights the demographic specificity of Scotland and the need for workforce stating: 'Scotland welcomes the contribution of those who choose to live and work here' (Scottish Government, online). Other videos featuring people from different ethnic backgrounds telling their experience of living in Scotland can be found in the One Scotland website<sup>71</sup>. The videos convey the idea of a successful integration in Scotland and promote the multicultural trajectory of Scotland's integration.

- *'New Scots': A distinctive approach to refugees integration*

In 2013, Scotland's first 'New Scots: Integrating Refugees in Scotland's Communities' strategy was developed (Scottish Government, online). According to the Scottish Government website, New Scots was:

[a] strategy set out for the first time the Scottish Government's vision for refugee and asylum seeker integration in Scotland. It established a framework to coordinate work by a range of partner organisations and groups involved in supporting refugees. It has aimed to bring together, encourage and promote partnership working and early intervention where possible (Scottish Government, online).

Thus, the main aim of 'New Scots' is to assist the successful integration of refugees and promote their active participation into Scottish society.

The expression 'New Scots' has been extensively used by political parties to refer to newly settled immigrants and convey the inclusiveness of Scottish national identity. The SNP has continuously adopted the expression in reference to newly established migrants in Scotland (2005, p.6; 2007, p.21), and has embraced the concept which reinforces the civic and inclusive aspect of Scottish national identity. The party also dedicates a section of its website to 'New Scots' as can be seen in figure 12. The New Scots homepage shows 3 people from seemingly different ethnic backgrounds, with the character at the front holding the Scottish flag. This image further confirms the SNP's promotion of a civic and open form of Scottishness through the adoption of the expression 'New Scots'.

---

<sup>71</sup>The videos can be found on <https://onescotland.org/campaigns/we-are-scotland/>

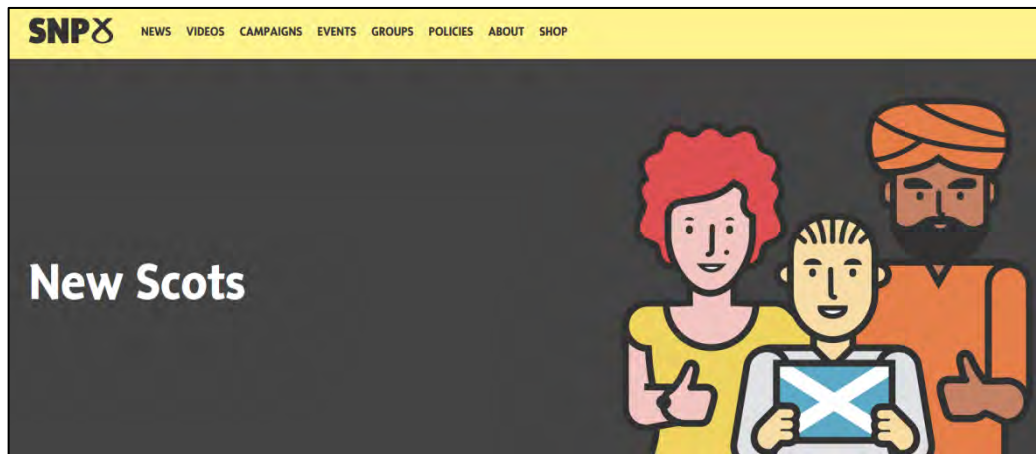


Figure 12: New Scots section in the SNP official website (Scottish National Party, online)

Another campaign elaborated in relation to refugees is #RefugeesWelcome. The hashtag was widely embraced in Scotland in order to pressure and prompt the British Government to accept refugees in the aftermath of the war in Syria. Having received worldwide support, #RefugeesWelcome was used in 22.1k tweets and is followed by 3307 around the world, in addition to a number of related hashtags like ‘Willkommensgrüße ツ’(1297 followers) or ‘Réfugiés welcome’ (149 followers). In Scotland, the campaign was widely embraced among the public. Humza Yousaf, then minister of external affairs, shared his endorsement for the refugees welcome hashtag and prepared a ‘welcome plan’ for refugees (*BBC News*, 2013, online). The Refugees Welcome Scotland has also made extensive use of social media with the creation of a dedicated Facebook page in order to further promote its message and inform wider public.

The management of refugees and asylum seekers integration during dispersal has resulted in different treatment and policy responses among the Scottish Government (EHRC, 2009, p.17). The EHRC, in *Room for manoeuvre? The options for addressing immigration-policy divergence between Holyrood and Westminster*, exposes the diverging responses of the Scottish Government on refugees’ integration. For example, the Scottish Government provides funding on integration-related activities upon arrival, whereas the Home Office grants funding only when the refugee status is confirmed (EHRC, 2009, p.17). Similarly, according to the article,

the Scottish Government has been 'more generous' in terms of homelessness allocations, allowing for refugees to apply for social housing even outside of their assigned area (EHRC, 2009, p.17).

- ***'Race Equality Framework for Scotland'***

In relation to equality, as the Scottish Parliament and government cannot decide on equality matters, legislation on race relations and race equality are performed at the UK level. Meanwhile, the Scottish Government is allowed to conduct research and inquiry on government policy. For example, in 2010, the Parliamentary Commission on the Equality of Chances conducted research on the impact of migrant population to Scottish society. More recently, a *Race Equality Framework for Scotland* was launched on the 21st of March 2016. The scheme, planned for 2016-2030, has been developed to tackle racism and promote equality in partnership with organisations.

The Scottish Government's efforts on race equality can be seen as a commitment to develop its own race equality strategy (Meer, 2016, p.3). Nasar Meer considers the initiative as a 'distinctively Scottish, rather than UK experience' (2016, p.3). He states:

The Framework document itself shows that there has been a sincere effort to reflect on the successes and limitations of prevailing race equality approaches in Scotland, and an attempt to identify gaps in data and other kinds of practice-based knowledge that might hinder the delivery of effective race equality strategies (Meer, 2016, p.4).

The Scottish Government has also extensively worked on tackling issues of sectarianism and religious hatred through legislation such as the *Offensive Behaviour at Football and Threatening Communications (Scotland) Act 2012*; an Act that tackles football supporters' sectarian behaviour. Through such measures as using tariffs and sanctions, the treatment of religious discrimination becomes more symmetrical with racial discrimination than is the case in England and Wales (Meer, 2016, p.3).

### 3.3 Third sector in Scotland

At the local level, the associative work has had an important impact on community cohesion as it aims at encouraging people from different ethnicities to participate in social life and facilitate the process of integration. A larger number of community and voluntary organizations are very active at the local as well as national level: the Council of Ethnic minority Voluntary Sector (CEMVO), the Black and Ethnic Minorities Infrastructure in Scotland (BEMIS), Edinburgh and Lothian's Racial Equality Council (ELREC) and the Scottish Ethnic Minority Sports Association (SEMSA).

- **BEMIS**

An example of Scotland's third sector organisations that work closely with the Scottish Government is BEMIS. It is an umbrella body supporting the development of the ethnic minorities' voluntary sector in Scotland through valuing the contribution of people from the diverse communities, offering equal opportunities and encouraging ethnic minorities to participate in civil society. One of the projects carried on by BEMIS is *Gathered Together*— or *Cruinn Còmhla* —, an initiative intended to promote parental involvement in their children education and to encourage integration within different communities. BEMIS describes involvement in *Gathered Together* initiative as:

Our mission is to promote inclusion and active citizenship for Ethnic Minority parents and carers, stimulating pro-active engagement in their children's education and advancing pathways to establishing closer relationships between home and the school community. The focus on initiating and sustaining such cooperation between parents, carers and parent councils is crucial to success in driving the desired enhancement of children's achievement and attainment (BEMIS(a), online).

Special attention is also provided to the Roma community and Gypsy travellers living in Scotland, in order to accommodate their specific needs and to provide adequate education for the children of these minorities. For example, the *Inserom Project*, a project involving different organizations including BEMIS was initiated to 'to empower and capacity build the Roma community to become active citizens in their host countries' (BEMIS(b), online) through the production of an

educational toolkit meant to inform Roma communities on the legislation and procedures dedicated to the Roma community across Europe as well as a trainers guide on the different activities open to these communities (BEMIS(b), online). The *Inserom Project* is elaborated within a European framework and shows the harmonized aspect of integration under the EU.

Other initiatives organised by BEMIS include the Annual Homecoming Celebration or ‘multicultural Homecoming’ in 2014, an event organised by Visit Scotland ‘to promote Scotland internationally, and to celebrate both the country’s heritage and the diverse communities’ (BEMIS(c), online). Chief Executive of BEMIS Rami Ousta commented on the multicultural Homecoming of 2014 as ‘the Scottish Government’s support to this programme reflects a serious commitment to stimulating and empowering active participation of the diverse communities in line with the wider civic society’ (BEMIS(c), online).

- ***The Glasgow Refugee Asylum and Migration Network***

BEMIS and other third sector organisations have been working closely with refugees, for example, by helping organize events in order to raise awareness on refugees’ issues. One of the events aiming at sensitizing the public on refugees’ issues is the GRAMNet film series. The projection of films is meant to showcase migration and asylum issues (University of Glasgow, online). The last GRAMNet series focused on the African continent. The GRAMNet describes itself as aiming ‘to bring together researchers and practitioners, NGOs and policy makers working with migrants, refugees and asylum seekers in Scotland’ (University of Glasgow, online). The network is funded by the University of Glasgow.

- ***The Scottish Refugee Council***

The Scottish Refugee Council is another organization that aims at assisting newly settled refugees in the process of integration. The Scottish Refugee Council provides different services for refugees and asylum seekers in Scotland such as offering advice and assistance on the necessary steps necessary for integration such as acquiring a National Insurance Number, asking for benefits claims, and accessing accommodation (Scottish Refugee Council, online).

Recently, the Scottish Refugee Council has worked on a *New Scots Refugee Integration Strategy 2018 – 2022* formulated together with the Scottish Government and COSLA. The *New Scots Integration Strategy* is described as:

a strategy which sets out a roadmap for how Scotland can best support people seeking refugee protection to build meaningful and sustainable lives here. The New Scots' vision is for a welcoming Scotland where refugees and asylum seekers are able to rebuild their lives from the day they arrive (Scottish Refugee Council, online).

The project's aims are to guarantee the integration of asylum seekers 'from day one' (Scottish Refugee Council, online), and to inform new settlers about their rights and the way to exercise them (Scottish Refugee Council, online). It also promotes the participation of refugees in the New Scots strategy formulation (Scottish Refugee Council, online).

### **3.4 Other initiatives from Police Scotland**

Other initiatives, conducted to improve ethnic minorities' integration, have been performed through Police Scotland. There have been more initiatives in recent years to engage with the communities through meetings and radio interventions. Efforts were also made to encourage people to report incidents of physical or verbal abuse, either by directly contacting a police officer, by phone, online or through third party reporting<sup>72</sup>. Police Scotland has also established third party reporting centres across Scotland and online forms to facilitate reporting of race crimes for victims who face intimidation. Ethnic minorities are also encouraged to join the police in order to have a more diverse team. Police Scotland official website celebrates the success of BME recruitment as a means to reflect Scotland's 'proud history of being a diverse country' (Police Scotland, 2018). According to the Police Scotland website, this strategy also 'allows potential candidates to speak to a variety of people from the service and answers any questions they may have that are specific to black and ethnic

---

<sup>72</sup>Third party reporting is a solution for victims who are intimidated or are not comfortable to directly report to the police office. Third Party offices were created to facilitate reporting incidents of hate crime (Police Scotland, online).

minority communities' (Police Scotland, 2018). Lately, the introduction of the hijab as an official uniform has been a step towards attracting more recruits from different communities.

### 3.5 Local Councils

At the local authorities' level, much work has been done to marketing Scotland as an attractive destination (Green, 2014, p.239). Mhoraig Green examines local authorities' efforts to attract migration, providing examples of successful campaigns and initiatives throughout Scotland. One example is the Shetland Islands Council that developed a 'Welcome Pack' about life in the Shetlands for newcomers (2014, p.247). Another initiative developed by Shetland local authorities, is 'Promote Shetland', a marketing agency that advertises Shetland as an attractive place to live (2014, p.247). An example of these initiatives is the Shetland Food Fair in 2014. Using influential figures like Tony Singh, known for 'combining his Sikh upbringing with his love of Scottish produce' (Promote Shetland, 2014), to open the fair. Figure 14 shows Tony Singh surrounded by people wearing medieval costumes. The photo retrieved from the Promote Shetland website reflects the symbiosis between Scottishness and multiculturalism. This strategy echoes the promotion of diversity on the islands. The fair is seen as 'an opportunity to inspire and educate the local audience on the huge range of quality produce available from the isles' and 'to focus attention on the isles' many attributes, bring in visitors and encourage new residents to settle here' (Promote Shetland, 2014). Shetland Islands Council initiatives reflect a creative way to attract migrants and to solve the problem of aging population (Green, 2014, p.246) and circumvent the tough immigration line pursued by the British Government. Green draws attention to the challenge of such initiatives especially in the context of restricted budgets (2014, p.247).



*Figure 13: The Shetland Food Fair 2014 –(Promote Shetland, online)*

Local Authorities Councils recognize the need to control migration, especially in the aftermath of Brexit, and the likely decline in EU migrants. The Convention of Scottish Local Authorities has focused on the issue of migration and asserts the need for migrants. According to COSLA, ‘Councils are already facing acute shortages in a number of key sectors and these will only be exacerbated if and when the UK leaves the single market’(COSLA, 2017, online). In the same report, the demographic needs of Scotland were highlighted. The positive natural change in Scotland is seen as the result of increasing immigration and concerns are raised on the possible impact of Brexit and the maintaining of the points-based system for immigration (COSLA, 2017, online).

## Conclusion

The successive Labour– and Conservative–led governments after 1997 have opted for selective immigration policy, pledging for the limiting of immigration to the skilled and highly skilled workers. New Labour’s initiatives to achieve that was through ‘managed’ migration. The points-based system was implemented in order to further manage immigration. New Labour’s approach to immigration can be seen as following a tough migration policy line that is directed towards economic migration.

At the level of integration, New Labour followed earlier governments’ approach to race relations, and focused on race equality as a main objective. Two Race Equality Acts were passed and the scope of action of these acts covered other areas of discrimination such as gender, religion, disability and sexual orientation. The citizenship and language tests initiated by the Labour Party were much debatable as they question the multicultural aspect of British integration politics<sup>73</sup>

The Conservative governments’ that followed opted for an even stricter stance on immigration. Under the leadership of David Cameron the Conservative Government has confirmed a move from multicultural policies through for example the English language requirement for partners’ immigration. It was claimed that ‘in practice, immigration policy under the Conservatives in recent years has been remarkably restrictive, hard-line and, at times, both hyperbolic and hyperactive’ (Partos & Bale, 2015, p.170). After leaving the EU, the UK will still have more control over its immigration system. From the Conservatives’ perspective, Brexit can be seen as ‘a unique opportunity to reshape our immigration system for the future’ (Javid, Cited in Grierson & Walker, 2018, online).

As immigration and refugee issues are reserved matters, Scotland does not have the power to decide on these issues, except through the MPs sent to British Parliament. Same is for legislation on equality which is decided on at the level of British Parliament. However, Scotland governments’ and local authorities have been

---

<sup>73</sup>See for example. a discussion on *BBC News* on whether migrants should adopt British norms and values in order to become British [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/talking\\_point/1700363.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/talking_point/1700363.stm)

able to pressure British governments on immigration and to work their own strategies in order to attract newcomers.

## **CHAPTER III: THE IMPACT OF SUPRANATIONAL INSTITUTIONS ON IMMIGRATION AND INTEGRATION**

In the context of multi-level politics, the supranational institutions mainly embodied in the EU, the Council of Europe and the European Commission have power over its members. This allows for the harmonization of different policy areas such as immigration and integration. The EU authority in these fields generally manifests itself in the form of policy coordination, giving room for manoeuvre to individual member states. Other intergovernmental organizations such as the UN have an important impact in relation to human rights and asylum.

### **1. The European Union**

Much of the integration legislation and some aspects of immigration are harmonized in the context of EU membership. The EU project's main ambition has been to create and promote a European citizenship and European sense of identity (Ersbøll, 1999, p.33), and one of the main principles of European citizenship is the free circulation of people which facilitates movement in member states. The free movement of people also has an impact on the immigrants' influx and raises questions about the relatively uncontrolled nature of immigration for EU member states.

The UK, despite joining the EU in 1973, kept separate borders control and immigration system for non-EU nationals, through its decision not to join the Schengen Area. Despite having opted for a different immigration system while retaining membership within the EU, the UK immigration and asylum laws have

been influenced by and sometimes subject to EU directives at the political and legal levels (Clayton et al., 2012, p.178). Under this agreement, being unable to control the free circulation of European citizens in the UK has triggered much debate and was one of the main arguments to leave the EU in 2016. However, after a majority vote on Brexit, the UK is today in a transition period that leaves its frontiers open to migrants from the EU. It would be able to regain control over its frontiers and the influx of migrants from the EU after finalising the terms of Brexit.

### 1.1 The EU on immigration and asylum

The idea of free circulation of people and the creation of a single market started with the *Treaty of Rome* in 1957. The initial foundations of the European Economic Community have been based on a desire to establish a European citizenship for all member states and a shared European identity (Ersbøll, 1999, p.33).

Later on, *The Schengen Treaty* was the first step to define the external frontiers of the EU and the gradual suppression of internal frontiers between member states (de Wenden, 1999, p.27). The main aim of the treaty was to facilitate movement between member states with the final objective of achieving a single market (de Wenden, 1999, p.28).

*The Treaty of Maastricht* (1992) consolidated these objectives i.e. to establish a common citizenship to EU nationals and to facilitate the free movement of persons (Maastricht Treaty, 1992, p.4). The final objective of the treaty is to ‘to continue the process of creating an ever closer union’ (Maastricht Treaty, 1992, p.4).

Asylum rights in Europe were guaranteed by the charter of fundamental rights of EU and have been part of the competences of the Commission since the enforcement of the *Treaty of Maastricht* in 1993. In addition, under human rights agreements, international law requires that the refugee be granted asylum and to accord *non-refoulement* through time (Goodwin-Gill, 2014,p.41). The prohibition of *refoulement* derives from Article 3 of the European Convention of Human Rights in Strasbourg (1989) which refers to the obligation not to return persons to a territory of origin where their life is at risk as a legally binding one.

More measures and treaties were signed afterwards like the establishment of a harmonized (customs) information system SIS in 1990 to facilitate the exchange of information between member states. Other provisions include the harmonization of visa systems, with common criteria and rules for visas in order to avoid a favouring towards more lenient and permissive member states. Similarly, family reunion applications are harmonized (1993) and a common short stay permit is adopted (1996). In 2004, the European Border and Coast Guard Agency was created. Its main objective has been to help EU member states manage their borders and harmonize border controls. It also 'facilitates cooperation between border authorities in each EU country' (FRONTEX, online). Other measures include common responsibility in relation to asylum, cooperation at the level of customs and police information (de Wenden, 1999, p28). These measures contributed to changing the perceptions of national / foreigner within the EU framework (de Wenden, 1999, 29).

Another important step in terms of asylum and immigration has been The Dublin Convention (1990). It organised asylum applications to avoid multiple applications in different countries. Through this process, the final decision on asylum rests in the hands of individual member states, where the asylum application was performed (de Wenden, 1999, p.29). Subsequently other initiatives were adopted in relation to asylum, like the application of a harmonized definition of the term 'refugee' (de Wenden, 1999, p.30) or the sharing of the expenses of asylum. (de Wenden, 1999, p.30). In 2003, a new directive was adopted to fix the minimum requirements to accepting refugees. This limited asylum seekers movements to seek better conditions in other EU members, and also limited the rights for asylum seekers to choose the country of application for refugee status.

*The Amsterdam Treaty* (1997) consolidated the initial *Treaty of Rome* (1957) which established the EEC. The main aim behind the Amsterdam Treaty was to 'assert its identity on the international scene, in particular through the implementation of a common foreign and security policy', 'strengthen the protection of the rights and interests of the nationals of its member states through the introduction of a citizenship of the Union' and 'maintain and develop the Union as an area of freedom, security and justice, in which the free movement of persons is assured in conjunction with appropriate measures with respect to external border

controls, asylum, immigration' (p.8, 1997). Thus, in terms of immigration and asylum, a common legal framework is provided thanks to EU legislation regarding the conditions of entry and stay and a common set of rights for certain categories of migrants. (European Commission, 2011, p.2)

In relation to harmonized immigration systems, the UK, in addition to Ireland, can be said to have 'anomalous positions' (Clayton et al. 2012, p.190). The UK decided not to follow the EU provisions on immigration and join the Schengen agreements, including visas and borders regulations. This possibility was allowed through a Protocol exempting the UK and Ireland from the abolition of border controls (Peers et al., 2012 p.21). Since 2000, Schengen agreements also allowed for the UK to apply to participate only partly in the Schengen *acquis* (Peers et al., 2012, p.21). Such regulations would mean that a specific visa is required for non-EU nationals to enter UK territories. At the same time, membership in the EU would entail the free circulation of the 'favoured group' i.e. EU nationals in the UK (Clayton et al. 2012, p.179). This decision was made mainly in order to keep better control and flexibility over the UK immigration system (Clayton et al. 2012, p.190).

Furthermore, the expansion of EU in 2004 to include 8 new members and again in 2007 with the addition of Bulgaria and Romania have led the UK to implement strict criteria on migrants from Bulgaria and Romania in order to deal with possible influx of migrants from newly added members.

At the level of asylum law, The UK has accepted and followed many of the EU directives, and has adopted the Common European Asylum System (Clayton et al. 2012, p.179). As an EU member, the UK has to follow and act upon EU directives and dispositions in terms of asylum. In order to deal with the increasing number of refugees and asylum seekers, the UK government created two categories instead of the already established 'Exceptional Leave to Remain': 'Humanitarian Protection' and 'Discretionary Leave'. The two categories do not grant the same status and rights as refugees and further create obstacles to those intending to stay in the UK. Through such a measure, the status of refugee is granted only to a limited number of applicants.

Much work has also been performed in relation to illegal immigration through the adoption of common provisions in terms of illegal immigration, trafficking on persons and asylum (Clayton et al. 2012, p.190).

## 1.2 The EU and integration

Despite delegating the power on integration to individual member states, the European Commission has retained control over some aspects of integration. Different EU institutions are involved in the elaboration and the promotion of common integration strategies across Europe, including the Council of the European Union, the European parliament and the Committee of the regions, and the European Economic and Social Committee.

According to Catherine Wihtol de Wenden, the EU establishes a framework and the different states elaborate their own asylum mechanisms (de Wenden, 1999, p.30). Overall, the EU approach to integration can be considered as pragmatic as it allowed political actors to make use of common experience as EU members and retain power over certain aspects of migration like asylum for instance.

EU cooperation in the area of integration of third-country nationals has developed since the adoption of the Tampere Programme in 1999. The Tampere Programme has stressed the need to elaborate a common EU policy in terms of migration and asylum (European Commission, 1999, online). It called for the establishment of a common framework in terms of asylum, the fighting of illegal immigration and the providing of equal treatment for third countries nationals, in relation to admission and residence.

The *Common Basic Principles for Immigrant Integration Policy*, adopted in 2004 created a common framework for the integration of third-country nationals who according to an EU report ‘face barriers in the education system, on the labour market, and in accessing decent housing’ (European Commission, 2016, p.3) as they are ‘more at risk of poverty or social exclusion’ compared to the nationals of the host country (European Commission, 2016 p.3). The principles recognise the fact that ‘integration is a dynamic, two-way process of mutual accommodation by all immigrants and residents of Member States’ (European Commission, 2005, online).

These provisions acknowledge that integration is performed through access to employment, education and access to institutions in a non-discriminatory way (Council of the European Union, 2004, p.17). The principles also recognise the fact that ‘the practice of diverse cultures and religions is guaranteed under the Charter of Fundamental Rights and must be safeguarded, unless practices conflict with other inviolable European rights or with national law’ (Council of the European Union, 2004, p.23). The Europeanization of anti-discrimination laws has allowed for a common approach towards issues of discrimination. In fact, under EU directives, discrimination on grounds of racial or ethnic origin, religion or belief is prohibited (Bell, 2009, p.37). In addition, a Migrant Integration Policy Index was published in 2004 as ‘the European Civic Citizenship and Inclusion Index’ (MIPEX, 2015, online). It gathered the different migrant policies of the EU-15 in a single work. According to its dedicated website, MIPEX is considered as the most reliable and cited index of integration and citizenship policies (MIPEX, 2015, online). The platform is widely used by governmental as well as non-governmental organizations for data on integration.

Another initiative aimed towards the harmonisation of integration policies was the elaboration of a *Common Agenda for Integration* (2005-2010) following the Common Basic Principles for Immigrant Integration Policy. According to the EU website the agenda ‘provides a framework for the implementation of the Common Basic Principles... the Common agenda makes plans for a series of supportive EU mechanisms and instruments to promote integration and facilitate exchange between integration actors’ (European Commission, online)

In 2011, a European Agenda for integration was proposed by the Commission. The agenda outlined a number of EU initiatives supporting the integration of third-country nationals through addressing different areas of integration such as education (2011, p.20), employment (2011, p.12), culture (2011, p.23), and health (2011, p.25). This initiative acknowledges the importance of economic, cultural and political participation for a successful integration. It states:

Integration is a multidimensional process of interactions between immigrants and the receiving society. It is not a single policy but a dimension which requires efforts in many areas and needs to be taken into account in a wide range of policy developments at various levels and involving numerous

actors... the integration process is supported by actions taken in numerous policy areas to ensure employment opportunities, inclusive education systems, access to health and other public services, access to private services(banks, insurance, etc.), conditions allowing for active participation in public and political life and building up social and cultural ties to achieve a feeling of belonging to the receiving society (European Commission, 2011, p.2).

Another action plan on integration was formulated in 2016 proposed different initiatives to harmonize integration strategies under an integration action plan. It proposed measures such as: Coordination plans such as providing online language assessment and learning for newly arrived third country nationals, especially refugees, through the Erasmus+ online linguistic support (European Commission, 2016, p.8), promoting cooperation between different levels of governance, including the regional and local level, through a partnership under the EU Urban Agenda focussing on the integration of third country nationals (2016, p.21), and monitoring of social inclusion and the participation of third country nationals migrants in society from a fundamental rights perspective (2016, p.21).

The initiatives also encouraged country members to promote private sponsorship programmes for the resettlement of refugees, in order to actively involve local communities in the integration process of third country nationals (2016, p7). In addition, they promote and support the participation of migrants' children in early childhood education and care (2016, p.8), and remove obstacles to ensure effective access to vocational training and to the labour market for refugees and, where there are good prospects of granting them protection, for asylum seekers.

At the level of the EU, political debates on integration have been held regularly as part of Ministerial conferences on integration (in Groningen 2004, Potsdam 2007, Vichy 2008, and Zaragoza 2010). In addition, The Commission has developed a European Web Site on Integration<sup>74</sup>. It provides policy-makers and practitioners from all Member States with a tool for exchanging information on migrant integration (European Commission, 2011, p.4) in addition to the European

---

<sup>74</sup>Available on <http://ec.europa.eu/ewsi> since April 2009.

Integration Forum (European Commission, 2011, p.4), and National Contact Points and Inter-service groups.

At the level of financing, funds have been dedicated to integration. For example, the European Fund for the Integration of third-country nationals attempted to fulfil the following objectives:

to support the efforts made by the Member States in enabling third-country nationals of different economic, social, cultural, religious, linguistic and ethnic backgrounds to fulfil the conditions of residence and to facilitate their integration into the European societies (European Commission, 2011, pp.4-5).

The *Asylum, Migration and integration Fund* has replaced the EIF and covers the 2014 to 2020 period. In addition, the *Europe for Citizens Funding* programme, and different projects were initiated at the local level and were co-financed by the EU.

At the level of the UK, EU law enjoys primacy over national laws and this principle is generally unchallenged.

## **2. The impact of international organisations on immigration and integration**

### **2.1 The UN Influence**

In terms of international migration and integration, The EU and more specifically UK work with the UN and its related agencies like the UNHCR and the IOM, as well as the International Centre for Migration Policy Development (ICMPD). Other organisations involved in the debate about migration include the G7/G8, the UN High-level Dialogue on International Migration and Development and the Global Forum on Migration and Development. At the international level, forums and global debates are regularly organised to tackle issues of migration and asylum, for example in 2013, a UN International Migrants Day *Migrants are human beings with human rights* was held in Geneva and Washington.

Another example is the *Panel Meeting on Economic Integration of Migrants* that took place in Warsaw on 14-15 December 2017.

The UN has worked extensively on asylum and human rights protection. One of the key achievements of the UN, the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, was proclaimed by the UN General Assembly in Paris on 10 December 1948 and was voted on by 48 nations including the UK. It sets out the fundamental rights and freedom that anyone should enjoy including equality of rights and freedom (Article 1). The *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* also stresses the importance of equal treatment regardless of racial or ethnic differences. It states:

Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status. Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty (UN, online).

In addition, the UN Convention of 1951 (on refugees) and the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination reinforced the organization position on human rights. However, it is important to note that the inclusion of asylum in the 1948 *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* did not receive much acclaim at the time. The drafting debates were under much tension because of the question of asylum (Goodwin-Gill, 2014, p.35). Different states saw asylum as part of individual countries sovereign choice and chose not to include any provision on asylum in the 1951 Convention relating to the status of refugees (Goodwin-Gill, 2014, p.36). For instance, the UK objected to any references to obligation of accepting refugees, whether implicit or explicit. Instead the UK proposed the replacement of the words 'to be granted' by 'to enjoy' (Goodwin-Gill, 2014, p.35).

Later on, the *Human Rights Act of 1998* was passed. It is 'an Act to give further effect to rights and freedoms guaranteed under the European Convention on Human Rights; to make provision with respect to holders of certain judicial offices who become judges of the European Court of Human Rights; and for connected purposes' (*Human Rights Act*, 1998,p.1). The Act incorporates elements of the

European Convention on Human Rights into domestic British law. It states and protects fundamental rights and freedoms that people living in the UK are entitled to such as the right to life (Article 2), the right to a fair trial (Article 6) and the freedom from slavery and forced labour (Article 4). If one of the rights and freedom is breached, then the Act allows for recourse to justice. Despite the general aspect of the *Human Rights Act of 1998*, it still provides people living in the UK whether nationals or not with a number of fundamental rights, which can affect the way they live.

The International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination was adopted on the 21st of December 1965 and entered into force on the 4th of January 1969. It clearly stated:

‘Considering that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights proclaims that all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights and that everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set out therein, without distinction of any kind, in particular as to race, colour or national origin, considering that all human beings are equal before the law and are entitled to equal protection of the law against any discrimination and against any incitement to discrimination’ (United Nations, Online).

The treaty was signed by 88 members of the UN including the UK, which upon signing brought some specification to the treaty involving the status of colonies and dependencies. Upon ratification further clarifications were provided in the UK on the status of immigrants coming thanks to the *Commonwealth Immigrants Acts*.

## Conclusion

The context of EU membership allows for converging approaches and policy coordination in some aspects of migration such as asylum and illegal immigration. This harmonisation is more reinforced at the level of integration, where different directives were formulated in order to ensure a common agenda throughout the EU. This includes the agreement on common basic principles, the creation of an integration fund for initiatives and the Europeanization of anti-discrimination laws.

The multi-level aspect of immigration and integration in the UK is further reinforced through the existence of the EU as a key stakeholder in the elaboration of

directives in such matters. Today, as a member of the EU, the UK follows much of the EU directives in terms of integration and asylum, but still enjoys a form of derogation to institute a separate immigration system and control migration from outside the EU. However, the imminent finalisation of Brexit raises questions on the extent of coordination envisaged between the UK and the EU. The uncertainties surrounding Brexit and the future role of the EU in implementing converging integration policies can be seen as an opportunity the political elite in Scotland to formulate a distinctive approach to immigration and integration within the context of nation-building. This can be achieved in the case where Scotland is granted more powers including powers over immigration or in case of the success of the 2<sup>nd</sup> independence referendum proposed by the SNP in power.

## CONCLUSION TO PART II

Part II provides an insight on the main immigration and integration policies and initiatives that have affected the demography of the UK and have contributed to the existing diversity of the country. The major determinant of post-WWII immigration patterns were demand for labour (Mason, 2000, p.28), resulting in an important influx of migration from the Commonwealth. However, migration measures gradually closed the door to potential migrants and immigration from the Commonwealth was completely stopped with the passage of the *1981 British Nationality Act*. Successive governments have also worked on anti-discrimination legislation in order to ensure the successful integration of newly settled migrants.

After the devolution settlement, immigration remained part of the British Government's prerogatives whereas the Scottish Government retained power over matters related to integration. The decentralisation of power has resulted in diverging views on immigration with the Scottish governments encouraging migration to Scotland, at the same time as different British governments moving gradually towards stricter and more selective immigration. The questions of immigration and integration have also been approached in relation to EU membership. Key issues motivating euro scepticism include the further expansion of the EU and the uncontrolled nature of immigration influx from member states (Catala, 2014, p.22). Hostility towards immigrants has impacted policies on immigration and integration, especially in relation to migrants from EU countries. In addition, different governments since devolution have tended to present citizenship as an 'earned' right, through the introduction of citizenship and language tests.

This approach to citizenship contradicts the position presented by the political elite in Scotland in favour of an inclusive and civic form of national identity. In the context of nation-building, the main political parties in Scotland have developed a distinctive approach to immigration and integration such as the 'New Scots' campaign to welcome refugees initiated by the SNP-led government. The history of diversity in Scotland further reinforces the inclusiveness of Scottish national identity as promoted by the political elite. In fact, as shown in Part I, Scotland is an increasingly diverse country, and this diversity is acknowledged by the different

parties in government through initiatives such as ‘One Scotland, Many Cultures’ or the work performed by the third sector in terms of integration. In addition, the demographic specificity of Scotland puts more pressure on decision-makers at different levels on the immigration and integration strategies envisaged.

The following part attempts to explore the main parties’ rhetoric on immigration and integration in the context of post-devolution nation-building. The analysis of political parties’ manifestos can further emphasize the multi-level aspect of politics in Scotland as well as the aspects of convergence or divergence in the political discourse over immigration and integration.

**PART III.**

**THE EVOLUTION OF THE  
POLITICAL DISCOURSE IN  
POST DEVOLUTION  
SCOTLAND**



## INTRODUCTION TO PART III

The main aim of this research project as mentioned in the title is the analysis of the evolution of the political discourse in post-devolution Scotland. A discourse analysis methodology using Verschueren's guidelines is adopted in order to trace aspects and patterns of continuity and change in the discourse of the four main political parties in Scotland. This is performed through a thorough analysis of political manifestos from both Scottish and general elections from 1999 to 2017. We have decided to analyse both Scottish and general elections manifestos to capture the multi-level aspect of British politics. This accounts for the first chapter examining the corpus, the second chapter highlighting the diverging politics of the main parties in Britain, and the third chapter analysing the several discourses.

The first chapter consists of an examination of the corpus i.e. a short summary and overview of the manifestos under study. This includes the organisation and length of the manifesto, main and peripheral topics, and the noticeable deictic and discursive specificities. Moreover, the use of multimodal aspects will be outlined. The different manifestos are organised chronologically and per political party.

As the voting behaviour in Scotland is different from the rest of the UK, changes between local parties and their British counterparts are expected in the manifestos analysis. The second chapter provides an overview of the four political parties' main histories and lines of ideology<sup>75</sup>, a necessary step to understand and explain their respective narratives. The different parties' positioning on the political spectrum can explain the decisions on issues of immigration and integration.

---

<sup>75</sup> According to Alistair Clark, ideologies can offer 'a coherent and recognizable structure of principles, values and ideas which guide political action'. Ideological positioning is used to guide voters in their choice in elections (Clark, 2012, p.42); ideological positioning can be expressed in the policy pledges in elections' manifestos.

However, in order to attract the electorate, political parties can change their positions on key issues such as immigration.

The third chapter investigates the evolution of the political discourse over immigration and integration in political parties' manifestos. The discourse analysis is performed on two levels. Firstly, Scottish elections manifestos are analysed both chronologically and according to the already selected categories. Multimodal aspects are also examined. And secondly, a similar approach is performed on general election manifestos. The analysis follows the same criteria as Scottish elections, and is followed by an assessment of the discourse analysis results. As part of the assessment of the political parties' rhetoric, the analysis other sources used such as speeches and electoral discourses by party leaders can further shed light on the key challenges to the dominant political discourse on immigration and integration and the possible tensions resulting from the intersection of nationalist and multiculturalist discourses.

## **CHAPTER I: THE CORPUS OF THE POLITICAL DISCOURSE OVER IMMIGRATION AND INTEGRATION**

The evolution of the political discourse over immigration and integration is mainly made visible through the analysis of political parties' manifestos for both Scottish and British elections. Manifestoes echo the official stances of political parties on key issues and thus can provide an insight on the evolution of political parties' rhetoric on immigration and integration. In order to highlight the multi-level aspect of politics in the UK, we have opted to introduce the manifestos separately — first, those concerning Scottish elections, and second, those concerning British elections, for what is at stake differs in those two types of elections. And the issues of immigration and integration are clearly dependent on the matter of the independence of Scotland promoted by the SNP, exclusively.

### **1. Overview of Scottish Conservative Party manifestos**

#### **1.1 Scottish elections**

- *Scotland First (1999)*

The Scottish Conservative Party manifesto is entitled 'Scotland First', reflecting the importance given to Scottish priorities. The manifesto is 36 pages long and starts with a contents list and a foreword by party leader David McLetchie. The official party's name used in the manifesto is 'the Scottish Conservative and Unionist Party'. The main issues covered revolve around taxation, transport, employment, education, health, crime, drugs, rural communities, local governance, and arts and culture. Peripheral issues include small business, law and order, fishing and forestry,

genetically modified food, housing, and diversity. The language used is formal but reflects closeness to the reader, including the use of direct references as in the following example: ‘created for you, by you’ (1999, p.1). The language used also reflects some distance from other parties. The overall message of the manifesto revolves around prioritizing Scotland’s needs within a unionist framework, emphasizing Scotland’s role within the Union. Another important aspect of the manifesto is the focus on Labour’s underachievement and the party proposes alternatives to it. Different photos and visuals accompany the manifesto’s sections, with testimonies.



*Figure 14: First page of the Scottish Conservative and Unionist Party for the 1999 Scottish election (Scottish conservative party, 1999, p.1)*

Figure 14 shows the first page of the manifesto which includes an assemblage of all the persons represented throughout the manifesto. This involves people from

different age groups. All the photos are on a blue background reminding of the party's colour, often associated with right wing parties such as the Republican Party in the USA<sup>76</sup>.

- ***TIME TO DO SOMETHING ABOUT IT (2003)***

The manifesto is 27 pages long, with the front page containing a photo of the party leader against a blue background. Unlike 1999, the party is named 'Scottish Conservatives', a move that can be explained by the party's efforts to detach from the failed campaign against devolution in 1997. The first page is followed by a contents list and a foreword by party leader David McLetchie. A distinctive feature of the manifesto is the recurrent use of the imperative and the sentence at the end of the pages saying: 'Do something about it' (2003, p.2). The main issues of the manifesto include: government, health, education, economy, rural Scotland, and communities. The peripheral issues are: council tax, environment, and diversity. The language used is simple and less formal than other manifestos. Language also reflects closeness to the reader and distance from other parties. The use of 1<sup>st</sup> person pronoun 'I' and the collective 'we' evoke a sense of mission. From the beginning of the manifesto a unionist approach of a 'Scotland within the UK' is adopted (2003, p.4) with clear criticism of devolution, described as 'follyrood' in the first visual of the manifesto (2003, p.3). The need for change for a less powerful Scottish Government and coordination with the central government are voiced as key issues.

- ***SCOTTISH CONSERVATIVE MANIFESTO SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT ELECTION (2007)***

The manifesto is 39 pages long and starts with the contents list and an introduction. No multi-modal elements are found in the available online version. The main issues are: housing, the environment, justice, economy, education, and health. Peripheral issues include transport, prisons and policing. The manifesto uses simple

---

<sup>76</sup>The choice of blue is also said to be as a result of the Labour Party's choice of the red colour (*BBC News*, 2006).

language that reflects closeness to the reader. Deictic expressions include the use of collective ‘we’ and ‘our’. The reader is involved in the process through the use of expressions such as ‘your education’ (2007, p.15). The sense of mission is also present in this manifesto with the Scottish Conservative Party imposing itself as representative of the people. The use of exaggeration expressions such as in the following example: ‘home ownership is already too expensive for many people [...] the shared ownership housing schemes currently in place are too narrow and available to too few people’ is present throughout the manifesto to highlight the mistakes of the opposing parties in government. The manifesto also criticizes independence as less important than other issues and emphasizes decentralization and less government intervention.

- *Common sense for Scotland (2011)*

The manifesto for the Scottish Conservative Party is relatively short with no visuals included except for a small size photo of party leader Annabel Goldie in the foreword section. The manifesto is 29 pages long and starts with the contents list and the foreword. The main issues covered are: the economy and employment, education, health, and the legal system. Other issues include: transport, tourism, housing, climate change and Gaelic. The most important commitments of the party are highlighted in bold. The manifesto is also characterized by the extensive use of verbs like ‘maintain’, ‘restore’ and ‘reform’ which reveal the party’s call for the status quo in relation to Scotland’s future in addition to a pledge to improvement. This is reinforced through the use of conditionals in addition to the personification of Scotland as in the following example: ‘If Scotland were to remain a major player’ (2011, p.8).

- *A STRONG OPPOSITION - A STRONGER SCOTLAND (2016)*

The 2016 manifesto is 48 pages with the photo of party leader Ruth Davidson at the front page. The title of the manifesto is ‘a strong opposition – a stronger Scotland’, reflecting the party’s ambition to become the main opposition to the SNP. The manifesto starts with the contents list and a foreword by the party leader. It also includes bullet points’ commitments and pledges centred mainly on its mission as an

opposition party. The main issues covered are: the Conservative Party as an opposition to the SNP, economy and welfare, education, health, housing, environment, and community. The peripheral issues include: Gaelic, crime, and the legal system. Apart from photos of Ruth Davidson in different situations, we can find photos of new candidates, generally in a family-friendly environment. The language used reflects closeness to the reader and distance from other parties. For deixis, the manifesto extensively uses the first person pronoun to convey the sense of mission present throughout the manifesto, in addition to the use of the collective 'we'. One of the key issues is the second independence referendum. The party clearly adopts a unionist approach and stresses the importance of opposition and the importance of Scotland within the UK.

## 1.2 British general elections

- *Time for commonsense (2001)*

For the 2001 general election, the same manifesto is used for the Conservative Party across the UK. It is a 46-page-long document that starts with a foreword by party leader William Hague, followed by a contents list and the different topics covered, formulated in the form of key objectives like for instance 'raising a family' or 'living safely'. The key issues covered in the manifesto include: taxation, education, security, health, pensions, agriculture, local government, European and international affairs, and culture. Peripheral issues include: universities, refugees and asylum, employment, sports, military power, media, and Scotland. The manifesto uses formal language with a simple style. Key objectives are highlighted at the beginning of every section.

- *ARE YOU THINKING WHAT WE'RE THINKING? IT'S TIME FOR ACTION (2005)*

The manifesto is 28 pages long. The first and last pages include a list of goals accompanied by the question 'are you thinking what we're thinking?' and 'time for action' slogan. The party stresses the importance and urgency of the different topics covered through repeatedly displaying the slogan 'time for action' (2005, p.1, p.3

and p.31). There are two different forewords. The first is under the heading ‘contract with Scotland’ by party leaders David McLetchie, and Peter Duncan. The second foreword, by Michael Howard, is entitled ‘British Dream’. The main issues covered are: Government spending, education, health, security, immigration, accountability, and defence and international affairs. The peripheral issues are: pensions, housing, the union, rural Scotland, and the environment. The different topics are preceded by phrases in bold and large font size. Overall, the manifesto is characterized by a unionist approach and focus on Britain that is especially made clear in the foreword ‘the British Dream’. In addition, it focuses on Britain’s role internationally as in the following statement: ‘Britain plays a unique role in the world’ (2005, p.25). The party focuses on the Labour Party as the main opposition and the problems Scotland is facing through the use of exaggeration like for instance the use of ‘too many’ (2005, p.1) and ‘a thousand everyday frustrations’ (2005, p.1). The use of rhetorical questions reinforces the same idea. Criticism of excessive government spending is stated in the foreword as a key issue: ‘our country could and should be so much better than it is now. It is being held back by government which is too big, too intrusive and too wasteful’ (Foreword, No page number).

- ***INVITATION TO JOIN THE GOVERNMENT OF BRITAIN (2010)***

The manifesto is 111 pages long. It starts with a preface by party leader David Cameron and is followed by a foreword by Scottish party leaders David Mundell and Annabel Goldie, and a long introduction to the manifesto. The main issues covered are: the economy, immigration, public services, the environment, health, education, crime, the union, defence, and international affairs. Peripheral issues include: unemployment, taxes, transport, the voluntary sector, sports and the Olympics, and police and accountability. Photos of British party leader David Cameron can be found in the manifesto reflecting the centralized aspect of Conservative Party policy strategy. This aspect is stressed through the use of a map of the UK that has no borders and on which is inscribed ‘we’re all in this together’ (2010, p.7). The party clearly states ‘the Conservative Party is passionate about the Union’ (2010, p.79) and the unionist approach is present throughout the manifesto through the extensive use of ‘Britain’. The idea of being together is manifested

throughout the manifesto. The party also calls for less government intervention to create a ‘big’ society instead of ‘big’ government (2010, no page number). The party affirms: ‘this vision demands a cultural change across the country’ (2010, p.35). The chaotic situation of Britain is stressed with reference to the Labour Party and Gordon Brown. The description of the attempt to mend Britain is described as a ‘collective endeavour’. The party also stresses the importance of the voluntary sector to fix social problems. The language used reflects closeness to the reader and distance from other parties. The use of first person pronoun ‘I’ conveys the sense of mission that the party establishes throughout the manifesto.

- ***STRONG LEADERSHIP A BRIGHTER, MORE SECURE FUTURE (2015)***

The manifesto is 81 pages long. It is a joint manifesto for all the constituent parts of the UK. The first page shows the Prime Minister, David Cameron, with different party members. It is followed by the contents list, a list of party plans, and pledges and the foreword by David Cameron. The main issues of the manifesto are: economy, infrastructure, employment, taxes, immigration, education, health, governance, environment, crime, terrorism, retirement, and the Union. Peripheral issues include: Banking, transport, internet, small businesses, science, rural economy, housing, and police. Throughout the manifesto the idea of union and togetherness is stressed, and the union is stressed as the key to a stronger Britain. The manifesto is also marked by the extensive use of ‘for you’ which evokes a sense of sacrifice for the good of people (See for example 2015, p.3 and p.5). The language used reflects closeness to the reader and distance from other parties. The party directly addresses the reader ‘we have a plan for every stage of your life’ (2015, p.3) in order to get him involved in the political process.

- ***FORWARD, TOGETHER Our Plan for a Stronger Scotland, a Stronger Britain and a Prosperous Future (2017)***

The manifesto is 78 pages long. The party defines itself as the Scottish Conservative and Unionist Party. The first pages show the title, photos of party leaders Ruth Davidson and Theresa May and include forewords for both party

leaders and the contents list. These are followed by a '5 giant points challenges' list. The main issues of the manifesto are: the economy, the Union, Brexit, immigration, health, and housing. Peripheral issues include: the ageing population and integration. The main focus of the Scottish Conservative Party revolves around the idea of the union, repeatedly stressed as an important asset of the country, as in the following examples: 'a strong and stable Union, without the threat of a divisive Scottish referendum'. (2017, p.32) or 'OUR PRECIOUS UNION' (2017, p.33) or in this example: 'we are a United Kingdom, one nation made of four – the most successful political union in modern history' (2017, p.33). The reminder of the historical constitution of the UK is meant to stress the unitary and consensual aspect of the union as well as the extent of its success throughout history.

- ***Conclusion***

The Scottish Conservative Party's manifestos for Scottish and general elections broadcast a unionist message. This aspect has been consistent throughout the manifestos; and is reinforced through the extensive use of terms like 'Britain' and 'British'. The choice to use a common political manifesto throughout the UK consolidates the party's unionist stance.

The party's constant change from 'Scottish Conservatives' to 'Scottish Conservative and Unionist party' can be seen as an attempt to rebrand and construct a new image in Scotland. The Scottish Conservative Party's use of its full name reveals its endorsement of the role of opposition against the SNP's independence plans (Simpkins, 2018a, p.5). The party also continuously reminds of the benefits of the Union and warns against the dangers of the independence option.

## **2. The Scottish Labour Party**

### **2.1 Scottish elections**

- ***Building Scotland's future (1999)***

The 1999 Scottish election manifesto for the Scottish Labour Party is entitled 'Building Scotland's future'. The party uses the name 'Scottish New Labour' which reflects homogeneity in terms of policy strategies with the British New Labour Party.

The manifesto covers a variety of topics such as education, health, tourism and culture. The topics are organised under different headings echoing the party's main objectives. Among the headings, we can find 'education for life', 'supporting families' and 'celebrating Scotland'. The use of verbs in the -ing form is similar to the manifesto's title, which illustrates the on-going process of building Scotland's future. The front page of the manifesto shows children looking in the same direction and further highlights the idea of building Scotland. A red filter is used on the image to remind of the party's colours.

- *On your side (2003)*

The manifesto is 24 pages long. The front page contains a photo of party leader Jack McConnell and a quote stating:

Government should be on your side. Not secretive or remote, not expedient or wasteful. Not acting for self-interest, but committed to the national interest. On the side of children needing a better start in life. On the side of those suffering at the hands of thugs or drug dealers. On the side of patients waiting too long and businesses with ambitions. Scottish Labour is on your side and the Scottish Government I lead will be too (2003, p1).

Photos of the party leader in different situations can be found throughout the manifesto. The main issues include: the economy, businesses, public services, crime and justice, the environment, culture, local government, and the place of Scotland in Europe and in the UK. Peripheral issues include apprenticeship, infrastructure, tourism, rural Scotland, transport, diversity and housing. The language adopted in the manifesto is formal and involves an extensive use of deictic words such as 'your' to address directly the reader. The use of personification reinforces a sense of mission given to the electoral process: 'Scotland will elect those who will serve for the second term' (2003, p.2). In addition, the manifesto is characterized by the extensive use of 'for all', or 'everyone', that reflect inclusiveness and the recurrence of the term 'talents' can be linked to the Fresh Talent Initiative.

- *Building Scotland (2007)*

The manifesto is entitled 'Building Scotland', reflecting the nation-building process envisaged in Scotland. The manifesto is 103 pages long and starts with a

foreword and a contents list before covering the different topics. The main issues covered include: the economy, employment, businesses, technology and science, education, security, health, environment and family. The peripheral issues are the following: learning, science and technology, tourism, renewable energy, food and drinks, culture, migration, police, anti-social behaviour, and racism and equality. The multi-modal aspects of the manifesto include a profile photo of First Minister Jack McConnell as well as photos of children wearing white t-shirts (See for example figure 20). The use of these photos reflects a promising and optimistic future for Scotland. One of the main features of the manifesto is the extensive use of the present progressive which evokes an ongoing process; as well as the extensive use of the term ‘building’ for all the topics covered. The use of the first person pronoun ‘I’ in the foreword and the use of ‘we’ to refer to the party reflects the involvement of the party in Scottish politics. In addition, the use of the imagery of ‘crossroads’ reminds not only of the Saltire, but also of the fact that Scotland has choices to make — such as between union and independence (2007, p.3).

- *Fighting for what really matters (2011)*

The manifesto is 96 pages long. It starts with a contents list and a quote stating that ‘now that the Tories are back we need a Government in Scotland that will fight for what really matters’ (2011, p.2). The quote is accompanied by a photo of the party leader Iain Gray and is followed by a foreword. The main issues of the manifesto include: economy, education, health, security, environment, and communities. The peripheral issues are: renewable energy, tourism, transport, Gaelic and inequalities. The manifesto is marked by the extensive use of testimonies from different actors in civil society. The language used reflects decisiveness in the use of expressions as ‘will’, ‘zero tolerance’, and ‘the only’. The use of testimonies reflects the inclusion of the public in the decision. To further involve the reader and reflect closeness, personal experience is included in the foreword. Another important aspect of the manifesto is the use of comparatives for example ‘fairer’, ‘better’, ‘more’ to reflect the party’s commitment to Scotland’s future.

- *Invest in Scotland's future (2016)*

The manifesto is 64 pages long. It includes photos of party leader Kezia Dugdale as well as photos of different Scottish Labour Party members displayed in a beehive format to convey solidarity. The overall style of the manifesto is simple and comprehensive with colour-coded sections and dedicated paragraphs to explain the summary and objectives. The objectives of the party are explained in relation to the SNP and Scottish Conservative parties' plans. The manifesto starts with a contents list and a foreword. The main topics of the manifesto include: austerity and public spending, tax, education, health, housing, safety and security, pensions, and the environment. Peripheral topics revolve around communities, culture, race, sectarianism, and transport. The manifesto is oriented towards young people, which is in accordance with the slogan: 'invest in Scotland's future'. The use of collective 'we' and 'all of us' aims at further involving the reader. In addition, the party directly addresses the reader through expressions like 'your votes' to highlight the importance of giving both votes to Labour (2016, p.3).

## 2.2 British General elections

- *Ambitions for Scotland (2001)*

The manifesto is 44 pages long. It starts with the contents list and two different forewords. The first foreword is by the then Prime Minister Tony Blair. It is followed by a foreword from party leaders Helen Liddell and Henry McLeish. The main issues of the manifesto are the following: defence, Britain's place in the world, welfare, public services, health, culture and sport, taxation, and infrastructure. Other topics are mentioned in shorter subsections including the environment, immigration, devolution, asylum, diversity, employment, rural Scotland, tourism, and housing. The manifesto ends with a recap of the different initiatives envisaged for Scotland under the headings 'The choices for Scotland' (2001, p.42) and '25 steps to a better Scotland' (2001, p.43). The last page of the manifesto sums up the key pledges of the party which states that 'the contract [is] delivered' (2001, p.44).

- *Scotland Forward not back (2005)*

The manifesto for the 2005 general election is 112 pages long. It starts with a contents list that is followed by a long preface by the then Prime Minister Tony Blair and a second preface by party leader Alistair Darling and Scottish First Minister Jack McConnell. The main issues covered are listed in the form of chapters. They include: the economy, education, crime and security, immigration, health, the elderly, families, international affairs, the quality of life, and devolved power. Peripheral issues include: the environment, science, transport, equality, rural Scotland, terrorism, housing, and the EU. The manifesto stresses the principle of ‘fairness’ as one of the main objectives of the party. In addition, a separate part is dedicated to Tories’ under-achievements at the end of each chapter. The extensive use of the -ing form and of the term ‘forward’ conveys the idea that the Scottish Labour Party is intent to move Scotland forward as indicated in the title of the manifesto. Personification is used to stress the unionist approach of the party as for example ‘Britain is on the right track’ (2005, p.7) and ‘Scotland is stronger when Britain is stronger’ (2005, p.10).

- *A future fair for all (2010)*

The manifesto is 75 pages long. It is a joint manifesto for all of the UK constituent parts. The front page has a visual portraying a family standing in the countryside and looking forward at the future illustrated in the image of the sun. It is followed by a contents list, a foreword of the then Prime Minister Gordon Brown, and an introduction. The main issues of the manifesto are: the economy, global crisis, education, health, immigration and crime, family life and the environment. Peripheral issues include: employment, transport, housing, policing and the EU. The manifesto is characterized by the recurrence of the terms ‘fair’ and ‘fairness’ as one of the main objectives of the party as illustrated in this examples: ‘our aim is a modern, progressive Britain based on fairness, respect, decency and openness.’ (2010, p.0:2). The focus on equality and fairness as an electoral goal can be seen at the level of the manifesto’s title ‘a future fair for all’ (2010, p.1). The idea of reconstruction is also present in the manifesto through word choice such as ‘rebuild’ and ‘rebalance’.

- ***The Scottish Labour Manifesto (2015)***

The manifesto is 91 pages long. The first two pages start with two statements. The first statement shows the party's main objective as 'Scotland only succeeds when working people succeed. This is a plan to reward hard work, share prosperity and build a better and fairer Scotland. It's a plan for Scotland that will make a real difference to you and your family' (2015, p.1). The second statement sums up the party's vision for Scotland. It declares that:

Ours is a Scotland of remarkable stories. Scots of creativity, of passion, of community and of compassion that have shaped the world over the ages, and can do again in the future. We believe in our country, we believe in a sense of optimism, we have a confidence in our nation. We can make Scotland the fairest nation on earth (2015, p.1).

The statements are followed by an introduction to the party's budget and two forewords: one from Jim Murphy, Scottish Labour Party leader and one by Labour party leader Ed Miliband. The main issues covered are: the economy, industry, employment, health, education, immigration, crime, culture, international affairs and the EU, and defence. Peripheral issues include: taxes, housing, social security, disability, older people, terrorism, environment, local government, and rural Scotland. The party stresses the need for a different representation in Scotland through the personification of Scotland as in the following example: 'Scotland is desperate for change' (Scottish Labour Party, 2015, p.6).

- ***TOGETHER WE'RE STRONGER (2017)***

The manifesto is 120 pages long. The overall style is simple and sober with a few photos included in relation to the different topics. The first pages contain a contents list, forewords by Scottish Labour Party leader Kezia Dugdale followed by a foreword by Labour Party leader Jeremy Corbyn. The titles of the forewords are 'a message from Kez' and 'a message from Jeremy'. The use of first names sets a friendly tone to the manifesto and reflects closeness to the reader. The main issues covered are: the economy, taxes, credits, sustainable energy, Brexit, immigration, education, employment, social security, pensions, housing, health, justice, independence, equality, and international affairs. Among the peripheral issues we

find refugees and culture. In the foreword, a photo of party leader Jeremy Corbyn with, in the background, Labour Party supporters from different ethnic and racial origins conveys the image of Labour as the party of minorities. The manifesto focuses on welfare and social changes. Brexit is also an important aspect with focus on the maintaining of the work with the EU. The independence scenario is also considered by the party as a potential threat to the Union.

- **Conclusion**

The manifestos for the Scottish Labour Party mirror the party's vision of Scotland as a young nation in the process of reconstruction. The use of slogans such as 'Building Scotland's Future' (1999) and 'invest in Scotland's future' (2015) confirm the party's commitment to the nation-building project. In addition, the party's move from government to opposition since 2007 is echoed in the manifestos with a focus on the Union and detachment from SNP and Conservative-led initiatives. The Scottish Labour Party has also been consistent in its pledge to equality. The party's use of the red colour in manifestos reflects the historic commitment to workers and fighting class divisions in the UK. Historically, the red colour reminds of the French Revolution and is said to represent 'the blood of angry workers' (*BBC News*, 2006) Red is considered as the colour of left-wing parties<sup>77</sup>.

### 3. The Scottish Liberal Democratic Party

#### 3.1 Scottish elections

- ***Raising the standard (1999)***

The manifesto is available only on an online version. The homepage includes the title, a photo of a baby and links to the different sections, in addition to the full transcript of the foreword of the party leader Jim Wallace. A quote can be found on the homepage stating in bold character Liberal Democrats' values as 'the Liberal

---

<sup>77</sup> In the 1997 election manifesto, New Labour moved from the red colour to purple to evidence its move to middle ground politics (*BBC News*, 2006). This can also be seen as an attempt for the party to distance itself from the colour of Communism.

Democrats exist to build and safeguard a fair, free and open society in which we seek to balance the fundamental values of liberty, equality and community<sup>78</sup>, and in which no-one shall be enslaved by poverty, ignorance or conformity' (1999, online). The overall style is formal and reflects closeness through the use of deictic expressions such as 'our'. No visuals or photos are used. The main issues covered include education, health, the economy, communities, the environment, the parliament, and the budget. Peripheral issues include tourism, rural Scotland, farming and forestry, and anti-discrimination. The different sections start with 'Scotland' for example, 'Scotland's education', and 'Scotland's health' (1999, online), reflecting the prioritizing of Scotland's needs in the manifesto. The party's main commitments are highlighted in bold character. The party also criticises different parties' strategies and clearly states: 'Scotland can be liberated' (1999, online).

- *Make the Difference Fresh Thinking for Four More Years (2003)*

The 2003 Scottish Liberal Democrats' manifesto is 25 pages long. It starts with a contents list, a foreword by party leader Jim Wallace and is followed by the different topics covered in the manifesto. The main issues covered are: health, businesses, education, security, transport, rural Scotland, and the environment. The peripheral issues are: diet, dentistry, alcohol, diversity, police, farming, housing and equality. The party's commitments are listed in bullet points and there is a side section dedicated to different testimonies and 'Green action' comments dedicated to every section of the manifesto.

One of the main characteristics of the manifesto is the use of the superlative 'the best' and the expression 'vital role' to describe the Liberal Democrats' place in Scottish politics. The use of the expression 'for Scotland' evokes the idea of sacrifice. The manifesto is also characterized by the use of verbs in the -ing form and sections start by 'building'.

---

<sup>78</sup> The stated values remind of the French principles of the republic of 'liberté, égalité, fraternité'.

- *We think Scotland has a bright future. (2007)*

The Scottish Liberal Democrats' manifesto for the 2007 election is 87 pages long. The overall style is comprehensive and the main priorities of the party are highlighted from the beginning of the manifesto with an agenda format to show a monthly planning. The manifesto also includes a foreword by party leader Nicol Stephen with two quotes from the foreword highlighted in bold on an orange background, reminding of the party colours. The main issues covered include: education, business and the economy, the environment, health, crime and justice, transport, rural Scotland, and communities. The peripheral issues of the manifesto are: anti-social behaviour, water, housing, and racism. The multi-modal aspects of the manifesto include photos of the party leader in different situations and one of the manifesto's main characteristics is the focus on the accomplishments of the Scottish Liberal Democrats. The communicative style evokes closeness with the use 'our' and 1<sup>st</sup> person pronoun 'I'. The frequent use of 'only' and the use of the superlative reflect the idea that the Scottish Liberal Democrats are the only option for Scotland to develop. This is stressed through the use of terms like 'revolutionize' and 'transform' as the party's priorities. The party also focuses on the sustainable development and environment throughout the different topics covered. The manifesto also refers to Scandinavian countries as models to follow.

- *Solutions for Scotland (2011)*

The manifesto is 83 pages long and starts with the main objectives of the party. Three main objectives are stated: 'jobs and economic growth', 'excellence in education' and 'keeping services local' (2011, p.1). No visuals are included in the manifesto and the different sections are colour-coded in order to highlight the important commitments and pledges of the party. The manifesto starts with a contents list and a foreword by party leader Travish Scott. The main issues mentioned in the manifesto are related to the three main objectives stated in the first page and include the economy and employment, education, and decentralization. Peripheral issues include transport, culture and Gaelic. The language used is simple. The different topics start with facts then commitments and the party plans are highlighted at the end of every section. One of the distinctive aspects of the

manifesto is the use of -ing form in order to highlight the active role of the party in the nation-building process. The party also uses generalizing terms such as ‘every’ and ‘all’ to describe Scottish citizens. This strategy reflects inclusiveness and is a reminder of the party’s pledge to equality. The personification of Scotland is also used in this manifesto in the following examples: ‘Scotland needs long term solutions’ and ‘Scotland that looks outward and upwards and is not insular, throwing insults over Hadrian’s Wall’ (2011, p.5). The personification of Scotland is used to reflect the party’s priorities as focused on Scotland.

- ***Be the best again. (2016)***

The manifesto is 34 pages long with a front page featuring the party leader Willie Rennie. The manifesto starts with a contents list that includes key topics and different party commitments and pledges on each issue. This is followed by a foreword from party leader Willie Rennie. The main issues covered include: education, health, welfare, local authorities, and the environment. Peripheral issues include: drugs, criminal justice, mental health, decentralisation, and data protection. The multi-modal aspects of the manifesto involve party leader Willie Rennie in different situations as well as members of the Liberal Democrats. The manifesto stresses the need for cross-party consensus and makes reference to the educational superiority of Scotland.

### **3.2 British General elections**

- ***For a liberal and democratic Scotland FREEDOM JUSTICE HONESTY (2001)***

The 2001 Scottish Liberal Democratic Party manifesto is only available in its online version. The manifesto starts with a short introduction where the party sums up its strategy in three words ‘freedom’ ‘honesty’ and ‘justice’ for Scotland. This is followed by a foreword from party leader Charles Kennedy. The main issues of the manifesto are: drugs addiction, the environment, taxation, the system of government, enterprise, international affairs, the economy, the EU, defence, and Scotland. Peripheral issues include: pensions, transport, agriculture and fisheries,

discrimination, and immigration. The party defines itself as the spokesperson of Scotland declaring that it is 'speaking for Scotland' (foreword, online). The position assumed by the Scottish Liberal Democrats is further reinforced through the use of the adverb 'uniquely' as in the following example: 'Scottish Liberal Democrats are uniquely placed to deliver real change for Scotland' (2005, online). The party also praises the positive aspect of devolution and calls for changes at the level of Scotland and the UK. For instance, the party calls for constitutional change and reform of the House of Lords. It also calls for more involvement in Europe. The environment is of particular interest for the party and a 'Green action' section is found in every section covered.

- *The real alternative (2005)*

The 2005 Scottish Liberal Democrats manifesto is 16 pages long. The front page shows the party leader with a number of Liberal Democratic Party followers, involving people from different ethnic backgrounds to reflect the diversity of the party. This is followed by a foreword by party leader Charles Kennedy and a contents list. The main issues of the manifesto are: pensions and benefits, international affairs, defence, environment and government. Peripheral issues include: war in Iraq, Europe, housing, transport, university fees, migration, asylum and discrimination. One of the main features of the manifesto is the use of testimonies from party members on different issues as well as the focus on Britain, reflecting a centralized approach to policy in Scotland. At the level of visuals, photos of party leader in different situations can be found throughout the manifesto.

- *Change that works for you (2010)*

The manifesto is 84 pages long. The objectives of the party are stated in the front page as: 'fair taxes: that put money back in your pocket', 'a fair chance: for every child', 'a fair future create jobs by making Britain greener', and 'a fair deal: by cleaning up politics' (2010, p.1). The party puts much effort and attention on promoting fairness in Scotland. The main issues covered in the manifesto are: budget deficit, taxes, immigration, accountability, and federalism. Peripheral issues include: transport, agriculture, and the voluntary sector. The communicative style reflects

closeness and the use of ‘your’ at the beginning of every chapter is meant to involve the reader and make him feel part of the process. The party also describes itself as the ‘only’ solution for a fair Scotland as shown in the extensive use of ‘only’. At the level of visuals, a photo of the party leader with a young black girl wearing a headscarf in a school environment reflects the openness and inclusiveness of the party and hints at the multicultural education orientation of the UK.

- ***Stronger economy, fairer society. Opportunity for everyone (2015)***

The party proposes a similar manifesto for Scotland as the rest of the UK. The online available version of the manifesto is the British one. It is 153 pages long with the key goals of the party stated in the front page listed as ‘prosperity for all’ ‘our environment protected’ ‘fair taxes’ ‘opportunity for every child’ and ‘quality health care for all’ (2015, online). This is followed by the contents list and foreword by party leader Nick Clegg, starting with ‘dear friend’ to reflect closeness to the reader. The main issues involved are: finance, the economy, employment, education, health, communities, environment, equality, reform of the House of Lords, borders, decentralisation, and policing. Peripheral issues include: diversity, LGBT, drugs, Scotland, the EU, and immigration.

- ***CHANGE BRITAIN’S FUTURE (2017)***

The manifesto is 95 pages long. The first pages feature a photo of party leader Tim Farron in front of a crowd and with British and European flags surrounding him. This is followed by a contents list and a foreword of the party leader. The British and European flags appear again after the foreword to convey the idea that the party is keen to keep a working relationship with the EU despite the decision to leave it. The British flag reinforces the idea of a unionist approach towards Scotland. The main issues of the manifesto are: Europe, Brexit, health, education, the environment, communities, equalities, and foreign policy. Peripheral issues include culture.

- ***Conclusion***

The Scottish Liberal Democrats’ manifestos have consistently followed the same line of ideology with a commitment to key issues such as equality and anti-discrimination. Other important electoral topics for the Scottish Liberal Democrats

are environmental issues. The party dedicates ‘green action’ sections throughout the manifestos and even provides online version of the manifestos, probably as an eco-friendly move.

As colours can be important tools and symbols of parties’ foundations and ideologies, the Scottish Liberal Democrats have extensively used the party’s colour, orange, historically known to be favoured by Whigs and liberal parties (Marini, 2017, p.4). The orange colour mirrors the liberal ideology found in the Orange Book, a piece of work that details a liberal solution to societal issues.

## 4. The Scottish National Party

### 4.1 Scottish elections

- *Scotland’s Party: Manifesto for Scotland’s parliament 1999 elections (1999)*

The manifesto uses the slogan ‘EnterpriseCompassionDemocracy’. It is 41 pages long and includes different photos and visuals. In the first page, we can find a photo of the party leader Alex Salmond with the map of Scotland in the background. This is followed by a contents list and foreword. The main issues covered are: the budget, independence, health, education, rural Scotland, local government, governance, crime and justice. Peripheral issues include: housing, the environment, and equality. In the manifesto, the SNP describes itself in several instances as ‘Scotland’s party’ (See for example, 1999, p.10), echoing the fact that it is the party that knows best the interests of Scotland. The potential of Scotland is highlighted throughout the manifesto and the entire programme is built on an independence plan. The use of terms like ‘rebuild’, ‘change’, ‘new’, and ‘radical’ matches the idea of change. The language used mirrors closeness through terms like ‘together’ and ‘our’ revealing closeness and involvement.

- *THE COMPLETE CASE FOR A BETTER SCOTLAND (2003)*

The manifesto is 31 pages long. It starts with a contents list. The main issues covered are: health, businesses, education, security, transport, rural Scotland, the

environment, and culture. Peripheral issues include: drugs, diversity in education, research & development, agriculture, water wasting, nuclear energy, languages, tourism, housing, equal opportunities, and ethnic minorities and refugees. The communicative style involves an extensive use of 'our' and directly addresses the reader as 'you' to reflect closeness. The manifesto also extensively refers to independence and 'independence in Europe' as key electoral pledges (2003, p.24), in addition to the need for a written constitution. No visuals or photos are found in the manifesto except for the front page where people from different ethnic backgrounds are featured on a yellow background, reminding of the party's colours.

- *It's time (2007)*

The manifesto is 75 pages long. It has a sober style with few photos; two of them are of party leader Alex Salmond in the front page of the manifesto and another one with Alex Salmond accompanied by Nicola Sturgeon. The manifesto starts with a contents list and an introduction. It also includes a list of commitments that illustrate the party's 'new approach' (2003, p.6). The main issues of the manifesto are: the government, independence, health, education, justice and agriculture. Peripheral issues include housing, equality, fishery, and immigration. The manifesto is characterized by the extensive use of the comparative form such as the following examples 'healthier' and 'fairer' which evoke aspiration for improvement. This is accompanied by the use of 'fresh' and 'new' to highlight the novelty of the party's stances on different issues and to match the country's potential. The party presents its vision of government using terms like 'our vision' and 'we'. This reflects inclusiveness and closeness to the reader. Independence is referred to in the foreword and is stressed through the frequent use of 'free' to highlight the dependency of Scottish politics on the British ones. Scotland is exclusively referred to as separate from the rest of the UK. The importance of equality is highlighted throughout the manifesto and especially in the foreword. The manifesto also refers to Scandinavian countries as models to follow and stresses the place of Scotland within the EU.

- ***Re-elect: A SCOTTISH GOVERNMENT WORKING FOR SCOTLAND (2011)***

The manifesto is 41 pages long with a front page showing party leader Alex Salmond in a profile position with the following quote: ‘Scotland is on a journey and the path ahead is a bright one. Now is a time for Scotland to keep moving forward’ (2011, No page number). In the same page the organization of the manifesto is explained as including three main parts: ‘our record’, ‘our team’ and ‘our vision’. A list of party pledges is stated on a yellow background, reminding of the party’s colours. This is followed by a short foreword by party leader Alex Salmond and the contents list. At the multi-modal level, the manifesto is characterized by an extensive use of photos of different party members especially party leaders Alex Salmond and Nicola Sturgeon, portrayed in different situations. The main issues covered in the manifesto are: employment, businesses, infrastructure, health, justice, education and independence. Peripheral issues include: digital technology and transport. One striking feature of the manifesto is the extensive use of comparatives as in the following examples ‘better’, ‘safer’, and ‘fairer’ to show that Scotland is better under an SNP government. In addition, the extensive use of ‘will’ confirms the party’s commitment and motivation. The use of ‘we’, ‘our’, and ‘together’ reinforces closeness to the reader. The manifesto also deploys quotes and precise budget estimations per sector. In addition, we find recurrent use of the personification of Scotland in the following examples ‘Scotland is on a journey’ (2011, p.2) and ‘now is a time for Scotland to keep moving forward’ (2011, p.1).

- ***Re-elect (2016)***

The 2016 SNP manifesto has two versions. The first version is 25 pages long and the second one is 44 pages long. The front page has a photo of party leader Nicola Sturgeon. It is followed by a contents list and the foreword. The manifesto also includes a list of party commitments and plans on a yellow background and a map of Scotland with the main achievements of the party across the country. The main issues covered are: health, education, the economy, housing and social security, independence, and rural Scotland and the environment. Peripheral issues include: Gaelic, abortion, anti-terrorism, communities, and diversity. Visuals and photos

include a few with party leader Nicola Sturgeon together with photos of people sharing their experience and testimonies. Testimonies are present at the beginning of every section. The communicative style reflects closeness and inclusiveness with the use of expressions such as ‘all of us’, ‘we’ and ‘our’. The manifesto is characterized by an extensive use of comparatives and superlatives to reflect the potential that Scotland has especially in the scenario of independence. Independence is described as ‘the driving seat of our destiny’ (2016, p.23).

## 4.2 British General elections

- *Heart of the Manifesto (2001)*

The SNP’s 2001 manifesto is short with only 29 pages and includes short passages of every policy area covered by the party. The aesthetic style is simple with no colours or visuals involved. The manifesto starts with a section entitled ‘our platform’ where the party clearly states its project as: ‘the SNP stands for Scotland. We stand for independence’ (2001, p.2). The party confirms its commitment to independence in the following page as it dedicates a whole section to the topic entitled ‘our independence vision’ (2001, p.3). The independence section is longer than the other topics covered. The issues covered are: independence, education, Gaelic, employment, health, defence, culture, equality, transport, agriculture, housing, and rural Scotland. The party also calls for a written constitution to guarantee the rights of people (2001, p.6), as well as an open and inclusive citizenship in a European context (2001, p.14-21).

- *IF SCOTLAND MATTERS TO YOU MAKE IT MATTER IN MAY. (2005)*

The manifesto is 24 pages long starting with a foreword by party leaders Alex Salmond and Nicola Sturgeon. The manifesto starts with the topic of independence, written in large size font and bold capital letters, which reflects the importance of such issue for the party. Norway is stated as an example to follow using a rhetorical question: ‘If Norway can do it, why can’t Scotland?’ in order to highlight the potential of Scotland as an independent nation (2005, p.4). The main issues covered

are: pensions, independence, health, council tax, oil revenues, and policing. Among the peripheral issues we find the war in Iraq, and immigration. The use of personification gives a Scottish dimension to the manifesto as in the example 'let Scotland flourish' (2005, p.6) or 'let's make Scotland matter' (2005, p.2). The SNP also declares itself as 'Scotland's party' (2005, p.2) and clearly declares 'only the SNP can be trusted to put Scotland first at all times' (2005, p.2) and 'only a vote for the SNP will make Scotland matter' (2005, p.2). The party's strategy is to show that the SNP is the only party to take care of Scotland's matters as illustrated in the following example: 'It is already clear that the UK parties are ignoring Scotland in this election' (2005, p.2). At the level of multi-modal elements, the manifesto includes photos of party leaders Alex Salmond and Nicola Sturgeon; other humoristic photos are present in the different sections of the manifesto. An example of the party's use of humoristic illustrations is a full-page size photo of an old person holding her purse and staring at the audience, with the mention '2<sup>nd</sup> class' stamped on her forehead. The photo was intended to illustrate the status of pensioners under Labour-Liberal Democrats leadership in Scotland. The answer according to the party lies in 'independence' (SNP, 2005, p.8).



Figure 15: Humoristic photo in the SNP's manifesto (2005, p.9)

The use of Scotland's flag is also a recurrent feature of the manifesto.

- *Elect a local champion (2010)*

The manifesto is 31 pages long and has a simple and sober style with only two photos of SNP members at the beginning and end of it. It is followed by a contents list and a foreword by party leader Alex Salmond. The main topics are: government spending, economy, independence, defence, health, and security. The peripheral issues are: pensions, taxes, motorists, the environment, fishing and agriculture, nuclear energy, postal services and transport, education, and rural Scotland. As in earlier manifestos, the SNP describes itself as 'Scotland's party' and calls for voting for a 'local champion' instead of 'London parties' that offer the wrong priorities to the nation. According to the party, a 'stronger Scotland's voice' can be achieved through voting for the SNP. The frequent use of expressions like 'only the SNP' confirms this. The manifesto shows that most of the proposals of the SNP come within the possibility of independence. The focus on recession and economic arguments is meant to back up the idea that the SNP is the best choice for Scotland.

- *Stronger for Scotland (2015)*

The manifesto is 38 pages long. The front page features First Minister Nicola Sturgeon; it is followed by a foreword. The main issues covered include: austerity, the economy, equality, gender inequality, employment, the environment, health, education, and businesses. Peripheral issues include: nuclear energy, immigration, the infrastructure, rural economy, pensions, and the EU. The manifesto focuses on stronger government and party mission to counter Tories.

- *Stronger for Scotland (2017)*

The manifesto is 47 pages long. The first page features party leader and First Minister Nicola Sturgeon in different situations. This is followed by a foreword. The main issues of the manifesto include: taxes, health, education, infrastructure, the EU, equality, immigration, and independence and devolution. Among the peripheral

issues we can find: transport, tourism, and broadcasting. In addition, the different topics are introduced by different party members. The manifesto mainly focuses on Scotland through the use of expressions like ‘Scotland’s voice’ or ‘Scotland’s interests’ in the foreword. The party insists on the need for stronger representation in Westminster. For instance, it states ‘Scotland needs strong voices in Westminster, standing up for the values we hold dear’ (2017, p.29). The personification of Scotland in this example serves the purpose of showing the importance of Scotland for the party. The SNP also pays much attention to the need to increase Scotland’s devolved powers and to the place of Scotland in Europe.

- ***Conclusion***

The SNP’s manifestos for both Scottish and general election centre on independence and the different electoral topics are formulated within an independence framework. The party also repeatedly describes itself as ‘Scotland’s Party’ as the only exclusively Scottish Party among the four key players.

The SNP also proposes policies dedicated to Scotland and frequently refers to the need to decentralise immigration-related matters, referring to the central government’s inability to deal with Scotland specific needs. ‘More devolved powers’ is often stated as one of the pledges of the party.

## **Conclusion**

Chronologically organised, the manifestos of the four main political parties in Scotland do provide crucial information on the evolution of the political discourse over immigration and integration in post-devolution Scotland. The presence or absence of immigration and integration-related matters, as well as their positioning, in the manifestos are revealing of the importance of such topics in comparison with other electoral issues. The multi-level aspect of governance in the UK results in different attention dedicated according to the election covered.

The four main parties cover similar electoral issues and converge on topics such as Gaelic language education. Other topics such as immigration, citizenship, or the EU are treated differently. Overall, considering the titles of the manifestos under

study, the different parties explicitly refer to Scotland's situation after devolution and its potential as a young nation.

Having an overview of the different manifestos under study can help understand the positioning of the main political parties on key issues and the importance dedicated to immigration and integration in comparison with other policy areas.

## **CHAPTER II: OVERVIEW OF THE MAIN PARTIES’ HISTORY AND IDEOLOGY**

In order to better understand the evolution of the political discourse over immigration and integration in post-devolution Scotland, it is important to cover the parties’ main histories and lines of ideology. This is done for the sake of providing a context for the manifestos under study.

As was referred to in the introduction, politics in Scotland are different from the rest of the UK, with an electorate that is more inclined to vote for left wing parties (Soule, 2006, p.26). Since the devolution, up to six parties have been represented in the Scottish Parliament, five of which are parties of the left and centre-left (Simpkins, 2018a, p.1), the only right-wing party being the Scottish Conservative Party.

In addition, different commentators refer to a ‘Scottish dimension’ in Scottish politics that obliges British political parties to develop policy strategies dedicated to Scotland (Leith & Soule, 2012, p.40). According to Eve Hepburn, the national question becomes a ‘valence’ issue in Scottish politics ‘whereby no party would dare to speak against the political empowerment of the Scottish nation’ (2014b, online). McEwen also notes that even before the devolution, all political parties in Scotland had to find a way to ‘play the Scottish card’ to show their ability to prioritize Scottish interests within a British framework (2004, p.171).

When reading Scotland’s recent history, the SNP is undeniably the main party in Scotland. Today, with three successive victories in Scottish parliamentary elections, the SNP has been able to force British parties to take Scottish politics more seriously (Lynch, 2002a, p.1). It is argued that the SNP has had an important impact in changing the political orientation of the competition and drawing attention to Scotland as a separate entity from the rest of the UK with more parties designing

separate policy agendas and manifestos for Scotland<sup>79</sup>. It is important to note that more literature is available on the SNP than other Scottish parties. Thus, the following part provides an overview of the four main political parties in Scotland with a special focus on the SNP as a key political player in Scotland. However, as an addendum, a note on the lesser parties in the Parliament of Scotland has been appended before a short note on election returns which have been much commented on in other studies.

## 1. The Scottish National Party

Today, the SNP stands as the main political party in Scotland, achieving three successive terms in government. The impact of the party at the level of policy is undeniable and the party is seen as a key electoral ‘catalyst for change’ (McCrone, 2017, p.492). The SNP was established in 1934, but the origins of the party date back to the early 1920s with different political organisations supporting Home Rule. One of those was the Scottish Home Rule Association, founded in 1886 and seeking to achieve Home Rule through cross party alliances and support gathering. Thanks to the efforts of the SHRA, Scottish Home Rule was debated 15 times in Parliament, including the introduction of four bills between 1889 and 1914. In 1913 a Home Rule Bill even passed its second reading.

Another important Scottish organisation of the 1920s was the Scots National League founded in 1920, the days when the Scottish Renaissance developed. It was the first nationalist organisation to declare itself as an independence party rather than a Home Rule party. It very much resembled the modern SNP in its objectives. Two further parties were founded before they merged into the SNP: The National Party of Scotland a pro-independence party created in 1928 and the Scottish Party in 1932, which advocated a weak version of Home Rule within Britain. In spite of the acquisition of a certain degree of stability in the 1920s, neither parties nor

---

<sup>79</sup>Since devolution, the main British parties have been dedicating separate election manifestos for Scotland in general elections (the case for most of the manifestos under study).

organisations were successful enough to bring the issue of Home Rule to the level of a national debate again.

Arnaud Fiasson dwelt on the history of the SNP and the evolution of the national sentiment in Scotland in his unpublished PhD thesis entitled *Territorialité et nationalisme écossais: le rhizome du sentiment national (1707-2011)*<sup>80</sup>. In his work, Fiasson sees the National Party of Scotland as the ‘embryo’ of the future SNP (2017, p.99). The SNP shared much of the NPS ideology. Arnaud Fiasson quotes:

The new party largely adopted the centre-left ideological outlook of the Scots National League along with its socio-economic policies, proposals for national reconstruction, electoral strategy and its commitment to independence as opposed to Home Rule. [...] The NPS did seek to present itself as a moderate rather than a radical party. It had to do so in order to ease the tensions that could emerge from the mixed ideological bag of the SHRA, GUSNA, SNL and Scottish National Movement (Quoted in Lynch, 2002a, p.35).

The SNP was a merger of the NPS and the SP, with different objectives though and it took the party some time to define its main objective, namely the establishment of a Scottish parliament. The differences between the SNP and the SP are outlined by Fiasson in the following quote from Brand:

(Between SNP and SP (Scottish Party)) there was a difference of balance on the question of Home Rule as against independence, but it is worth pointing out that there were supporters of each position on both sides. Rather more unequivocally, the Scottish Party was made up of experienced figures who were mostly conservative in their socio-economic philosophy where the NPS was made up mostly of radicals who had little experience of politics outside the party and certainly not at the level of leadership.

During its early years, the SNP received little support mainly because of the unfavourable political climate of the two world wars, Irish independence and the lack of financial support. The fact that British politics was almost exclusively contested by the two main parties made it difficult for the party to win seats. In addition, the limited success of the SNP just after its foundation was due to a lack of financial

---

<sup>80</sup>One can read with profit the section titled *L'ascension du SNP : un parcours tumultueux tracé par l'évolution du paysage politique britannique* (Fiasson, 2017, pp. 107- 131).

support and division and clashes on its fundamental policies, notably on the question of independence — this could be explained by differences in scope of the various organisations joining the SNP. It wasn't until 1945 that Robert McIntyre was elected in Westminster under special circumstances in a pact made with the main parties then, the SNP had to wait until 1967 to witness another important electoral success<sup>81</sup>.

One of the most important moments for the SNP came in Hamilton, Lanarkshire, in the November 1967 by-election with the victory of Winifred Ewing over the Labour Party candidate. The SNP won one of Labour's safest seats in Scotland with a great majority. This victory put the SNP at the forefront of the British political map and attracted a great deal of interest. During that period the SNP performed well in a number of areas such as Glasgow Bridgeton in 1961, West Lothian in 1962, Pollock in 1962 and Hamilton in 1967. This success threatened the main parties, especially Labour which relied heavily on Scotland to win elections. It seems that despite the fact that the majority of the Scottish electorate voted for one of the traditional parties; nationalism was an important factor. Richard Crossman, Labour Cabinet minister, noted in his *Diaries of a Cabinet Minister* the comment of the Tory Leader and former Prime Minister Edward Heath (1968), that nationalism was 'the biggest single factor in our politics today' (cited in Mitchell, 2006, p.197).

In the 1970s, the importance of Home Rule became undeniable for British parties. Aware of the importance of nationalism in electoral victories, Heath committed the Conservative Party, in a speech known as *The Declaration of Perth* in 1968, to a devolved Scottish Assembly contradicting the Tories' long-time opposition to Home Rule, which accentuated the issue of Home Rule and put it at the forefront of national politics. It is said that the first devolution referendum was prompted by the unexpected success of the SNP (Camp-Pietrain, 2017, p.189).

In 1974, Labour published a White Paper entitled *Devolution in the UK: Some alternatives for discussions* which set five options for change to 'avoid losing by-elections to nationalists' in the words of Roy Jenkins, then Home Secretary (cited in Devine, 2016, online). After long parliamentary debates on the issue of Home

---

<sup>81</sup>McIntyre was elected in a deal between the main parties not to oppose each other in by-elections. McIntyre was the only opponent to Labour in Motherwell and his success was to balance votes.

Rule, constitutional change was back on the political agenda within seven years of the SNP's historic victory at Hamilton in 1967.

In the 1960s and early 1970s unfavourable social and economic conditions such as an economic crisis, high inflation and rising unemployment led to the rise of nationalist movements across the UK (Duclos, 2007, p.43). The 'nationalist' phenomenon in Scotland appears to have taken the form of a major increase in support between 1967 and 1969 for the Scottish National Party the 1970's witnessed a rise in support for Scottish nationalism and the SNP which was able to push the 11 seats in Tories to third place in Scotland, achieving 30% of the vote in the 1974 general elections, and winning Parliament. This meant that Home Rule remained on the British political agenda for the following several years.

In 1979, as the Scottish people were divided on the issue of devolution with less than a third of the electorate favourable to it, the devolution referendum was rejected. The SNP lost 9 of its 11 seats and entered into a long phase of hibernation during the clearly pro-unionist Thatcher government. On the other hand, the perceived anti-Scottish economic policies adopted by the Conservative Party and its stance on Home Rule made it most unpopular in Scotland.

The SNP is seen as a relatively modern phenomenon in Scottish politics. Its leaders and activists are generally educated professionals rather than cultural figures like Robert McIntyre, leader of the SNP between 1947 and 1956, a surgeon and Jimmy Halliday, SNP leader from 1956 to 1960, a university lecturer. Many of the party's leading figures belong to the middle-class and working-class professions. The SNP has a decentralised political structure with large number of grassroots members and activists, due to the support of different organisations and trade unions.

Despite its unstable political history, The SNP has always had some certain support and has been seen as the party of nationalism as it is the only party that voices Scottish nationalism and calls for independence. According to the SNP, 'no one cares more about Scotland's future than the people who live here. It's only right that you are given a choice about the kind of country Scotland is to become in the years ahead' (SNP, online).

The SNP defines itself as 'Scotland's largest political party and party of Government. Centre left and social democratic.' (The Scottish National Party,

online). Since the 1960s, the SNP has pushed for a socio-economic agenda, using the slogan 'Put Scotland first' (1962), and has sought to use a strategy that refers to the civic nation rather than the ethnic one for its Home Rule / independence aims, unlike right wing nationalist parties, which often stress ethnic identities. The SNP adopts a social democratic stance and can be considered as operating within the same ideological terrain of the Scottish Labour Party (McGarvey & Cairney, 2008, p.56).

Today, the SNP argues the case for completing the powers of the Scottish Parliament and returning Scotland to the status of an independent country. Since the reorganisation of the party in 1935, the objective of independence has always been the defining feature of the SNP. For the party, independence means Scotland will have a direct voice in Europe and the international community and the power to tackle Scotland's social and economic problems by making Scotland's wealth work for Scotland's people.

Besides insisting on the importance of Scotland as a nation, the SNP stresses the significance of the European Union and the global market for Scotland's economy. It also pledges for a 'better Scotland' through working to end child poverty and improve childcare, focusing on education and health and on the position of Scotland as a centre of science and technology (Scottish Government, 2013b, pp.xi-xiii).

According to Peter Lynch, 'the overall impact of the SNP is what has made it politically relevant: getting Scottish politics and issues taken seriously by the main political parties and forcing the issue of self-government firmly onto the political agenda in the United Kingdom' (2002a, p.1). The success of the SNP is reflected in the way it has moved from a fringe party to a 'force which is both respected and feared, and which has defined and reshaped Scottish politics, brought the Scottish dimension centre stage and forced other political parties to respond on their terms' (Hassan, 2009, p.1). Apart from the nationalist trademark of the party, McCrone argues that the 'classless' appeal of the SNP allowed it to distinguish itself from traditional class-based parties (2017, p.45).

In relation to Brexit, the party has firmly expressed its commitment to EU membership, a position in accordance with the party's 'independence in Europe'<sup>82</sup> long embraced position<sup>83</sup>. The party's slogan 'Scotland in Europe' reflects the determination to pursue a distinctive approach to politics from England (Camp-Pietrain, 2014, p.173). Recently, the party in government has even published a White Paper on *Scotland's place in Europe* and affirmed in a foreword by Nicola Sturgeon that 'there is clearly a strong desire in Scotland to be a full and active member of the European family of nations. The Scottish Government shares that desire' (Scottish Government, 2016, p.v). The party in government has also engaged in a second independence referendum negotiations in the aftermath of the Brexit results. For the SNP, therefore, the constitutional and European options for Scotland go hand in hand. This position had an important impact on the 2017 elections results, as the party lost a considerable number of seats to the Scottish Conservatives (Simpkins, 2018b, pp.10-11).

## 2. Scottish Labour Party

Before the devolution of powers to Scotland and even during the first two terms of the Scottish Executive, the Scottish Labour had enjoyed a comfortable majority in general elections and had secured Scottish votes. Scotland was always considered as a Labour stronghold (Simpkins, 2018a, p.1). Often described as 'Scotland's leading party' (Hassan & Shaw, 2012, p.5), Scottish Labour Party had been the main party in Scotland until the rise of the SNP to power in 2007. Gerry Hassan and Eric Shaw in *the Strange Death of Labour Scotland* argue that the position of the Labour Party as a leading party in Scotland has been the result of the dynamics of the FPTP system (2012, p.5). In fact, the party has never won the

---

<sup>82</sup>The uncertainty surrounding EU membership for Scotland is highlighted by Edwige Camp-Pietrain. In fact, there is no precedent of the acceptance into the EU of a newly independent state from an already existing member (Camp-Pietrain, 2014, p.174). Thus, Brexit can offer better chances for Scotland to become an EU member.

<sup>83</sup>Until the 1980s, the SNP held a hostile attitude towards membership to EEC. The party called for a negotiated membership following the example of Norway for an independent Scotland (Leydier, 1998, p.147).

popular vote (Hassan & Shaw, 2012, p.5). Thus, the new electoral system in Scotland allowed for the representation of smaller parties and a move from a two-party system to multi-party politics (McGarvey & Cairney, 2008, p.61).

The origins of the Scottish Labour Party go back to the period of mass industrial unrest known as Red Clydeside, the anti-war movement and the Glasgow rent strikes (Simpkins, 2018a, p.2). The party's main support was based on the trade union movement (Hassan & Shaw, 2012, p.8). In addition, the party drew heavily on support of Roman Catholic electorate (McCrone, 2017, p.33).

The success of Scottish Labour in post WWII was mainly thanks to favourable circumstances, with a generation of working people, enfranchised and given better living conditions (Hassan & Shaw, 2012, p.10). According to Hassan and Shaw, 'this was a Scotland where the social democratic idea of citizenship, solidarity and positive freedom related to economic and social rights was expanded' (2012, p.10).

However, the position of the Labour Party on devolution is seen as one of its weaknesses. In fact, the party's stance on Home Rule was ambivalent and continuously changed from full endorsement to rejection. As a dominant party in Scotland, Scottish Labour had to tackle the question of Home Rule as a key electoral issue before New Labour granted devolution of powers to the new Parliament. However, the position towards Home Rule had been continuously changing within the Scottish Labour Party. Home Rule has been an integral part of Scottish Labour's agenda since its creation in 1888 (McEwen, 2004, p.161). Iain McLean even argues that the first generation of Scottish Labour were instinctive nationalists in their promotion of self-government (McLean, 2004, p.146). Many commentators question the relationship between Scottish Labour and nationalism. Nicola McEwen for example, asks whether we can consider Scottish Labour as a nationalist party (McEwen, 2004, p.160). McEwen draws attention to the Labour Party's focus on British nationalism and post WWII welfare institutions as the main priority was to be re-elected at Westminster (McEwen, 2004, p.162). Thus, according to McEwen, the rejection of Home Rule at some point was a means to address Scotland's pressing issues at a British level (McEwen, 2004, p.162). This can be seen, for instance, in a report entitled *Let Scotland Prosper* (1958) which declared that 'the Labour Party in

Scotland today realises that Scotland's problems can best be solved by socialist planning on a United Kingdom scale' (Labour Party, 1958, quoted in McEwen, 2004, p.162-163). McCrone provides a similar explanation for the focus on British politics at the time. He states: "There was no room for explicitly 'nationalist' politics in mid-century Scotland" (2017, p.35). McEwen concludes that different circumstances such as the rise of the SNP and the debate on oil reserves in the North of Scotland led the Labour Party to reconsider its position and adopt 'the pragmatic road towards an autonomist Scottish nationalism' (McEwen, 2004, p.163). In addition, despite showing close stances to Scottish nationalism, the party remains opposed to SNP's independence project (McEwen, 2004, p.171).

The rise of the SNP to the political scene has forced the party to reconsider its position and restate its commitment to Home Rule in 1974. The Labour Party's U-turn on the devolution question (Hassan & Shaw, 2012, p.73) failed in securing the success of the devolution referendum and the position of the party on devolution was considered as controversial and led to divisions within the party (Hassan & Shaw, 2012, p.22). One should note that in 1997 the Labour Party, under new leadership, put devolution at the heart of its election campaign. The second referendum was initiated in more favourable conditions with a rebranded pro-devolution Labour Party and with the absence of a strong figure among the Conservatives (Leydier & Jones, 2006, p.73).

It is important, though, to note that despite embracing the Home Rule cause and endorsement of the idea of a 'Scottish mandate' (McEwen, 2004, p.164) prior to devolution, the party has continuously advocated British nationalism. Donald Dewar for instance called devolution as 'independence in the UK' to counter the 'independence in Europe' SNP slogan (Cited in McEwen, 2004, p.165). This focus on Britishness as an overarching identity can also be seen in the idea of 'New Britain' advanced by New Labour (McEwen, 2004, p.167) in order to stress the unionist position of the Labour Party towards Scotland.

The Labour Party has a centralized structure which depends on allocated funds by the central party organisation (Simpkins, 2018a, p.3). Nevertheless, the party has been able to retain a distinctly Scottish agenda (Hassan, 2002, pp.29-30). The

Scottish Labour Party is closely associated to its British counterpart (McEwen, 2004, p.168).

Taking into consideration the ideological background, McGarvey & Cairney assert the difficulty behind tracing a clear ideological profile for Scottish Labour because it is 'eclectic' (2008, p.54). The party can be defined as a social democratic party and is positioned left of centre of the political spectrum (McGarvey & Cairney, 2008, p.56). The party has suffered from the rise of the SNP as left-of centre main contender. The Scottish Labour Party's share has decreased gradually since devolution (McGarvey & Cairney, 2008, p.53). The dominant position of Scottish Labour has been challenged by the SNP, a party with similar ideological grounds. The party is also criticized for increasingly becoming a conservative party or 'the political establishment' (Hassan, 2002, p.43).

McCrone argues that the main problem of Scottish Labour was that they considered devolution as the 'settled will' for Scotland and 'didn't know what to do next' (2017, p.494).

Another of the weaknesses of the Labour Party resides in its low membership (Simpkins, 2018a, p.3). In addition, participation in the *Better Together* campaign, started in 2012, together with the Scottish Conservatives and Scottish Liberal Democrats was negatively viewed (Simpkins, 2018a, p.4).

Today, as the main opposition party at Westminster, the Labour Party could play an important part in the Brexit deal. However, the party is seen as ambivalent on Brexit (Room, 2019, online). In Scotland, Scottish Labour is seen as having an 'ambiguous and conflicting' stance on Scotland's constitutional issues (Simpkins, 2018b, p.10).

### **3. Scottish Conservative and Unionist Party**

The British Conservative Party has been the most successful party in the UK for the last century (Clark, 2012, p.41). Nevertheless, the party's Scottish counterpart did not receive the same share of success in Scotland. In fact, the situation of the Scottish Conservative and Unionist Party has been continuously changing in Scotland since the 1950's (McGarvey & Cairney, 2008, p.55). In the post WW II

period, voting trends in Scotland were similar to the rest of the UK, with a main competition between Labour and Conservatives. The Scottish Conservatives were the most popular party in 1951 and 1955 when they won an absolute majority in Scotland (Scully & Jones, 2006, pp.117-118). However, this trend was reversed from 1964 onwards when the Scottish Labour Party became Scotland's uncontested winner (until 2007) (Jones and Scully, 2006, online). Nick Pearce in a blog article describes Scotland as Tory-free zone for most of the 19<sup>th</sup> century due to Liberal hegemony (2011, online), and makes reference to Tom Devine's masterpiece *The Scottish Nation (1700- 2007)* to back his idea that the Conservative Party began to lose support in Scotland when its role as a Protestant party of the Union and Empire waned in the early 1960s. The party also dropped the title 'Unionist', in favour of the Conservative Party in 1964 (Pearce, 2011, online).

The party's decline reached a peak during the Thatcher years in office (McGarvey & Cairney, 2008, p.55). The 'demise' of the Conservative Party in Scotland was mainly the result of Thatcherite economic policies in Scotland (Simpkins, 2018b, p.2). In addition, the party's stance on devolution in 1997 contributed to its declining popularity (McGarvey & Cairney, 2008, p.55). The Conservative Party in Scotland stood as a defender of the Union, a position that contributed to the party's poor results in Scotland in the 1997 general election (Camp, 2003, pp.102-103). In fact, the Conservative Party was the only party officially on the 'No campaign' together with a number of 'Labour No Campaign' and 'Scotland Says No', a cross-party, Conservative-dominated body (Duclos, 2006, p.154). The Conservative Party's inability to adjust to the Scottish nationalist cause can be considered as one of the reasons for its failure to attract the Scottish electorate. According to Richard J. Finlay, 'it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that a major problem with the Conservative Party in Scotland was its failure to engage imaginatively with the Scottish dimension' (2008, p.171).

The party has also witnessed important divisions within its members between promoters of 'progressive conservatism', an oxymoronic term that emphasizes the role of the state in fighting poverty (Griffiths, 2012, online) , a position embraced by David Cameron later on; and a more 'liberal' conservatism influenced by Thatcherite ideas (Clark, 2012, p.43-44).

In Scotland, since devolution, the party has performed changes (Camp, 2003, p.120) including the attribution of more autonomy (McGarvey & Cairney, 2008, p.57). The party has also rebranded to a more centrist position and a Scottish emphasis in its policy formulation (McGarvey & Cairney, 2008, p.57). As far as the party's structure is concerned, the Scottish Conservatives have also enjoyed a greater degree of autonomy than Scottish Labour for example in the Scottish election manifesto which is debated within the Scottish constituencies and the regional party executive (Simpkins, 2018b, p.4).

More recently, the party has adopted its full name to confirm its commitment to the union between England and Scotland. However the party despite these efforts still holds a minor position when considering Scottish elections results.

Today Scottish Conservatives describe themselves as: 'a patriotic party of the Scottish centre-right which stands for freedom, enterprise, community and equality of opportunity' (Scottish Conservatives, online). In its website, the party also stresses its centre-right position through the advocating of a 'strong but limited government' (Scottish Conservatives, online). This description shows a form of rebranding of the party in order to attract Scottish electorate.

The party has recently witnessed rise in popularity with the unexpected results 2017 snap election. In fact, the party has been able to gain 12 additional seats, which can be viewed as an important achievement compared to the party's results in the 2015 general election, as well as the Conservative Party's performance in the same snap election.

The unexpected resurgence of conservatism in Scotland (Simpkins, 2018a, p.1) in the 2017 general elections results raises questions on whether this signals change in the voting pattern or whether it is a temporary phenomenon. This change in voting patterns is perceived as temporary for some commentators (See for example Vampa, 2016, p.180), and or can be considered as circumstantial. In fact, the results of the 2017 snap election coincide with the announcement of a second independence referendum by the SNP government (Simpkins, 2018a, p.10). This has provided the opportunity for the Conservative Party to display its pledge for

unionism, a position shared by many Scots according to recent polls<sup>84</sup>. The party has also been able to present a more ‘authentic’ form of conservatism thanks to its new leader Ruth Davidson (Simpkins, 2018b, p.6). According to Fiona Simpkins:

The Scottish Conservatives were able to take full advantage of the fact that their party were negotiating a Brexit deal for the UK, while their leader appeared more moderate as she repeatedly stated her preference for a soft Brexit. This was successfully combined with making opposition to a second referendum the leitmotiv of her campaign (2018b, p.11).

In addition, Ruth Davidson’s integration of a distinct Scottish dimension within the Conservatives’ unionist political thought is considered as the key to her success at the June 2017 general elections (Simpkins, 2018b, p.3). The party leader has also voiced her ‘remain’ stance on the Brexit referendum<sup>85</sup> in spite of the Conservative Party’s stance on the issue.

#### **4. Scottish Liberal Democratic Party**

The Scottish Liberal Democrats were formed as an alliance between the Liberal Party and the Social Democratic Party in 1988 (McGarvey&Cairney,2008, p.58). Contrarily to other British parties, the Scottish Liberal Democrats have always enjoyed some degree of autonomy from the British Liberal Democrats (McGarvey & Cairney, 2008, p.58). In fact, the party is said to act as a ‘party within a party’ as it has distinctive agendas (McGarvey & Cairney, 2008, p.58). The ‘federal’ structure of the Liberal Democrats (Deacon, 2007, p.156) has resulted in different policy initiatives in Scotland.

The Liberal Democrats have always stressed their commitment to devolution and often cite the long liberal tradition of supporting decentralisation in Britain (Deacon, 2007, p.92). The party can be considered as more centrist than Scottish Labour and the SNP. The ideological profile of the party is similar to and compatible

---

<sup>84</sup>YouGov polls on voting intentions showed that 57% of the interviewed population say No to the question ‘Should Scotland be an independent country?’ (Smith, 2017, online)

<sup>85</sup> Ruth Davidson is listed among the 40 ‘Brexit troublemakers’ for her views on Brexit (*Politico*, online)

with Scottish Labour and the two parties formed coalition governments from 1999-2007. The Scottish Liberal Democratic Party is often labelled ‘rural Labour’ (McGarvey & Cairney, 2008, p.59), as its voters are mainly of middle class rural suburban Scotland (McGarvey & Cairney, 2008, p.59).

Key issues present in Scottish Liberal Democrats’ agenda include: equality and diversity as shown in the following passage from the party’s website:

The Scottish Liberal Democrats exist to build and safeguard a fair, free and open society, in which we seek to balance the fundamental values of liberty, equality and community, and in which no-one shall be enslaved by poverty, ignorance or conformity [...] we aim to disperse power, to foster diversity and to nurture creativity (Scottish Liberal Democratic Party, online).

According to McCrone, the Scottish Liberal Democrats were reduced to ‘walk-on-parts’ but were able to attract an electorate that is not interested in the two main political parties in Scotland (2017, p.492). However, others argue that the Scottish Liberal Democrats’ performance in Scotland can be considered as successful especially in their two terms in a coalition government with Scottish Labour (Laffin, 2007, pp.147-148). The party in government was even able to push for policies to which Labour was opposed such as free personal care for the elderly, tuition fees exemption for Scottish students, proportional representation in local government, and free prescriptions and eye tests (Laffin, 2007, p.147). In addition, as a junior partner in a coalition government, it is common for parties like the Liberal Democrats to suffer electorally when participating in government (Clark, 2007, p.698). However, the Scottish Liberal Democrats were able to be in office in 2003 and to receive considerable attention (Clark, 2007, p.698). The party is also known for being active in communities between elections and developing ‘community politics’ (Clark, 2007, p.703). This strategy has led to an organisation that is mainly locally concentrated at the level of the constituencies where the party holds seats (Lynch, 2002b, p.86). According to Lynch, ‘this pattern not only prevents the Liberal Democrats from being a national party but inhibits the development of a coherent overall identity. Instead, a provincial politics of patchwork priorities dominates’ (2002b, p.86).

In the debate on Brexit, the Scottish Liberal Democrats have been campaigning for remaining in the EU and joined the ‘Exit from Brexit<sup>86</sup>’ campaign as a solution to the seemingly unsuccessful Brexit deal. The party has also shown its rejection of independence as a constitutional option for Scotland, a position maintained since the first independence referendum where the party joined the ‘No campaign’ together with Labour and Conservatives.

## 5. Other parties in Scotland

Devolution has also resulted in the emergence of other Scottish parties than the SNP such as the Scottish Greens who have been able to win seats in Scottish election as well, as the Scottish Socialist Party which was able to win 6 seats in the 2003 Scottish parliamentary elections (Simpkins, 2018a, p.1)

The Scottish Greens, the fifth main party in Scotland describes its objectives as follows: ‘We believe that Scotland can be fairer, greener and healthier. We believe that the Scottish Parliament can be so much bolder in meeting the ambitions of the people of Scotland’ (Chapman & Harvie, online). The party also promotes working with other parties to achieve their objectives (Chapman & Harvie, online), and is committed to policy areas such as equality, sustainability and independence (McGarvey & Cairney, 2008, p.56). The party has its roots in the Ecology Party but separated from it in 1990 (McGarvey & Cairney, 2008, p.56).

The Scottish Socialist Party (SSP) shows its irrevocable support for independence. It states: ‘the SSP is striving to create an independent, nuclear-free, multi-cultural, Scottish republic’ (Scottish Socialist Party, online). The party also targets the working class electorate and strives for ‘breaking free of the suffocating stranglehold of the British state’ (Scottish Socialist Party, online). Other minor parties include Scottish Senior Citizens’ Unity Party and Pensioners Party, Solidarity, the Socialist Labour Party, the Highlands and Islands Alliance, British National Party, and the Scottish Christian Party.

---

<sup>86</sup> There is petition that calls for an ‘Exit from Brexit’ initiated by the Liberal Democrats (Available on: <https://www.libdems.org.uk/exit-brexit>)

## **6. Overview of election results and party membership**

Exploring the evolution of elections' results as well as the possible change in membership numbers over time can be revealing of the main political parties' success to formulate policy strategies that are adequate for the Scottish electorate. According to Gilles Leydier, since devolution, party representation in Scotland has revolved around 5 elements: A dominant party in power (SNP since 2007), 2 main parties in opposition which are the Scottish Conservatives and Scottish Labour Party. Last, we find 2 smaller parties represented in Scotland: the Liberal Democrats and the Greens (2017, p.9).

Figure 16 shows that only the four main parties are represented in British Parliament and politics. Scottish Labour held a dominant position until 2015 when the SNP established itself as the main representative of Scotland in Westminster. The 2015 election can be seen as exceptional in that the SNP was able to reach 50% of the popular vote in Scotland (Duclos, 2015, p.04). In addition, the results show a convergence in the voting behaviour between Scottish and general elections (Duclos, 2015, pp.08-09).

The trend continued in the following 2017 snap election with a slight change. One of the main changes in the 2017 election results has been the relative success of the Scottish Conservatives compared to earlier elections. In fact, the party rose from 1 seat to 13. The Scottish Conservatives results contradicted the results of the Brexit referendum where the majority of Scots voted for staying within the EU. This further reflects the Scottish Conservatives detachment and divergence in terms of policy orientation from their British counterpart. The Scottish Labour Party and the Scottish Liberal Democrats also benefitted from the 2017 snap election as they were able to win more seats than the ones achieved in 2015. On the other hand, the SNP lost a sizeable number of seats but still the party was able to retain a majority in the Scottish Parliament.

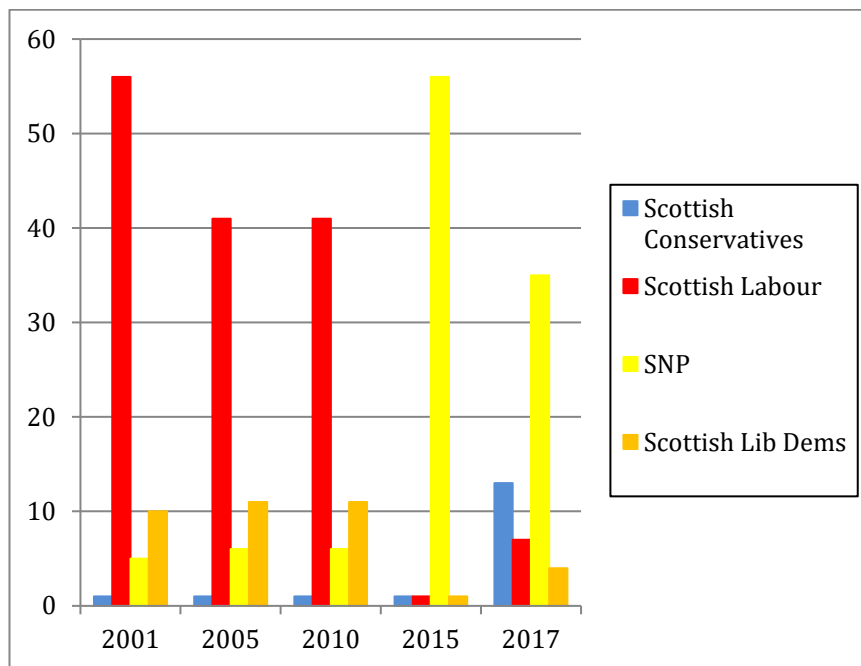


Figure 16: General elections results for Scotland 2001-2017

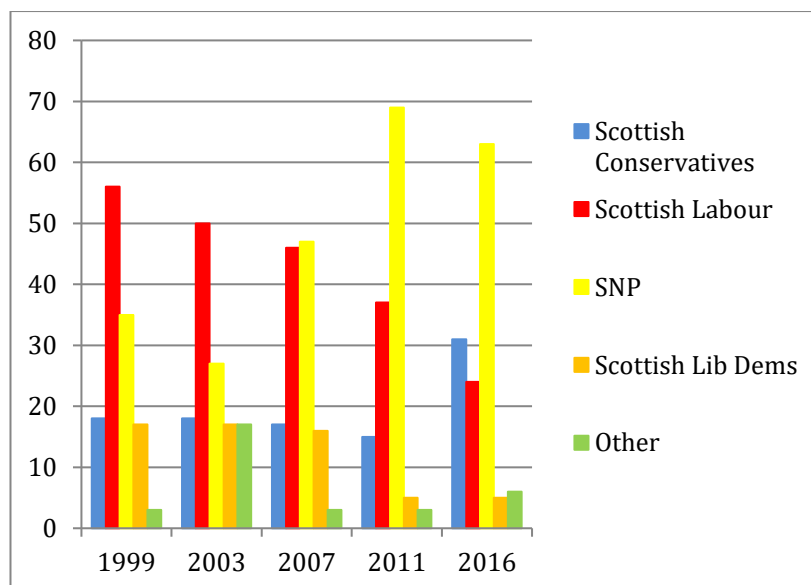


Figure 17: Scottish elections results 1999-2016

As far as Scottish elections are concerned, a noticeable aspect is the more diverse representation. In fact, there is a different pattern in elections results between the general and Scottish elections which emanates from the different electoral systems existing at the British and Scottish levels. This allows for more

representation and a more diverse political scene. However, FPTP system gives power to one party, less chance for smaller parties to be represented.

Figure 17 shows the results of different Scottish elections. It reveals a more diverse representation with the Scottish Labour Party domination from 1999 to 2007. In addition, smaller parties like the Scottish Greens and SSP have been able to gain a number of seats in Scottish elections, and parties like Scottish Conservatives have enjoyed better representation thanks to the electoral system in Scotland. Labour domination ended in 2007 with the success of the SNP to secure votes for a minority government for three successive elections<sup>87</sup>.

The evolution of election results confirms the existence of a Scottish dimension that the main parties need to take into consideration in formulating electoral policies and pledges. This specificity is confirmed with the validation of the SNP as ‘Scotland’s party’ with three successive victories in Scottish elections. The party has also become Scotland main representative in Westminster.

In terms of membership and party affiliation, recent research reveals an increase in membership for the Conservative, Labour and the Liberal Democratic parties has increased from 0.8% of the electorate in 2013 to around 1.6% in 2018 (Audickas et al., 2019, p.5). As far as the SNP is concerned, membership to the party increased from 0.6% of the electorate in 2013 to around 3% in 2018<sup>88</sup> (Audickas et al., 2019, p.5)<sup>89</sup>. According to a briefing paper on *Membership of UK Political Parties* for the House of Commons, the SNP has just under 125,500 members, and is positioned second in terms of membership<sup>90</sup>. Increase in membership can also be seen as a ‘referendum effect’ as the party benefitted from the long referendum campaign (Duclos, 2015, p.9).

Political parties have different structures for their memberships, ranging from more restrictive voting rights to a gradation in membership according to the

---

<sup>87</sup> The SNP was able to secure a majority government in the 2011 Scottish election.

<sup>88</sup> The statistics assumed that all Scottish National Party members are in Scotland.

<sup>89</sup> Membership statistics can vary either between parties or over time as there is no official obligation for the parties to publish their data (Audickas et al., 2019, p.6).

<sup>90</sup> Data reported by party headquarters as at March-April 2018, except for Labour Party membership figures from Labour List (from Audickas et al., 2019, p.4).

member's degree of involvement (Audickas et al., 2019, p.6). In addition, political parties do not hesitate to use social media to increase the number of followers (Audickas et al., 2019, p.6). Thus, an increase in membership can be the result of the reaching of a wider and more important audience.

## **Conclusion**

An overview of the main political parties' histories and lines of ideology shows similarities between the three left-wing parties in Scotland i.e. Scottish Labour, Scottish Liberal Democrats and the SNP. These parties attempt to win the same electorate through presenting policy proposals dedicated to Scotland. The only right wing party, the Scottish Conservatives, has experienced difficulty to gain seats especially in general elections. However, after Brexit the party has been able to achieve a considerable leap in the 2017 snap election.

In addition, in terms of membership, the SNP has witnessed a considerable increase in its membership and has been positioned as the UK's second party in terms of total number of members. It is also important to take into consideration that there is no available up to date data on the Conservative Party membership, which does not allow for an assessment of the party's membership.

The ideological foundations of the four main parties have influence on electoral promises and proposals over immigration and integration. On either policy areas, the resulting government decisions have affected Scotland as part of the UK. As shown in Part II, there have been different reactions to the solutions proposed by successive British governments to the growing immigrant population in Britain, resulting in public unrest and riots. This is particularly relevant during the Thatcher years, where the government handling of integration resulted in the alienation of the immigrant population and further heightened the tensions between minorities and the native population. Thatcher's policy orientations also led to a growing feeling of alienation in Scotland and a distancing from British politics.

The main parties' lines of ideologies and respective histories provide more contextual information that is needed for the analysis of the evolution of the political discourse over immigration and integration.



### CHAPTER III: THE EVOLUTION OF THE NARRATIVE ON IMMIGRATION AND INTEGRATION

A discourse analysis methodology is implemented in this research project in order to decipher and assess the evolution of the political discourse over immigration and integration in Scotland. The analysis focuses on specific keywords or categories, chosen for their association to immigration and integration, including the terms 'equality', 'anti-discrimination', 'culture', 'diversity', 'immigration' and 'identity'. More specifically, consideration of particular aspects such as the linguistic analysis of the key terms is employed to assess the parties' stances on immigration and integration in relation to other issues such as education, justice and communities.

The analysis of key terms related to immigration and integration in Scottish manifestos for successive Scottish and British parliamentary elections allows for the measurement of political parties' positioning on these issues and the degree of consensus within the context of the nation-building project. Immigration and integration become crucial policy areas to address within the context of the newly devolved Scottish nation. The creation of a Scottish parliament in 1999 was an opportunity for Scottish parties to formulate policies adapted to Scotland's needs. According to Leith and Soule in *the Political Discourse and National Identity in Scotland*, there is a 'Scottish dimension' that political parties need to take into account when formulating policy (2012, p.40). The 'Scottish dimension' is reflected in the following quote from the 2003 Scottish Conservatives election manifesto: 'Scotland's culture belongs to its people' (2003, 17). In this example, Scottish Conservatives acknowledge the existence of a 'Scottish dimension' in culture described as 'Scotland's culture'. The 'Scottish dimension' can be found in different policy areas in Scottish parties' manifestos and results in converging policy initiatives as will be explained in the following sections.

## 1. Analysis of Scottish elections manifestos

An example of converging policies is the broad consensus between the main political parties on the importance of Gaelic language and the need to maintain Gaelic medium education. Proposals from the main political parties in relation to Gaelic education are similar and involve increasing the funding for Gaelic education to a more present Gaelic language in the public and private sectors. This example shows the alignment between the main political parties over issues that are crucial for the electorate. In fact, Gaelic, despite being spoken only by 1.7% of the total Scottish population (National Records of Scotland, 2015, p.4). This language does hold a symbolic importance for Scots as part of Scottish identity and heritage. In a census performed by the Scottish Government in 2011, on attitudes towards Gaelic language, 40% of the total sample stated that Gaelic was important to their sense of national identity and 17% claimed that it was very important. The polls reflect a widespread and strong agreement that Gaelic traditions should not be lost, and that Gaelic is an important part of Scottish culture (Graham & West, 2011, online). Gaelic remains a powerful idiosyncrasy of Scottish culture, with a literature of its own. In addition, the difference between Gaelic and Scots is strong and conveys two different visions of the world in comparison with Scots and English (See Chapman, 1979, p.264). Gaelic is also important in defining a separate political identity for Scotland from the UK, hence, the need for political parties to embrace and affirm that distinctiveness and to provide a Scottish dimension for their electoral promises.

Another important element of analysis in manifestos is the different parties' lines of ideologies. Manifestos do reflect political parties' main ideologies on crucial issues such as immigration and integration but they also seek to attract the electorate by aligning with public opinion on certain issues. Leith and Soule argue that as parties look to create an ideological and political platform in Scotland, this platform also impacts and is impacted upon by the national sense of identity (2012, p.38). This makes of national identity an important element of study especially in relation to how this identity is imagined by the political elite and whether it is inclusive or exclusive in relation to the ethnic vs. civic debate.

The importance given to certain issues or policy areas in manifestos may vary according to changing factors; however, the main line of ideology of the different parties is generally maintained. For example, left wing parties concentrate their policies towards welfare and increasing public spending whereas right wing parties generally preach for less government intervention. If we have a look at the specific case of Scottish elections manifestos, the four major parties have maintained throughout the post-devolution years similar focus on a number of key issues such as education, health, crime and justice, rural communities and local governance. This consensus shows a certain dedication to welfare which is specific to Scotland, requiring the different parties from the political spectrum to align on the necessity to increase spending on public services. Ailsa Henderson argues that egalitarian meritocratic Scotland owes its existence to such institutions as the church, education and legal system that feed such myths as ‘the Lad O’ Pairts’ communitarianism. Such beliefs according to Henderson influence everything from culture to voting patterns (Henderson, 2007, p.85).

Such institutions as the education system — strengthened by the *Act of Union* of 1707 — are considered with pride by the different parties, praising Scotland as a national symbol for academic excellence and accessibility. Initiatives such as the abolition of tuition fees for universities reinforce this position. The SNP highlights the distinctiveness of Scotland’s education system as: ‘Scotland’s great achievements have been built on the foundations of great education. It is still the case that a good education unlocks potential, expands horizons and leads to a positive contribution to a creative society’ (SNP, 1999, p.6).

This focus on Scotland’s tradition of academic excellence can be linked to the Scottish ideal of the ‘Lad o’ Pairts’ mainly related to education in Scotland that is assumed to be less socially selective than in England in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. According to David McCrone, in *Understanding Scotland : The Sociology of a Stateless Nation*, ‘the social strata of skilled artisans and lower middle class were probably those to whom The Scottish egalitarian myth appealed most, as such they appear to be the main makers and sustainers of the myth’ (2001, p.101). For such people, social mobility often meant geographic mobility, migrating to better opportunities with a reasonable chance of success. In the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries

Scotland's education was said to be widely available and open to both sexes and all social groups. The myth has persisted throughout the years through initiatives such as the financing of studies for young Scots. For example, the Carnegie Trust, with an endowment of \$10,000,000 to the Universities of Scotland in 1901, permitted many students to attend university (Anderson, 2003, p.166). Tuition-free universities can be seen as another embodiment of the 'Lad O' Pairs', offering the possibility for Scottish undergraduates to benefit from free education.

The 'Lad O' Pairs' myth can be associated to a broader and more important tradition for the Scots: the 'myth of equality' or 'egalitarianism' developed in the Presbyterian doctrine. Scottish society is said to be more 'egalitarian' than its Southern neighbour. In fact, Scotland has always been seen as more egalitarian than England and less based on class. The Scottish myth manifests itself in as a set of social values such as the 'Lad O' Pairs', the 'Gaeltachd'<sup>91</sup>, and the 'Kailyard' that define what it is to be Scottish. The myth of equality is frequently used by political parties in their manifestos, stressing the principle of egalitarianism in education. For example Scottish Labour dedicates a section to 'building opportunity for all' on the importance of providing equal opportunities in education in the 2016 manifesto (2016, p.20).

Another example of the deployment of the egalitarian myth in manifestos can be found in the extensive use of the terms 'fair'<sup>92</sup>, 'fairer' and 'for all' in relation to different institutions and public services, reflecting an interest to keep the egalitarian myth alive. For example, the term 'fair' is mentioned 23 times in the Scottish Liberal Democratic Party manifesto of 2016. The SNP also extensively uses the term 'fair' but in its comparative form 'fairer' to reflect the already established tradition of a 'fair' Scotland as well as the party's commitment to continue the tradition of an egalitarian Scotland. 'Fairer' is mentioned 19 times in the SNP's 2016 manifesto in

---

<sup>91</sup>The term 'Gaeltachd' or 'Gaidhealtachd' is commonly used to refer to the 'Highlands' (McLeod, 2006, p.258) and the term more generally can denote Gaeltacht community or the Gaelic-speaking area. The translation into French, Gaélie, can be found in Jean Berton's booklet, *Dictionnaire insolite de l'Ecosse*, (2019, p. 62).

<sup>92</sup> According to the Oxford English Dictionary, 'fair' can have different meanings such as 'treating people equally without favouritism or discrimination'. The notion of fairness in this context can be linked to equality.

relation to different policy areas such as economy and employment. The use of the comparative form can also indicate that Scotland is 'fairer' than England.

The importance of the myth of egalitarianism and the 'Lad O' Pairs' in relation to minorities lies in the fact that the myth can evolve to become inclusive of ethnic minorities and can result in more openness to diversity in Scotland than the rest of the UK. In the Scottish elections' manifestos, in different instances, political parties directly refer to equality in relation to ethnic minorities. An example can be found in this passage from the 2016 Scottish Liberal Democrats' manifesto where the party pledges 'to tackle the barriers to fair representation of Black , Asian and Minority Ethnic people in senior roles in the police and education' (2016,p.22). In this example, 'fairness' being understood to equate 'equality'; equality is promoted in relation to employment and equal opportunity to minorities. The SNP also advances a vision of an equal Scotland inclusive of minorities in a dedicated section 'Diverse but equal' of the 2016 manifesto (2016, p.21). The use of the conjunction 'but' is revealing in the fact that it is normally used to introduce a phrase or clause contrasting with what has already been mentioned but in this case it accentuates the importance of equality for a diverse community.

### 1.1 Analysis according to categories

- *'Identity' and 'culture'*

The main challenge for political parties in relation to national identity is to be able to dissociate from their British counterparts and to show and prove their commitment to Scottish national identity. The exception to this rule is for the SNP which, according to Leith and Soule, presents the advantage of proposing candidates only for Scotland (2012, p.40), thus becoming unlikely to present an incoherent political agenda. The SNP has even declared itself as 'Scotland's party' in the 1999 election manifesto (1999, p.1).

National history is also important for the political elite in their quest to create the national future (Leith & Soule, 2012, p.41) and is extensively used to reflect a strong sense of national identity. An example is the celebration and promotion of events related to Scottish history and heritage such as the 250<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Burns'

birthday (Scottish Labour Party, 2007, 2011), Burns' Night (SNP, 2007), the 2007 Year of Highland Culture (Scottish Labour Party, 2003) and Hogmanay (SNP, 2007). In the 2007 Scottish Labour manifesto, a number of Scottish literary figures are evoked to show the importance of Scottish culture and its distinctiveness from the British literary tradition. It states: 'from Burns to Rankin, from Rennie Mackintosh to Maxwell Davies Scotland has always punched above it cultural weight' (2007, p.91).

The different political parties also extensively use Scotland's natural beauty and the distinctiveness of its rural society as part of the image broadcast, both at the national and international levels. An example can be seen in the following personification of Scotland in the Scottish Liberal Democratic Party's manifesto:

Rural Scotland is the jewel in Scotland's crown, providing the high quality food, glorious landscape, leisure opportunities and celebrated heritage that is central to the way our country is perceived and marketed around the world' (2007, p.68).

Literary figures such as Burns as well as the natural landscape are repeatedly used and highlighted by the main political parties to such extent as to propose a celebration day in the name of these symbols of Scottish culture and heritage. Such symbols are used to legitimise nationhood, especially for British parties. To achieve this, political parties extensively use history in their attempts to legitimise the nation and a sense of nationhood (Smith, 2003, online).

The use of Robert Burns is particularly revealing in this context as the poet is best known for his poem *In Such Parcel of Rogues in a Nation* where he condemns the union of parliaments of 1707. Highly associated with Scottish nationalism, Burns is used in political discourse to reflect the distinctiveness of Scottish culture and history. Another important symbol of Scottish national identity is St Andrew's Day which is proposed to become a national holiday by both Scottish Labour and SNP in the 2007 manifestos.

Examples from the manifestos under study show the use of history to affirm the existence of Scottish culture and heritage. In a number of instances, the different parties do stress the distinctive history and political tradition of Scotland in relation to different fields such as education, health and equality. In the 2007 election manifesto, Scottish Conservatives state that 'Scotland has a celebrated record of

educating its citizens to a high standard' (2007, p.25). In another example, the Scottish Liberal Democrats clearly affirm that 'Liberal Democrats want Scotland's education system to be among the best in the world' (Scottish Liberal Democratic Party, 1999, p.5).

Thus, one may conclude that the different political parties stress the importance of Scottish history, culture and heritage in order to reflect the 'Scottish dimension' in their political discourse. In the 1999 political manifesto, the SNP asserts that it 'will ensure that Scotland's diverse linguistic and cultural heritage, including the Gaelic and Scots languages and Scottish History have an enhanced place in the classroom. The SNP recognises and welcomes Scotland's cultural and religious diversity' (1999, p.24). Another example is the reference to culture as 'our unique and world-renowned culture' (SNP, 2003, p.18). This also shows the importance of historical symbols and appurtenance to an *ethnie* in the formulation of national identity.

The importance of national identity in relation to the immigration and integration discourses is revealed in the way political actors depict Scottish identity. Scottish nationalism has been formulated in terms of a civic inclusive society, which puts much focus on its institutional distinctiveness. At the same time, this civic aspect is contrasted by a discourse that is more oriented towards Scotland as the *ethnie*, praising Scotland's cultural distinctiveness and its 'unique' natural beauty. This swinging between civic characteristics and non-civic ones raises questions about the civic aspect of national identity as promoted by the main political actors in Scotland, and the degree of its inclusiveness of minorities.

- **'Diversity'**

In the different parties' election manifestos, Scotland is presented as a plural society. It is described as 'new, cosmopolitan and diverse' (Scottish Liberal Democratic Party, 2003, p.9), showing a predisposition to welcome immigrants and to celebrate a multicultural plural society. The use of the terms 'new' and 'cosmopolitan' is revealing of the intention of the political actors in Scotland to detach from the already established system to a more multicultural society. The term

‘cosmopolitan’ shows an intention towards the co-existence of diverse cultures and reinforces the notion of accepting the other (Appiah, 2006).

The reference to a cosmopolitan Scotland is a reminder of ‘cosmopolitanism’ especially when speaking of diversity. In fact, cosmopolitanism emphasizes cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue – so as to bring cultural pluralism under the same umbrella (Pollock, 2000, pp.577-590). As a political theory, cosmopolitanism promotes the integration of immigrants into the full status of national citizenship (Kymlicka, 2009, cited in Herbert, 2013, p.7). At the same time, cosmopolitanism raises questions on the idea of nationalism and national identity in a cosmopolitan society.

Taking into consideration the discourse advanced by political parties and the promotion of a civic form of national identity in Scotland, cosmopolitanism fits the rhetoric and the civic dimension of national identity. In the case of Scotland, nationalism and national identity as presented by the political elite, give the possibility for immigrants to fully embrace and entitle to Scottish national identity. However, it is also important to take into consideration that unless fully independent from the UK, the state identity is the British national identity, granted to non-nationals through a citizenship test. In such case, Scottish identity would not be able to provide full status of citizenship and thus it is interesting to investigate how the different political parties in Scotland envisage formulating Scottish citizenship in the context of independence.

Diversity is also celebrated and encouraged with a commitment to create a place to attract people through the use of the verb ‘build’, as can be seen in the following examples: ‘the Liberal Democrats exist to build and safeguard a fair, free and open society’ (Scottish Liberal Democrats, 1999, online), and ‘Labour will take tough action ... to help build a Scotland that recognises and celebrates the faiths and cultures of all Scots’ (Scottish Labour Party, 2011, p.55). The use of the term ‘build’ can be very revealing in the context of Scotland as it is a reminder of the newly devolved and autonomous nation that is in the process of being clearly distinguished from the rest of the UK. The process of ‘building’ the post-devolution Scottish nation results in the creation of separate policies specific to Scotland’s needs.

Diversity is clearly displayed by the different political parties to show a commitment to multicultural Scotland in the new post-devolution context. The multicultural aspect is highlighted in the description of Scotland in the manifestos through the extensive use of words related to multiculturalism such as 'plural', 'open', 'multicultural' and 'cosmopolitan' by all four parties.

Another tool used to reinforce the plural aspect of Scottish society is performed through personification. The personification of Scotland is deployed by political parties to portray Scotland. Leith and Soule explore the way political parties refer to the civic form of identity through the process of personification of Scotland or 'national personification' (Leith & Soule, 2012, p.62), an aspect that can be found in Scottish parties' manifestos. An example of national personification can be found in this quote from Scottish Labour manifesto: 'Scotland's diversity is strength' (Scottish Labour Party, 2003, p.39). Another example can be found in Scottish Conservatives' 1999 manifesto: 'Scottish Conservatives understand that diversity is one of Scotland's defining characteristics as a country' (Scottish Conservative Party, 1999, p.25). In both examples, Scotland is referred to as a person and thus holds a number of 'defining characteristics'.

Diversity is also used to refer Scotland's already existing cultural diversity. In fact, the political parties agree on the fact that Scotland has an already diverse heritage. An example is the following extract from Scottish Conservatives manifesto: 'we recognise that diversity is one of our defining characteristics as a nation' (2003, p.21). In fact, in relation to diversity, the different parties agree on the idea that Scotland has already a diverse heritage as can be seen in the following example: 'we will celebrate Scotland's diverse culture, create an environment where all of Scotland's people have the opportunity to fulfil their potential, and strengthen our place in the world.' (Scottish Labour Party, 2003, p.41). The Scottish Liberal Democrats also recognize this pre-existing diversity in the form of linguistic diversity affirming that 'Scotland has a distinctive and colourful language heritage' (2003, p.21). The Scottish Labour Party refers to diversity in relation to language stating 'Scottish Labour is proud to celebrate the diversity of Scotland's many languages' (2011, p.88), or in this example: 'we recognise Scotland's rich cultural heritage including Gaelic, Scots and Nordic' (2016, p.25). The SNP also points to

Scotland's diverse linguistic and cultural heritage in the 1999 and 2003 manifestos, referring to Gaelic and Scots as part of 'Scotland's diverse linguistic and cultural heritage' (1999, p.22).

'Diversity' as used in the different election manifestos can become confusing to interpret as it is both deployed to refer to ethnic minorities and to refer to Scotland's cultural heritage, which does not necessarily involve minorities. In a number of instances, the term is used in a vague context to confer both descriptions.

It is also important to note that the diverse cultural heritage of Scotland can be utilized by political parties to show an already existing predisposition of Scots for diversity<sup>93</sup> and for welcoming newcomers. An example can be found in the SNP manifesto. The party stresses the openness and welcoming nature of Scotland as follows: 'Scotland has a long tradition of welcoming those who choose to live here' (2003, p.27).

Having experienced invasions and immigration throughout its history especially from Ireland, the multicultural history of Scotland is used to highlight the welcoming nature of the country. It is worth noting though that there is relatively limited use of the terms 'multicultural' and 'multiculturalism' in the manifestos under study, except in a number of instances. Multiculturalism, being one of the key integration strategies to be in place, the SNP makes reference to it through 'multicultural education' (1999, p.22) that needs to be put in place in recognition of the need to acknowledge cultural and religious diversity in education, asserting a clear embracement of multiculturalism. The Scottish Labour Party also stresses the multicultural aspect of Scotland in the following passage from Jack McConnell's foreword: 'It is time to put the practices of the past behind us and emerge into the ambitious, modern, multicultural, healthy and clean country we should be' (2003, p.4).

In these examples, the term multiculturalism has not been used despite the obvious multicultural orientation of the different parties' integration strategies. It becomes clear that throughout the manifestos, multiculturalism as a demographic

---

<sup>93</sup>'Scots' covers some 12 dialects, SSE not included.

phenomenon is generally referred to through the term 'diversity', whereas as a political strategy for integration, the term is not frequently used. This raises questions on the different parties' integration strategies in Scotland.

- *'Immigration'*

Immigration is frequently formulated in relation to Scotland's demographic needs. The need to repopulate the country is especially stressed by Scottish Labour. Increasing Scotland's population is stated as one of the party's main objectives in the 2007 manifesto and a whole section is dedicated to 'Growing Scotland's population' (2007, p.22). The party asserts that: 'Scottish Labour is committed to encouraging people from the rest of the UK and across the world to come and live, work and study in Scotland' (2007, p.22) and 'Scottish Labour will continue to attract highly skilled workers from all parts of the world' (2007, p.22).

The Scottish Labour Party insists on the importance of immigration and the need to 'retain the talent we have , attract Scots back and welcome people from different cultures , nationalities and backgrounds' (2003,p.9) .The party also stresses the importance to make Scotland a good place to live and describes Scotland as a 'magnet' for people (2007, p.91). The use of 'talent' as a positive addition to Scotland reflects the importance given to immigrants and their contribution (2007, p.9). It is also a reminder of the Fresh Talent Initiative of the Labour-Liberal Democrats coalition and its role in 'attracting new migrants from both south of the border and the rest of the world' (2007, p.22).

In relation to immigration, the SNP criticizes the centralised nature of immigration policy in relation to the failure of the first coalition government to deal with issues of racism and the need to decentralise it to provide 'a fair immigration policy without racial bias' (2003, p.27). The SNP also refers to the Occupational Shortage List, elaborated by the central government, and the need to address it. The party is favourable to immigration and reminds in the 2003 manifesto 'the long tradition of welcoming immigrants' (2003, p.27).

Refugees are viewed positively by the SNP. Described as an 'asset' in 2003 and the Scottish Labour Party and Scottish Liberal Democrats preach for the need for an integration strategy towards refugees and asylum seekers (Scottish Labour Party,

2011; Scottish Liberal Democrats 2011 and 2016). It is only in the 2016 manifestos, with the explosion of the refugees and asylum seekers numbers, that the parties did address the issue specifically, showing Scotland's commitment to refugees' integration. Scottish Labour asserts that 'Scotland can be a beacon for human right of refugee protection' (2016, p.44) affirming the leading role assumed by Scotland in welcoming refugees. The party even reminds of the image of the body of Syrian boy, Alan Kurdi, washed up on a beach, to highlight the need for accepting refugees to Scotland. The Scottish Labour Party also refers to the need to address the 'Wishaw to Calais' crisis to find a solution for refugees and asylum seekers.

The SNP also highlights Scotland's predisposition to welcome refugees through the testimony of Roza Salih, a refugee from Kurdistan, who declares 'I have made Scotland my home' (2016, p.22). The testimony of Roza Salih is an example of a successful integration of a refugee and confirms the welcoming nature of Scotland. The SNP also stresses the need to address the 'plight of refugees' and proposes a resettlement programme and access to studies for refugees and asylum seekers.

- *Importance of Gaelic*

The main political parties converge on the attention dedicated to the Gaelic language and culture. In fact, Gaelic language teaching is mentioned in the entire manifestos under study, showing the importance that this language has for political actors in Scotland<sup>94</sup>. The interest in the expansion of Gaelic language is maintained by the four political parties as a key electoral issue. The commitment to Gaelic ranges from the financing of education to the call for the establishment of a Gaelic speaking channel and the promotion of the use of this language in public and private sectors or even the guarantee in law of the status of Gaelic language. In relation to culture, Gaelic is both used in order to highlight Scotland's rich multicultural heritage and at the same time Gaelic is used in order to show Scotland's distinctiveness from the rest of the UK (Thomson, 1983).

---

<sup>94</sup>One can read the 36-page long pamphlet Derick Thomson, poet and professor, published by the Saltire Society, under the title *Why Gaelic Matters* in November 1984.

Commitment to Gaelic can be found in the following examples:

We will ensure that the Gaelic language and culture continues to receive a fair level of funding, building on our record in Government' (Scottish Conservatives, 1999, 32).

The SNP will ensure that Scotland's diverse linguistic and cultural heritage, including the Gaelic and Scots languages and Scottish history have an enhanced place in the classroom (SNP, 1999,p.22).

We will create a sustainable future for Gaelic in Scotland through the full implementation of the recently launched National Plan for Gaelic which sets out a five year roadmap to take the language forward' (Scottish Liberal Democrats, 2007, p.85)

Such an interest in Gaelic language may seem irrelevant, especially considering the low number of Gaelic speakers in Scotland. However, the development of Gaelic language has become an important aspect in Scottish politics as explained by Wilson McLeod: 'Gaelic has increasingly been perceived as an essential aspect of Scottish cultural distinctiveness, and as such connected (indirectly rather than directly) to the movement for Scottish self-government' (2014, p.1). Thus, despite being in demographic decline (McLeod, 2014, p.3) Gaelic is used by political parties to highlight Scotland's distinctiveness from the rest of the UK.

This is accompanied with a keen effort to develop Scots as one of the country's official languages.

- *'Equality' and 'anti-discrimination'*

The importance of equality can be seen in the manifestos of the Scottish Liberal Democratic Party. The Scottish Liberal Democrats stress the importance of equality in Scottish society affirming: 'our ambition is for Scotland to be one of the most fair, equal and socially just places in the world' (Scottish Liberal Democrats, 2011, p.82). The succession of adjectives reflecting equality as well as the use of the superlative shows the extent of commitment of Scottish Liberal Democrats to equality.

Scottish Labour also dedicates much attention to equality which can be seen in their 2016 manifesto where the party even dedicates a section in the manifesto entitled 'a fairer, more equal Scotland' (2016, p.28), where it states that 'the pursuit

of equality is at the heart of everything the Labour Party does' (Scottish Labour Party, 2016, p.28). The exception to this rule is the Conservatives who often eclipsed their consideration for equality under a focus on the system of government. As a right wing party, the Conservatives generally shy away from pledges to equality in favour of less government intervention which would explain the absence of references to equality in the manifestos.

In relation to the other three parties, the use of the term 'equality' is generally employed without any specification or reference to a particular group. When referring to minorities, 'equality' is generally used together with commitments to fight racism and implement anti-discrimination laws. In relation to ethnic minorities, it is only logical that equality should be enforced by anti-discrimination legislation. Scottish Liberal Democrats stress this combo of equality and anti-discrimination through drawing together the Equal Opportunities and Race Relations Acts as one of the objectives of the Scottish Parliament. Another example of fusion between equality and anti-discrimination can be seen in the 2016 SNP manifesto in relation to education. The party states: 'We will work towards every professional working with children being trained on equality, to enable them to address prejudice-based bullying' (2016, p.8).

Considered separately, anti-discrimination is prescribed in the long tradition of British integration policy since post WWII. Hence the importance is to maintain the same policies of anti-discrimination laws by the main political parties. The reference to the *Equalities Act of 2010*, a Liberal-Conservative coalition initiative, by the SNP shows a consensus between the different parties of Scotland on anti-discrimination laws as this Act of Parliament was designed and voted on at Westminster, or the British Parliament. The SNP's endorsement of the *Equality Act* of 2010 is revealing of the party's intention to pursue the same policy trajectory in terms of equality and anti-discrimination laws.

For the Scottish Conservatives, anti-discrimination was referred to in the 1999 manifesto in relation to employment: 'There must be no jobs or houses denied to people because of their sex, race or religious beliefs' (Scottish Conservatives, 1999, p.32). In the same manifesto the image of the wall is used to reflect the party's rejection of discrimination: 'Scottish Conservatives will ensure that the Scotland of

the future is a society with no walls built around race or sex or class or faith' (1999, p.32). The Scottish Labour Party also stresses the importance to challenge racism and sectarianism, listed as 'pressing' issues (2003, p.41). The same commitment can be found in the Scottish Liberal Democrats and the SNP manifestos as can be seen in the following examples:

We strongly believe that human rights, applied without distinction and without regard to a person's beliefs, religion, culture or politics are the basis of social justice. When these rights are breached, we all suffer, but society's poor and powerless suffer most' (Scottish Liberal Democrats, 2011, p.82).

and

We will adopt a zero-tolerance approach to football-related violence and prejudice, including domestic abuse, alcohol misuse, racism and sectarianism (SNP, 2011, p.18).

## **1.2 Evolution of the discourse**

As table 5 shows, the political discourse of the four major parties presents similarities reflecting consensus over key issues related to immigration and integration. In fact, the main political parties converge in their focus on 'culture' as a key electoral issue. This interest is shared by the four major parties throughout the different election manifestos, reflecting the importance of Scottish culture for the electorate.

| Political party            | Keyword             | 1999 | 2003 | 2007 | 2011 | 2016 |
|----------------------------|---------------------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Scottish Conservatives     | Equality            | -    | -    | -    | -    | +    |
|                            | Anti-Discrimination | +    | +    | -    | -    | +    |
|                            | Identity            | +    | -    | +    | -    | -    |
|                            | Culture             | +    | +    | -    | +    | +    |
|                            | Diversity           | +    | +    | +    | -    | -    |
|                            | Immigration         | +    | -    | -    | -    | -    |
| Scottish Labour            | Equality            | +    | -    | +    | +    | +    |
|                            | Anti-discrimination | +    | +    | +    | +    | +    |
|                            | Identity            | -    | -    | -    | -    | -    |
|                            | Culture             | +    | +    | +    | +    | +    |
|                            | Diversity           | +    | +    | +    | +    | +    |
|                            | Immigration         | -    | +    | +    | +    | +    |
| Scottish Liberal Democrats | Equality            | +    | +    | +    | +    | +    |
|                            | Anti-discrimination | +    | +    | +    | +    | +    |
|                            | Identity            | -    | -    | -    | -    | -    |
|                            | Culture             | +    | +    | +    | +    | +    |
|                            | Diversity           | +    | +    | -    | -    | +    |
|                            | Immigration         | -    | -    | -    | +    | +    |
| SNP                        | Equality            | -    | +    | +    | +    | +    |
|                            | Anti-discrimination | +    | +    | +    | +    | +    |
|                            | Identity            | -    | -    | +    | -    | +    |
|                            | Culture             | +    | +    | +    | +    | +    |
|                            | Diversity           | +    | +    | -    | -    | +    |
|                            | Immigration         | -    | +    | +    | -    | +    |

Table 5: Attitudes of political parties to keywords in Scottish elections<sup>95</sup>

<sup>95</sup>+ Referred to / - non referred to

Left wing parties also dedicate more attention to 'equality', 'anti-discrimination' and 'diversity'. The three categories are referred to in nearly all the manifestos. On the other hand, 'diversity' was not mentioned in the 2007 and 2011 SNP and Scottish Liberal Democrats' manifestos. However, the link between 'equality' and 'anti-discrimination' with 'diversity' is not obvious in the manifestos, making it difficult to understand whether equality and anti-discrimination laws are designed for minorities. For example, for the Scottish Conservative Party, the use of the key terms 'equality', 'anti-discrimination' and 'diversity' in manifestos is less apparent than the other parties and the term 'equality' was only referred to in the 2016 manifesto. This point of divergence shows to a certain extent a difference at the level of party ideology between right wing and left wing parties regarding equality and governmental intervention. The Conservatives remain faithful to their ideology in terms of limited government intervention.

In relation to 'immigration', there is a relatively limited focus from the Scottish Conservative Party on the issue. 'Immigration' was not mentioned at any of the post-devolution manifestos whether in a positive or negative reference. The Scottish Labour Party shows a keen interest in the immigration issue which was evoked in all of the post-devolution manifestos. The SNP and the Scottish Liberal Democrats also refer to 'immigration' but to a lesser extent. The SNP is mainly critical of the central government immigration policies and its reference to 'immigration' is mainly in relation to the failures of the centralized policies to meet the needs of Scotland.

'Identity' is surprisingly not often referred to. Despite the evident importance of national identity in Scotland, the four major parties do not directly refer to 'national identity' in their manifestos. Scottish Conservatives mention 'national identity' as a dual identity 'Scottish and British' (1999, p.3) reflecting the unionist approach of the party. The SNP, on the other hand, does focus on a distinctive and separate identity from the rest of the UK. The low frequency of reference to 'national identity' may be explained by the fact that the political elite is keen to present Scotland as an open and pluralistic society and Scottish national identity as an inclusive, civic one. The major political parties refrain from reference to 'national identity' which may evoke an exclusive, ethnic form of identity rather than an

inclusive civic one. It is worth noting that, Scottish national identity is alluded to with reference to other elements such as Scottish culture and heritage as well as Gaelic language, seen as an aspect of Scottish national identity.

For a better understanding of the political discourse over immigration and integration in Scotland, an extensive analysis of the evolution of the manifestos by political party and their respective policies will follow.

- *Scottish Conservatives*

In 1999 Scottish Conservatives displayed a clear endorsement of an ‘open’ society (1999, p.29) together with a commitment to promote Gaelic language and culture (1999, p.32). Diversity is also present as an electoral issue in the 2003 manifesto and the party stresses the importance of the government in developing ‘an open pluralist society where the government helps it to blossom rather than forces it to flower’ (2003, p.17).

As far as policies are concerned, the party affirms its commitment to fight discrimination and foster an open society (1999, p.32) and dedicates much attention to maintain Gaelic language education as well as the funding of Gaelic language and culture in the 2003 manifesto (2003, p.17). The focus on policies dedicated to Gaelic continues in the 2011 manifesto with a proposal for the creation of new Gaelic schools and the commitment to fight for a free BBC ALBA, a Gaelic speaking channel of BBC (2011, p.27). In addition, the government funding of culture and heritage is listed as one of the objectives of the party (2011, p.27).

Thus to summarize, one may conclude that the Scottish Conservatives political discourse has evolved from a discourse promoting diversity to a discourse that is mainly focused on Scottish culture and heritage with specific interest in Gaelic — probably with a view to attracting right wing nationalists.

- *Scottish Labour Party*

The Scottish Labour Party shows a clear endorsement of equality and anti-discrimination as well as a commitment towards diversity. The three key terms were clearly stated as important electoral issues. Racism and sectarianism have even been

described as ‘pressing’ issues to be addressed by the Scottish Parliament (2003, p.40). The party also stresses the importance to address the demographic crisis in Scotland. The importance given to the term ‘immigration’ is evident as it is mentioned in all the party’s post-devolution manifestos. The extensive use of the term ‘talents’ in the Scottish Labour manifestos highlights this need to repopulate the country with immigration as indispensable for Scotland to move forward (2003, p.8, 2007, p.19). The term ‘talents’ is also a reminder of the Fresh Talent Initiative of the Labour-Liberal coalition and its contribution to Scottish society.

The policies proposed by the Scottish Labour Party reflect a commitment to challenge racism and sectarianism (2003, p.4) with its pledge to continue the ‘One Scotland, Many cultures’ campaign (2007, p.81). The reference to the Fresh Talent Initiative is part of the party’s commitment to diversity. The party is also committed to creating a place to attract people (2003, p.8; 2007, p.19) and it also acknowledges the positive outcomes of immigration in relation to a declining population and to the positive contribution of newcomers. Scottish Labour also promotes interfaith understanding and displays an objective to build ‘mixed communities’ (2007, p.82). The party also refers to refugees and the need to integrate them in society (2016, p.45). For the term ‘identity’, the party doesn’t make any specific reference to national identity in the manifestos under study.

Concerning education, Scottish Labour recognises the value of denominational schools and Scotland’s languages (2003, p.18). In 2007, the party’s initiative for newcomers consists in ‘assisting those who do not speak English as a first language’ (2007, p.23), similarly relating to newcomers, the party pledges to ‘create an environment where all of Scotland’s people have the opportunity to fulfil their potential, and strengthen our place in the world’ (2003, p.40). Anti-discrimination also includes sectors such as justice and education and in relation to justice, the party pledges to take into account ‘aggravated factors’ such as racism, sectarianism and other hate crimes in the sentencing (2007, p.45). Thus, equality and fighting racism are the main promises of the party. Equality is also promoted through different measures such as the establishment of a ‘Fairer Scotland Commission’ (2011, p.63) and maintaining of the Equality Unit (2011, p.66).

One of the key policy plans for the party is investing in Gaelic medium school teaching and providing a secure status for the Gaelic language and culture through the welcoming of the Scottish Year of Highland Culture for 2007 in the 2003 manifesto (2003, p.39). The commitment to Gaelic is renewed in the 2007 manifesto and Scotland's languages and culture are stressed with reference to Burns 250<sup>th</sup> anniversary (2007, p.20), and St Andrew's Day as important dates to bring people together (2007, p.20).

In the 2016 manifesto, the Scottish Labour Party makes reference to the importance of Holocaust education (2016, p.22) and proposal for a fund for national commemoration of Holocaust Memorial Day to be more sensitive to such an event (2016, p.22). The party stresses as well the importance of the third sector providing equality and opportunity (2016, p.44). In relation to immigration, the party does only refer to refugees and the importance of their integration thanks to a Refugees Integration Bill (2016, p.44).

- *Scottish Liberal Democrats*

The analysis of Scottish Liberal Democrats' manifestos shows a similar pattern to Scottish Labour in relation to the categories 'equality' and 'anti-discrimination'. This reflects the importance of these electoral issues to the party. The extensive use of the terms 'fair' and 'fairer', as part of the electoral promises confirms the trend. Scottish Liberal Democrats also stress the importance of 'culture', which is present in all of the party's manifestos. 'Diversity' and 'immigration' are mentioned less frequently than in Scottish Labour manifestos. 'Identity' was not used in the Scottish Liberal Democratic Party manifestos, reflecting detachment from any form of ethnic or exclusive identity.

As far as the proposed policies are concerned, Scottish Liberal Democrats put an accent on equality as a fundamental value in society. The party calls for the creation of a Human Rights Unit and of a Scottish Human Rights Commission (1999, online). It also refers to Equal Opportunities and Race Relations Acts and the need to extend them to ethnic minorities as one of the objectives of the Scottish Parliament (1999, online). Other initiatives include the establishment of a commissioner for Fair Access to universities to foster equality (2016, p.7) and train specialists to provide

equal services (2016, p.21) in addition to making the welfare system more accessible (2016, p.14) in the 2016 manifesto. The party refers to the 'One Scotland, Many Cultures' initiative and a Race Equality Strategy and Action Plan for Scotland to tackle inequalities (2007, p.59). Anti-discrimination is stressed as an objective of the party in the different manifestos. The Scottish Liberal Democrats also promote public appointments that reflect diversity (2016, p.22).

In relation to diversity, establishing the dialogue between different faiths is stated as one of the objectives of the party in order to increase religious tolerance in relation to education (2003, online). Diversity is encouraged in education (2003, online).

The party has been invested in the promotion of the teaching of Gaelic as well as other minority languages and encouraging of Edinburgh Fringe Artists, reflecting the key role of diversity in culture and arts play. Scottish Liberal Democrats also pledge to protect historic environment as part of the party's endeavour to protect culture and heritage.

- *The SNP*

The party's entire programme in 1999 was built on an independence scenario providing a different perspective from other parties that usually promote a unionist approach to politics. In the same vein, the party pledges to end discrimination against students of England, Wales and Northern Ireland in tuition fees (1999, p.6), acting as a separate nation from the rest of the UK. This shows a commitment to equality in the event of Scottish independence. Equality is also stressed in the different manifestos in relation to providing equal opportunities for Scots (2003, p.27) and tackling inequality through sport (2016, p.6).

The SNP joins the other three parties in supporting 'One Scotland, Many Cultures' campaign to promote a 'tolerant and inclusive' Scotland (2003, p.27) and Race Equality Duty is planned to be implemented (2007, p.66). The party also makes reference to the *Act of Settlement of 1701*, described as discriminatory (2007, p.66). As the *Act of Settlement* limits British succession to the Protestant faith, it can be seen as discriminatory in today's increasingly multicultural Scotland. In relation to

equality, the party proposes the appointment of a new Race Framework advisor to tackle inequalities (2016, p.22). In the 2016 manifesto, the party refers to the Holocaust and the liberation of Auschwitz as events to remember (p.22). The party also pledges to continue to fund opportunities for students ‘to participate in a one-day visit to Auschwitz-Birkenau and attend seminars to learn about the Holocaust’ (2016, 22). In addition, in the 2011 manifesto, the party sees in independence the solution to create a ‘partnership of equals’ (2011, p.28). In addition the SNP, criticizes the centralised nature of immigration, asylum and equal opportunities that result in racial bias; hence, the party promotes a decentralised immigration policy (2003, p.27). Immigration is viewed positively and newcomers referred to as ‘New Scots’ (2007, p.21).

The SNP also shows its commitment to Scotland’s linguistic and cultural heritage and the teaching of Gaelic, Scots as well as Scottish history and the establishment of a Gaelic sub-committee (1999, p.22; 2003, p.18; 2007, p.57). The party proposes the introduction of a Languages Act to secure Gaelic and Scots languages and it encourages community languages (2003, p.18). The party is keen to promote Scottish culture and heritage abroad through different events such as St Andrew’s Day, Hogmanay and Burns Night to show the distinctiveness of Scottish culture in the main objective to promote a distinctive national identity (2007, p.56).

In relation to diversity, the SNP welcomes diversity and calls for the establishment of a ‘multicultural education’<sup>96</sup> in Scotland (1999, p.22). In its promotion of ‘multicultural education’ the SNP does not provide much precision on whether it will follow the same approach south of the border.

The party also shows support for Catholic schools and delegates the decision on the curriculum for schools in the case of communities with large number of ethnic population. (1999, p.22)

---

<sup>96</sup>The concept of ‘multicultural education’ appeared in the UK in the early 1980s after the publication of the *Swann Report* and the call for equality of treatment and opportunity for children from different ethnic backgrounds. Subsequently, the British government implementation of a multicultural education was characterized as ‘antiracist’ education which polarized the black/white dichotomy and minimised the experiences of other ethnic minorities such as the Asian (Modood & May, 2001, p. 308).

### 1.3 Multi-modal aspects

The use of multi-modal aspects in the analysed manifestos generally involved photos and visuals. The use of visuals in texts in general is meant to facilitate effective reading and to make the process of reading more attractive, in addition to the informative functions of visuals. The use of multimodal aspects, especially visuals is very important in the analysis of political manifestos as they can bring information on the way political parties portray themselves and the decision to use visuals for one specific topic over another can provide more information on the party's stance on that topic. In relation to the research topics of immigration and integration, the use of people from different ethnic backgrounds can be intended to convey a specific message and is generally used to show the political party's acceptance of diversity.

The manifestos under study frequently show party leaders in different situations or other party members as well as photos of members of the civil society accompanied by their testimonies. In other cases, photos with tangential relation to the surrounding text are used. The use of photos of people from black and ethnic minority backgrounds becomes very relevant and revealing as it can be intentional and carry a message.

In terms of design and image, manifestos did evolve a lot from 1999 to 2016. In fact, the first manifestos were limited to photos of party leaders in different situations and sometimes did not include any photos or any particular design. The design of manifestos evolved throughout the years to a more marketed product that gives much attention to photos and their positioning in relation to different electoral topics. Thus, the most interesting year to study as far as multi-modal aspects are concerned is the 2016 election manifestos that can provide interesting comparisons between the main political parties.

- *1999 Manifestos*

The Scottish Conservative Party uses photos of children from different ethnic backgrounds with smiling faces in the 'Law and Order' section of the 1999 manifesto. Though the relevance of the photo to the surrounding text is not clear but the use of children from different ethnic origins reflects the diversity promoted

throughout the manifesto. The use of children in the photos reflects the young post-devolution Scottish nation and the way the party imagines the new Scotland concept. The smiling faces reflect positivity towards the future of Scotland and the use of children from different ethnic backgrounds reinforces the plural and multicultural aspect promoted by the party. Thus, the new post-devolution Scotland is formulated as a multi-ethnic place. The hub on which the children are playing reflects the centrality of the younger generations in the nation-building of Scotland as well as the process of movement and transformation through which the nation is going.



Figure 18: Scottish Conservatives' Manifesto of 1999 – photo of children of different ethnic background used in Section 'Law and order'



Figure 19: SNP manifesto of 1999 – Photo of a man from an ethnic background – Section 'Democracy'

By contrast, The SNP's 1999 manifesto uses the photo of an ageing man from an ethnic background in a standing position and smiling. This photo is used next to

the ‘democracy’ section where the party pledges to put equality at the heart of government and proposes the establishment of a Parliamentary Committee on Equality to ‘address existing inequality in society’. The use of such a photo is very revealing and the moving forward position evokes a future inclusive of minorities.

- *2003 manifestos*

In its 2003 manifesto, the SNP uses photos of people from different ages and ethnic backgrounds on their front page of the manifesto on a mauve background reflecting a conscious effort to represent diversity in that photo. The use of yellow background on the photos makes it difficult to recognise the different people represented but this is likely to have been done on purpose to reflect harmony and similarity.



*Figure 20: SNP manifesto of 2003 \_front cover of the manifesto showing people from different ethnic backgrounds*

The yellow colour is also the colour of the SNP and may reflect appurtenance to the party. It is worth noting that the use of this photo in the front page of the

manifesto reflects the importance given to diversity and a multicultural Scotland. However, the use of three persons from ethnic backgrounds out of six does not reflect the real ethnic distribution in Scotland as it is far from actual facts. The accompanying slogan 'the complete case for a better Scotland' reinforces the idea of the importance of minorities and the positive contribution of minorities for Scotland.

- *2007 manifestos*

In the 2007 manifestos, only Scottish Labour uses visuals evoking diversity. In the same manifesto, the party uses photos of children wearing white t-shirts throughout the manifesto under the party slogan for that year 'Building Scotland', many of the children in the visuals are raising hands and all are smiling. One of the photos involves a girl from an ethnic background with the 'Building futures' slogan under the section with the same title. The use of a full page size photo is revealing of the importance of the topic 'building futures' and the accompanying girl reflects the importance given to diversity for the future of Scotland. The accompanying text is about education and child protection with specific reference to the support envisaged for denominational and non-denominational schools in the diversity sub-section. The party also highlights in the same section the intention to 'to raise the aspirations of our brightest children no matter what their background' (2007, p.34).



*Figure 21: Labour 2007\_ Photo a young girl with 'building futures' white t-shirt in 'building futures' section*

- **2011 manifestos**

The 2011 election manifestos show no specific multi-modal aspects related to diversity or ethnic minorities except for the SNP who introduces the photo of Ahmad Bashir<sup>97</sup>, an SNP MSP who passed away. One of the photos shows Ahmad Bashir alone and another with other party members. The party describes Ahmad Bashir as 'Asian-Scottish' in the reverence paid to him from the section 'Our people'. The mentioning of Ahmed Bashir's short biography together with the accompanying photos reflect both the inclusiveness of the SNP to minorities as well as an example of a successful integration. The hyphenated identity shows the implementation of a multicultural approach to integration in Scotland where minorities are free to embrace the new Scottish identity and to keep their original identity, thus, integrating

---

<sup>97</sup> Ahmad Bashir was the first MSP from an ethnic background to be elected to Scottish parliament.

without having to assimilate to the already existing culture system. This aspect is reinforced by the photos where Ahmad Bashir wears his traditional clothes, showing attachment to these traditions.



Figure 22: SNP\_2011\_ Photos of Ahmad Bashir MSP in 'Our people' section

- **2016 Election manifestos**

In the 2016 election manifestos, the four parties present similarities, notably the presence of photos of party leaders in different situations. The different sections are generally accompanied with photographs or graphics which have tangential relationships to the surrounding text.

In relation to the research topic of multiculturalism, only Scottish Labour and the SNP included photos evoking minorities. Scottish Labour's manifesto contains a photo of two women wearing Punjabi Junction restaurant slogan in reference to the Sikh community under the 'Welcoming communities' section. The photo reflects a quite stereotypical image of multiculturalism being associated with exotic food, featuring Scottish Labour leader Kesia Dugdale and another female worker. The photo reflects a successful integration in Scotland.



Figure 23: Labour Manifesto of 2016\_ Photo of Kesia Dugdale and a female worker in the 'Welcoming Communities' section

The SNP manifesto contains a number of photos of people from ethnic origins in different situations. One photo is with the First Minister Nicola Sturgeon

(figure 24). Another photo shows a black woman in a work environment showing enthusiasm in her job. A third photo is of Roza Salih, a refugee from Kurdistan with her testimony of living in Scotland, hinting to the inclusiveness and welcoming nature that can be found in Scotland (figure 25). All the photos in the manifesto reflect a successful integration and inclusiveness.



Figure 24: SNP Manifesto 2016\_ Photos of people from different ethnic backgrounds in different situations in the first page of the manifesto



Figure 25: Photo of a refugee and her testimony (SNP, 2016, p.22)

## 2. Analysis of general election manifestos 2001-2015

The analysis of general election manifestos of the four main parties in Scotland reveals a variation from Scottish election manifestos. In fact, the main political parties do pay more attention to issues related to reserved matters than to the

devolved ones. Correspondingly, key terms such as ‘immigration’ and ‘equality’ take more space in the manifestos than ‘culture’ or ‘identity’. As the different political parties compete at the national level to win the election, it is only expected of them to focus on such issues as immigration, which can be decisive in the voting attitudes and preferences. The exception to this rule can be found with the SNP. The party deals with the different key issues with a special focus on the devolved ones. Since the party’s main ambition, as mentioned in the manifestos, is independence, it is only logical that all key issues in relation to the keywords under study would receive attention, especially culture and identity as it reinforces the nationalist sentiment in Scotland.

Political parties also put much attention on ‘equality’ so as to attract different ‘marginalised’ minority groups into voting for them. The focus on equality coupled with anti-discrimination policy can be seen as an attempt to appear as ‘open’ political parties when at the same time calling for selective immigration.

Another specific aspect of general election manifestos is the focus on Britain as a whole. From this perspective, Scotland makes a constituent part and valuable member of the UK — it is stressed by the main political parties, except for the SNP whose main objective remains independence. A focus on Scotland as part of the UK and on Britain more generally is confirmed through the extensive use of the terms ‘Britishness’, ‘British’, and ‘Britain’, reinforcing this effort from the different British parties to maintain the Union and strengthen it. Thus, most of the policies proposed by the British parties are homogenized in relation to Britain. The only exceptions to the rule can be found in a number of instances where the Scottish Labour Party and Scottish Liberal Democrats pay attention to the demographic specificity of Scotland (Scottish Labour Party, 2005, p.52; Scottish Liberal Democrats, 2005, p.9) as well as the focus on Scottish culture and Gaelic (Scottish Labour Party, 2015, p.60; 2005, p.100).

## 2.1 Analysis in relation to categories

- *‘Immigration’*

The focus on ‘immigration’ as a key term has been more pronounced than in the Scottish elections manifestos, which is logical because immigration is a reserved matter and needs to be addressed by British political parties. In addition, it has been a salient issue that instigated close observation by the media and politicians in Britain. In fact, immigration has been a hot potato in the last decades creating much polemical debate on the place of immigrants in British society and the success of previous immigration and integration policies. Nation-wise, immigration is a key electoral issue and different parties’ stances on immigration can be crucial in elections. The general public attitude towards immigrants has changed especially in the aftermath of the 9/11/2001 terrorist attacks and subsequent war on terror that fuelled much public hostility towards minorities from the Muslim communities in Britain (Graham, 2014, online). Another important event that has increased hostility towards newcomers is the global economic crisis of 2008 (Park et al., 2012, p.18). According to a report from the British Social Attitudes, austerity measures have affected many British families and, unsurprisingly, fuelled much anti-immigrant sentiment (Park et al., 2012, pp.29-30). It also saw the rise in popularity of nationalist exclusive movements such as UKIP. Supporters of UKIP do consider that immigration undermines British cultural life and that immigrants should not be allowed access to welfare and benefits (Curtice, 2017, pp.3-6).

Since 2001, the political discourse over immigration has centred on the need to limit the number of newcomers as well as the fighting of illegal immigration and fake asylum applications as ‘asylum should not be an alternative route to immigration’ (Scottish Labour Party, 2001, p.34). The major political parties align in their approach towards immigration. The different parties acknowledge the positive contribution of immigrants to Britain but at the same time affirm the need to restrict it. An example can be found in the 2001 Scottish Labour manifesto where the party concedes the positive aspect of immigration stressing at the same time the need for a selective immigration policy stating:

People from abroad make a positive contribution to British society. As our economy changes and expands, so our rules on immigration need to reflect the need to meet skills shortages for the benefit of all... Our immigration rules will remain clear, firm and fair (Scottish Labour Party, 2001, p.34).

The same approach can be found in all of the analysed Scottish Labour manifestos. In the 2005 election manifesto, the Scottish Labour Party dedicates a section entitled 'Building a strong and diverse country' (2005, p.52), where immigration is clearly praised as: 'immigration has been good for Britain' with a reference to the demographic needs of Scotland (2005, pp.52-53).

It is worth noting that in the same manifesto the sections that follow are entitled 'a points system for immigration' (2005, p.53), 'Strong and secure borders' (2005, p.54) and 'Fair rules' (2005, p.54). In these sections, further controls are proposed to limit immigration to the UK. The different sections of the Scottish Labour manifesto seem contradictory and clearly express a hesitant approach from the part of the Labour Party to clearly express its own immigration policy.

The Scottish Conservative Party seems to follow a similar approach towards immigration. Examples from the Scottish Conservative Party's 2005 and 2010 manifestos confirm this trend:

Britain has benefited from immigration. We all gain from the social diversity, economic vibrancy and cultural richness that immigration brings. But if those benefits are to continue to flow we need to ensure that immigration is effectively managed, in the interests of all Britons, old and new (2005,p.19).

And a second example confirms the same stance towards immigration:

Immigration has enriched our nation over the years and we want to attract the brightest and the best people who can make a real difference to our economic growth ... but immigration today is too high and needs to be reduced (2010, p.20).

In this example, the use of the present perfect is very revealing as it refers to events in the past but which are connected to the present (Cambridge Dictionary, online). The use of the conjunction 'but' confirms the need for change from the old system. Both examples from the Scottish Conservative Party manifestos reflect a tough position towards immigration softened through praising the benefits of immigration.

Scottish Liberal Democrats in the 2001 manifesto take a different approach to immigration as they acknowledge the existing hostility towards immigrants: 'Immigrants are too often regarded as a problem for British society. Britain has benefited hugely from immigration' (2001, online). This affirmation shows the overall political apprehension towards immigrants. The party calls for 'free immigration laws from discrimination' (2001, online), stressing the existence of discrimination in the current immigration process.

The juxtaposition between the two contrasting facts of the positive aspect of immigration and the need to limit it is present among the different parties and it shows politics alignment with public opinion on the need to limit immigration and an agreement among the political elite on the need to contain the immigration debate. Recent opinion polls on attitudes on immigration confirm the growing hostility towards immigrants in Britain (McLaren, 2014, online). At the same time, this stance on limited immigration policy is accompanied by favourable comments on immigration which can be seen as an attempt to reconcile with the already established immigrant population through recognition of the benefits of immigration and diversity.

The contrast between the positive aspect of immigration and the need to limit it can be found in different election years and different parties' discourses. This aspect becomes so recurrent that whenever there is a sentence exposing the benefits of immigration to British society; generally a contrasting sentence is expected to follow. The possible intention behind this juxtaposition can be explained by the fact that it makes the impact of such affirmation milder on the public and avoid being accused of racism and discrimination. The Scottish Conservative Party clearly addresses this issue in its 2005 manifesto stating: 'It's not racist to impose limits on immigration' (2005, p.18). This trend that exists towards selective immigration can be explained by the growing public hostility. Thus, every party is keen to cater the political spectrum by attempting to satisfy both the anti- and pro-immigration camps. This attitude towards immigration may be crucial in voting behaviour, especially for left wing parties in general and the Labour Party in particular as the party that is generally said to have important votes from minorities (Khan & Martin, 2019, p.1) The move to a more exclusive immigration policy may be seen negatively by Labour

Party electorate. In a recent article, the *Telegraph Newspaper* even questions whether 'Black lives matter for the Labour Party' (Hodges, 2015, online).

In relation to immigration policy, the four major political parties converge on a selective immigration strategy. The Scottish Conservative Party clearly states its strategy in its 2005 manifesto: 'we will bring immigration under control' (2005, foreword). Other parties adopt different terms to describe the same strategy. For instance, a 'firm and fair' immigration policy is advocated by Scottish Labour (Scottish Labour Party, 2001, p.34). Immigration rules are described as 'firm' and 'fair' to point out a selective form of immigration policy. Another term used to describe the immigration policy envisaged by the Scottish Labour Party is 'robust' (2005, p.53), which highlights this idea of extremely controlled immigration. This is reinforced through different proposals made by the Scottish Labour Party such as imposing more controls on borders, a points-based system and English language tests for immigrants (2005, p.53).

The Scottish Labour Party explains this move towards a selective immigration as modernizing the asylum and immigration systems (2005, p.45). This is part of an attempt to 'tackle serial and organised crime and take the necessary measures to protect our country from international terrorism' (2005, p.45). The new immigration strategy is seen as a modernized process which reflects a break with old immigration strategies of economic migration initiated by New Labour since 1997. In fact, New Labour has opted for an immigration strategy (Portes, 2018, online) that exalts the economic benefits of new talents to the UK.

In relation to immigration policy, the SNP in 2001 doesn't make any direct affirmation on immigration but instead calls for a 'fast and fair' assessment of asylum applications (2001, p.18) which is a reminder of the 'firm and fair' immigration policy pledged by Scottish Labour. The party has also repeatedly expressed its welcoming of migrants and need to 'pursue an immigration policy that welcomes new Scots' (2005, p.6). This statement is not specific of whether the immigration policy to be pursued will be similar to that of the other parties but it reflects a predisposition to accept more immigrants and accept them as 'new' Scots.

Alternatively, the Scottish Liberal Democrats describe migrants as ‘economic’ migrants (2005, p.9) reinforcing the non-inclusive aspect of migration policy to the UK.

The SNP is more euphemistic about its approach to immigration. The party describes its immigration strategy as a ‘sensible’ immigration policy (2015, p.9) and acknowledges the need for ‘high-skill immigrants’ (2010, p.19). The use of the term ‘sensible’ reflects the party’s alignment with its competition on the need to control immigration but at the same time acknowledges the specific demographic needs of Scotland and the need for migrants. The party’s vision is summarized in the following excerpt from the 2015 manifesto showing a similar perspective as the other parties: ‘Effective immigration controls are important but we must also remember that those who have come to Scotland from other countries make a significant contribution into our economy and our society’ (SNP, 2015, p.9).

Another important converging aspect of the immigration strategies of the main political parties is the focus on the need for skilled migrants as part of this ‘firm and fair’ immigration system. The need for selective immigration is further reinforced through stressing the need for only ‘skilled’ workers to British economy. This is highlighted through the focus on the positive contribution of ‘skilled’ workers to the economy. For example, in the 2005 manifesto, the Scottish Labour Party clearly asserts: ‘At a time when we have over 600,000 vacancies in the UK job market, skilled migrants are contributing ten to 15 % of our economy’s overall growth’ (2005, p.52).

The Scottish Conservative Party also asserts the need for selective immigration using the superlative form to underline the need for ‘the brightest and the best people who can make a real difference’ (2010, p.20). The use of the superlative is reflective of the extremely selective immigration policy envisaged by the party. Other parties also follow the same approach. For example, the SNP, in the 2010 manifesto, highlights the need for ‘high-skill’ immigrants (2010, p.19).

The following Scottish Conservatives affirmation reflects a similar immigration strategy: ‘We only grant visas to those who have the skills we really need in our economy’ (2015, p.26). Thus, throughout the years 2001 to 2015, an evolution of the discourse over immigration can be seen to have moved from

stressing the need for ‘skilled’ workers to a rhetoric centred on ‘the best’ and ‘high-skill’. This reflects an increasingly selective immigration policy that has evolved since 2001.

At the level of proposed policies, from 2010 on, all parties, except the SNP, have called for the establishment of a points-based system, following the experiences of countries such as Canada and Australia. The Scottish Labour Party speaks of an ‘Australian points system’ (2010, p.5:2), reminding of the successful experience of Australia in terms of immigration policy. The SNP, on the other hand, doesn’t make any clear statement on whether it is favourable or not to the points-based system; but, in the 2010 manifesto, the party declares seeking an immigration system that meets the needs of Scotland and system of ‘earned citizenship’ similar to Canada to attract highly skilled workers (2010, p.19). In this quote, it becomes clear that the SNP, as well, envisages a selective immigration policy relying on the points-based system. Thus, all the parties join in the promotion of a points-based system that restricts immigration according to the needs of the UK.

As far as asylum and refugees policies are concerned, the main parties align in pointing out the tradition of welcoming refugees in Britain. The Scottish Labour Party affirms that ‘Britain has a long record of providing a home for such people, and it is important to maintain such position’ (2001, p.34) and ‘we will ensure Britain continues its proud history of providing refuge for those fleeing persecution by upholding our international obligations, including working with the UN to support vulnerable refugees from Syria’ (Scottish Labour Party, 2015, p.55).

The Scottish Liberal Democrats also remind of Britain’s history as a safe haven for refugees stating that: ‘For centuries Britain has had a proud record of granting safe refuge to those fleeing persecution’ (Scottish Liberal Democrats, 2005, p.14). The United Kingdom is said to be a safe haven for political asylum seekers. This tradition is repeatedly evoked by politicians but such claims have been challenged in different instances where British Home Secretaries were not as generous in providing asylum, like with the Jews fleeing Nazi Germany before WWII (Wilson, 2014, online).

The major political parties in Scotland seem oriented towards a selective immigration policy that relies mainly on ‘skilled’ workers. This intention to reduce

in-migration can be seen as contrasting the demographic needs of Scotland, a country that has suffered important flows of out-migration throughout the years resulting in an ageing population.

In relation to the demographic crisis in Scotland, there seems to be little attention to the needs to repopulate the country within the ‘fair and firm’ immigration strategy envisaged by all the four parties. Only few instances show that the demographic issue in Scotland is taken into consideration. For Scottish Labour, the answer to Scotland’s demographic crisis lies in the integration of refugees. In the 2005 manifesto, the party states: ‘In Scotland’s, refugees will be helped to integrate into local communities so that they too can contribute to Scotland’s success’ (2005, p.54). In the same manifesto, Scotland’s demographic issue is stated and the solution according to Scottish Labour resides in attracting ‘fresh talent’ to boost the population (2005, p.52), a reminder of the Fresh Talent Initiative and its potential to tackle the demographic issue in Scotland.

The SNP also points out to Scotland’s demographic crisis and stresses the need to address it (2015, p.11). The party declares ‘Scotland needs an immigration policy suited to our specific circumstances and needs’ (2015, p.11). However there is no specific set of policies suggested to overcome the demographic crisis except for the proposal of the reintroduction of the post-study visa to enable students stay and work in Scotland (2015, pp.9-11).

In the 2015 manifesto, the immigration issue also involved a debate over EU membership and the situation of EU residents in the UK. In fact, along with the immigration rhetoric, the public has grown increasingly hostile to the free circulation of people in Europe which allows EU citizens to settle in the UK (*The Telegraph*, 2016, online). Immigrants from newly added European countries are particularly problematic as EU membership resulted in important influx from these countries, usually experiencing economic difficulties, to the UK. As one of the principles of EU membership is the free circulation of people, the number and extent of such migrations from EU countries is impossible to calculate exactly making it difficult to count and control such an influx. This core principle of the EU allows European citizens to move across Europe with no customs controls making the calculation of the exact number of EU residents in the UK almost impossible. The only possible

way to have an estimation of the number of European residents in the UK is through different sources such as The Long Term International Migration, National Insurance Number, or the International Passenger Survey (Vargas-Silva, 2017).

The situation of EU residents raises questions about UK membership in the EU, pushing the Conservative Party in its manifesto to pledge for holding a referendum on European membership. At the level of the Scottish Conservatives' manifesto for the 2015 election, the commitment to hold a referendum on EU membership (2015, p.64) was accompanied by a pledge to end benefits claims on EU residents (2015, p.26)<sup>98</sup> and set a minimum of residency period to be eligible to such benefits claims as Jobseekers' Allowance (2015, p.26). These proposals, to different extents, join the trend for selective immigration policies and follow the rhetoric propagated by populist parties on the burden of immigration on the tax payer (See for example David Cameron speech on immigration, 2013).

Despite the restrictive immigration policies proposed, the different parties still try to compete to describe themselves as parties promoting immigration and diversity. The Scottish Conservative Party, for instance, clearly asserts: 'We will always be a party that is open, outward-looking and welcoming to people from all around the world' (2015, p.67). The party presents itself as open and welcoming to diversity, contradicting all the restrictive policies proposed on immigration.

To different degrees we see a move from all political parties towards a more selective immigration policy that is crystallised mostly in the 2015 election manifestos, where all parties join in pointing out the need for controlled immigration. It is also important to note that the specific demographic needs of Scotland were referred to only by Scottish Labour and the SNP but no clear solutions were proposed in this respect.

---

<sup>98</sup>In Scotland, there is a different treatment to A2 citizens in relation to access to basic rights such as work compared to the rest of the UK (Thiec, 2014, p.226). For example, as far as housing is concerned 'the housing rules are different ... some people may be eligible for housing in Scotland but not in England' (Chartered Institute of Housing Scotland, online). In addition in Scotland, refugees and others with a protection status are entitled to benefits and social care services, the same as UK nationals (Kyambi, 2012, p.21).

- *‘Culture’*

The key term ‘culture’ was less frequently addressed in general elections manifestos than in Scottish elections. The evident focus on Gaelic language and culture in Scottish elections has been replaced by a focus on British values and Britishness in general election manifestos. The only party that still dedicates the same amount of attention to Gaelic language is the SNP. The party stresses the importance to secure the status of Gaelic and improve the teaching of Scots language (2001, p.18). The Scottish Labour Party also shows commitment to Gaelic stating: ‘We will expand our support for Gaelic medium schools’ (2005, p.40). The party also pledges for the establishment of a dedicated Gaelic TV channel and promotes the use of Gaelic in the 2005 manifesto (p.40). In relation to culture, Scottish Labour also stresses the importance of Scotland’s culture and festivals in the following passage: ‘In 2007, we will support the Scottish Year of Highland culture, promoting the uniqueness of Scotland’s history and culture’ (2005, p.96).

In a second example, the celebration of Scottish festivals is framed within a British national context:

Our festivals from Celtic Connections to the Fringe, from the Borders Book Festival to the Orkney Folk Festival are a showcase for the best art and culture that Scotland, Britain and the whole world have to offer. The Edinburgh Festival is Britain’s national festival (2015, p.60).

Because culture is a devolved matter, it is not surprising that it does not retain much focus for British parties as the electoral programme generally is framed from a British harmonized perspective. However, only the Scottish Labour Party and the SNP point out to Scotland’s languages and culture. The Scottish Labour Party in the last example even associates the Edinburgh festival to reflecting a move toward a more British nationalist perspective (2015, p.60).

- *‘Identity’*

‘Identity’ is also rarely mentioned in general elections manifestos. The British parties do align in their framing of identity in terms of Britishness whether in direct or indirect reference. For example, the Scottish Conservative Party refers to British identity in relation to an assimilationist view of immigrants’ integration: ‘We believe

that everyone coming to this country must be ready to embrace our core values and become a part of their local community' (2010, p.21). The core values referred to are mainly related to British values. In a second example, the Scottish Conservative Party stresses the role played by Scotland in Britain's history reinforcing the unionist perspective (2010, p.92). The party also refers to already settled immigrants as 'Britons old and new' (2005, p.19). Similar affirmations are made by the Scottish Labour Party who stresses the importance of the Union in the 2001 manifesto: 'We are stronger together than we are apart. We are proud to be both Scottish and British. Britain's ability to remain united [...]' (2001, p.7). This affirmation of the dual identity in Scotland reinforces the unionist perspective. Thus, British parties do align in their commitment to the Union against the separatist tendency of the SNP through their focus on British culture and values and through their focus on the contribution of Scotland to the Union. The independence scenario pushed forward by the SNP explains the insistence on Britishness and the limited reference to Scottish identity and culture.

- *'Equality'*

As a reserved matter, much attention has been devoted to equality in general or in relation to gender equality. No specific reference is made to minorities except in few examples. Equality is generally mentioned with no reference to a particular group. For instance, the Scottish Conservative Party calls for a 'fairer' Britain through promoting equality and tackling discrimination; 'a country where opportunity is more equal' (2010, p.35). The SNP also calls for equality in different policy areas with no reference to any specific group (For example 2015, p.11). This aspect is present in all of the manifestos under study and reflects a general commitment to fight inequality and a pledge for equal opportunities.

The parties that are most committed to equality as an electoral issue are Scottish Labour and Scottish Liberal Democrats, both parties focus on 'equality' and 'anti-discrimination' as key issues to be addressed. Scottish Liberal Democrats highlight the extent of inequality existing in the following example: 'Britain, for all its many strengths, is still too unequal and unfair, a country where the circumstances of your birth and the income of your parents still profoundly affect your chances in

life' (2010, p.8). Another example is: 'Society is still scarred by inequality' (2005, p.3). Through these examples it is clear that the Scottish Liberal Democrats attempt to show the importance of inequality and class divisions as pressing electoral issue and the need to tackle them. It also hints to the fact that the parties in power weren't able to properly address such issues.

The Scottish Labour Party defines itself as the leading party in terms of equality policy. The party continuously reminds of its achievements in terms of equality policy and confidently defines itself as 'the party of equality' (2015, p.14). The use of the definite article 'the' further reinforces the distance that the Scottish Labour Party puts from the competition and highlights its main achievements in the field. This effect is strengthened in different manifestos where the party lists a number of achievements in relation to equality as in the following example: 'The Labour Party has always led on challenging prejudice and discrimination and we will continue to do so' (2015, p.73).

The Scottish Conservative Party refers to equality and pledges for a 'fairer' Britain (2010, p.35). However, it is important to note that 'equality' for Scottish Conservatives is referred to in terms of gender and disability. In fact, despite the party's attempt to address equality in general through a generalised statement 'we fight for equal opportunity' (2015, p.19), the party makes specific reference to gender inequality as well as the disabled population as targeted groups. The party's comments on equality remain very vague and unclear whether they are inclusive of ethnic minorities or not as can be seen in this example from the same manifesto: 'all of the reforms we propose are based on parent power, diversity, autonomy and equality of opportunity' (2015, p.29).

The SNP puts much focus on equality as an electoral issue in its 2015 manifesto stating: 'It's time to put fairness and equality back at the heart of government' (2015, p.5). The party also stresses the need to decentralise equality for the Scottish Government to deal with: 'Scotland should have the opportunity to establish its own constitutional framework, including human rights, equalities' (2015, p.36). The party also calls for the transfer of powers on equality to Scotland (2015, p.37). The party's commitment to equality is also mentioned in relation to its independence agenda. The SNP presents its vision of an independent Scotland as a

society where ‘individuals are able to get on in the world regardless of where they come from’ (2001, p.4). Another example can be seen in the 2001 manifesto. A section is dedicated to equality where the party asserts its ‘long commitment to a constitutionally enshrined guarantee of equal opportunities for all Scots regardless of race, gender, age, sexuality, disability or social background’ (2001, pp.19-20).

In relation to ethnic minorities, equality is generally mentioned together with anti-discrimination. The two terms go hand in hand in relation to policies as equality can be achieved through the implementation of anti-discrimination laws and vice versa. We find in the manifestos under study different examples of commitments from the major political parties to equality and anti-discrimination. An example of this collocation can be seen in the Scottish Conservative Party foreword for the 2005 election, where the party leader clearly states: ‘I believe that to be treated equally is a birthright, and that discrimination is wrong. A Conservative government will govern in the interests of everyone in our society — Black or white, young or old, straight or gay, rural or urban, rich or poor’ (2005, p.1).

The different parties highlight the importance to fight discrimination and to take firm action against it. Despite growing hostility towards migrants, discrimination remains unacceptable and the political elite clearly endorse anti-discrimination legislative action such as the *Equality Act of 2010*. The Scottish Labour Party in the 2015 manifesto calls for ending sectarianism and asserts: ‘We will take a zero-tolerance approach to hate crime, such as anti-Semitism and Islamophobia’ (2015, p.60). The use of the expression ‘zero-tolerance’ reinforces the non-acceptance of racism and discrimination in today’s British politics. The reference to anti-Semitism and Islamophobia in particular is a hint to the new situation of Jews and Muslims as targeted groups with the growing hostility towards Muslims in particular<sup>99</sup>. The party also refers to the Stephen Lawrence case in its 2001 manifesto to highlight the dangers of overlooking such as an issue (2001, p.33).

The Scottish Liberal Democrats also stress the importance of fighting discrimination and dedicate a section in their 2001 manifesto on discrimination

---

<sup>99</sup>See for example Trevor Phillips’ documentary on Muslims which reflects growing hostility towards this minority (Akeel, 2016, online) <https://www.independent.co.uk/voices/trevor-phillips-research-on-british-muslims-is-dangerous-and-wrong-no-wonder-islamophobia-is-on-the-a6980331.html>

where the party states: 'We will combat discrimination on the grounds of race and in all its other forms' (2001, online).

The different parties also hint to Britain's culture of tolerance. The Scottish Labour Party states: 'As a country we value compassion, tolerance and a sense of decency' (2015, p.15). However, it is worth noting that the party does not specify whether it is referring to Scotland or Britain, seemingly to promote a unionist message. In the 2005 manifesto, the Scottish Conservative Party points out to Scotland's 'tradition of tolerance' in the foreword entitled 'the British dream' (2005, p1). The reference to Scotland instead of Britain is very revealing and shows the party's intention to focus on Scotland. However, the use of the title 'the British dream' reflects the vision of the party that this objective can be achieved only within a British framework.

The Scottish Labour Party also eulogises Britain's record in fighting discrimination: 'The UK now has the most comprehensive anti-discrimination legislation in Europe' (2001, p.33).

- *'Diversity'*

'Diversity' is an interesting term to analyse in general election manifestos. In fact, the main political parties' attitudes towards diversity are generally affected by the general public opinion towards it which directly affects the different parties' integration strategies. It is especially interesting to analyse the main parties' use of 'multiculturalism', a term that has acquired a negative connotation throughout the last decade. Multiculturalism as a political strategy has been adopted in different countries experiencing important waves of immigration including the UK. As a cultural phenomenon, it is safe to assume that Britain is multicultural. However, we have witnessed more and more distancing from multicultural rhetoric and politics from the part of the political elite in the UK. Politicians even refrain from using the term except to criticize it as it is the case with David Cameron in his famous speech on the death of multiculturalism in Munich in 2011. Hence, it becomes important to analyse the way political parties have dealt with the multicultural aspect of Britain and multicultural policies in their manifestos.

Britain is described by the Scottish Labour Party as ‘strong, dynamic, multiracial’ in the foreword of the 2001 manifesto (2001, p.3). The Scottish Labour Party asserts the multicultural aspect of Britain throughout the manifesto stating that ‘Labour believes that Britain can be a model of a multicultural, multi-racial society, where people live and work together on the basis of respect not prejudice’ (2001, p.33).

The multicultural aspect of Britain is also stressed by the Scottish Liberal Democrats in the 2005 manifesto, as can be seen in the following statement: ‘We remain proud of a Britain which is enriched precisely because it is a multi-racial, multi-ethnic society’ (2005, p.3). In this passage, multiculturalism is viewed positively and the multicultural aspect of British society is seen as enriching. However, the terms ‘multicultural’ or ‘multiculturalism’ are not used and are replaced by ‘multi-racial’ and ‘multi-ethnic’ society, reinforcing this distancing from multicultural politics.

The multicultural aspect of Britain is also promoted in the 2001 manifesto in the celebration of Britain’s diversity: its ‘greatest resource lies in the energies, skills and talents of its people, assets further enhanced by the rich ethnic and cultural diversity of twenty-first century Britain’ (2001, online). In this passage, the multicultural aspect of Britain is highlighted both in the use of the adjective ‘rich’ and the use of the terms ‘ethnic’ and ‘cultural’, highlighting the fact that multiculturalism is not only about different ethnicities but also different cultures (in which case Scotland would be considered as multicultural).

‘Diversity’ is also reinforced in the use of the terms ‘talent’ and ‘talented’. Mentioned 11 times in the 2005 manifesto, it is a reminder of the Fresh Talent Initiative. The Scottish Labour Party repeatedly promotes the Fresh Talent Initiative to ‘create more diversity and dynamism in Scottish economy’ (2005, p.28). This initiative is also seen as a possible solution to boost Scotland’s population (2005, p.52), thus, taking into consideration Scotland’s demographic needs and promoting a multicultural Scotland.

Multiculturalism is also present in the SNP 2001 manifesto where the party calls for an education system that takes into account the particular needs of ethnic minority groups (2001, p.8). The party also refers to Scotland as a ‘multicultural

society' (2001, p.8) and advocates the positive contribution that diversity can bring as can be seen in the following example: 'Diversity is one of Scotland's great strengths' (2015, p.9). The SNP also promotes diversity in relation to EU residents in Scotland. The party recognises 'both the contribution EU citizens make to Scottish society and the opportunities created for Scottish citizens elsewhere in the EU' (2015, p.19). Despite the fact that 'diversity' in this example is only used to stress the importance of staying in the European Union, it also shows the party's advocacy of a multicultural Scotland.

Another example reflecting the multicultural aspect of Scotland can be found in the 2005 Scottish Conservative Party manifesto: 'Scotland draws great strength from its diversity' (2005, p.22). Despite the vague use of the term 'diversity' in this example, the recognition of Scotland's diversity can be seen as synonymous of promoting the multicultural aspect of the different cities of Scotland. However, it is important to note that the Scottish Conservative Party does not use the term 'multicultural' in this example, which may be explained as a deliberate attempt not to be assimilated with a multicultural political approach. In fact, in relation to integration policies, the Conservative Party is more oriented towards an assimilationist approach to integration than a multicultural one. This can be seen in the following passage from the 2010 manifesto: 'We believe that everyone coming to this country must be ready to embrace our core values and become part of their local community' (2010, p.21).

The following example confirms the Scottish Conservative Party's move towards assimilation in its integration strategy. The party stresses the necessity for newcomers to assimilate to the core values of Britain. The assimilationist approach is confirmed by the party's implementation of English language tests for newcomers coming for marriage (2010, p.21). The need to speak the language of the host society is one of the elements of assimilation (Scottish Labour Party, 2010, 5:7).

## 2.2 Analysis of the evolution of political parties' policies

| Political party            | Keyword             | 2001 | 2005 | 2010 | 2015 |
|----------------------------|---------------------|------|------|------|------|
| Scottish Conservatives     | Equality            | X    | +    | +    | +    |
|                            | Anti-Discrimination | X    | +    | +    | +    |
|                            | Identity            | -    | -    | -    | X    |
|                            | Culture             | +    | X    | X    | X    |
|                            | Diversity           | +    | +    | +    | X    |
|                            | Immigration         | -    | +-   | +-   | +-   |
| Scottish Labour            | Equality            | ++   | ++   | +    | ++   |
|                            | Anti-discrimination | ++   | ++   | ++   | ++   |
|                            | Identity            | +-   | X    | -    | +    |
|                            | Culture             | X    | ++   | +    | ++   |
|                            | Diversity           | ++   | ++   | +    | +    |
|                            | Immigration         | +-   | +-   | +-   | +-   |
| Scottish Liberal Democrats | Equality            | +    | +    | ++   | ++   |
|                            | Anti-discrimination | ++   | +    | +    | +    |
|                            | Identity            | X    | X    | X    | X    |
|                            | Culture             | +    | X    | X    | X    |
|                            | Diversity           | ++   | +    | X    | +    |
|                            | Immigration         | +    | +    | +-   | +    |
| SNP                        | Equality            | ++   | X    | +    | ++   |
|                            | Anti-discrimination | X    | X    | X    | +    |
|                            | Identity            | X    | X    | X    | X    |
|                            | Culture             | ++   | X    | X    | +    |
|                            | Diversity           | ++   | X    | X    | ++   |
|                            | Immigration         | +    | +    | +-   | +-   |

Table 6 Analysis of general elections according to key term<sup>100</sup>

<sup>100</sup> Not referred to (x)/ Referred to positively (+ or ++)/ Referred to Negatively (-)  
Mixed attitude or Scottish and British identities (+-)/ for only British identity (-)

- *The Scottish Conservative Party*

The Scottish Conservative Party has been continuously committed to equality and anti-discrimination as important electoral pledges. The party doesn't make any specific proposals on how to deal with such issues except for the promotion of fair access to universities, professions and good jobs for young people from all backgrounds (2010, p.16). Other anti-discrimination measures include a step to eradicate the exploitation of migrant workers (2015).

In relation to identity, the party directly or indirectly hints to British national identity in the different manifestos such as referring to already settled migrants as 'Britons' (2005, p.19). The party also points out to the need for migrants 'to embrace our core values and become a part of their local community' (2010, p.21). This statement reveals the party's intention to assimilate newcomers to British values and promotes the idea of British national identity as an overarching national identity. The party even declares 'the Conservative Party is passionate about the Union' under the title 'Holyrood, Edinburgh' (2010, p.60). The Scottish Conservatives also promote a vision of a strong union between the constituent parts of the UK and repeatedly highlights the positive contribution of Scotland (2010, p.92). This is confirmed through the extensive use of deictic expressions in order to reflect involvement in Scottish affairs. For example, the use of the collective 'we' throughout the different manifestos reinforces the party's involvement in Scottish politics as can be seen in the following example: 'these problems can be overcome if we pull together and work together. if we remember that we are all in this together' (2010, no page number available). In the same manifestos, the unionist approach is confirmed through the use of a map of the United Kingdom with no borders and with an inscription repeatedly used: 'We're all in this together' (figure 26). The visual emphasises the Unionist message promoted by Scottish Conservatives. The water surrounding Britain reinforces the insular aspect of the United Kingdom.

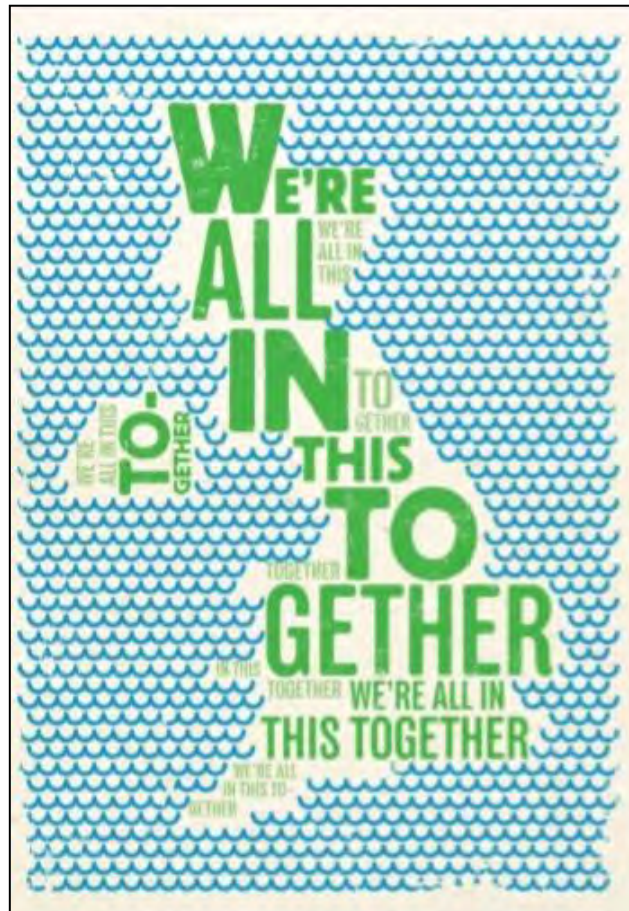


Figure 26: Map of the UK with a unionist message (Scottish Conservative Party, 2010)

Immigration is one of the most important policy areas for Conservatives. Since 2005, the party has called for bringing immigration ‘under control’ (2005, foreword) and thus for a managed migration system in the form of a points-based system that serves for a more selective immigration policy (2005, p.19). The party also calls for fighting illegal immigration and stricter border controls. For example, in the 2001 manifesto, the party clearly condemns fake asylum applications and calls for ‘a safe haven, not a soft touch on asylum’ (2001, p.31). A decentralised asylum system from Europe is also promoted to secure a more controlled asylum system. A number of restrictive measures have been proposed by the party between 2010 and 2015 to further limit immigration such as setting an annual limit for non EU immigrants and limiting access only ‘to those who will bring the most value to the British economy’ (2010, p.21), as well as implementing further restrictions on foreign students. In fact, the party has launched a series of actions targeting foreign

students, the most famous of which is the end of the post-study work visa in 2010. Other restrictions imposed on foreign students involved tight measures to secure that students leave the country after finishing their studies, including the requiring of a financial bond to be paid by the student (2010, p.21).

The party blames the ‘visa system’ as presenting weaknesses and attempts to describe such actions as means to facilitate and encourage studying in British universities. Suspicion towards foreign students can be seen in the call for extra scrutiny on colleges and universities (2010, p.21) and a similar pledge was renewed in 2015 in the call for fighting ‘bogus’ colleges (2015, p.26). In the 2015 manifesto, the Scottish Conservative Party further pushed for stricter immigration (2015, p.26). The party also congratulated itself for a number of actions aimed at limiting immigration. This includes limiting the right to sponsor students for 850 ‘bogus’ colleges<sup>101</sup>, as well as fighting illegal working and sham marriages (2015, p.26).

The Scottish Conservative Party also draws attention to the important number of EU migrants who can jeopardize the government plans ‘to cut annual net migration to the tens of thousands’ (2015, p.26). The party is committed to reduce EU migrants’ reliance on benefits including access to low tax credits, describing the situation today as ‘something-for-nothing’ (2015, p.26). The party also pledges to change this position into ‘something-for-something’ (2015, p.26) through proposals of restricting access to benefits for EU residents and requiring the need ‘to be earning here for a number of years’ (2015, p.26).

The Conservative Party’s tough position on immigration and on the situation of EU residents can be seen as a reaction to increasing public hostility towards EU residents in the UK and EU membership as a whole; the party’s commitment to hold a referendum on EU membership being one of the key electoral arguments in 2015.

Thus, the Scottish Conservatives adopt the same strategy used to tackle immigration-related issues through the juxtaposition of the benefits of welcoming foreign students and the need to further control students’ visas.

---

<sup>101</sup> The Conservative government claim on fighting bogus colleges was criticized for its inability to have the exact number of ‘bogus’ colleges, and whether the targeted colleges do really provide illegal immigration routes for students (See Ratcliffe blog article on the topic, 2017).

Other restrictive measures on immigration include the introduction of English tests for everyone coming for marriage purposes, thus, further limiting access for those coming as part of family reunion visas.

- *The Scottish Labour Party*

The Scottish Labour Party has repeatedly expressed commitment to equality and anti-discrimination policy. The party continuously reminds of its commitment to equality and its achievements in terms of equality and anti-discrimination policy. According to the 2001 manifesto, 'the principles of inclusion and equality of opportunity remain central to our commitment to liberate the potential of every child' (2001, p.18) and 'equality of opportunity' is stated as one of the commitments of the party (2010, p.2:4). The party's main objective is to extend opportunity for all (2010, p.2:4) and to extend legislation 'to protect people from discrimination at work' with reference to the 'talents' needed in the country (2005, p.31).

At the level of anti-discrimination legislation, the Scottish Labour Party calls for a Race Relations (Amendment) Act that places duty on public bodies to promote equal opportunity (2001, p.33). The party also calls for continuing the implementation of the recommendations of the *Macpherson Report* (2001, p.33) which recommends a series of measures to fight 'institutionally racist' police (*The Guardian*, 1999, online). In the 2005 manifesto, Scottish Labour proposes to further continue the Strategy for Race Equality to combat discrimination 'on the grounds of race and ethnicity' (2005, p.32), in addition to the establishment of a Commission on Equality and Human Rights 'to promote equality for all and tackle discrimination, and introduce a Single Equality Act' (2005, p.112). In the specific case of Scotland, the Labour Party pledges to take actions against religious hatred and to tackle 'the scourge' of sectarianism (2005, p.111). The use of the term 'scourge' reinforces the importance of such an issue and its devastating effect. The Scottish Labour Party also condemns hate crime such as anti-Semitism and Islamophobia with a pledge to make institutions more representative of diversity (2015).

In relation to identity, the party clearly affirms a dual identity that Scots enjoy, stating in the foreword by Henry McLeish and Helen Liddell: 'We are proud to be both Scottish and British' (2001, p.7). This can be understood as direct reaction

to the rise of the SNP as a main competition in Scotland and a threat to the union. This reminder that Scots are both British and Scottish is a position not shared by many Scots as different opinion polls and censuses have shown<sup>102</sup> (Park, 2013).

The Scottish Labour Party shows support for Gaelic language teaching and promotes different festivals and events in Scotland such as The Scottish Year of Highland Culture in 2007(2005, p.96), Celtic Connections, as well as the Fringe and the Edinburgh Festivals (2015, p.60). The interest in Scottish culture refers to specific events and not as a continuous commitment from the party.

In relation to immigration, the Scottish Labour Party has moved towards a selective immigration policy that has gradually grown stricter. The party recognises the need for 'firm' and 'fair' immigration policy and calls for the establishment of a points-based system that focuses only on the needs of Britain in migrants (2010, p.5:2). The party also calls for the establishment of English tests to further filter immigration of only skilled workers (2005, p.53). There is a move towards stricter immigration policy in the 2010 manifesto, where the party calls for tightening the criteria to accept immigrants in order to protect British values (2010, p.5:6). The party also calls for harder English tests and the establishment of a 'Migration Impact Fund' paid by immigrants' contribution to help local areas (2010, p.5:6). It also calls for reducing the funding to a minimum of translation and other public services dedicated to migrants (2010, p.5:6). The party also envisages reducing access to benefits and social housing to include only British citizens and permanent residents (2010, p.5:7). In relation to citizenship, the Labour Party considers access to citizenship as a privilege and calls for breaking the automatic link between residence and the obtaining of citizenship (2010, p.5:7). This radical move towards immigration and citizenship can be explained by the growing public hostility and rise in popularity of UKIP.

The party adopts a less radical approach to immigration in the 2015manifesto. In fact, the party calls for enforcing immigration rules 'humanely and effectively' (2015, p.55), calling for strengthening borders controls, the elimination of illegal immigration and the prevention of benefits claims for EU residents until reaching a

---

<sup>102</sup> See BSA report on devolution (2013)

minimum of two years' stay. Scottish Labour also calls for continuing the tradition of welcoming refugees (2001, p.34; 2005, p.54; 2015, p.55) and insists on the fighting of fake applications described as 'abuse' on the asylum system (2005, p.54). The party also proposes actions to tackle illegal immigration, such as penalizing employers of illegal immigrants (2005, p.53).

- *The Scottish Liberal Democrats*

The Scottish Liberal Democrats join the Scottish Labour Party in their focus on equality and anti-discrimination as main pillars of the party ideology. In fact, the party dedicates much attention to fighting racism and discrimination and proposes the establishment of an Equality Act (2005, p.13). 'Providing an opportunity for all' is set as a main goal for the party (2010, p.8). The Scottish Liberal Democrats also call for the harmonizing of asylum and antidiscrimination laws in relation to EU legislation (2010, p.62; 2001, online) and proposes solutions such as 'name-blind job applications form' to fight discrimination in job interviews (2010, p.30). Name-blind recruitment is an attempt to stop 'unconscious' biases against people from Black and ethnic minority background allowing for better opportunities of hiring (BBC, 2015, online).

At the level of culture and identity, the party doesn't make any specific reference to Scottish or British national identities; however, the extensive use of the term Britain throughout the manifestos reflects a position in favour of maintaining the Union. In relation to culture, the Scottish Liberal Democrats call for an action to 'protect our cultural heritage by lowering the cost of maintaining listed buildings' in the 2001 manifesto (2001, online). However, it is not clear whether the reference to 'our cultural heritage' refers to Scottish or British heritage. In the context of the Union, it would be safe to assume that the Scottish Liberal Democrats refer to British heritage rather than the Scottish one.

In relation to immigration policy, the party does not formulate a clear immigration plan in the 2001 manifesto, highlighting instead the problematic aspect of the immigration public debate and the need to view immigration positively (2001, online). The party also dedicates much attention to asylum-related questions and calls for fair benefits and ending restrictions for access to paid work in the first six

months for refugees (2001, online). However, the Scottish Liberal Democratic Party moves from promoting immigration to a more restrictive stance and a call for ‘managed’ immigration policy in the 2005 manifesto (2005, p.17), thus, joining the Scottish Labour and Conservative parties’ strategies. The Scottish also moved towards advocating a regional points-based system and rigorous checks at the borders (2010, p.61) and setting the criteria for entitling to citizenship. This attitude is similar to Labour Party’s view that citizenship is a privilege not a right (Scottish Labour Party, 2010, 5:7). The party’s immigration policy seems to have converged and aligned with the other British parties towards a more restrictive and selective approach. The party’s plans on asylum include the transfer of asylum-related issues to a private agency and the end of benefits claims in favour of providing the opportunity to work for asylum seekers (2010, p.62). In addition, the party continues its support for a common asylum policy for the EU and calls for ending deportation for refugees who face persecution (2010, p.62).

It is important to note that the Scottish Liberal Democrats dedicate separate manifestos for BAME for general elections but only the official Scottish Liberal Democrats manifesto was taken into account in the analysis to provide similar points of comparison with other political parties.

- *The SNP*

The SNP’s general election manifestos are different in format and content from the ones for Scottish elections. In fact, it is clear that the party dedicates more attention and effort to the Scottish election manifestos, where it has a chance to win the election and implement its electoral promises. The SNP manifestos for general elections are relatively short and more in the form of pamphlets instead of the comprehensive ones for Scottish elections. The manifestos prove more difficult to analyse at the discursive level, and have a less serious aspect from the other parties. However, the manifesto for the 2015 election shows a change in format and content as the party dedicates more attention to key issues such as education, health, and immigration, making the content comparable to British parties’ manifestos. The reason for such a strategy is debatable but the party has been able to gradually win

ground over Scottish Labour and Scottish Liberal Democrats and win most of Scotland seats, asserting its position as ‘Scotland’s party’.

As far as equality and anti-discrimination are concerned, the SNP affirms its pledge for equality in different public sectors such as education and health (2001, pp.9-13) and places equal opportunities at the centre of its actions within an independence framework (2001, p.19). The SNP stresses the need for the decentralisation of equality (2015, p.11) in order for it to be handled at the level of the Scottish Government. The party also supports the work of organisations such as the EHRC (2010, p.16) and pledges to establish a Race Committee to advise the work of the EHRC (2015, p.23).

The SNP also dedicates more attention to culture than the other parties. In fact, the party confirms its commitment to the Gaelic and Scots languages (2001, p.18; 2015, p.31) and calls for securing the status of Gaelic in law. Gaelic is an important aspect of Scottish culture and identity and a crucial element in displaying and affirming Scotland’s distinctiveness from the rest of the UK. As far as identity is concerned, the SNP doesn’t make any direct reference to Scottish or British national identity. However, it is important to note that the party’s exclusive focus on independence can be seen as an indicator of exclusive focus on Scottish nationalism (El Fekih Said, 2013).

Concerning ‘immigration’, the SNP presents its view on the immigration policy envisaged for Scotland. It clearly states that ‘Scotland needs an immigration policy suited to our specific circumstances and needs’ (2015, p.11), hinting at the country’s demographic crisis and the need to address it separately from the rest of the UK. However, despite recognising the need to repopulate the country the party also joins the competition in promoting a ‘sensible’ immigration policy and effective border controls, relying on the points-based system (2015, p.11). The SNP also calls for the reintroduction of the post-study visa, ended by the Conservative-led government in 2010. It is also worth noting that the SNP presents a different approach to citizenship. In fact, in its 2001 election manifesto the party proposes an open and inclusive approach to citizenship for EU citizens. The party states:

In the context of EU citizenship, the SNP have an open and inclusive approach to citizenship to Scottish citizenship. The automatic right of

citizenship will be open to all those living in Scotland, all those born in Scotland and all those with a parent born in Scotland. All others are free to apply (2001, p.6).

This approach to citizenship can be seen as part of the party's 'independence in Europe' strategy, where access to citizenship is linked to EU citizenship. Despite being seemingly limited to EU citizens, Scottish citizenship appears to be more open and accessible than British citizenship. The accessibility of citizenship to residents in Scotland further reinforces the civic aspect of nationality in Scotland. The party also describes migrants as 'new Scots' (2005, p.6) and, thus, despite its move towards a selective immigration approach, the SNP still presents a more inclusive strategy towards newcomers.

### 2.3 Multi-modal aspects

In terms of multi-modal aspects, the manifestos for general elections offer fewer visuals and photos in relation to the themes of immigration and integration. The visuals that have been analysed, are grouped according to the different political parties. It is important to note that at many instances British political parties use similar (sometimes the same) manifestos for the four constituent parts of the UK. Thus, except for the SNP, the visuals are oriented to Britain rather than Scotland.

- *The Scottish Conservative Party*

Most of the visuals used by the Scottish Conservatives involve people in everyday situations. The only visuals relevant to the research topics can be found in the 2001, 2005 and 2015 manifestos.

The 2005 general election manifesto for the Scottish Conservative Party presents two photos with people from ethnic minorities. The people in the photo are not defined but the overall picture is related to the surrounding text. The first photo presents three people in suits, hinting to their possible high positions in a firm. One of these three persons is black. All three are looking to the side. This photo is quite relevant to the following section on 'Value for money and lower taxes'. Apart from its connotation of a business environment which is in direct link with the section, the

photo may be also revealing of the multicultural aspect of British society and probably hints to the selective immigration envisaged by the party. Similarly, the second photo shows a black policewoman under the section ‘Flexible Childcare and School Discipline’ which also reflects the multicultural aspect of Britain as well as the positive contribution of minorities in everyday life and their integration in the public sector. Another photo used in a similar context, is a full-page size photo of a doctor from ethnic minority groups used in the 2015 manifesto. The person in the photo is looking straight to the camera lens and intentionally to the reader with smiling features. This photo is used in relation to the ‘Protecting and improving our National Health Service’ section but also reflects a similar pattern of successful integration and the selective immigration system.



*Figure 27 photos of people in different everyday situations from the Scottish Conservative Party manifesto of 2005*



*Figure 28 Photo of a doctor in the Scottish Conservatives' manifesto (2015, p.32)*

- ***The Scottish Labour Party***

The Scottish Labour Party uses in the first pages of the manifesto a photo that combines pictures of different people in different situations, including people seemingly from ethnic minority groups. All the people represented are looking straight to the reader and are smiling. The photos of each person are then found throughout the manifesto. The relationship between the photos and the surrounding texts is not always clear. For example, a photo of a woman under the section 'We will build an economy that works for working people' doesn't seem to have any connotation to the text. The second photo may seem more in relation to its related section 'We will provide world class health and education services' where it shows a woman in a work environment, a pharmacy. The use of photos of people from

different ethnic backgrounds is meant to highlight the diversity of Britain. In the same manifesto a photo of Kashif small business owner is used under ‘Time for change’ section. The choice of this photo with an identifiable person is intentionally used to highlight the successful integration of minorities in the UK. It seems like a success story that shows the possibility for minorities to own their own business. The use of the first name hints to the fact that the story of Kashif is not exceptional and can be applied to anyone. The photo shows a smiling person and evokes pride.



Figure 29: Photos of people in different situations from the Scottish Labour Party Manifesto (2015, p.10)



Figure 30: Photo of Kashif, small business owner in the Scottish Labour manifesto (2015, p.90)

- ***The Scottish Liberal Democrats***

The 2005 Liberal Democratic Party manifesto front page shows the Scottish leader of the party with a number of people behind him. All are looking up, a connotation of looking at the future which also reflects positivity. The photo includes people from different backgrounds that is a reminder of Britain's diversity and shows the Liberal Party's diverse platform. The last page of the manifesto also features party members from ethnic minority groups (figure 32). The central position of the BAME Liberal Democratic candidate further highlights the party's strategy to promote diversity and the act of holding hands together shows solidarity and cohesion.

In the 2010 manifesto, a photo of the party leader Nick Clegg with a young black girl in a school environment is used. The party leader and the girl are looking at each other and seem to be in discussion. The photo may be revealing of the party's interest in diversity and focus on children from minorities, hinting at their approach 'opportunity for all'. The young girl seems to be of Muslim faith, as she is wearing the hijab. This may be an indicator of the party's acceptance of wearing religious

signs in schools and public spaces and the pursuit of a multicultural strategy in education where the needs of different minorities are accommodated.



Figure 31: Front page of the Scottish Liberal Democrats' manifesto (2005)



Figure 32: Last page of the Scottish Liberal Democrats' manifesto (2005, p.16)



Liberal Democrats want an education system where pupils are treated as individuals and given the opportunities to choose an education that inspires and engages them. We want schools and teachers to have greater flexibility and autonomy and for parents to support their children and their school as partners.

At the core of our plan is a Pupil Premium. We propose to increase the funding of Scottish schools to ensure that every child gets the individual attention they need at school. We want to start to move the school funding for the most disadvantaged children up to private school levels and improve schools for everyone. The extra money could be used by schools to recruit more teachers, pay for more one-to-one tuition or introduce catch up classes for children who are struggling. Our plans give the Scottish Parliament the money to make this happen.

Figure 33: Photo of Leader with a pupil (Scottish Liberal Democrats manifesto, 2010, p.34)

- *The SNP*

The SNP doesn't use photos of minorities in its general election manifestos except in the 2015 manifesto, where different participants in the SNP Yes campaign are presented. Members of the party and SNP candidates are presented (pp.12-13). In addition, the testimony of Tasmina Ahmed Sheikh, an SNP candidate, is used as well as her photo. The photo and the testimony may seem unrelated to the theme of diversity or integration, but it indirectly shows the diversity of the SNP supporters and sustains the idea of multicultural nationalism promoted by the party. The involvement of a person from a minority group is revealing of a successful integration and implication in Scottish political life.



Figure 34 : Photo of a participant in the SNP's YES campaign from the SNP manifesto of 2015 (p.13)

### 3. Analysis of debates and speeches

The analysis of speeches and debates by politicians and party leaders of the main political parties in Scotland and the UK can be revealing of the diverging and sometimes contradictory stances on issues of immigration and integration. An interesting example is the comparison between Theresa May's speech to the Conservative Party Conference in 2015 and the more recent speech by Ruth Davidson entitled 'A stronger Britain'.

In addition, Runnymede, the UK's leading independent think tank on race equality and race relations, published in 2010 a series of papers on *Achieving Race Equality in Scotland*. The series shows cross-party consensus on the importance of race equality in Scottish politics through the participation of figures from main parties in Scotland in the debate. Conservative MSP Sir Jamie McGrigor clearly asserts: 'All of the mainstream political parties in Scotland share the desire to see genuine racial equality in every aspect of Scottish life' (McGrigor, 2010 p.5). The same commitment to racial equality is stated by the three other interveners in the series: Robert Brown (Scottish Liberal Democrats, MSP), Humza Yousaf (SNP), and Johann Lamont (Labour MSP)

The Liberal Democrat MSP Robert Brown states : Liberal Democrats 'exist to build and safeguard a fair, free and open society, in which we seek to balance the fundamental values of liberty, equality and community<sup>103</sup> and in which no one shall be enslaved by poverty, ignorance or conformity'<sup>104</sup> (Brown , 2010 p.6).

#### 3.1 Theresa May's speech

Theresa May's speech to the Conservative Party's Conference in 2015 deals mainly with immigration. From the beginning of her speech, May draws attention to the refugee issue through exposing of the situation in Syria. She states: 'eleven million men, women, and children have been forced from their homes'. She voices

---

<sup>103</sup>This is reminder of the principles of the French republic of *liberté, égalité* and *fraternité*.

<sup>104</sup>The statement echoes the 5 evils' identified by W. Beveridge in his 1942 report: "Want, Disease, Ignorance, Squalor and Idleness"

the need to help Syrian refugees and provides statistics on the British governments main achievements in terms of asylum. According to May, the British Government granted asylum to more than 5,000 Syrians in Britain and created a resettlement scheme. She also refers to working with the UN to bring comfort to 'the most vulnerable refugees'. The Prime Minister puts much emphasis on the government's work in Syria and the Middle East as a way to solve the refugees' crisis.

Other achievements emphasized in Theresa May's speech include the abolition of post-study work visa as well as the implementation of restrictions on family visas. May refers to the changes performed on immigration during the 5 years as Home Secretary as she 'rooted out abuse of the student visa system'. Thus, reducing net migration is set as the main objective for Theresa May's immigration strategy.

The Prime Minister also complains about the unbalanced nature of European immigration and describes the number of migrants from Europe as 'unsustainable' and that they 'have to change'. In order to limit migration from Europe the PM targets benefits and proposes limiting the access to benefits for migrants from the EU. In addition, the Prime Minister refers to the uncontrolled nature of immigration from Europe as opening the door for non-EU nationals to immigrate to the UK. She claims that 'anybody who has married a European can come here almost without condition'. May draws attention to the uncontrolled nature of migration from Europe and indirectly refers to it as illegal immigration. The Prime Minister is critical of the accessibility to Europe under Schengen and easy access to citizenship and thus the possible free movement for non-European migrants across Europe. She also rejects a European approach to asylum and reiterates the need to regain control of borders and the need for a new British approach as well as an international approach. The fraudulent aspect of asylum applicants claiming to be Syrian refugees was also referred to in the speech.

Theresa May also refers to the manifesto slogan 'we must work to control immigration and put Britain first' to emphasize the fact that immigration is against the progress of Britain. She extensively uses the modals 'must' and 'have to' to highlight the urgency and obligation to counter the threat of immigration to society, public services and to jobs security and to a more secure asylum system.

### 3.2 David Cameron's speech on immigration (2013)

In his speech on immigration in 2013, Cameron provides a less radical position than Theresa May. From the beginning of the speech Cameron clearly exposes his view on immigration: 'I believe that immigration has brought significant benefits to Britain'. He also provides examples of different communities participating in the building of Britain.

The former PM also extensively makes use of the comparative to show the contribution of migrant communities to Britain — for example in 'richer' and 'stronger'. In addition, Cameron calls already settled migrants 'Great Britons' to stress the inclusiveness of British society and sums up the situation in Britain as : 'This is our island story: open, diverse and welcoming'.

In his speech, Cameron also enumerates the different accomplishments of his government to improve the immigration system in the UK, such as stopping 'bogus' colleges, used as a back door for immigration according to the Conservative Party. This strategy will help shut down entire entry routes in the points-based system and improve the asylum system. David Cameron congratulates himself for the asylum system put in place. A key improvement, according to the party leader, has been to end child detention.

Cameron also highlights the need for free movement of people as part of EU membership and draws attention to the beneficial aspect of the process to the British, and the important number of Britons living in EU member states. According to the Prime Minister, the numbers of migrants from and to the EU are in balance. — a statement that is contradicted by Theresa May in her 2015 speech. At the same time, Cameron recommends the implementation of 'transitional controls' for migrants from newly added countries.

Cameron calls for selective immigration through the toughening of tests required for migrants to live in the UK and the establishment of English language requirement. In addition, toughening measures to access benefits can discourage potential migrants from coming to the UK.

In his speech, David Cameron involves the audience through repeatedly referring to the taxpayer as the main victim of such a system. The former Prime Minister describes migrants' access to benefits as 'something for nothing' culture, a

statement already expressed in party manifestos. He also pledges to remove reliance on the state's welfare system.

### 3.3 Ruth Davidson's speech

On the other hand, Ruth Davidson's speech carries a less hostile tone. In her speech Ruth Davidson tackles a number of issues including immigration.

The Scottish Conservative Party leader hints to Theresa May's approach to immigration as allowing immigration to be 'some sort of problem to be fixed. A wrong to be corrected'. Davidson challenges this view and calls for the need to change the current perception of migrants and immigration, for example Davidson refers to the need to 'recognize that people from other nations wanting to come to our country is a sign of our success as vibrant, prosperous culture.' The party leader also acknowledges the need for migrants to build a stronger economy and stresses the need for labour market in less populated areas of the country.

In relation to migration from the EU, Ruth Davidson provides a positive view of EU migrants and refers to her personal experience, being about to marry a European to reinforce the acceptance towards EU migrants.

In this short passage on immigration, Ruth Davidson is critical towards her own party's immigration strategy and the need to reduce immigration stressing the changing circumstances in British society. She also reveals a positive attitude towards foreign students living in Scotland as representing people 'with the correct skills'. Davidson also calls for a revision of the British immigration strategies after Brexit and for the creation of a 'mature' system. She also confirms the 'outward facing, welcoming' aspect of the nation, and refers to the need to respect immigrant families with reference to the 'Windrush' generation following the Tory scandal with the 'hostile environment' measures intended to limit illegal immigration<sup>105</sup>.

---

<sup>105</sup>The 'hostile environment' policies were initiated under Cameron-led government and targeted illegal immigration. These measures made access to services such as housing more difficult for people without the leave to remain in the UK. The measures resulted in the risk of eviction by landlords, detention and deportation for the 'Windrush' generation immigrants who have been granted indefinite leave to remain upon arrival to the UK. The issue was mainly due to the confusion around those who couldn't provide evidence of their status and, thus, were considered as illegal immigrants.

As the main party in opposition to the British government, the Labour Party has recently formulated its vision on immigration through its Shadow Home Secretary Diane Abbott.

### **3.4 Diane Abbott speech on Labour's plans for a simpler, fairer immigration system (2018)**

In her speech from one of the deportation centres in the UK, Diane Abbott categorically rejects the different initiatives of the Conservative-led governments such as family members' deportations and the establishment of a Minimum Income Requirement for spousal visas.

The Shadow Home Secretary also criticizes the Tories' handling of the 'Windrush' scandal and the Prime Minister's strategy of 'we will deport first, and hear appeals later'. The 'Windrush' scandal according to Abbott is 'one of the worst' scandals related to immigration. Criticism also includes the current immigration system described as 'wrong' and adding a 'cruel, malign twist to the long-running injustice' in reference to the 'Windrush' scandal. Abbott also questions the Tories' obsession with net migration targets and increasing suspicion towards students as part of the Government's 'misconceived immigration target'. Other criticisms include the treatment of Commonwealth migrants and other non-EU migrants as second-class migrants.

The Shadow Home Secretary proposes an alternative to the current immigration system. She summarises it as: 'a rational immigration policy, a fair one, based on the needs of our society and our economy. It is a common sense policy'. The proposed immigration system includes a commitment to 'upholding the right to family life' and facilitating the grant of family visas. In addition, the Labour Party proposes a 'completely reformed work visa policy' and an approach to students' migration aiming at increasing the number of foreign students. Thus, according to Diane Abbott the new immigration system needs to be 'simpler' and 'fairer'. No

---

reference is made to the points based-system initially introduced by the Labour Party.

Diane Abbott also refers to the uncertainties surrounding post-Brexit relationship. She doesn't give more details on Labour's plans towards migrants from the EU, except through the statement that Labour's policy would be 'Brexit-ready' through the introduction of a new work visa system and an immigration system that operates through trade deals.

The Labour Party's new approach to immigration as announced by Diane Abbott seems more flexible and relaxed than the earlier initiatives proposed by New Labour governments under Blair and Brown. It is important to note that since its underachievement in the 2010 general election, the Labour Party has made a break with earlier policies on immigration. For example, Ed Miliband, the successor of Tony Blair at the head of the Labour Party, criticized New Labour's immigration policies in an address in 2012.

### **3.5 Ed Miliband at the Royal Festival Hall (2012)**

The former leader of the Labour Party acknowledged the benefits of immigration, referring to the 'talent' that Britain has benefitted from. However, he asserts that 'Britain must control its borders but it must always face outwards to the world', a position that reminds of the former New Labour governments' policy strategies.

In the speech, Miliband also voices and joins the growing public concern over immigration. He draws attention to the impact of immigration on the working class and the possible repercussions of new arrivals on wages. He states: 'immigration made it easier for some, but it also made it harder for others'.

### **3.6 The SNP's White Paper on independence**

The SNP's immigration plans are generally formulated in the context of independence. In an independent Scotland, immigration would be dealt with separately from the rest of the UK. In its White Paper on independence, published in

2013, the SNP presents its vision of immigration and integration in an independent Scotland.

According to the White Paper, a separate immigration system is envisaged for an independent Scotland. The White Paper on independence draws attention to the specific demography of Scotland and the British government's inability to serve Scotland's interests with the current immigration system (p.16).

The immigration approach would rely on a points-based system designed for particular Scottish needs (p.16), in addition to a system of incentives to encourage migrants to settle in remoter geographical areas (p.16). The immigration system advanced by the government would be different thanks to the creation of more visa categories adapted to Scotland's needs (p.269).

The White Paper also advocates the reinstatement of the post-study work visa to encourage foreign graduates to settle in Scotland (p.16). It plans to lower the income threshold for entry and to align them with Scottish average wages (p.269).

In terms of asylum, the SNP plans for an asylum system characterized by a 'robust, fair, socially responsible and thorough decision-making' (p.269). The White Paper advocates a more 'humane' system that respects human rights and equality principles (p.269).

Being a full member of the EU is also one of the main objectives for an independent Scotland. Free movement between EU member states would be maintained and promoted (p.269). In addition, the White Paper advocates membership of the Common Travel Area to ensure that visa and immigration controls meet shared standards (p.224).

In terms of citizenship, the SNP proposes an inclusive model of citizenship that gives the choice for people on whether or not define themselves as exclusively Scottish (p.271), thus providing the option for multiple identities. British citizens 'habitually resident' in Scotland would be granted Scottish citizenship, and for those applying for Scottish nationality, Scottish citizenship requirements would be based on 'clear criteria' (pp.16-17). The White Paper also clearly affirms the SNP's 'commitment to a multicultural Scotland' as the cornerstone of an independent Scottish state (p.271).

### **3.7 Nicola Sturgeon speech at the SNP conference in Aberdeen (2018)**

From the beginning of the speech, Nicola Sturgeon stresses Scotland's openness to diversity and indirectly hints to the prejudicial nature of England. She also highlights the differences with the British Tory-led government through the use of terms like 'stark', and 'couldn't be more stark'. She criticizes the Tories' racist stances and assimilates the party to UKIP. Sturgeon even charges the right wing of the party with xenophobia. She reminds that 62% of Scots voted for remaining within the EU.

In this address to the SNP conference in Aberdeen, the First Minister lingered on the topics of immigration and integration. Drawing attention to the diversity of the city of Aberdeen, the First Minister acknowledged the positive contribution of migrant communities to the country.

Nicola Sturgeon also criticized the British Government's position on immigration as favouring a 'hostile' environment for migrants. Using the imperative form, Sturgeon directly addresses the Tory government, and refers to its position on immigration as 'anti-immigrant obsession'. Drawing attention to the negative impact of the British Government's approach to immigration on Scotland, Nicola Sturgeon concludes that 'it is time powers over migration to come to Scotland'. Thus, the First Minister's key proposal on immigration centres on the transfer of immigration powers to the Scottish Government.

The First Minister also sends a clear message to migrants, stating that 'you are welcome and we want you to stay'. In the same speech, Sturgeon promotes the inclusiveness of Scotland using the pronoun 'we' and makes reference to the refugees who are settled in Scotland as part of the 'we' that makes Scotland. She ends her speech by describing Scotland as 'open, welcoming, caring, progressive, and pioneering'.

## 4. Analysis of the 2017 ‘snap’ election

The 2017 general election, held on June 8th 2017, has been unexpected in the decision to hold it and in the results. Different circumstances led former Prime Minister Theresa May to call for a ‘snap election’ also described by commentators as ‘Brexit election’ (Kavanagh, 2018, p.4) in the attempt to win more seats in the British Parliament. In fact, the decision to hold an election before its fixed term of five years was mainly due to strained Brexit negotiations and relatively favourable polls for the Conservative Party (Kavanagh, 2018, pp.2-4).

The 2017 parties’ manifestos, probably prepared in a short period of time, are interesting to analyse for various reasons. First of all, the stakes put on this election are high for the main opposition parties after the poor results of the 2015 election. Another important aspect to analyse is the different parties’ plans in relation to immigration and the situation of EU nationals in the UK, not to forget the growing influence of far right parties on politics of immigration. Thus, the decision to include the 2017 election manifestos into the analysis lies in the importance of such an election in relation to the immigration and integration rhetoric.

Overall the discourse analysis of the 2017 general election manifestos revealed diverging aspects from previous manifestos in relation to the categories used. A general look at the 2017 manifestos reveals an exclusive focus on Britain (except for the SNP). In fact, the electoral discourses of the three main British parties centre exclusively on Britain and British identity in contrast to the SNP’s exclusive focus on Scotland.

The Scottish Conservatives, for instance, repeatedly advocate a ‘stronger’ Britain<sup>106</sup> and draw attention to the need to ‘promoting British culture around the world’ (2017, p.39).

The exclusive focus on British culture in a manifesto dedicated to Scotland is very revealing as it can be seen as an attempt to divert the attention from the SNP’s

---

<sup>106</sup> The Conservatives’ focus on a ‘stronger’ Britain is a reminder of Benjamin Disraeli’s ‘One Nation’ and his focus on restoring the greatness of Britain through its institutions.

initiative to introduce a second independence referendum following the landslide victory in 2016. After the failure of the first independence referendum in 2014, a second referendum was not expected to take place so soon. The likelihood of break-up is still a possible but apprehended scenario for the Conservatives in government.

This may explain the shift in focus from Scotland to Britain and the exclusive focus on British culture and identity. The Conservative Party reinforces this British perspective through the extensive use of the expression ‘United Kingdom’ instead of ‘Britain’ and at the same time through limited reference to Scotland. A count of the number of references to the terms ‘Britain’, and ‘UK’ or ‘United Kingdom’ shows a move from British parties towards more focus on Britain and British national identity (See Table 7).

|                 | SNP | Scottish<br>Conservatives | Scottish<br>Labour | Scottish<br>Liberal<br>Democrats |
|-----------------|-----|---------------------------|--------------------|----------------------------------|
| Britain/        | 0   | 101                       | 61                 | 49                               |
| British         | 2   | 37                        | 15                 | 17                               |
| United Kingdom/ | 1   | 49                        | 0                  | 7                                |
| UK              | 263 | 89                        | 96                 | 103                              |

*Table 7: Number of occurrences of terms related to nationality in the 2017 manifesto*

In the three British parties’ manifestos, terms like Britain and UK are repeatedly used. This can be seen as a party strategy to reflect the idea that Britain is first and foremost a unitary state based on a voluntary historic union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland. The repetitive reference to the United Kingdom also reveals the importance of the Union to all constituent parts and is referred to as ‘OUR PRECIOUS UNION’ (Scottish Conservatives, 2017, p.33). The importance of the Union is also highlighted in the Scottish Conservative Party manifesto through the extensive use of the superlative form and adjectives that reflect power. For instance, the party states as one of its objectives ‘a strong and stable Union’ (2017, p.32). In this example the Scottish Conservative Party clearly pledges for the Union and warns against the possibility of a second independence referendum described in

terms of ‘division and uncertainty’ (2017, p.6). The term ‘division’ was extensively used (10 times) in the manifesto in different election topics, conveying the threat posed by the lack of unified decision-making in Britain. By contrast, the benefits of the unitary aspect of Britain are reinforced through the use of the superlative as in the following example: ‘We are a United Kingdom, one nation made of four – the most successful political union in modern history’ under the title ‘OUR PRECIOUS UNION’ (Scottish Conservatives, 2017, p.33).

The example conveys the idea that Britain is most successful as a union and indirectly threatens against any attempt of splitting up promoted by the SNP. The Scottish Conservative Party lists the arguments in favour of the Union throughout the manifesto. This can be seen as an attempt to convince Scots against voting for ‘divisive’ independentist SNP (2017, p.34). Thus, staying in the Union can be seen as being more advantageous than leaving.<sup>107</sup>

The Scottish Labour Party and Scottish Liberal Democrats also deliver British-centred manifestos where the main objectives revolve around Britain and Europe. The Scottish Labour Party even uses the slogan ‘together we’re stronger’ and calls for mobilisation against a ‘divisive’ independence referendum<sup>108</sup> (Scottish Labour Party, 2017, p.4).

Standing against them, the only party that focuses exclusively on Scotland is the SNP that again describes itself as the party that best represents Scotland’s interests. Through the personification of Scotland, the party draws attention to the inability of British parties to represent Scotland’s interests and values within the United Kingdom. Thus the party stands as ‘Scotland’s voice’ and speaks for ‘Scotland’s interests’ as highlighted in the foreword by First Minister Nicola Sturgeon (SNP, 2017, p.3).

---

<sup>107</sup> In *the Death of Britain?* John Redwood exposes the advantages of the Union for Scotland and criticizes the politicisation of the settlement between Scotland and the UK (1999, p.123).

<sup>108</sup> One can read Tom Nairn’s *the Break-up of Britain: Crisis and Neonationalism* (1977) on the debate over the Scottish question.

The manifestos of the 2017 election show a limited focus on Scottish culture and identity. There is reference to Gaelic in relation to the need to reinstate funding for Gaelic broadcasting in the SNP manifesto (p.20). In terms of equality and anti-discrimination strategies, all parties join in the pledge for equality and the fight against discrimination. The Scottish Conservatives, for instance, draw attention to the reality of unequal pay and ask employers to publish information on the pay gap for people from different ethnic backgrounds. The party also condemns different forms of discrimination (2017, p.48) and pledges for making Britain a 'Great Meritocracy' (2017, p.10). The Scottish Conservatives' commitment to equality can be seen as an attempt to move from its image as the party of the middle and upper class <sup>109</sup> (Taylor, 2017, online). Party competition in the UK mirrors the class cleavage between upper and lower society.

The Scottish Liberal Democrats also tackle the issue of pay gap in addition to the gap in employment for BAME. Among their proposals, the party focuses on recruitment processes and encourages recruitment of BAME in public appointments with at least one BAME candidate in every shortlist. This strategy reveals the party's advocacy for positive discrimination in order to promote diversity in public services. The party clearly states: 'Liberal Democrats believe that every person is entitled to the same opportunity to succeed in life' (2017, p.45). This statement reflects the importance of equality for the Liberal Democrats. The party directly addresses the reader and highlights the need to take action to fight discrimination. It declares: 'We will fight to make sure that what you do and where you get to in life are not affected by your gender, the colour of your skin, or who you love' (2017, p.45). According to Scottish Liberal Democrats, equality and inclusiveness are conditions for a stronger society (2017, p.46). This position reflects the party's commitment to equality and anti-discrimination. The SNP joins the Scottish Liberal Democratic Party in its pledge to fight discrimination and dedicates a section entitled 'Diverse but equal' where the party's commitment to tackling racism and discrimination is clearly voiced (2017, p.37).

---

<sup>109</sup>Recent opinion polls on votes in the 2017 British general election by social class reflect a move from traditional voting patterns (Taylor, 2017, online).

For the Scottish Labour Party, equality is formulated in terms of the protection of exploitation of migrant workers and the need to end ‘this form of modern slavery’ (2017, p.33). The party also continuously describes itself as ‘the party of equality’ (2017, p.104; 2017, p.108) and pledges for fighting ‘all forms of racism’ with particular reference to anti-Semitism and Islamophobia (2017, p.108). Reference to Islamophobia can also be found in the Scottish Liberal Democrats manifesto where the party condemns the growing incidence of Islamophobic hate crime (p.47). The Scottish Liberal Democrats also call for the freedom of wearing religious or cultural dress (p.47).

In relation to diversity, the different parties hold a positive view of minorities and their contribution to society. The Scottish Conservative Party uses the superlative form to further reinforce this aspect, stating: ‘Britain is one of the world’s most successful multi-racial, multi-cultural, multi-religious societies. We are proud of our diversity, and the cultural and economic enrichment it brings’ (2017, p.53). The answer to immigration according to Scottish Conservatives can be found in the title of the section: ‘Integrating divided communities’ (2017, p.53). The new integration strategy envisaged by the party marks a move away from multiculturalism. The party rejects the multicultural model of integration which results in division and isolation (2017, p.53) and encourages engagement with the wider world (2017, p.53). Teaching English language for migrants is also advocated (2017, p.53). The Scottish Labour Party also celebrates diversity in the 2017 election manifesto and highlights the contribution of immigrants at the economic level (2017, p.32). The party insists on the importance of diversity through the use of the expression ‘now more than ever’ (2017, p.108), drawing attention to the positive contribution of minorities.

2017 election manifestos dedicate much attention to immigration and refugee-related issues. The different parties expose their view and position on immigration especially in relation to the new Brexit context. The Scottish Conservatives advocate an immigration system that takes into account the specific needs of Scotland (p.23). This is to be performed through the MAC recommendations, described by the party as ‘independent’ in order to draw attention

to the non-involvement of the Conservative government in the elaboration of the Shortage Occupation Lists (p.23). The party calls for a 'controlled' and 'sustainable' migration and uses exaggeration forms to reflect the high level of immigration and its negative repercussion on society (p.52). The Scottish Conservatives also take into consideration the impact of skilled migration on British workforce and proposes doubling the Immigration Skills Charge (a fee paid by companies employing migrant workers). Thus, the amount would increase from £1,000 to £2,000 (p.23). Other restrictive measures proposed by the party include that of increasing the earnings thresholds for people wishing to sponsor migrants for family visas and toughening visa requirements for students (p.52). The Scottish Conservatives also maintain a tough stance towards students' migration. The only condition for students stay after finishing their studies is stated as: 'unless they meet new, higher requirements that allow them to work in Britain after their studies have concluded' (p.52). No clarification is provided for the specificity requirements asked for. According to the party, student migration is to be kept in the migration statistics (p.52). In relation to EU migrants, the party calls for reducing and controlling the number of people coming from the EU, but no specific provision is envisaged for EU nationals (p.52).

Scottish Conservatives affirm that immigration is kept a reserved matter (p.52) in response to the SNP's calls for decentralising immigration. On criticisms on the current immigration system, the Scottish Conservative Party blames the Scottish Government for failing to attracting newcomers and to make 'Scotland a more attractive place to come to work' (p.52).

The Scottish Labour Party adopts a different approach to immigration, calling for a 'fair' and 'reasonable' management of migration (2017, p.32). The party's stance on migration has marked a change from earlier manifestos and the party clearly states that it will not 'scapegoat' immigrants (p.32) in reference to the Tories position on immigration. Another difference with the 2015 manifesto lies in the treatment of EU nationals. Scottish Labour insists on granting reciprocal rights for EU nationals living in the UK (p.28). The party also stresses the importance of migrants to Scotland and pledges to make Scotland's voice heard in future immigration strategies (p.31). In terms of integration, the Scottish Labour Party

draws attention to the Glasgow and North Lanarkshire Councils' experiences and the need to work on the integration of refugees (p.33).

A similar position to immigration is adopted by Scottish Liberal Democrats with the condemning of the 'toxic rhetoric' on immigration and immigrants (2017, p.46). The party pledges to 'make the positive case for immigration' (p.46) and praises the benefits of migrants to society (p.50). At the same time, Scottish Liberal Democrats call for an immigration system that is administered 'fairly' and 'efficiently' with the same commitment for strict border controls and high-skilled immigration (p.51). This position contradicts the positive aspect of immigration. Other strategies include the reinstatement of the post-study work visa and the establishment of a Migrant Impact Fund to facilitate the integration of newcomers (p.52). In relation to EU nationals, the Scottish Liberal Democrats call for the protection of the rights of EU nationals and the simplification of the registration process and the requirements for EU nationals to obtain permanent residence and citizenship (p.7).

The SNP calls for a 'fairer' immigration policy (p.4). Through the personification of Scotland the SNP draws attention to the decentralisation of immigration in order to be adapted for Scotland's specific needs (p.27). The need for decentralising immigration is voiced throughout the manifesto and in different policy areas (for example in relation to the NHS p.17). Aside from this objective, the SNP calls for the reinstatement of post-study work visa (p.28) using the term 'talent' to describe students (p.18). The SNP ponders on the situation of EU nationals and proposes granting straightforward access to residence as a solution to Brexit (p.14). The vision of the party can be summarized in the following passage: 'Our vision of Scotland is one of an open country that looks outwards, and encourages the best and brightest from Europe, and around the world, to make Scotland their home' (p.27). Thus, the party opts for a selective immigration strategy and renews its commitment to diversity, reflecting a multicultural stance on integration. At the same time the party criticizes the demonization of migrants (p.27) and calls for a number of changes in the current immigration system such as removing the Skills Immigration Charge (p.28) which leads to skills shortages. In addition, the party supports a review

of the citizenship application process in favour of a less expensive and less complicated test (p.28).

As far as asylum and refugees-related issues are concerned, the three British parties converge in exalting the British tradition of welcoming refugees (Scottish Liberal Democrats, p.51; Scottish Labour, p.33), using terms such as ‘sanctuary’ (Scottish Conservatives, p.40).

## 5. Assessment

The discourse analysis of election manifestos for both Scottish national and British general elections unfolds aspects of convergence between the parties in competition for representation in Scottish Parliament on key electoral issues affecting Scotland. A different pattern emerges from general election manifestos and the analysis of speeches revealing diverging, even contrasting, policy orientation between British and Scottish parliamentary elections, and between Scottish parties and their British counterparts.

Aspects of convergence between the four parties under study revolve around the importance dedicated to equality and anti-discrimination in particular. This trend may be linked to the long tradition of anti-discrimination oriented integration strategy that goes back to post-WWII ‘dual-state interventionism’ promoted by former Home Secretary Roy Jenkins. In fact, anti-discrimination has been prescribed in the long tradition of British integration policy since WWII. Thus, the four political parties join in maintaining and further extending anti-discrimination laws. More recently, particular focus has been invested in fighting anti-Semitism and Islamophobia, a stance that can be revealing of the changes in public perception of religious diversity in the UK that is affected by international events, as well as the increasingly diverse society.

It is also worth noting that distinct patterns emerge from the discourse analysis dedicated to the category ‘equality’. In fact, the analysis reveals that left wing parties show more eagerness towards fighting discrimination and establishing equality. Equality can be seen as a main objective for the four major political parties through the extensive use of generalising and inclusive phrases like ‘for all’ or

‘everyone’ with no reference to a specific group. It is also worth noting that, being a reserved matter, equality-related matters receive more attention in in general elections, wherein the different parties present their strategy in relation to equality and fairness. Both Scottish Labour and Scottish Liberal Democrats dedicate more attention to equality, with Scottish Labour describing itself as the ‘party of equality’. Scottish Liberal Democrats pay particular attention to issues of discrimination in the recruitment process and propose solutions such as ‘name-blind’ recruitments. In addition the party encourages BAME representation and calls for positive discrimination to increase BAME presence in public sector, a position that contradicts the Scottish Conservatives call for establishing a ‘Great Meritocracy’. Such diverging positions can be explained by the different parties’ positioning in the political spectrum and reflect a ‘schism’ between party pledges in Scottish and general elections (Hepburn, 2014b, online).

The analysis of the different manifestos also reveals a consensus on presenting Scotland as plural society and commitment to pluralism and inclusiveness. An example of this inclusiveness in relation to education can be found in the Scottish Liberal Democrats’ manifesto where the party is committed to ‘ensure genuine equality of opportunity for all Scotland’s children’ (1999). The use of the phrase ‘for all Scotland’s children’ reflects the party’s pledge for providing equal opportunity. The multimodal aspects used in the manifestos reinforce this position through the displaying of children from different ethnic groups, an image that reflects the young and multicultural aspect of post-devolution Scotland. In relation to the research topics of immigration and integration, the use of people from different ethnic backgrounds can be intended to convey a specific message and such a strategy is generally used to show the political party’s embracing of diversity.

In Scottish elections’ manifestos, the political discourse of the four major parties presents similarities reflecting consensus over key issues related to immigration and integration. The main political parties converge in their focus on ‘culture’ as a key electoral issue. This interest is shared by the four major parties throughout the different elections, reflecting the importance of Scottish culture for the electorate. Consensus can also be seen at the level of the endorsement and

promotion of the Gaelic language and culture. All parties seem to be aware of the importance of Gaelic in Scottish collective consciousness and this is reflected in the manifestos through continuous commitment to the promotion and expanding of the Gaelic language.

Another aspect of convergence can be seen in Scottish elections' manifestos in terms of the promotion of a civic national identity. The civic aspect of Scotland is highlighted by Scottish Liberal Democrats as 'Scotland's rich and diverse civic society' (2003). The civic aspect of identity is further promoted in institutions such as education. The focus on the importance of institutions in Scotland and the importance of welfare in Scottish elections' manifestos can be seen as a result of Scotland's history of institutional autonomy. In addition, Scotland's institutional autonomy has resulted in the development of such concepts as egalitarianism or the myth of equality, which explains the importance dedicated to equality by parties in Scotland.

The different British parties generally present Scottish identity within a British framework. The SNP follows a different trajectory in its promotion of a separate Scottish identity and the different categories used in the analysis are formulated within the context of the independence of Scotland. The emphasis on the importance of Scottish culture and heritage is mainly in relation to Arts and culture and in relation to natural landscape. The use of the term 'culture' in the singular form contradicts the multi-cultures aspect of Scotland that is emphasized by different political parties. An example can be seen in this passage from Scottish Labour: 'Scotland's culture, from the languages we speak to the arts we perform and applaud, the sports we play and the riches we find in our libraries and museums, makes Scotland unique' (Scottish Labour Party, 2003). Another example of the SNP manifesto deals with Scotland's culture. It states: 'our unique and world renowned culture' (SNP, 2003). The SNP also pledges for the creation of a new department to heritage for Scotland's culture and languages.

Another example can be found in this passage from Scottish Labour 2003 manifesto: 'We will celebrate Scotland's diverse culture, create an environment where all of Scotland's people have the opportunity to fulfil their potential, and

strengthen our place in the world'. In this example, 'culture' is referred to in the singular form and despite the fact that the term is linked to 'diverse', the use of 'culture' instead of 'cultures' orients the reader towards Scotland's diversity in terms of its Gaelic, Scots and Nordic heritage more than its diversity in terms of other foreign cultures. This position is confirmed in the following in the Scottish Labour manifesto: 'We recognise Scotland's rich cultural heritage including Gaelic, Scots and Nordic' (2016). Scottish Liberal Democrats also affirm: 'Scotland has a distinctive and colourful language heritage. Today in Scotland there are speakers of English, Scots, Gaelic, many community languages such as Chinese and Urdu and British Sign Language' (Scottish Liberal Democrats, 2003).

This reinforces the same idea that cultural diversity in some cases is used only in terms of existing cultures rather than foreign one. The term 'heritage' reinforces the ethnic aspect intended in the manifesto. At the same time, the collocation with 'rich' reflects the positive aspect of diversity.

For the second extract, English, Scots and Gaelic are mentioned first as part of the 'colourful language heritage', other community languages are mentioned in a second place reflecting an exclusive appurtenance of these languages to heritage when the languages are listed as an addition.

Scotland's diversity is celebrated by the different political parties and reveals a commitment to multicultural Scotland in the new post-devolution context. The multicultural aspect of Scotland is reinforced through the extensive use of words like 'plural', 'open', 'multicultural' and 'cosmopolitan'.

The use of 'diversity' can be confusing when analysing election manifestos. In the following example from the Scottish Liberal Democrats manifesto also presents ambiguity about the term 'diversity': 'Scotland's diversity of culture, language, sport and individual identity should be nurtured' (Scottish Liberal Democrats, 2003). In this example, the term 'diversity' is mentioned in relation to culture, language and sport which evoke Scotland's languages, culture, and football and other sports such as shinty and curling.

The personification of Scotland is also used by political parties to reinforce the multicultural aspect of Scotland. Referred as 'national personification' (Leith

&Soule, 2012, p.62), this process is used to reinforce the civic aspect of Scottishness. In fact, there are different instances where the nation is described as a person and, thus, becomes ‘the embodiment of the same moral and political milieu as citizens’ (Leith & Soule, 2012, p.70). In other words, through the personification of Scotland, the nation becomes a person that echoes the values of Scottish society<sup>110</sup>. In this case, Scotland as imagined by the elites would be a ‘multicultural’ one. Leith and Soule conclude that the main objective through the process of national personification is to eulogise the progressive nature of Scotland by presenting it as a civic and inclusive plurality (2012, p.73).

In addition, another important aspect to be taken into consideration is the convergence between the different parties in highlighting the natural distinctiveness and beauty of the countryside. For example: ‘Scotland’s landscape is celebrated around the world’ (Scottish Liberal Democrats, 2007) or ‘Rural Scotland is the jewel in Scotland’s crown’ (Scottish Liberal Democrats, 2007). The image of the jewel in the crown is a reminder of India which was described as such and both quotes show the importance of the countryside as a unique aspect of Scotland.

The focus on Scotland’s distinctive culture, history and heritage is present in the different manifestos and these elements seem important for the different parties in order to add a ‘Scottish dimension’ to their commitments. Such aspects as Scottish culture and natural beauty are properties of Scotland and do relate the country’s majority culture. This position stands in contrast with the multicultural discourse in Scotland<sup>111</sup>. The following quote confirms this: ‘We recognize that diversity is one of our defining characteristics’ (Conservative Party, 2003). Diversity in this example is stated in relation to ‘rural communities’ and a pledge for a ‘thriving countryside’. Such collocation undermines the idea of diversity as related to multiculturalism for a

---

<sup>110</sup> When we speak of Scotland as the embodiment of a person, we can think of Caledonia as the rival of Britannia, an image that is increasingly less used. One can read *Calédonia, du concept aux représentations* (Berton, 2019).

<sup>111</sup> This view can also be challenged when considering the celebration of Scotland’s natural beauty as the embodiment of diversity in the works of Walter Scott and later on by the ‘Glasgow Boys’. In fact, diversity can be seen in the different landscape between North and South, and with the 700 islands of Scotland.

different interpretation of the message as being related to Scotland's distinctive diverse rural communities. Another example can be found in the following extract from SNP 2003 manifesto: 'Geographically, Scotland is a diverse nation, with some of the least densely populated and most scenic landscapes in Europe. As a nation, our strength is in that diversity'. Again, the superposition of diversity and geographical characteristics is quite confusing and misleading as Scotland's geographical features relate to its distinctiveness as a country and the term diversity is a reminder of cultural and ethnic diversity, (SNP, 2003).

In the different manifestos under study civic representations prevail. The different parties' stances on identity can be revealing in relation to immigration and integration in particular in relation to how the political elite in Scotland presents Scottishness as a civic form of identity that is inclusive of minorities following the perspective of the 'Edinburgh School of modernist thinkers' who define Scottishness as territorial civic-based form of identity. However this position that is challenged by Leith & Soule who draw attention to the non-civic formulations of identity in parties' manifestos. Leith and Soule emphasize the contradiction that exists in the description of the Scottish nation through civic and non-civic articulations and use the same example from the SNP manifesto. According to Leith and Soule, the attributes of landscape and geographical diversity are non-civic formulations of nationalism but at the same time, these formulations are framed in terms of an 'open' nationalism as despite the fact that natural attributes are related to non-civic conceptions of nationalism, natural diversity in this case is used to 'mirror' demographic diversity as an attribute of Scotland. (76-77).

Diverging positions between Scottish and general elections can be seen in relation to immigration. In Scottish elections manifestos, immigration is frequently formulated in relation to Scotland's demographic needs. The need to repopulate the country is voiced by all parties. Interest in Scotland's needs was referred to by Scottish Conservatives only in the 2017 election manifesto. However, in general election manifestos there seems to be little attention to Scotland's demographic needs, especially within the 'fair and firm' immigration strategy envisaged by all the four parties. Scotland's demographic needs were mentioned only in few examples.

To differing degrees we see a move from all political parties towards a more selective immigration policy that is crystallised mostly in the 2015 election manifestos, where all parties join in pointing out the need for controlled immigration. It is also important to note that the specific demographic needs of Scotland were referred to only by Scottish Labour and the SNP and no clear solutions were proposed in this respect.

Since 2001, the political discourse over immigration has centred on the need to limit the number of newcomers as well as the fighting of illegal immigration and fake asylum applications as 'asylum should not be an alternative route to immigration' (Scottish Labour Party, 2001, p.34). The major political parties align in their approach towards immigration. The different parties recognize the positive contribution of immigrants to Britain but at the same time affirm the need to restrict it.

Despite the restrictive aspect of the proposed immigration policies, the different parties still try to compete to describe themselves as parties promoting immigration and diversity. The Scottish Conservative Party, for instance, clearly asserts: 'We will always be a party that is open, outward-looking and welcoming to people from all around the world' (2015, p.67). The party presents itself as open and welcoming to diversity, contradicting all the restrictive policies proposed on immigration.

Another important converging aspect of the immigration strategies of the main political parties is the focus on the need for skilled migrants as part of this 'firm and fair' immigration system. The focus on selective immigration is further reinforced through stressing the need for only 'skilled' workers to British economy.

It is worth noting that the different parties' main concern with asylum seems to centre on fake asylum applications. In fact, the different parties condemn fake asylum as well as illegal immigration and pledge to stop the influx of illegal immigrants entering the country through fake asylum applications.

It becomes clear that there is an evolution of the discourse to a gradually more restricted view on immigration. This move to a tougher immigration policy can be seen as a reaction to the growing general public apprehension towards immigrants

and subsequently, the rising popularity of extreme right wing parties across Europe such as UKIP. The threat posed on Western culture, fuelled by the refugee crisis and the war in Syria, has led to growing xenophobia and support for far right parties across Europe (Sheehy, 2017). At the same time, the rise in support for populist extreme-right parties like UKIP is said to be a direct reaction to important immigration influx and growing concern over multiculturalism (Lazaridis et al., 2016).

In relation to diversity and immigration, the Scottish Conservative Party changed its stance towards less endorsement of diversity. The party's focus on limiting immigration can be seen in different proposals such as the party's crusade on student migration, as well as imposing restrictions on family visas. The party also gives considerable attention to the Union and refers to already settled immigrants as 'Britons old and new'.

However, in the aftermath of the Brexit referendum the Scottish Conservative Party has taken a different stance on immigration-related issues. An interesting example is the comparison between Theresa May's speech to the Conservative Party Conference in 2015 and the more recent speech by Ruth Davidson entitled 'A stronger Britain'. In her speech, the Scottish Conservative Party leader points to Theresa May's approach to immigration as 'a wrong to be corrected'. Ruth Davidson challenges the Conservative Party's position on immigration and calls for a revision of the British immigration strategies after Brexit and for the creation of a 'mature' system. The party leader also acknowledges the contribution of migrants to build a stronger economy and stresses the need for labour market in less populated areas of the country.

Within the Labour Party, there is a move towards a more lenient immigration strategy. This change can be seen as a reaction to increasing criticism on the party's stance on immigration that is similar to the Conservatives' and for becoming 'the establishment'. The Labour Party's new approach to immigration as announced by Diane Abbott is more flexible and relaxed than the earlier initiatives proposed by the party.

As far as the SNP is concerned, immigration is generally formulated in the context of independence. In an independent Scotland, immigration would be dealt

with separately from the rest of the UK. In its White Paper on independence, published in 2013, the SNP presents its vision of immigration and integration in an independent Scotland. According to the White Paper, a separate immigration system is envisaged for an independent Scotland. The White Paper on independence also draws attention to the specific demography of Scotland and the British Government's inability to serve Scotland's interests with the current immigration system (2013, p.16). Other proposals in terms of immigration include the establishment of a points-based system targeted at particular Scottish needs (2013, p.16), in addition to a system of incentives to encourage migrants to settle in remoter geographical areas (2013, p.16). In addition, the SNP advocates the reinstatement of the post-study work visa to encourage foreign graduates to settle in Scotland (2013, p.16). It also plans to lower the income threshold for entry and align them with Scottish average wages (2013, p.269).

In relation to integration, the different parties do not provide explicit statements on their integration strategies; except for the Scottish Conservative Party the party clearly endorses assimilation in different election manifestos. Scottish Conservatives' acknowledge the need for newcomers to assimilate to the core values of Britain. The assimilationist approach is confirmed by the party's implementation of English language tests for newcomers coming for marriage (2010, p.21). The Scottish Labour also follows an assimilationist stance to integration, stressing the need to speak the language of the host (Scottish Labour Party, 2010, 5:7).

The promotion of the establishment of English language tests and citizenship ceremony (For example Scottish Labour Party, 2010, 5:7; 2005, p.53) confirm this move away from multiculturalism as evidenced by the manifestos. It is worth noting that the term multiculturalism is generally avoided in favour of other terms such as diversity to refer to the multicultural aspect of Scotland. Olivier Esteves reflects on the abandoning of the politicians in the UK of the 'M... word' (2014). In his work, Esteves draws attention to the fact that many politicians criticize multiculturalism without knowing what they are opposed to (2014, p.22). This rejection of multiculturalism is shared by different British parties. For example, a Labour MP described it as 'a boo word' in a conference in 2011 (cited in Esteves, 2014, p.22).

However, Esteves warns against ‘playing political football’ with multiculturalism (2014, p.23). In fact, the Conservatives’ approach to multiculturalism can be seen as a risky strategy as it brought more attention to fringe parties such as UKIP and BNP (2014, p.32). According to Olivier Esteves, the main political parties have moved towards the racialization of issues which are primarily non-racial (2014, p.31). The result is the development of a narrative that continuously blames immigrants for the economic and social problems facing the UK. This can be confirmed in the analysis of the general elections manifestos where parties like the Conservatives and the Labour Party blame immigration for constituting a burden on the state. However, the discourse analysis of the 2017 general election manifestos also reveals diverging aspects from previous manifestos. The Brexit context and the likelihood of a second independence referendum in Scotland impacted the way the manifestos were formulated.

The importance of national identity in relation to the immigration and integration discourses can be seen in the way political actors depict Scottish identity. Scottish nationalism has been formulated in terms of a civic inclusive society, which puts much focus on its institutional distinctiveness. At the same time, non-civic formulations of national identity can be found in the manifestos for Scottish elections. For example, praising Scotland’s cultural distinctiveness and its ‘unique’ natural beauty as well as Scotland’s ‘unique’ culture can be assimilated to ethnicity. This raises questions about the civic aspect of national identity as promoted by the main political actors in Scotland, and the degree of its inclusiveness of minorities.

The main challenge for political parties in relation to national identity is to be able to dissociate from their British counterparts and to show and prove their commitment to Scottish national identity. According to Eve Hepburn, the national question becomes a ‘valence’ issue in Scottish politics ‘whereby no party would dare to speak against the political empowerment of the Scottish nation’ (2014, online). McEwen also notes that even before devolution, all political parties in Scotland had to find a way to ‘play the Scottish card’ to show their ability to prioritize Scottish interests within a British framework (2004, p171). The exception to this rule is for

the SNP which, according to Leith and Soule, presents the advantage of proposing candidates only for Scotland (2012, p.40), thus becoming unlikely to present an incoherent political agenda. The SNP has even declared itself as ‘Scotland’s party’ in the 1999 election manifesto (1999, p.1). Thus, one may conclude that the different political parties stress the importance of Scottish history, culture and heritage in order to reflect the ‘Scottish dimension’ in their political discourse.

It is also important to note that the overall positive and welcoming rhetoric on immigration and diversity does not mean the absence of racism and inequality in Scotland. Despite having a less hostile attitude towards migrants as confirmed by different opinion polls (See McLaren, 2014, online), there are instances of racism and discrimination. A number of scholarly works examined the issues of discrimination and racism in Scotland. For example the work of Hussain & Miller (2006) dwelt on the still-existing Anglophobia in Scotland which unveils tensions between multiculturalism and multi-nationalism and challenges the political elite’s conception of identity.

## Conclusion

The last chapter of this research project deals with the evolution of the political discourse over immigration and integration. This has been performed mainly through a discourse analytical approach — following Jef Verschueren's guidelines — of the four main political parties in Scotland. The analysis involves both Scottish and general elections manifestos for the four main political parties in Scotland. Thus, a total of forty manifestos were analyzed for the period ranging from 1999 to 2017.

The discourse analysis reveals aspects of convergence among the main political parties on issues such as Gaelic language and culture, an issue that seems quite important for the Scottish electorate. Thus, the analysis confirmed the existence of a 'Scottish dimension' in Scottish politics that obliges British political parties to develop policy strategies dedicated to Scotland (Leith and Soule, 2012, p.40). Another point of consensus among the different political parties is the promotion of a diverse and open society. Through the personification of Scotland, the main political parties attempt to promote a civic form of national identity.

In addition, the analysis of speeches and debates of leaders from both British and Scottish political parties reveal diverging positions especially in terms of immigration, where British parties move towards a stricter approach to immigration, whereas at the same time voicing Scotland's demographic concerns and the need to address them.

## CONCLUSION TO PART III

Part III of this project centres on the evolution of the political discourse in post-devolution Scotland mainly through the use of political parties' manifestos. The different manifestos were summarized in the first chapter with a particular focus on the key issues covered and the language and deictic expressions used. Multi-modal aspects were also investigated. An overview of the manifestos can give a first idea on the parties' positioning over issues of immigration and integration, as the presence and/or absence of these electoral topics from manifestos can reveal their importance in comparison with other electoral issues. In addition the use of interactional elements and deictic expression can be revealing of an effort to identify with the Scottish electorate. The use of visuals shows the importance of certain issues over others and can be revealing of the different parties' stances on diversity and integration.

The main parties' histories and lines of ideology were also important to understand the parties' positioning on key electoral issues. In Scotland, the different parties' positions over key electoral issues such 'devolution' were crucial to their electoral success or failure as was the case of the Scottish Conservatives in their campaigning against Home Rule in 1997. Thus, national questions can be considered as 'valence' issues (Hepburn, 2014b, online) in Scottish politics. The main challenge for political parties in relation to national questions has been able to dissociate from their British counterparts and to show and prove their commitment to Scottish national identity. The SNP, being the only party to have representation only in Scotland, the party has been able to impact politics in Scotland. The party is seen as a key electoral 'catalyst for change' (McCrone, 2017, p.492).

The discourse analysis of parties' manifestos reveals consensus on different electoral issues, further reinforcing the existence of 'Scottish dimension' in. This is particularly relevant in the way political actors depict Scottish identity. Scottish identity is a key electoral issue in Scottish politics and is relevant to the investigation of the discourse over immigration and integration. The discourse analysis reveals an

alignment of the political elite towards presenting Scotland as a diverse and open society. This goes hand in hand with the promotion of civic national identity that is inclusive of newcomers and different minority groups already residing in Scotland. However, the civic discourse is often contradicted by a rhetoric that is more oriented towards the ethnic characteristics of Scotland. This swinging between civic and non-civic characteristics raises questions about the civic aspect of national identity as promoted by the main political actors in Scotland, and the degree of its inclusiveness of minorities.

Still, the investigation of the political manifestos using the categories equality, anti-discrimination, culture, identity, diversity and immigration show a clear endorsement of multiculturalism in Scotland. Despite the limited use of the term in both Scottish and general elections' manifestos, the multicultural orientation of integration is clear. For example, the SNP advocates multicultural education in its 2001 manifesto. It states: 'We will ensure that the needs of ethnic minority groups are met in mainstream schooling and that anti-racism is a core element in a child's growing understanding of our multicultural society' (SNP, 2001, p.8).

Lastly, an investigation of the key challenges to the dominant political discourse of civic Scottishness and Scottish multiculturalist project shed light on the possible tensions resulting from the intersection of nationalist and multiculturalist discourses. This part questioned the results and conclusions drawn from the discourse analysis of manifestos and from other sources used such as speeches and electoral discourses by party leaders. The results further reinforced the hypothesis of a different and more successful immigration and integration models planned in the context of post-devolution nation-building.







# **GENERAL CONCLUSION**



## **1. Introduction**

This investigation focused on the evolution of the political discourse over immigration and integration in post-devolution Scotland. The aim of the study was to explore the rhetoric employed by the main political parties in Scotland with particular emphasis on the way Scottish identity is promoted as inclusive of minorities and the immigrant population.

Context is crucial for this study. In fact, the post-devolution political arrangement in Scotland has allowed for more power over integration-related matters and the proposal of immigration strategies dedicated to the specific needs of Scotland. Thus, the main research question is centred on the idea that post-devolution Scotland is developing its own political and policy trajectory in the context of the nation-building project.

## **2. Summary of observations and research contributions**

The introductory chapter meant to lay out some of the recent historical and political background to Scottish devolution. An interesting aspect of the decentralisation of power was the multi-level aspect of the devolution process, resulting in the division of policy administration between local and central governments.

The introduction also set out the methodological approach. This study drew on a mixed-method empirical analysis of Scottish party positions on the questions of immigration and integration. The methodology relied on a template that was elaborated following Jef Verschueren guidelines on discourse analysis. The first source of information centred on political parties' manifestos which provide official statements and positions over key issues such as immigration and integration. The party manifestos for both Scottish and general elections ranging from 1999 to 2017

were analysed for the four major political parties in Scotland — the SNP, the Scottish Labour Party, Scottish Liberal Democrats and Scottish Conservatives. Thus, a total of 44 manifestos were subject to analysis.

The discourse analysis of election manifestos for both Scottish national elections and British general elections unfolded aspects of convergence between the parties in competition on key electoral issues affecting Scotland. A different pattern emerged from British general election manifestos and the analysis of speeches and debates revealing diverging, even contrasting policy orientations between British and Scottish parliamentary elections, and between Scottish parties and their British counterparts. The results confirmed the main research question raised in the introduction on the development of a distinctive policy trajectory in the context of post-devolution nation-building.

However, the analysis of British general election manifestos, to a certain extent, contradicted the results of the discourse analysis of Scottish elections. In fact, all of the political manifestos under study moved gradually towards selective immigration or provided vague descriptions of their future immigration strategies.

As far as integration is concerned, contradicting elements were found, for example, in the political parties' focus on Britishness and the need to adapt to British values, with the exception of the SNP. This rhetoric stood in opposition with the idea of a common policy-trajectory in the nation-building project.

The analysis of both Scottish and British election manifestos provided insightful information on the main parties' positions on immigration and integration. The focus on the four most important parties can be seen as overlooking other important political actors in Scotland and the UK. For example, parties like UKIP have impacted the politics of immigration and integration in the 2015 general election. In addition, the party's influence and importance at the level of European elections were not covered in this study.

The second source of data came from speeches of party leaders and of senior party officials. The speeches mainly centred on the period between 2013 and 2019 and involved party leaders and government officials from the four main political parties, including British parties. The aim was to further investigate the rhetoric on immigration and integration especially in the light of recent events such as the Brexit

referendum and to spot patterns of presence and absence of the key issues raised in the debate. The discourses also included different election campaigns and the White Paper on independence issued by the SNP in 2013. The speeches provided valuable information on key issues especially in the aftermath of Brexit and allowed for a comparison between what was said by politicians with what the parties officially declare in their election manifestos. Overall, six speeches were analysed in addition to the SNP's White Paper on independence which sums up the party's future strategies and plans in different policy areas.

The analysis of speeches from party leaders complemented the results of the discourse analysis of parties' manifestos and provided a more complete view of the political discourse over immigration and integration in Scotland and in the UK. The speeches also shed light on the ongoing Brexit debate and revealed diverging aspects between British and Scottish parties over the issue. However, the analysed speeches did not necessarily deal with the situation in Scotland, except for Ruth Davidson's intervention and the SNP's White Paper on independence. Finding primary sources that tackled immigration and integration in Scotland was difficult, but the choice to omit or include these topics in a public intervention proved relevant to the study.

The analysis of the political discourse over immigration and integration in Scotland further shed light on the position of Scotland as a partly stateless nation with a strong sense of nationalism. The focus on politics in post-devolution Scotland provides rich material for the study of immigration and integration as the decentralisation of power has offered to Scotland an opportunity to reconstruct itself in distinction from the rest of the UK. Therefore, Scotland can be considered as a case study of multi-level governance.

In order to fully grasp the linguistic dimension of the topics of immigration and integration, a delimitation of key terms used in this study was necessary. The first chapter of Part I was an attempt to define the key concepts such as immigrant, ethnicity, race and multiculturalism allowing for a better understanding and revealing the complexity and confusion surrounding these elements of study. In addition, the Scottish case study required the delimitation of concepts of identity and citizenship, as well as the debate over civic vs. ethnic formulations of national identity. In fact,

one of the main foundations of Scottish national identity as promoted by the political elite is its civic and inclusive aspects, a position that is inclusive of newcomers and that reinforces a multicultural model of integration.

Establishing the context was crucial to this project, especially in relation to the discourse analysis of party manifestos. According to Jef Verschueren, context is not a stable outside reality, thus the investigated discourse needs to be analysed in relation the context of investigation as well as in relation to different elements such as the social, political and historical contexts in order to check how it carves out lines of vision in the world it refers to. In this respect, chapter 2 of Part I mapped the multicultural history of Scotland. Scotland's history of migrations provided interesting elements of study that reinforce the hypothesis that the multicultural history and heritage in Scotland allows for better acceptance of ethnic minorities. This position is consolidated within the political discourse in the celebration of Scotland as a so-called mongrel nation and rejects the ethnic origin of Scots. The promotion of a non-ethnic civic form of identity can also be seen as a result of Scotland's history of institutional autonomy which allowed for the development of a society that is less based on class and more egalitarian.

Other important events in Scottish history of migrations are the Irish migration which resulted in the redefinition of Scotland's population, together with, mass emigration of Scots which resulted in a long-term demographic decline. The subsequent chapter exposed the demographic composition of Scottish population. Today, the Scottish population is more diverse, mainly thanks to migration from Europe, with the Polish community constituting one of the most important minorities in Scotland. Demographic concerns are voiced by the different political parties and the policies undertaken by British governments further reinforce the cleavage between British and Scottish parties.

Part II of this study explored another important contextual element i.e. the multi-level system of governance, put in place since the devolution settlement. In fact, the decentralisation of power resulted in the elaboration of a distinctive approach towards immigration and integration. An example is the 'New Scots' strategy to welcome refugees to Scotland, a position which contradicts decisions on refugee issues at the British level.

The final chapter of analysis addressed another aspect of multi-level governance which is the role of the EU in harmonizing immigration-and-integration-related policies in addition to the impact of international institutions.

The third and last part of this study mainly dealt with the discourse analysis of party manifestos and speeches following the elaborated template. The template included a number of categories related to the main dimensions of immigration and integration notably in relation the national question and the nation-building project. Other adjacent electoral topics were also addressed as for example culture, language and education due to their direct impact on integration. The discourse analysis of the manifestos included the use of 6 categories chosen for their tight link to the main issues of immigration and integration. In addition, the visuals and multi-modal aspects were explored.

Chapter 1 of Part III consisted of an overview of the corpus i.e. a short summary and outline of the manifestos under study. Also important to the understanding of the evolution of the political discourse in post-devolution Scotland was the examination of the four political parties' main histories and lines of ideology exposed in the second chapter of Part III. An overview of the evolution of Scottish and general election results since 1999 was essential to understanding the evolution of political competition in Scotland and a necessary step to explain the changes over time in parties' manifestos.

The Scottish political elite also have a say on immigration. Despite being a reserved matter the main political parties in Scotland promote more immigration to Scotland, a position in stark contrast with policies initiated at the British level such as the end of the post-study work visa. This position on immigration can be linked to the demographic crisis in Scotland and the different parties present a different position in general elections manifestos to align with their British counterparts.

The political and public attitudes on immigration and integration started to diverge since devolution resulting in a distinctive vision on such issues and sometimes conflicting policy strategies between local to central. The focus on the political discourse on immigration and integration mainly seeks to explore the

diverging aspects of Scottish politics from their British counterparts through the analysis of the respective election manifestos of dominant parties in Scotland.

The discourse analysis of parties' manifestos confirmed the consensus within the political elite in Scotland is said to be part of the nation-building project, resulting in policy strategies that are different from British parties' orientations. In addition, the narrative advanced by the political elite on immigration and integration especially has become more of a schism between Scottish and British parties in the sense of 'centre-periphery cleavage' (Hepburn, 2014b, online). On the other hand, on electoral questions such as Scottish culture and identity a more consensual position between Scottish parties can be traced. According to Hepburn the national question becomes a 'valence issue' that results in political parties' alignment (Hepburn, 2014b, online). The relationship between Scottish identity and Scottish politics is crucial in understanding the political discourse in Scotland. The existence of a 'Scottish dimension' and the place of identity in politics are confirmed by the results of the discourse analysis of the parties' manifestos for Scottish elections. In fact, the different parties converge in the interest dedicated to culture and identity, in addition to the consensus in portraying Scotland as a diverse and open society, further reinforcing the civic aspect of national identity as promoted by the political elite. The civic aspect of Scottish identity is however contradicted in the description of Scotland's unique culture and natural beauty. The use of elements that show Scotland's cultural and natural distinctiveness can be seen as non-civic formulations of national identity (Leith & Soule, 2012) and thus can challenge the civic aspect promoted by the political.

Through the analysis of political discourse, this research project attempts to cater the multi-level dimension of party politics in Scotland, and the challenges emanating from the intersection between multiculturalism and multinationalism.

### **3. Difficulties and limitations of the study**

One of the difficulties encountered during this research has been the merging of immigration and integration in the same study. Despite being tightly related to the

immigrant, the two concepts are generally dealt with separately and do connect to different terminology. In addition, the two policy areas are dealt with at different levels of governance in the UK making the comparison between Scottish and British politics more difficult and more challenging in the context of nation-building. In addition, the complexity of such topics required research on adjacent issues such as asylum and citizenship.

The contemporary and salient aspects of my research result in the production of an impressive amount of data that could not be analysed. For example, the Brexit referendum produced an important amount of information. Such element of study seemed quite relevant to the topics of immigration and integration. This required the analysis of the 2017 snap election to cater the multi-level aspect of governance and the political parties' strategies towards the already settled European immigrants.

When analysing texts such as political manifestos, the researcher is often confronted to problems of interpretation, especially in cases of words carrying different meanings. The straightforward nature of political manifestos makes problems of interpretation less frequent but the researcher can risk over-reading and making stronger inferences than what the text actually means.

Other limitations are related to the inability to conduct interviews with different political actors in Scotland. Such an approach was meant to confirm or refute the results of the discourse analysis of political parties' manifestos and to provide a more up to date perspective. Unsuccessful attempts to get some interviews led me to abandon this approach and instead analyse speeches from different party leaders and other primary sources to supplement my work.

## **4. Suggested Future Research**

This project offers different future research opportunities including conducting further investigations on the underlying challenges for stateless nations in relation to questions of representation and nationhood between the nation and the state. Working on Scotland within the context of multi-level system of governance

would be one of the research areas envisaged. A comparative approach with other regions with a strong sense of nationalism such as Wales or Cornwall is also worth considering. Moreover, a particular focus on the experience of migrants and minorities living in Scotland and their self-identification can complement my work on the topics of immigration and integration. Focus on the sociological aspect of immigration and national identity can be performed to further investigate the complexity of identity through the ‘strong interplay between the ideological, the personal, and the historical’ (Leith & Soule, p.119). It would be interesting to reflect upon the experiences of the newly established refugees, coming to Scotland in the aftermath of the war on Syria. This can shed light on the success and shortcomings of the government policies towards refugees and asylum seekers.

Today, important challenges face immigrants and ethnic minority groups, with an increasingly hostile public opinion towards minorities in the UK. Proposals of assimilation as a solution to integration are coupled with increasing public apprehension and classification of minorities into those who are able to assimilate into Western culture and those who can’t. This offers a number of challenges at the level of Scottish and British politics especially considering the possible outcome of Brexit and the likelihood of a second independence referendum. The investigation of the aspects and causes of the growing public hostility towards migrants in the UK can be another interesting research option. This dissertation on immigration and integration in modern Scotland leads to a large diversity of topics worth studying in a researcher’s career.

# **BIBLIOGRAPHY**



## I- Primary-source documents :

### 1. Speeches

ABBOTT, D. (2018, September 13). Diane Abbott's speech on Labour's plans for a simpler, fairer immigration system. Retrieved from: <https://labour.org.uk/press/diane-abbotts-speech-labours-plans-simpler-fairer-immigration-system/>

BROWN, G. (2006). *The Future of Britishness*. Presented at the Fabian Future of Britishness Conference. Retrieved from <http://www.sneps.net/t/images/Articles/06brown%20-%20fabian%2006%20-%20The%20future%20of%20Britishness.pdf> .

CAMERON, D. (2011, February). *Radicalisation and Islamic extremism*. Speech given at Munich Security Conference, Munich, DE.

CAMERON, D. (2013, March 25). *Speech on immigration and welfare reform*. Retrieved from: <https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/david-camerons-immigration-speech>

DAVIDSON, R. (2018, May 29). Building a stronger Britain. Retrieved from: <http://www.scottishconservatives.com/2018/05/speech-from-ruth-davidson-building-a-stronger-britain/>

MILIBAND, E. (2012). Ed Miliband's immigration speech in full. Retrieved from: <https://www.politics.co.uk/comment-analysis/2012/06/22/ed-miliband-s-immigration-speech-in-full>

STURGEON, N. (2018). READ: Nicola Sturgeon's full speech at SNP conference. *The National Newspaper*. Retrieved from: <https://www.thenational.scot/news/16280545.read-nicola-sturgeons-full-speech-at-snp-conference/>

THATCHER, M. (1978). TV Interview for Granada *World in Action* ("rather swamped"). Retrieved from : <https://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/103485>

### 2. Manifestos

LABOUR PARTY. (1997). *Labour Party Manifesto: New Labour because Britain deserves better*.

SCOTTISH CONSERVATIVE PARTY, (1999). *Scottish Conservative Party Manifesto: Scotland First*

SCOTTISH CONSERVATIVE PARTY, (2001). *Scottish Conservative Party Manifesto: Time for common sense*

SCOTTISH CONSERVATIVE PARTY, (2003). *Scottish Conservative Party Manifesto: TIME TO DO SOMETHING ABOUT IT*

SCOTTISH CONSERVATIVE PARTY, (2005). *Scottish Conservative Party Manifesto: ARE YOU THINKING WHAT WE'RE THINKING? IT'S TIME FOR ACTION*

SCOTTISH CONSERVATIVE PARTY, (2007). *Scottish Conservative Party Manifesto: SCOTTISH CONSERVATIVE MANIFESTO SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT ELECTION*

SCOTTISH CONSERVATIVE PARTY, (2010). *Scottish Conservative Party Manifesto: INVITATION TO JOIN THE GOVERNMENT OF BRITAIN*

SCOTTISH CONSERVATIVE PARTY, (2011). *Scottish Conservative Party Manifesto: Common sense for Scotland*

SCOTTISH CONSERVATIVE PARTY, (2015). *Scottish Conservative Party Manifesto: STRONG LEADERSHIP A BRIGHTER, MORE SECURE FUTURE*

SCOTTISH CONSERVATIVE PARTY, (2016). *Scottish Conservative Party Manifesto: A STRONG OPPOSITION - A STRONGER SCOTLAND*

SCOTTISH CONSERVATIVE PARTY, (2017). *Scottish Conservative Party Manifesto: FORWARD, TOGETHER Our Plan for a Stronger Scotland, a Stronger Britain and a Prosperous Future*

SCOTTISH LABOUR PARTY. (1999). *Scottish Labour Party Manifesto: Building Scotland's future*

SCOTTISH LABOUR PARTY (2001). *Scottish Labour Party Manifesto: Ambitions for Scotland*

SCOTTISH LABOUR PARTY. (2003). *On your side.*

SCOTTISH LABOUR PARTY. (2005). *Scottish Labour Party Manifesto: Scotland Forward not back.*

SCOTTISH LABOUR PARTY. (2007) *Scottish Labour Party Manifesto: Building Scotland*

SCOTTISH LABOUR PARTY. (2010). *Scottish Labour Party Manifesto: A future fair for all.*

SCOTTISH LABOUR PARTY. (2011). *Scottish Labour Party Manifesto: Fighting for what really matters.*

SCOTTISH LABOUR PARTY. (2015) *The Scottish Labour Manifesto*

SCOTTISH LABOUR PARTY. (2016). *Scottish Labour Party Manifesto: Invest in Scotland's future*

SCOTTISH LABOUR PARTY. (2017). *Scottish Labour Party Manifesto, TOGETHER WE'RE STRONGER.*

SCOTTISH LIBERAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY. (1999). *Scottish Liberal Democratic Party Manifesto: Raising the standard.*

SCOTTISH LIBERAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY. (2001). *Scottish Liberal Democratic Party Manifesto: For a liberal and democratic Scotland FREEDOM JUSTICE HONESTY.*

SCOTTISH LIBERAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY. (2003). *Scottish Liberal Democrats Party Manifesto: Be the best again.*

SCOTTISH LIBERAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY. (2005). *Scottish Liberal Democrats Party Manifesto: The real alternative.*

SCOTTISH LIBERAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY. (2007) *Scottish Liberal Democrats Party Manifesto: We think Scotland has a bright future.*

SCOTTISH LIBERAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY (2010). *Scottish Liberal Democrats Party Manifesto: Change that works for you.*

SCOTTISH LIBERAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY (2011). *Scottish Liberal Democrats Party Manifesto: Solutions for Scotland.*

SCOTTISH LIBERAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY (2015). *Scottish Liberal Democrats Party Manifesto: Stronger economy, fairer society. Opportunity for everyone*

SCOTTISH LIBERAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY. (2016). *Scottish Liberal Democrats Party Manifesto: Be the Best Again.*

SCOTTISH LIBERAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY. (2017) *Scottish Liberal Democrats Party Manifesto: CHANGE BRITAIN'S FUTURE.*

SCOTTISH NATIONAL PARTY. (1999). *Scottish National Party Manifesto: Enterprise Compassion Democracy*

SCOTTISH NATIONAL PARTY. (2001). *Scottish National Party Manifesto: Heart of the Manifesto*

SCOTTISH NATIONAL PARTY. (2003). *Scottish National Party Manifesto: THE COMPLETE CASE FOR A BETTER SCOTLAND.*

SCOTTISH NATIONAL PARTY. (2005). *Scottish National Party Manifesto: IF SCOTLAND MATTERS TO YOU MAKE IT MATTER IN MAY*

SCOTTISH NATIONAL PARTY. (2007). *Scottish National Party Manifesto: It's time.*

SCOTTISH NATIONAL PARTY. (2010). *Scottish National Party Manifesto: Elect a local champion*

SCOTTISH NATIONAL PARTY. (2011). *Scottish National Party Manifesto: Re-elect: A SCOTTISH GOVERNMENT WORKING FOR SCOTLAND*

SCOTTISH NATIONAL PARTY. (2015). *Scottish National Party Manifesto: Stronger for Scotland*

SCOTTISH NATIONAL PARTY. (2016). *Scottish National Party Manifesto: Re-elect*

SCOTTISH NATIONAL PARTY. (2017). *SNP Manifesto: Stronger for Scotland.*

### **3. Acts of Parliament**

ACT OF UNION. (1707). (c.7). London: HMSO.

ANTI-TERRORISM, CRIME AND SECURITY ACT. (2001). (c.24). London: HMSO.

ASYLUM AND IMMIGRATION APPEALS ACT. (1993). (c.23). London: HMSO.

BRITISH NATIONALITY ACT. (1948). (c.56). London: HMSO.

EQUALITY ACT. (2006). (c.3). London: HMSO.

EQUALITY ACT. (2010). (c.15). London: HMSO.

IMMIGRATION ACT 2016. (c.19). London : HMSO.

RACE RELATIONS AMENDMENT ACT. (2000). (c.34). London: HMSO.

THE ASYLUM AND IMMIGRATION ACT. (1996). (c.49). London: HMSO.

THE ASYLUM AND IMMIGRATION ACT. (1999). (c.33). London: HMSO.

THE BRITISH NATIONALITY ACT. (1948). (c.56). London: HMSO.

THE BORDERS, CITIZENSHIP AND IMMIGRATION ACT. (2009). (c.11). London: HMSO.

THE NATIONALITY, IMMIGRATION AND ASYLUM ACT. (2002). (c.41). London: HMSO.

#### **4. Government reports and publications**

CANTLE, T. (2001). *Community Cohesion: a Report of the Independent Review Team*. London: Home Office.

CAVANAGH, L. et al. (2008). *Fresh Talent: Working in Scotland Scheme and Evidence Review*. Edinburgh: Scottish Government Social Research.

CRAWLEY, H. (2009). *Understanding and Changing Public Attitudes: A Review of Existing Evidence from Public Information and Communication Campaigns*. Diana, Princess of Wales Memorial Fund.

EHRC. (2009). *Room for manoeuvre? The options for addressing immigration-policy divergence between Holyrood and Westminster*. Retrieved August 14, 2017, from

[https://www.equalityhumanrights.com/en/sites/default/files/room\\_for\\_manoeuvre.pdf](https://www.equalityhumanrights.com/en/sites/default/files/room_for_manoeuvre.pdf)

GOWER, M. (2018). *The UK's points-based system for immigration* (No.7662). Retrieved from <https://researchbriefings.parliament.uk/ResearchBriefing/Summary/CBP-7662#fullreport>

GRAHAM, A., & WEST, C. (2011). *Attitudes towards the Gaelic Language, Social Research*. Retrieved July 6, 2017, from <https://www.gov.scot/Resource/Doc/355398/0120024.pdf/>

HM GOVERNMENT. (n.d.). *Commission for Racial Equality*. Retrieved from <https://www.gov.uk/government/organisations/commission-for-racial-equality>

HM GOVERNMENT. (n.d.). *Prove you have right of abode in the UK*. Retrieved from <https://www.gov.uk/right-of-abode>

HM GOVERNMENT. (n.d.). *Visas and Immigration: Work visas*. Retrieved from: <https://www.gov.uk/browse/visas-immigration>

HM GOVERNMENT. (2007). *Fresh Talent: Working in Scotland Scheme, Immigration Directorates' Instructions*. Retrieved from [https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/263050/section14.pdf](https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/263050/section14.pdf)

HM GOVERNMENT. (2018). *Changes to the Immigration Rules*. Retrieved from <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/changes-to-the-immigration>

HOME OFFICE. (1998). *Fairer, Faster, and Firmer: A Modern Approach to Immigration and Asylum*. London: HMSO.

HOME OFFICE. (2001). *Community Cohesion: A Report of the independent review team*. London: HMSO.

HOME OFFICE. (2002). *Secure Borders, Safe Haven: Integration with Diversity in Modern Britain*. London: HMSO.

HOME OFFICE. (2005). *Controlling our borders: Making migration work for Britain*. London: HMSO.

HOME OFFICE. (2008). *the path to citizenship: next steps in reforming the immigration system government response to consultation*. Retrieved from <https://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20100303154325/http://www.ukba.home>

[office.gov.uk/sitecontent/documents/aboutus/consultations/pathtocitizenship/governmentreponsetoconsultation?view=Binary](http://office.gov.uk/sitecontent/documents/aboutus/consultations/pathtocitizenship/governmentreponsetoconsultation?view=Binary).

HOME OFFICE. (2011). *Family Migration: A Consultation*. London: HMSO.

HOME OFFICE. (2015). *Immigration statistics, April to June 2015*. London: HMSO.

HOME OFFICE. (2018). *The Future relationship between the United Kingdom and the European Union*. London: HMSO

HOME OFFICE. (2019). *Immigration Rules*. London: HMSO.

MACPHERSON, W. (1999). *The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry* [online]  
Retrieved  
from <https://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20110221083401/http://rds.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/pdfs/hors185.pdf>

MAC. (2008a). *Identifying skilled occupations where migration can sensibly help to fill labour shortages: Methods of investigation and next steps for the Committee's first Shortage Occupation List*. Retrieved from  
[https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/343325/Migration-shortage.pdf](https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/343325/Migration-shortage.pdf)

MAC. (2008b). *Skilled, Shortage, Sensible: the recommended shortage occupation lists for the UK and Scotland*. Retrieved from  
<https://dera.ioe.ac.uk/8699/2/A9R9EFC.pdf>

MINISTRY FOR JUSTICE. (2007). *the Governance of Britain*, Presented to Parliament by the Secretary of State for Justice and Lord Chancellor by Command of Her Majesty (London, July 2007).

PHILLIPS, C., BROWN, D., (1998). *Entry into the criminal justice system: a survey of police arrests and their outcomes*. Retrieved  
from <https://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20110221083401/http://rds.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/pdfs/hors185.pdf>

ROGERSON, R., BOYLE, M., & MASON, C. (2006). *Progress Report on the Fresh Talent Initiative*. Retrieved from  
<https://www2.gov.scot/Resource/Doc/152086/0040945.pdf>

SAGGAR, S., & DREAN, J. (2001). *British public attitudes and ethnic minorities*. Retrieved from

<https://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/+/http://www.cabinetoffice.gov.uk/upload/assets/www.cabinetoffice.gov.uk/strategy/british.pdf>

SAGGAR, S., & SOMERVILLE, W. (2012). *Building a British Model of Integration in an Era of Immigration: Policy Lessons for Government*. Retrieved from <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/research/building-british-model-integration-era-immigration-policy-lessons-government>

SCOTTISH GOVERNMENT. (2010). *Demographic Change in Scotland*. Retrieved from <https://www.gov.scot/publications/demographic-change-scotland/pages/7/>

SCOTTISH AFFAIRS COMMITTEE. (2011). *The student immigration system in Scotland: fifth report of session 2010-12*. London: the Stationary Office Limited.

SCOTTISH GOVERNMENT. (2013). *Scotland's Future: Your Guide to an Independent Scotland*. Edinburgh: The Scottish Government.

SCOTTISH GOVERNMENT. (2016). *Scotland's Place in Europe*. Edinburgh: The Scottish Government.

SWANN, M. (1985). *Education for all: the report of the inquiry into the education of pupils of children from ethnic minority groups*. London: HMSO.

## 5. Treaties

MAASTRICHT TREATY. (1992). *Treaty on European Union*. Retrieved from [https://europa.eu/european-union/sites/europaeu/files/docs/body/treaty\\_on\\_european\\_union\\_en.pdf](https://europa.eu/european-union/sites/europaeu/files/docs/body/treaty_on_european_union_en.pdf)

SCOTTISH GOVERNMENT. (1999). *Concordat between the Home Office and the Scottish Executive*. Retrieved from <https://www.webarchive.org.uk/wayback/archive/20170701145901/http://www.gov.scot/Publications/1999/12/4369/File-1>

UN. (n.d.) *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. Retrieved from <https://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/>

## 6. Statistics and polls

AUDICKAS, L. et al. (2019). *Membership of UK political Parties*. Retrieved from <https://researchbriefings.parliament.uk/ResearchBriefing/Summary/SN05125>

BEMIS. (n.d.). Scottish Population by Ethnic Group, 2001 and 2011.

BUDGE, I., KLINGEMANN, H. D., VOLKENS, A., & BARA, J. (2001). *Mapping Policy Preferences: Estimates for Parties, Electors, and Governments, 1945-1998*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

NATIONAL RECORDS OF SCOTLAND. (2013). 2011 Census: Key Results on Population, Ethnicity, Identity, Language, Religion, Health, Housing and Accommodation in Scotland- Release 2A. Retrieved April 22, 2017, from <https://www.scotlandscensus.gov.uk/documents/censusresults/release2a/StatsBulletin2A.pdf>

NATIONAL RECORDS OF SCOTLAND. (2014). Overview of Equality Results from the 2011 Census- Release 2, Retrieved April 22, 2017, from <https://www2.gov.scot/resource/0044/00446638.pdf>

NATIONAL RECORDS OF SCOTLAND. (2015). Scotland's Census 2011: Gaelic report (Part2). Retrieved January 10, 2017, from [https://www.scotlandscensus.gov.uk/documents/analytical\\_reports/Report\\_part\\_2.pdf](https://www.scotlandscensus.gov.uk/documents/analytical_reports/Report_part_2.pdf)

OFFICE FOR NATIONAL STATISTICS. (2015, June 18). 2011 Census analysis: Ethnicity and religion of the non-UK born population in England and Wales: 2011 [Dataset]. Retrieved March 1, 2018, from <https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/culturalidentity/ethnicity/articles/2011censusanalysisethnicityandreligionofthenonukbornpopulationinenglandandwales/2015-06-18>

OFFICE FOR NATIONAL STATISTICS. (2018, November 29). Long-term international migration 2.06, area of destination or origin within the UK [Dataset]. Retrieved from <https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/internationalmigration/datasets/longterminternationalmigrationareaofdestinationororiginwithintheuktable206>

PARK, A., CLERY, E., CURTICE, J., PHILLIPS, M., & UTTING, D. (Eds.) (2012). *British Social Attitudes: the 29th Report*. Retrieved from [www.bsa-29.natcen.ac.uk](http://www.bsa-29.natcen.ac.uk)

PARK, A., & KISS, Z. (2014). *National identity : Exploring Britishness (British Social Attitudes 31)*. Retrieved from

<http://www.bsa.natcen.ac.uk/latest-report/british-social-attitudes-31/national-identity/introduction.aspx>

SCOTLAND CENSUS. (2014). Census 2011: Detailed characteristics on Ethnicity, Identity, Language and Religion in Scotland – Release 3A [Dataset]. Retrieved August 1, 2016, from <https://www.scotlandscensus.gov.uk/news/census-2011-detailed-characteristics-ethnicity-identity-language-and-religion-scotland-%E2%80%933>

SCOTLAND CENSUS. (n.d.). Available on: <https://www.scotlandscensus.gov.uk/>

SCOTLAND CENSUS. (n.d.). Ethnicity, Identity, Language and Religion. Retrieved August 1, 2016, from <https://www.scotlandscensus.gov.uk/ethnicity-identity-language-and-religion>

SIMPSON, L., SMITH, A. (2014). Who feels Scottish? National identities and ethnicity in Scotland. August 01, 2016, from <http://hummedia.manchester.ac.uk/institutes/code/briefings/dynamicsofdiversity/code-census-briefing-national-identity-scotland.pdf>

SMITH, M. (2017, March 15). Scottish independence voting intention: No 57%, Yes 43%. Retrieved August 01, 2016, from <https://yougov.co.uk/topics/politics/articles-reports/2017/03/15/scottish-independence-voting-intention-no-57-yes-4>

## II - Secondary-source documents

### 1. Books and book chapters

ALBA, R., & NEE, V. (1999). Rethinking Assimilation Theory for a New Era of Immigration. In C. Hirschman, P. Kasinitz, & J. Dewind (Eds.), *The Handbook of International Migration: The American Experience*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

ALBA, R., & NEE, V. (2005). *Remaking the American Mainstream: Assimilation and Contemporary Immigration*. Harvard: Harvard University Press.

ANDERSON, B. (1991). *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso.

ANDERSON, R. D. (2003). The Construction of a Modern University, in R.D. Anderson, M. Lynch, and N. Phillipson, *The University of Edinburgh: An Illustrated History*, pp. 103-207. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

APPIAH, A. (2006). *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers*. London: W.W Norton & Company.

ASH, M. (1980). *The strange death of Scottish history*. Edinburgh: Ramsay Head Press.

BALE, T., & HAMPSHIRE, J. (2012). Immigration Policy. In T. Heppell & D. Seawright (Eds.), *Cameron and the Conservatives: The transition to Coalition Government*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

BARKER, F. (2015). *Nationalism, Identity and the Governance of Diversity: Old Politics, New Arrivals*. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.

BAUBÖCK, R. (1994). *Transnational citizenship: Membership and rights in international migration*. Aldershot: Edward Elgar Publishing, Incorporated.

BERTON, J. (1989a). *La toponymie écossaise / Ainmean-àite Albannach*. Glasgow: Gairm.

BERTON, J. (1989b). *Atlas d'histoire linguistique et ethnologique des Iles britanniques*. Martorana: Les Milles.

BEVAN, V. (1986). *The development of British immigration law*. London: Croom.

BOGDANOR, V. (2001). *Devolution in the United Kingdom*. Oxford: OUP.

BOLZMAN, C. (2001). Quels Droits Citoyens ? Une typologie des modèles d'intégration des migrants aux sociétés de résidence. In C. Perregaux et al. (Ed.), *Intégrations et Migrations : Regards Pluridisciplinaires*. Paris: L'Harmattan.

BERTOSSI, C. (2004). Le modèle d'intégration britannique en question. In A. Paecht (Ed.), *Les modèles d'intégration en questions : Enjeux et perspectives*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

BOWLING, B. (1999). *Violent Racism: Victimization, Policing and Social Context*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

BRAND, J. (1978). *The National Movement in Scotland*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

BROMLEY, C. (2006). *Has Devolution Delivered?* (C. Bromley, D. McCrone, J. Curtice, & A. Park, Eds.). Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

BROUN, D. (2013). *Scottish Independence and the idea of Britain*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. *The Scottish Political System since Devolution: From New Politics to the New Scottish Government*.

BROUN, D. (2015). Rethinking Scottish Origins. In S. Boardman & S. Foran (Eds.), *Barbour's Bruce and its Cultural Contexts*. Martlesham: Boydell & Brewer.

BROWN, A., MCCRONE, D., & PATERSON, L. (1996). *Politics and Society in Scotland*. Basingstoke: Macmillan Education UK.

BROWN, D. (2000). *Contemporary Nationalism: Civic, Ethnocultural, and Multicultural Politics*. London: Routledge.

BROWN, R. (2010). A Liberal Democrat Framework for Race Equality in Scotland: One Scotland – Many Cultures. *Runnymede Platform Series*. Retrieved from <https://www.runnymedetrust.org/uploads/publications/pdfs/AchievingRaceEqualityInScotland-2010.pdf>

BRUBAKER, R. (2014). The Return of Assimilation? Changing Perspectives on Immigration and its Sequels in France, Germany, and the United States. In E. Morawska & C. Joppke (Eds.), *Toward Assimilation and Citizenship: Immigrants in Liberal Nation-States*. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK.

CAIRNEY, P. (2011). *The Scottish Political System since Devolution: From New Politics to the New Scottish Government*. Exeter: Imprint Academic.

CAMP, E. (2003). Le Parti conservateur en Ecosse depuis 1997. in M. Charlot (Ed.), *Le Parti conservateur en Grande-Bretagne*, pp. 102-110. Paris : Ophrys-Ploton.

CAMP-PIETRIN, E. (2014). *L'Ecosse et la tentation de l'indépendance. Le référendum d'autodétermination de 2014*. Villeneuve d'Ascq : Presses universitaires du Septentrion.

CAMP-PIETRIN, E. (2017), The Scotland Act 1978: a Response to the SNP's Breakthrough, in S. Porion (dir.), *Fresh Perspectives on the UK in Crisis 1970-1979*, Neuilly, Atlande, pp. 189-210.

CALLANDER, R.F. (1987). *A Pattern of Landownership in Scotland: With Particular Reference to Aberdeenshire*. Aberdeenshire: Haughend Publications.

CHAPMAN, M. (1979). *The Gaelic Vision in Scottish Culture*. London: Croom Helm Ltd, 1979.

CATALA, M. (2014). Libre circulation et mobilité en Europe : Du succès à la remise en cause. In P. Lees, P. Martínez-Vasseur, S. Couderc-Morandeau, S. Neil, & A. Thiec (Eds.), *Migrations et Mobilités en Europe: Politiques Publiques et Perspectives D'Intégration (1992-2012)*. pp. 11-31. Bern: Peter Lang AG International Academic Publishers.

CLARK, A. (2012). *Political parties in the UK*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

CLARKSON, T. (2012). *The Men of the North: The Britons of Southern Scotland*. Edinburgh: Birlinn Limited.

CLAYTON, G., SAWYER, C., TONER, H., & WRAY, H. (2012). *Textbook on Immigration and Asylum Law*. Oxford: OUP.

COLLEY, L. (2009). *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837 (Revised ed.)*. Yale: Yale University Press.

COLLINGWOOD, R. G., & MYRES, J. N. L. (1937). *Roman Britain and the English Settlements*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

CRYSTAL, D. (2012). *English as a global language* (2nd ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

CURTICE, J., MCCRONE, D., PARK, A., & PATERSON, L. (2002). *New Scotland, New Society?: Are Social and Political Ties Fragmenting?* Edinburgh: Polygon.

DALLEMALLE, E. (2017). *The Nationalism of the Rich: Discourses and Strategies of Separatist Parties in Catalonia, Flanders, Northern Italy and Scotland*. Oxon: Routledge.

D'ARCY, J. M. (2005). *Subversive Scott: The Waverley Novels and Scottish Nationalism*. Reykjavik: University of Iceland Press.

DASEN, P. (2001). Intégration, assimilation et stress acculturatif. In C. Perregaux, T. Ogay, Y. Leanza, & P. Dasen (Eds.), *Intégrations et migrations: regards pluridisciplinaires*. Paris: L'Harmattan.

DEVINE, T. M. (1995). *Exploring the Scottish Past: Themes in the History of Scottish Society*. East Lothian: Tuckwell Press.

DEVINE, T. M. (2006). *The Scottish Nation, 1700-2007*. London: Penguin.

DE WENDEN, C. W. (1999). *L'Immigration en Europe*. Paris: La Documentation Française.

DICKSON, A., TREBLE, J.H. (eds.) (1992). *People and Society in Scotland, Vol 31914-1990*. Edinburgh: Birlinn.

DUCLOS, N. (2007). *La dévolution des pouvoirs à l'Ecosse et au pays de Galles, 1966-1999*, Nantes : Editions du Temps.

DUCLOS, N. (2014). *L'Ecosse en quête d'indépendance? Le Referendum de 2014*. Paris : PUPS Essais.

DUMMETT, A., & NICOL, A. (1990). *Subjects, citizens, aliens and others : nationality and immigration law*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.

EDWARD, M. (2008). *Who Belongs to Glasgow?* Edinburgh: Luath.

ELLIS, S. G., & BARBER, S. (2013). *Conquest and Union: Fashioning a British State 1485-1725*. Oxon: Routledge.

ERIKSEN, T. H. (1993). *Ethnicity and nationalism: anthropological perspectives*. London: Pluto Press.

ERIKSONAS, L. (2004). *National Heroes and National Identities: Scotland, Norway and Lithuania*. Brussels: P.I.E.-P. Lang.

ERSBOLL, E. (2014). A European citizenship providing a sense of European belonging. In P. Lees, P. Martínez-Vasseur, S. Couderc-Morandau, S. Neil, & A. Thiec (Eds.), *Migrations et Mobilités en Europe: Politiques Publiques et Perspectives D'Intégration (1992-2012)*. pp. 33-43. Bern: Peter Lang AG International Academic Publishers.

FINLAY, R. J. (2008). Thatcherism and the Union. In T. M. Devine (Ed.), *Scotland and the Union 1707-2007*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

FISKE, J. (1994). *Media Matters: Everyday Culture and Political Change*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

FORBES, L. (1866). *The Early Races of Scotland and Their Monuments, Volume 1*. Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas.

GEIPEL, J. (1971). *The Viking Legacy : The Scandinavian influence on the English and Gaelic languages*. Newton Abbot: David and Charles.

GELLNER, E. (1994). *Encounters With Nationalism*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

GEVREY, M. (2004). L'immigration de demain: un enjeu démographique et économique pour l'Europe. In M. Pelissier & A. Paecht (Eds.), *Les modèles d'intégration en questions : Enjeux et perspectives*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

GORDON, M. (1964). *Assimilation in American Life*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

GOODWIN-GILL, G.S. 2014. "The International Law of Refugee Protection." In E. Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, G. Loescher, K. Long, & N. Sigona (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Refugee and Forced Migration Studies*, pp. 36–47. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

GOUREVITCH, J.P. (2007). *Les Migrations en Europe: Les réalités du présent, les défis du future*. Paris :Acropole.

GREEN, M. (2014). Migration and Scotland: developing local responses within a UK policy framework. In P. Lees et al. (Eds.), *Migrations et mobilités en Europe: Politiques publiques et perspectives d'intégration (1992-2012)*. Bern: Peter Lang.

HAIDT, J., & GRAHAM, J. (2009). Planet of The Durkheimians, where community, authority, and sacredness are foundations of morality. In J. T. Jost, A. C. Kay, & H. Thorisdottir (Eds.), *Social and Psychological Bases of Ideology and System Justification*. New York: Oxford University Press.

HAMILTON, P. (1992). *Talcott Parsons: Critical Assessments, Volume 4*. London: Routledge.

HASSAN, G., & WARHURST, C. (2000). *The New Scottish Politics: The First Year of the Scottish Parliament and Beyond*. Edinburgh: Scottish Stationery Office.

HASSAN, G. (2002). The Paradoxes of Scottish Labour: Devolution, Change and Conservatism. In G. Hassan & C. Warhurst (Eds.), *Tomorrow's Scotland*. London: Lawrence & Wishart.

HASSAN, G. (2009). The Making of the Modern SNP: From Protest to Power. In G. Hassan (Eds.), *The Modern SNP: From Protest to Power*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

HASSAN, G., & SHAW, E. (2012). *The Strange Death of Labour Scotland*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

HENDERSON, A. (2007). *Hierarchies of Belonging: National Identity and Political Culture in Scotland and Quebec*. Ontario: McGill-Queen's University Press.

HEPBURN, E., & ROSIE, M. (2014). Immigration, Nationalism and Politics in Scotland. In E. Hepburn & R. Zapata-Barerro (Eds.), *The Politics of Immigration in Multi-Level States: Governance and Political Parties*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

HEPBURN, E., & ZAPATA-BARERRO, R. (2014). *The Politics of Immigration in Multi-Level States: Governance and Political Parties*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

HÉBERT, Y. (2013). Cosmopolitanism and Canadian multicultural policy: Intersection, relevance, and critique. *Encounters/Encuentros/Rencontres on Education*. <https://doi.org/10.15572/ENCO2013.01>

HOGG, R. M. et al. (1992). *The Cambridge History of the English Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

HOLMAN, K. (2012). *The Northern Conquest: Vikings in Britain and Ireland*. Andrews UK Limited (digital publisher).

HUSSAIN, A., & Miller, W. (2006). *Multicultural Nationalism: Islamophobia, Anglophobia, and Devolution*. Oxford : OUP.

ICHIJO, A. (2004). *Scottish Nationalism and the Idea of Europe : Concepts of Europe and the Nation*. London: Routledge.

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR MIGRATION. (2011). Glossary on Migration, *International Migration Law Series*, No. 25. Geneva: International Organization for Migration.

JENKINS, R. (1967). *Essays and Speeches*. London: Collins.

KEATING , M. (2010). *The Government of Scotland: Public Policy Making After Devolution*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

KIDD, C. (1999). *British Identities before Nationalism: Ethnicity and Nationhood in the Atlantic World 1600–1800*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

KIDD, C. (2003). *Subverting Scotland's past, Scottish Whig Historians and the Creation of an Anglo-British Identity 1689-1830*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

KIWAN, D. (2013). *Naturalization Policies, Education and Citizenship: Multicultural and Multi-Nation Societies in International Perspective*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan UK.

LABELLE, M., & MAHRAOUI, A. (2001). Intégration et multiculturalisme: Perspectives et paradoxes. In Y. Resch (Ed.), *Définir l'intégration ? Perspectives nationales et représentations symboliques*. Montreal: XYZ.

LATOURE, V. (2014). *Le Royaume-Uni et la France au test de l'immigration et à l'épreuve de l'intégration : 1930-2012*. Bordeaux: Presses universitaires de Bordeaux.

LEES, P. (2014). La politique migratoire au Royaume-Uni depuis dix ans et sa représentation à la télévision. In P. Lees, P. Martínez-Vasseur, S. Couderc-Morandeau, S. Neil, & A. Thiec (Eds.), *Migrations et Mobilités en Europe: Politiques Publiques et Perspectives D'Intégration (1992-2012)*. Bern: Peter Lang AG International Academic Publishers.

LEITH, M. S., & SOULE, D. J. P. (2012). *Political Discourse and National Identity in Scotland* (Rev. ed.). Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

LERUEZ, J. (1983). *L'Ecosse : une nation sans état*. D'Ascq-Villeneuve : Presses Universitaires du Septentrion.

LERUEZ, J. (2000). *L'Ecosse: Vieille Nation, Jeune Etat*. Crozon: Editions Armeline.

LEYDIER, G. (1998). *La question écossaise*. Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes.

LEYDIER, G., JONES, M. (2006) *La dévolution des pouvoirs à l'Ecosse et au pays de Galles*. Paris : Armand Colin, CNED.

LYNCH, M. (2007). *The Oxford Companion to Scottish History*. Oxford: OUP.

LYNCH, P. (2002a). *SNP: the History of the Scottish National Party*. Cardiff: Welsh Academic Press.

LYNCH, P. (2002b). Partnership, Pluralism and Party Identity: the Liberal Democrats after Devolution. In G. Hassan & C. Warhurst (Eds.), *Tomorrow's Scotland* (pp. 83-97). London: Lawrence and Wishart Limited.

LYNCH, P., & ADAMSON, K. (2014). *Scottish Political Parties and the 2014 Independence Referendum*. Cardiff: Welsh Academic Press.

MACDONALD, D.F. (1937). *Scotland's Shifting Population 1770-1850*. Glasgow: Jackson, Son and Co.

MARSHALL, T. H. (1950). *Citizenship and social class, and other essays*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

MASON, D. (2000). *Race and Ethnicity in Modern Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

MBOUP, M. (2001). Analyse comparative des politiques publiques d'immigration en Europe: France, Grande\_Bretagne, Suède, Italie. In C. Perregaux, T. Ogay, Y. Leanza, & P. Dasen (Eds.), *Intégrations et migrations: Regards pluridisciplinaires*. Paris: L'Harmattan.

McCRONE, D. (2001). *Understanding Scotland: The Sociology of a Nation* (2nd ed.). Oxon: Routledge.

McCRONE, D., & BECHHOFFER, F. (2015). *Understanding National Identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

McCRONE, D. (2017). *The New Sociology of Scotland*. London: Sage Publications.

McEWEN, N. (2004). Pragmatic Nationalists? The Scottish Labour Party and Nationalism. In G. Hassan (Ed.), *The Scottish Labour Party: : History, Institutions and Ideas*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

McFARQUHAR, H. (2011). *Key Concepts in Criminology and Criminal Justice*. London: Macmillan Education UK.

McGARVEY, N., & CAIRNEY, P. (2008). *Scottish Politics: An Introduction*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

McGRIGOR, J. (2010). Scottish Conservative Thoughts on Race Equality Issues in Scotland. *Runnymede Platform Series*. Retrieved from: <https://www.runnymedetrust.org/uploads/publications/pdfs/AchievingRaceEqualityInScotland-2010.pdf>

McLEOD, W. (2006). *Revitalising Gaelic in Scotland: Policy, Planning and Public Discourse*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

McLEAN, I (2004), Scottish Labour and British Politics. In G. Hassan (Ed.), *The Scottish Labour Party: : History, Institutions and Ideas*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

MEER, N. (2010). *Citizenship, Identity and the Politics of Multiculturalism: The Rise of Muslim Consciousness*. Basingstoke : Palgrave Macmillan.

MEER, N. (2016). A ‘Scottish Approach’ to Race Equality. In N Meer (Ed.), *Scotland and Race Equality: Directions in Policy and Identity* (pp. 3–4). London: Runnymede.

MEER, N. (2017). Multiculturalism and Scotland: ‘Bringing the Outside into the Middle.’ In P. Hopkins (Ed.), *Scotland’s Muslims: Society, Politics and Identity* . Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

MILES, R. (1993). *Racism after “race relations.”* London: Routledge.

MITCHELL, J. (2006). Scottish Nationalism and Devolution. In P. Dorey (Ed.), *The Labour Governments, 1964-1970* (pp. 193–208). Abingdon: Routledge.

MITCHELL, J., BENNIE, L., & JOHNS, R. (2012). *The Scottish National Party: Transition to Power*. Oxford: OUP.

MITCHISON, R. (1970). *A history of Scotland*. London: Methuen.

MODOOD, T. (2005). *Multicultural politics: racism, ethnicity and Muslims in Britain*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

MORÉN-ALEGRET, R. (2017). *Integration and Resistance: The Relation of Social Organisations, Global Capital, Governments and International Immigration in Spain and Portugal*. Oxon: Routledge.

MORTON, G. (1998). What if? The Significance of Scotland’s Missing Nationalism in the Nineteenth Century. In D. Broun, R. J. Finlay, & M. Lynch (Eds.), *Image and Identity: The making and Re-Making of Scotland Through the Ages* . Edinburgh: John Donald.

MORTON, G. (2012). *Ourselves and Others: Scotland 1832-1914* (Rev. ed.). Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

NAIRN, T. (1977). *The Break-up of Britain: Crisis and Neonationalism*. London: NLB.

NAIRN, T. (2000). *After Britain: New Labour and the Return of Scotland*. London: Granta.

NICOLAISEN, W. F. H. (2011). *Scottish Place-Names: Their Study and Significance*. Edinburgh: Birlinn.

OOSTINDIE, G. (2015). Rupture and Dissonance: Post-colonial Migrations and the Remembrance of Colonialism in the Netherlands. In D. Rothermund (Ed.), *Memories of Post-Imperial Nations* (pp. 38–57). Delhi: Cambridge University Press.

PAECHT, A. (2004). Revaloriser l'assimilation. In M. Pelissier & A. Paecht (Eds.), *Les modèles d'intégration en questions : Enjeux et perspectives*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

PAPADEMETRIOU, D. G., & SUMPTION, M. (2011). *Rethinking Points Systems and Employer-Selected Immigration*. Retrieved from <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/research/rethinking-points-systems-and-employer-selected-immigration>

PAREKH, B. (2000). *Rethinking Multiculturalism: Cultural Diversity and Political Theory*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.

PARK, R. E., & BURGESS, E. W. (1924). *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

PATERSON, L. (1994). *The Autonomy of Modern Scotland*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

PATERSON, L. (2001). *New Scotland, New Politics?* Edinburgh: Polygon at Edinburgh.

PAUL, K. (1997). *Whitewashing Britain: Race and Citizenship in the Postwar Era*. London: Cornell University Press

PEERS, S., GUILD, E., TOMKIN, J., ARCARAZO, D. A., GROENENDIJK, K., & MORENO-LAX, V. (2012). *EU Immigration and Asylum*

*Law (Text and Commentary): Second Revised Edition: Volume 2: EU Immigration Law.* Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.

PINKERTON, J. (1787). *A Dissertation on the Origin and Progress of the Scythians or Goths.* London: John Nichols.

PITTOCK, M. (2001). *Scottish Nationality.* Basingstoke: Macmillan Education UK.

POWELL, T. G. E. (2014). The Coming of the Celts. In S. Piggott (Ed.), *The Prehistoric Peoples of Scotland*. Oxon: Routledge.

REDWOOD, J. (1999). *The Death of Britain ?* London: Macmillan.

SOLOMOS, J., (1989). The politics of anti-discrimination legislation: planned social reform or symbolic politics? (eds.) R., Jenkins, J., Solomos, *Racism and Equal Opportunity Policies in the 1980s.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

SOLOMOS, J. (1991). *Black Youth, Racism and the State: The Politics of Ideology and Policy.* Cambridge : Cambridge University Press.

SOLOMOS, J. (1993). *Race and Racism in Britain*, Second edition. Basingstoke: Macmillan.

SOMERVILLE, W. (2007). *Immigration under New Labour.*  
Doi:10.2307/j.ctt1t88zt6.

SACHDEVA, S. (1993). *The Primary Purpose Rule in British Immigration Law.* London: Trentham Books Ltd

SCOTT, W. (1830). *The History of Scotland – Volume 1.* London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, & Green.

SINCLAIR, J. (1782). *Observations on the Scottish Dialect.* Edinburgh: Murray and Cochran.

SKUTSCH, C., (2013). *Encyclopedia of the World's Minorities.* New York: Routledge.

RAISON, T. (1984). The View from the Government. In J. Benyon (Ed.), *Scarman and after: essays reflecting on Lord Scarman's Report, the riots, and their aftermath* (pp. 244–258). Oxford: Pergamon Press.

RICHARDS, P. (2001). *How to Win an Election: The Art of Political Campaigning*. London: Politico's Publishing.

RICHARDS, R. (2016). Ethnic Diversity in the Classroom. In G. Richards & F. Armstrong (Eds.), *Armstrong, Key Issues for Teaching Assistants (Second Edition): Working in diverse and inclusive classrooms* (2nd ed.). Derby: Routledge.

SMOUT, T.C. (1985). *A History of the Scottish People, 1560-1830*. London: Fontana Press

THIEC, A. (2009). Rethinking National Identity in 21<sup>st</sup> Century Scotland. In Sellin, B., A. Thiec & P. Carboni (Eds.), *Ecosse : l'identité nationale en question - Scotland: Questioning National Identity*. Nantes: Centre de Recherches sur les Identités Nationales et l'Interculturalité – Université de Nantes.

THIEC, A. (2014). Les politiques migratoires au Royaume-Uni : Le point de vue divergent de l'Ecosse depuis 1999. In P. Lees et al. (Eds.), *Migrations et mobilités en Europe: Politiques publiques et perspectives d'intégration (1992-2012)*. Bern: Peter Lang.

TAYLOR, C. (1994). *Multiculturalism and the Politics of Recognition*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

THOMSON, D. (1984). *Why Gaelic Matters (Saltire pamphlets)*. Edinburgh: Saltire Society.

TRANter, N. (2012). *The story of Scotland*. Glasgow: Neil Wilson Publishing.

TRAVERS, M. (1999). *The British Immigration Courts: A Study of Law and Politics*. Bristol: The Policy Press.

VAMPA, D. (2016). *The Regional Politics of Welfare in Italy, Spain and Great Britain*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

VERTOVEC, S., & COHEN, R. (2003). *Conceiving Cosmopolitanism: Theory, Context and Practice* (Rev. ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

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

WITHERS, C.W.J. (1988). *Gaelic Scotland: The Transformation of a Culture Region*. London: Routledge.

WITHERS, C.W.J. (2001). *Geography, Science and National Identity: Scotland Since 1520*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

WRAY, H. (2011). *Regulating Marriage Migration into the UK: A Stranger in the Home*. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited.

## 2. Journal articles

ANDERSON, B., & BLINDER, S. (2017). Who Counts as a Migrant? Definitions and their Consequences. , *The Migration Observatory Briefings*.

ANWAR, M. (1991). *Race Relations Policies in Britain: Agenda for the 1990s* (report N° 21). Retrieved from [https://web.warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/CRER\\_RC/publications/pdfs/Policy%20Papers%20in%20Ethnic%20Relations/PolicyP%20No.21.pdf](https://web.warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/CRER_RC/publications/pdfs/Policy%20Papers%20in%20Ethnic%20Relations/PolicyP%20No.21.pdf).

BANTON, M. (2001). National Integration in France and Britain. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 27(1), 151–152.

BARTRAM, D. (2019). The UK Citizenship Process: Political Integration or Marginalization? *Sociology*, 53(4), 671–688.

BECK, U. (2002). The cosmopolitan society and its enemies. *Theory, Culture and Society*, 19(1–2), 17–44.

BELL, M. (2009). Advancing EU Anti-Discrimination Law: the European Commission's 2008 Proposal for a New Directive. *The Equal Rights Review*, Vol. Three, pp.7-18.

BERTON, J. (2019). Calédonia, du concept aux représentations , in M.O. HEDON (Ed.) *Women and Scotland– Calédonia*. Besançon: PUFC.

BREEZE, R. (2011). Variations on a theme: Party manifesto discourses in the UK 2010 election. *Cultura, Lenguaje y Representación*, (9), 9–30. <https://doi.org/10.6035/CLR.2011.9.1>

BRUBAKER, R. & COOPER, F. (2000). Beyond "Identity". *Theory and Society*, 29(1), 1-47. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3108478>

CAMP-PIETRAIN, E. (2018). Les Conservateurs écossais et les élections de 2017 à la Chambre des Communes : succès éphémère ou détoxification durable ? *Revue Française de Civilisation Britannique*, 23(2). <https://doi.org/10.4000/rfcb.2135>

CARMENT, D. W., & Winch, D. B. (1989). Migration and Motivation: The Migrant's Perspective. *International Migration Review*, 23(1), 96–104.

CLARK, A. (2007). Community Politics? Grassroots Liberal Democrats and the 2003 Scottish Parliament Elections. *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 9(4), 696–712. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-856x.2006.00277.x>

COLOMBO, E. (2015). Multiculturalisms: An overview of multicultural debates in western societies. *Current Sociology*, 63(6), 800–824. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0011392115586802>

DEACON, R. (2007). The Welsh Liberal Democrats: From Government to Opposition and Then Back Again? *The Political Quarterly*, 78(1), 156–164.

DUCLOS, N. (2006). The 1997 devolution referendums in Scotland and Wales. *Revue Française de Civilisation Britannique*, XIV(1), 151–264. <https://doi.org/10.4000/rfcb.1187>

DUCLOS, N. (2015). The 2015 British General Election: a Convergence in Scottish Voting Behaviour? *Revue Française de Civilisation Britannique*, 20(3). <https://doi.org/10.4000/rfcb.639>

DUCLOS, N. (2017). Légalité et légitimité du pouvoir en Ecosse depuis le vote BREXIT. *Recherches Internationales*, 109, 49–63.

EL FEKIH SAID, W. (2013). *Scottish Perception of National Identity after the Devolution*. (Thesis\_unpublished).

ESTEVEZ, O. (2014). “The M... word”: multiculturalism under Cameron. *Observatoire de La Société Britannique*, (15), 21–40. <https://doi.org/10.4000/osb.1584>

FIASSON, A. (2017). *Territorialité et nationalisme écossais : le rhizome du sentiment national (1707-2011)* (Thesis\_unpublished). Retrieved from <http://www.theses.fr/2017TOU20042>

FINOTELLI, C., & MICHALOWSKI, I. (2012). The Heuristic Potential of Models of Citizenship and Immigrant Integration Reviewed. *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies*, 10(3), 231–240. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15562948.2012.693033>

GHORRA-GOBIN, C. (1994). Du melting pot au multiculturalisme : l'impératif d'une communication intégrant le spatial. *Quaderni*, 22(Exclusion-Intégration), 157–165.

GLAZER, N. (1993). Is Assimilation Dead? *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 530, 122–136.

GORDON, M. (1961). Assimilation in America: Theory and Reality. *Daedalus*, 90(2), 263–285.

HAMILTON, P. (1994). “Waverley”: Scott’s Romantic Narrative and Revolutionary Historiography. *Studies in Romanticism*, 33(4), 611–634.  
<https://doi.org/10.2307/25601090>

HOFFMAN, S. (2004). Is There A Place for Race As a Legal Concept? [Research Paper]. Retrieved March 22, 2019, from  
[http://scholarlycommons.law.case.edu/faculty\\_publications/227](http://scholarlycommons.law.case.edu/faculty_publications/227).

HOUSTON, R. A., & WITHERS, C. W. J. (1990). Population mobility in Scotland and Europe, 1600-1900: a comparative perspective. *Annales de Démographie Historique*, 285–308.

HUSSAIN, A. (1997). *The impact of and perceptions of Conservative immigration policy in relation to immigrants from the Indian sub-continent 1979-90: with special reference to Glasgow* (Thesis). Retrieved from  
<http://theses.gla.ac.uk/2415/>

HUTTON, J. (2017, June 15). Spouse and partner immigration to the United Kingdom: History and current issues to the British immigration policy | Marriage migration [Research Report]. Retrieved August 1, 2018, from  
<https://marriagemigration.com/document/spouse-and-partner-immigration-united-kingdom-history-and-current-issues-british>

JOHNSON, B., (1965). Durkheim's One Cause of Suicide. *American Sociological Review*, 30(6), 875-886. Retrieved from  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2090966>.

JONES, W. (1948). British Nationality Act. 25 *Brit. Y.B. Int'l L.* p.158

JONES, M. (1986). The Swann Report on ‘Education for All’: a critique. *Journal of Philosophy of Education*, 20(1), 107–112.

JONES, R., & SCULLY, R. (2006). Devolution and Electoral Politics in Scotland and Wales. *Publius*, 36(1), 115-134. Retrieved from  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/20184945>

JOPPKE, C. (1996). Multiculturalism and Immigration: A Comparison of the United States, Germany, and Great Britain. *Theory and Society*, 25(4), 449-500. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/657908>.

KAPAI, P. (2015). Status of Ethnic Minorities in Hong Kong 1997 – 2014. Retrieved from:  
[https://tbinternet.ohchr.org/Treaties/CERD/Shared%20Documents/HKG/INT\\_CERD\\_NGO\\_CHN\\_31912\\_E.pdf](https://tbinternet.ohchr.org/Treaties/CERD/Shared%20Documents/HKG/INT_CERD_NGO_CHN_31912_E.pdf)

KARIM, K.H. (1996). *The Definition of Visible Minority: A historical and Cultural Analysis*. Strategic Research and Analysis. [online] Available at:  
[https://www.academia.edu/15626802/The\\_Definition\\_of\\_Visible\\_Minority\\_A\\_Historical\\_and\\_Cultural\\_Analysis](https://www.academia.edu/15626802/The_Definition_of_Visible_Minority_A_Historical_and_Cultural_Analysis) [Accessed 5 May 2016].

KAVANAGH, D. (2018). Brexit, the Conservatives and the General Election 2017. *Revue Française de Civilisation Britannique*, 23(2).  
<https://doi.org/10.4000/rfcb.2085>

KEATING, M., & CAIRNEY, P. (2005). A New Elite? Politicians and Civil Servants in Scotland after Devolution. *Parliamentary Affairs*, 59(1), 43–59.  
<https://doi.org/10.1093/pa/gsj009>.

KEATING, M., STEVENSON, L., CAIRNEY, P., & TAYLOR, K. (2003). Does devolution make a difference? Legislative output and policy divergence in Scotland. *The Journal of Legislative Studies*, 9(3), 110–139.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/1357233042000246882>

KIDD, C. (1996). North Britishness and the Nature of Eighteenth-Century British Patriotisms. *The Historical Journal*, 39(2), 361–382. Retrieved from  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2640185>.

KIDD, C. (1997). "The Strange Death of Scottish History" Revisited: Constructions of the Past in Scotland, c. 1790–1914. *The Scottish Historical Review*, 76(201), 86–102. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25530740>

KYMLICKA, W. (2017). Liberal Multiculturalism as a Political Theory of State–Minority Relations. *Political Theory*, 46(1), 81–91.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0090591717696021>

LOCH, D. (2014). Integration as a sociological concept and national model for immigrants: scope and limits. *Identities*, 21(6), 623–632.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/1070289X.2014.908776>

LAFFIN, M. (2007). The Scottish Liberal Democrats. *The Political Quarterly*, 78(1), 147–155. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-923X.2007.00840.x>

LANDECKER, W. (1951). Types of Integration and Their Measurement. *American Journal of Sociology*, 56(4), 332–340. Retrieved from  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2771696>

LATOURE, V. (2009). Multiculturalism Upheld? *Observatoire de La Société Britannique*, 7, 219–231.

LAW, I. (2015). Scarman Report, The. *The Wiley Blackwell Encyclopedia of Race, Ethnicity, and Nationalism*, 1–2.  
<https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118663202.wberen102>

LEYDIER, G. (1994). Les années Thatcher en Écosse : l'Union remise en question. *Revue Française de Science Politique*, 44(6), 1034–1053.

LEYDIER, G. (2008). Gordon Brown, chantre de la britannicité. *Observatoire de La Société Britannique*, (5), 239–256.  
<https://doi.org/10.4000/osb.700>

LEYDIER, G. (2017). La compétition partisane post-dévolution en Ecosse et au pays de Galles depuis 1999 : une divergence grandissante. *Revue Française de Civilisation Britannique*, 22(4). <https://doi.org/10.4000/rfcb.1572>

McCRONE, D. (2002). Who do you say you are? Making Sense of National Identities in Modern Britain. *Ethnicities*, 2(3), 301–320.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/14687968020020030201>

McKAY, J. (2008). The Passage of the 1962 Commonwealth Immigrants Act, a Case-Study of Backbench Power. *Observatoire de La Société Britannique*, (6), 89–108. <https://doi.org/10.4000/osb.433>

McLAREN, L. & JOHNSON, M. (2004). Understanding the rising tide of anti-immigrant sentiment. In Park, A., Curtice, J., Thomson, K., Bromley, C., & Phillips, M. *British Social Attitudes Survey: British social attitudes: The 21st report* (pp. 169–200). SAGE Publications Ltd doi: 10.4135/9781849208666

McLEOD, W. (2014). 'Gaelic in contemporary Scotland: challenges, strategies and contradictions'. *Europa Ethnica*, 71(1/2), 3–12

MEER, N., & MODOOD, T. (2014). Cosmopolitanism and integrationism: is British multiculturalism a 'Zombie category'? *Identities*, 21(6), 658–674.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/1070289X.2013.875028>

MEER, N. (2015). Looking up in Scotland? Multinationalism, multiculturalism and political elites. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 38(9), 1477–1496.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2015.1005642>

MILLER, S. (2016). Marketing identities in devolved regions: The role of global corporate culture in Scotland and Wallonia. In J. Wilson & K. Stapleton (Eds.), *Devolution and Identity* (Rev. ed., pp. 157–172). Abingdon: Routledge.

- MODOOD, T., & MAY, S. (2001). Multiculturalism and education in Britain: an internally contested debate. *International Journal of Educational Research*, 35(3), 305–317. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0883-0355\(01\)00026-X](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0883-0355(01)00026-X)
- MOONEY, G., SCOTT, G., & MULVEY, G. (2008). The 'Celtic Lion' and social policy: Some thoughts on the SNP and social welfare. *Critical Social Policy*, 28(3), 378–394. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0261018308091276>
- MORENO, L. (2005). Dual identities and stateless nations (the "Moreno question"). Documentos de trabajo ( CSIC. Unidad de Políticas Comparadas ), N°. 2, 2005.
- MYCOCK, A. (2009). British Citizenship and the Legacy of Empires. *Parliamentary Affairs*, 63(2), 339–355. <https://doi.org/10.1093/pa/gsp035>
- PAREKH, B. (2001). The future of multi-ethnic Britain: Reporting on a report. *The Round Table*, 90(362), 691–700. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00358530120087422>
- PARTOS, R., & BALE, T. (2015). Immigration and asylum policy under Cameron's Conservatives. *British Politics*, 10(2), 169–184. <https://doi.org/10.1057/bp.2015.20>
- POLLOCK, S. (2000). Cosmopolitan and Vernacular in History. *Public Culture*, 12(3), 591–625. <https://doi.org/10.1215/08992363-12-3-591>
- PORTES, A., & ZHOU, M. (1993). The New Second Generation: Segmented Assimilation and Its Variants. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 530, 74-96. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1047678>
- PUZZO, C. (2016). UK Citizenship in the Early 21st Century: Earning and Losing the Right to Stay. *Revue Française de Civilisation Britannique*, 21(1). <https://doi.org/10.4000/rfcb.750>
- RATNER, S. (1984). Horace M. Kallen and Cultural Pluralism. *Modern Judaism*, 4(2), 185-200. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1396461>
- REX, J., & SINGH, G. (2003). Multiculturalism and Political Integration in Modern Nation-States – Thematic Introduction. *International Journal on Multicultural Societies*, 5(1).
- RUMBAUT, R. G. (1997). Paradoxes (and Orthodoxies) of Assimilation. *Sociological Perspectives*, 40(3), 483–511. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1389453>

SHUKRA, K., BACK, L., KEITH, M., KHAN, A., & SOLOMOS, J. (2004). Race, social cohesion and the changing politics of citizenship. *London Review of Education*, 2(3), 187–195. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1474846042000302825>

SIMPKINS, F. (2018a). The 2017 General Election in Scotland: a Return to Multi-party Politics? *Revue Française de Civilisation Britannique*, 23(2). <https://doi.org/10.4000/rfcb.1903>

SIMPKINS, F. (2018b). Challenging Theresa May's vision of Brexit Britain : Ruth Davidson and the 2017 UK general election. *Observatoire de La Société Britannique*, (21), 141–160. <https://doi.org/10.4000/osb.2198>

SMOUT, T. C. (2015). Perspectives on the Scottish identity. *Scottish Affairs*, 6(1), 101–113. <https://doi.org/2053-888X>

SOULE, D. P. J. (2006). *The Construction and negotiation of meaning in Scottish Political Discourse: A Case Study of the 2003 Scottish Parliament elections* (Thesis). Retrieved from <http://theses.gla.ac.uk/3088/>

THIEC, A. (2015). 'Yes Scotland': More than a Party Political Campaign, a National Movement Fostering a New Active Citizenship. *Revue Française de Civilisation Britannique*, 20(2). <https://doi.org/10.4000/rfcb.401>

VANCE, N. (2001). The problems of unionist literature: Macauley, Froude and Lawless. In D. G. Boyce & A. O'Day (Eds.), *Defenders of the Union: A Survey of British and Irish Unionism Since 1801* (pp. 176–187). London: Routledge.

WADE, E. (1948). British Nationality Act, 1948. *Journal of Comparative Legislation and International Law*, 30(3/4), 67-75. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/754289>

WEIL, P. (2001). Access to Citizenship: A Comparison of Twenty-Five Nationality Laws. In Aleinikoff T. & Klusmeyer D. (Eds.), *Citizenship Today: Global Perspectives and Practices* (pp. 17-35). Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt6wpkc2.7>

WIEVIORKA, M. (2013). A critique of integration. *Identities*, 21(6), 633–641. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1070289X.2013.828615>

WILCZEK, B. (2012). *Neither Here Nor There: 'Choice and Constraint in Migrant Worker Acculturation'* (Thesis). Retrieved from <http://eprints.bournemouth.ac.uk/20985/1/Barbara%20Wilczek%20PhD.pdf>.

WINCHIE, D., & Carment, D. (1989). Migration and Motivation: The Migrant's Perspective. *The International Migration Review*, 23(1), 96-104.  
doi:10.2307/2546184

WOLTON, S. (2006). Immigration Policy and the "Crisis of British Values." *Citizenship Studies*, 10(4), 453–467.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13621020600858120>

YOUNG, J. (2003). To these Wet and Windy Shores. *Punishment & Society*, 5(4), 449–462. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14624745030054005>

### 3. Newspaper articles

AKEEL, M. (2016, April 12). Trevor Phillips' research on British Muslims is dangerous and wrong. No wonder Islamophobia is on the rise. *The Independent Newspaper*. Retrieved from <https://www.independent.co.uk/voices/trevor-phillips-research-on-british-muslims-is-dangerous-and-wrong-no-wonder-islamophobia-is-on-the-a6980331.html>

ANON. (n.d.). The Kingdom of the Picts. *BBC*. Retrieved from [https://www.bbc.co.uk/scotland/history/articles/kingdom\\_of\\_the\\_picts/](https://www.bbc.co.uk/scotland/history/articles/kingdom_of_the_picts/)

ANON. (n.d.). William Wallace. *BBC*. Retrieved from [http://www.bbc.co.uk/scotland/history/articles/william\\_wallace/](http://www.bbc.co.uk/scotland/history/articles/william_wallace/)

ANON. (n.d.). 40 Brexit Troublemakers: Ruth Davidson. *Politico*. Retrieved from <https://www.politico.eu/list/brexit-40-troublemakers-ranking/ruth-davidson/>

ANON. (2005, November 1). New UK citizenship testing starts. *BBC News*. Retrieved from [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk\\_news/politics/4391710.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/politics/4391710.stm)

ANON. (2006, April 26). Why is the Conservative Party blue? *BBC News*. Retrieved from [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk\\_news/magazine/4923050.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/magazine/4923050.stm)

ANON. (2007, January 15). Bribery and mixed motives on road to a United Kingdom. *The Scotsman Newspaper*. Retrieved from <https://www.scotsman.com/lifestyle-2-15039/bribery-and-mixed-motives-on-road-to-a-united-kingdom-1-1334892>

ANON. (2007, February 14). The text of the Declaration of Arbroath. *The Scotsman Newspaper*. Retrieved from <https://www.scotsman.com/lifestyle-2-15039/the-text-of-the-declaration-of-arbroath-1-465230>

ANON. (2007, December 12). Enoch Powell's "Rivers of Blood" speech. *The Telegraph Newspaper*. Retrieved from <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/comment/3643826/Enoch-Powells-Rivers-of-Blood-speech.html>

ANON. (2013, December 9). Scottish "welcome plan" for refugees unveiled. *BBC News*. Retrieved from <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-25301383>

ANON. (2017, July 10). What is the difference between nationality and citizenship? *The Economist*. Retrieved from <https://www.economist.com/the-economist-explains/2017/07/09/what-is-the-difference-between-nationality-and-citizenship>

ANON. (2017b, August 24). Britain's generous post-war immigration policy. *The Economist*. Retrieved from <https://www.economist.com/books-and-arts/2017/08/24/britains-generous-post-war-immigration-policy>

ABBOTT, D. (2005). This racist appetite will never be sated. *The Guardian Newspaper*. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2005/feb/18/immigrationpolicy.immigration>.

BUTT, R. (2011, December 16). Cameron calls for return to Christian values as King James Bible turns 400. *The Guardian Newspaper*. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/dec/16/cameron-king-james-bible-anniversary>

CASCIANI, D. (2006, June 1). Q&A: 2001 northern town riots. *BBC News*. Retrieved from [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk\\_news/5032166.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/5032166.stm)

DE CALIGNON, G. (2017, May 3). Immigration : deux visions opposées du monde. *Les Echos*. Retrieved from <https://www.lesechos.fr/2017/05/immigration-deux-visions-opposees-du-monde-170826>

GOODHART, D. (2004, February 20). Too Diverse? *Prospect Magazine*. Retrieved from <https://www.prospectmagazine.co.uk/magazine/too-diverse-david-goodhart-multiculturalism-britain-immigration-globalisation>

GRIERSON, J. (2018, October 2). UK immigration: what is the government proposing? *The Guardian Newspaper*. Retrieved from

<https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2018/oct/02/uk-immigration-what-is-the-government-proposing>

GRIERSON, J., & WALKER, P. (2018, October 2). Sajid Javid backs plans for stricter citizenship rules after Brexit. *The Guardian Newspaper*. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2018/oct/02/immigrant-language-criteria-to-harden-after-brex-it-says-sajid-javid>

HAWKES, S. (2019, June 29). One in ten people living in the UK are now foreigners – nearly double the proportion of just a decade ago. *The Sun Newspaper*. Retrieved from <https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/3914715/one-in-ten-people-living-in-the-uk-are-now-foreigners-nearly-double-the-proportion-of-just-a-decade-ago/>

HIGGINS, C. (2010, August 16). Scotland's image-maker Sir Walter Scott "invented English legends." *The Guardian Newspaper*. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2010/aug/16/walter-scott-edinburgh-book-festival>.

KELLY, J. (2012, October 26). The Formula of Scottishness. *BBC News Magazine*. Retrieved from <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/magazine-20048521>.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS. (n.d.). Laws Concerning Children of Undocumented Migrants [Report]. Retrieved January 5, 2019, from <https://www.loc.gov/law/help/undocumented-migrants/uk.php>

O'CARROLL, L. (2018, September 4). Bring back work visas for overseas graduates, say UK universities. *The Guardian Newspaper*. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/education/2018/sep/04/bring-back-work-visas-overseas-graduates-say-uk-universities>

SEMOTIUK, A. J. (2017, October 18). Multiculturalism -- The Distinguishing Factor That Makes Canada Great. *Forbes*. Retrieved from <https://www.forbes.com/sites/andyjsemotiuk/2017/10/18/multiculturalism-the-distinguishing-factor-that-makes-canada-great/#1c334096b111>

STURGEON, N. (2017, February 27). Forcing Scotland into Brexit will only widen democratic deficit. *Daily Record Newspaper*. Retrieved from <https://www.dailyrecord.co.uk/news/politics/forcing-scotland-brex-it-only-widen-9922802>

S.W.L (2017, July 10). What is the difference between nationality and citizenship? *The Economist*. Retrieved from <https://www.economist.com/the-economist-explains/2017/07/09/what-is-the-difference-between-nationality-and-citizenship>

TAYLOR, A. (2017, June 14). In 20 years, British politics went from being about class to being about age. *The Washington Post*. Retrieved from <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2017/06/14/in-20-years-british-politics-went-from-being-about-class-to-being-about-age/>

TRAVIS, A. (2013, April 22). Stephen Lawrence: how his murder changed the legal landscape. *The Guardian Newspaper*. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/uk/2013/apr/22/stephen-lawrence-murder-changed-legal-landscape>

WILSON, A. N. (2014, January 29). Britain has always provided a haven for refugees. *The Telegraph*. Retrieved from <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/immigration/10604825/Britain-has-always-provided-a-haven-for-refugees.html>

YOUSAF, H. (2012, January 1). With More Pandas Than Tory MPs, Scotland Doesn't Need to Be Dictated to By David Cameron. *The Huffington Post UK*. Retrieved from [https://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/humza-yousaf/scottish-independence-scotland-doesnt-need-cameron\\_b\\_1196576.html?guccounter=1](https://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/humza-yousaf/scottish-independence-scotland-doesnt-need-cameron_b_1196576.html?guccounter=1)

#### 4. Works on methodology:

BERELSON, B. (1952). *Content Analysis in Communication Research*. New York: Hafner.

CHILTON, P.A., SCHÄFFNER, C. (eds.) (2002), *Politics as Text and Talk: Analytic Approaches to Political Discourse*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

CHOMSKY, N. (1957). *Syntactic Structures*. The Hague: Mouton.

CICOUREL, A.V. (1964). *Method and Measurement in Sociology*. Glencoe: The Free Press.

FAIRCLOUGH, N. L. (1995). *Critical Discourse Analysis: Papers in the Critical Study of Language*. London: Longman.

FAIRCLOUGH, N. L., & WODAK, R. (1997). Critical discourse analysis. In T. A. Van Dijk (Ed.), *Discourse Studies: A Multidisciplinary Introduction*. London: SAGE Publications.

- HOLSTI, O. R. (1968). Content analysis. In G. Lindzey and E. Aronson (Eds.), *The Handbook of Social Psychology, 2nd ed., Vol. 2: Research Methods*. Reading: Addison-Wesley.
- JANKS, H. (1997). Critical Discourse Analysis as a Research Tool. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, 18(3), 329–342.
- MEYER, M. (2001). Between theory, method, and politics: Positioning of the approaches to CDA. In R. Wodak & M. Meyer (Eds.), *Methods for Critical Discourse Analysis*. London: SAGE Publications.
- TITSCHER, S., MEYER, M., WODAK, R., & VETTER, E. (2000). *Methods of Text and Discourse Analysis: In Search of Meaning*. London: SAGE Publications.
- VAN DIJK, T. A. (1977). *Text and Context: Explorations in the Semantics and Pragmatics of Discourse*. London: Longman.
- VAN DIJK, T. A. (1993). Principles of Critical Discourse Analysis. *Discourse & Society*, 4(2), 249–283.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926593004002006>
- VAN DIJK, T. A. (1997). What is Political Discourse Analysis? *Political Linguistics*, 11, 11–52. <https://doi.org/10.1075/bjl.11.03dij>
- VAN DIJK, T. A. (2002). Political discourse and political cognition. In P. A. Chilton & C. Schäffner (Eds.), *Politics as Text and Talk: Analytic Approaches to Political Discourse* (pp. 203–237). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- VERSCHUEREN, J. (2011). *Ideology in Language Use and Ideology: Pragmatic Guidelines for Research*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- VOLKENS, A., et al. (2016). *The Manifesto Data Collection*. Manifesto Project (MRG/CMP/MARPOR). Version 2016b. Berlin: Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung (WZB).
- WODAK, R. (1996). *Disorders of Discourse*. London: Longman
- WODAK, R. (2007). Interviewed by Gavin Kendall for Forum: Qualitative Social research, volume 8, No.2, art.29. retrieved from: <http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/255/561>
- WODAK, R. (2009). Critical discourse analysis: history, agenda, theory, and methodology. In R. Wodak & M. Meyer (Eds.), *Methods for Critical Discourse Analysis* (2nd ed., pp. 1–33). London: Sage.

ZULIANELLO, M. (2013). Analyzing party competition through the comparative manifesto data: some theoretical and methodological considerations. *Quality & Quantity*, 48(3), 1723–1737.  
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s11135-013-9870-0>

## 5. Electronic sources/ websites

ANON. (n.d.). Access to Nationality | MIPEX 2015. Retrieved August 27, 2019, from <http://mipex.eu/access-nationality>

BARTLEBY. (n.d.). Blind Harry's Wallace. Retrieved January 2, 2015, from <https://www.bartleby.com/212/0503.html>

BEMIS. (n.d.-a). Gathered Together – Cruinn Còmhla. Retrieved August 13, 2017, from <https://bemis.org.uk/project/gathered-together-cruinn-comhla/>

BEMIS. (n.d.-b). Inserom Project. Retrieved August 13, 2017, from <https://bemis.org.uk/project/inserom-project/>

BEMIS. (n.d.-c). Multicultural Homecoming 2014. Retrieved August 13, 2017, from <https://bemis.org.uk/project/multicultural-homecoming-2014/>

BOURNE, J. (2015, November 13). The Race Relations Act 1965 – blessing or curse? | Institute of Race Relations. Retrieved August 14, 2017, from <http://www.irr.org.uk/news/the-race-relations-act-1965-blessing-or-curse/>

CHAPMAN, M., & HARVIE, P. (n.d.). Scottish Greens. Retrieved August 14, 2017, from <https://greens.scot/>

COSLA. (2017). *COSLA response to the Scottish Affairs Committee Immigration and Scotland Inquiry*. Retrieved from [https://www.cosla.gov.uk/sites/default/files/documents/17-11-24\\_leaders\\_item10x-migrationpolicy-coslaresponsetoscottishaffairscommitteeappendix.docx](https://www.cosla.gov.uk/sites/default/files/documents/17-11-24_leaders_item10x-migrationpolicy-coslaresponsetoscottishaffairscommitteeappendix.docx)

DAVIDSON, J. (2018). Sectarianism: Still Scotland's shame. *Holyrood Magazine*. Retrieved from <https://www.holyrood.com/articles/inside-politics/sectarianism-still-scotland%E2%80%99s-shame>

EHRC. (n.d.). Protected characteristics. Retrieved August 14, 2017, from <https://www.equalityhumanrights.com/en/equality-act/protected-characteristics>

GRIFFITHS, S. (2012, August 16). Cameron's "Progressive Conservatism" is largely cosmetic and without substance [Blog post]. Retrieved February 2, 2019, from <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/politicsandpolicy/camersons-progressive-conservatism-griffiths/>

HC DEBATE (1981, November 25). Brixton Disturbances (Scarman Report).

Retrieved from: <https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/commons/1981/nov/25/brixton-disturbances-scarman-report>

HEPBURN, E. (2014a, September 17). If Scotland votes 'Yes', we will likely see an immigration policy that is markedly different from the rest of the UK [Blog post]. Retrieved December 1, 2014, from <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/politicsandpolicy/if-scotland-votes-yes-we-will-likely-see-an-immigration-policy-that-is-markedly-different-from-the-rest-of-the-uk/>

HEPBURN, E. (2014b). Party Behaviour in Scotland. Presented at the Annual Elections, Public Opinion and Parties (EPOP) conference, University of Edinburgh. Retrieved from [http://www.pol.ed.ac.uk/\\_data/assets/word\\_doc/0004/160996/Hepburn\\_EPOP\\_25.8.20141.docx](http://www.pol.ed.ac.uk/_data/assets/word_doc/0004/160996/Hepburn_EPOP_25.8.20141.docx)

EUROPEAN COMMISSION. (n.d.). EU Immigration Portal: Glossary. Retrieved August 14, 2017, from [https://ec.europa.eu/immigration/content/glossary\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/immigration/content/glossary_en).

EUROPEAN COMMISSION. (n.d.). Migrant Integration Information and good practices. Retrieved from: <https://ec.europa.eu/migrant-integration/the-eu-and-integration/framework>

EUROPEAN COMMISSION. (1999). Conseil Européen de Tampere. Retrieved from: [http://www.europarl.europa.eu/summits/tam\\_fr.htm](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/summits/tam_fr.htm)

EUROPEAN COMMISSION. (2005). Integration of third-country nationals. Retrieved from [https://europa.eu/rapid/press-release\\_MEMO-05-290\\_en.htm?locale=en](https://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_MEMO-05-290_en.htm?locale=en)

EUROPEAN COMMISSION. (2011). EU initiatives supporting the integration of third-country nationals. Retrieved from: [https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/doc\\_centre/immigration/docs/2011\\_commission\\_staff\\_working\\_paper\\_on\\_integration.pdf](https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/doc_centre/immigration/docs/2011_commission_staff_working_paper_on_integration.pdf)

EUROPEAN COMMISSION. (2016). Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions. Retrieved from [https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/what-we-do/policies/european-agenda-migration/proposal-implementation-package/docs/20160607/communication\\_action\\_plan\\_integration\\_third-country\\_nationals\\_en.pdf](https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/what-we-do/policies/european-agenda-migration/proposal-implementation-package/docs/20160607/communication_action_plan_integration_third-country_nationals_en.pdf)

- INSEE. (n.d.). Définition - Immigré. Retrieved January 27, 2017, from <https://www.insee.fr/fr/metadonnees/definition/c1328>
- INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR MIGRATION. (n.d.). Who is a migrant? Retrieved August 27, 2019, from <https://www.iom.int/who-is-a-migrant>
- KHAN, O. (2018, September 25). 50 years on from the (second) Race Relations Act, and the Runnymede Trust. Retrieved August 21, 2018, from <https://www.blackhistorymonth.org.uk/article/section/real-stories/50-years-second-race-relations-act-runnymede-trust/>
- KRAUSOVA, A., & VARGAS-SILVA, C. (2019, June 13). Scotland: Census Profile - Migration Observatory. Retrieved August 21, 2018, from <https://migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/resources/briefings/scotland-census-profile/>
- KUNDNANI, A. (2001, October 1). From Oldham to Bradford: the violence of the violated | Institute of Race Relations. Retrieved August 21, 2018, from <http://www.irr.org.uk/news/from-oldham-to-bradford-the-violence-of-the-violated/>
- Kyambi, S. (2012, March). *A Guide for Local Authorities* (COSLA). Retrieved from [http://www.migrationscotland.org.uk/uploads/files/documents/final\\_guidance\\_document\\_-\\_layout.pdf](http://www.migrationscotland.org.uk/uploads/files/documents/final_guidance_document_-_layout.pdf)
- MARINI, L. (2017). *Red Parties and Blue Parties. The Politics of Party Colours: Use and Perception of Non-Verbal Cues of Ideology*. Available at [https://www.psa.ac.uk/sites/default/files/conference/papers/2017/Marini\\_PSA2017\\_Colours\\_0.pdf](https://www.psa.ac.uk/sites/default/files/conference/papers/2017/Marini_PSA2017_Colours_0.pdf). Accessed on May 15 2018
- McLAREN, L. (2014, January 22). Immigration and trust in UK politics - Policy Scotland [Blog post]. Retrieved August 22, 2018, from <https://policyscotland.gla.ac.uk/immigration-trust-politics-uk/>
- MILLER, W. L. (2008). *Muslims and Multicultural Nationalism in Scotland*. Retrieved from [https://nanovic.nd.edu/assets/8824/miller\\_paper\\_muslims\\_in\\_scotland.pdf](https://nanovic.nd.edu/assets/8824/miller_paper_muslims_in_scotland.pdf)
- MIGRATION OBSERVATORY. (2016, June 9). What would UK immigration policy look like after Brexit? (Pre-referendum) . Retrieved August 27, 2019, from <https://migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/resources/commentaries/uk-immigration-policy-look-like-brexit/>
- MIGRATION OBSERVATORY. (2016, January 27). The Minimum Income Requirement for Non-EEA Family Members in the UK. Retrieved August 27, 2019,

from <https://migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/resources/reports/the-minimum-income-requirement-for-non-eea-family-members-in-the-uk-2/>

MIGRATION OBSERVATORY. (2018, December 14). How many people have been prevented from bringing a partner to the UK due to the £18,600 minimum income requirement? Retrieved August 22, 2018, from <https://migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/resources/commentaries/how-many-people-have-been-prevented-from-bringing-a-partner-to-the-uk-due-to-the-18600-minimum-income-requirement/>

MURRAY, G. (2017, September 10). Viking Scotland – Part One: The Rise of the Norse [Blog post]. Retrieved August 22, 2019, from <https://www.scotlandinfo.eu/viking-scotland-the-rise-of-the-norse/>

NATIONAL RECORDS OF SCOTLAND. (n.d.). The Declaration of Arbroath. Retrieved April 22, 2017, from <https://www.nrscotland.gov.uk/research/learning/features/the-declaration-of-arbroath>

ONE SCOTLAND. (n.d.). Home | One Scotland. Retrieved August 27, 2019, from <https://onescotland.org/>

ÖZKIRIMLI, U. (2018, April 4). The plague of our times: Majoritarianism. Retrieved August 22, 2019, from <https://ahvalnews.com/majoritarianism/plague-our-times-majoritarianism>

PEARCE, N. (2011, September 7). The decline of the Conservative party in Scotland has more to do with its own failings than the rise of the SNP. [Blog post]. Retrieved August 22, 2018, from <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/politicsandpolicy/decline-scottish-conservative-party/>

POLICE SCOTLAND. (n.d.). Hate Crime & Third Party Reporting. Retrieved August 22, 2018, from <https://www.scotland.police.uk/contact-us/hate-crime-and-third-party-reporting/>

POLICE SCOTLAND. (2018, June 26). Police Scotland programme boosts BME recruitment. Retrieved August 16, 2019, from <https://www.scotland.police.uk/whats-happening/news/2018/june/police-scotland-programme-boosts-bme-recruitment>

PROMOTE SHETLAND . (2014). Promote Shetland - what we've been up to. Retrieved August 22, 2018, from <https://www.shetland.org/60n/blogs/posts/promote-shetland-been-up-to>

ROBERT BURNS FEDERATION . (n.d.). A Parcel of Rogues in a Nation. Retrieved August 22, 2018, from

[http://robertburnsfederation.com/poems/translations/a\\_parcel\\_of\\_rogues\\_in\\_a\\_nation.htm](http://robertburnsfederation.com/poems/translations/a_parcel_of_rogues_in_a_nation.htm)

ROOM, G. (2019, February 12). Why has Corbyn remained so ambivalent about Brexit? [Blog post]. Retrieved August 22, 2019, from <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/euoppblog/2019/02/12/why-has-corbyn-remained-so-ambivalent-about-brexit/>

SAWYER, C., & WRAY, H. (2014). *Country Report: United Kingdom*. Retrieved August 27, 2019, from [https://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/33839/EUDO-CIT\\_2014\\_01\\_UK.pdf](https://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/33839/EUDO-CIT_2014_01_UK.pdf)

SCOTPHO. (n.d.). Defining ethnicity and race. Retrieved August 27, 2019, from <https://www.scotpho.org.uk/population-groups/ethnic-minorities/defining-ethnicity-and-race/>

SCOTTISH CONSERVATIVE PARTY. (n.d.). What we stand for. Retrieved August 27, 2019, from <http://www.scottishconservatives.com/what-we-stand-for/>

SCOTTISH EXECUTIVE. (2004). New Scots: attracting fresh talent to meet the challenge of growth. Retrieved August 27, 2019, from <https://www.webarchive.org.uk/wayback/archive/20170701074158/www.gov.scot/Publications/2004/02/18984>

SCOTTISH GOVERNMENT. (n.d.). The Fresh Talent Initiative - An Overview. Retrieved August 27, 2019, from <https://www.webarchive.org.uk/wayback/archive/20170701074158/www.gov.scot/Publications/2008/08/15155422>

SCOTTISH GOVERNMENT. (n.d.-b). We are Scotland | One Scotland. Retrieved August 27, 2019, from <https://onescotland.org/campaigns/we-are-scotland/>

SCOTTISH GOVERNMENT. (2006). One Scotland Many Cultures 2005/06 – Waves 6 and 7 Campaign Evaluation. Retrieved August 27, 2019, from <https://www.webarchive.org.uk/wayback/archive/20180519220256/http://www.gov.scot/Publications/2006/09/14141401/9>

SCOTTISH GOVERNMENT. (2007). One Scotland Many Cultures. Retrieved August 27, 2019, from <https://www2.gov.scot/News/Releases/2007/01/26113250>

SCOTTISH GOVERNMENT. (2010). Demographic Change in Scotland. Retrieved August 27, 2019, from <https://www.gov.scot/publications/demographic-change-scotland/pages/7/>

SCOTTISH GOVERNMENT. (2013a). New Scots: Integrating Refugees in Scotland's Communities. Retrieved August 27, 2019, from <https://www.webarchive.org.uk/wayback/archive/20170701074158/www.gov.scot/Publications/2013/12/4581>

SCOTTISH GOVERNMENT. (2018). New Scots refugee integration strategy 2018-2022: equality impact assessment. Retrieved August 27, 2019, from <https://www.gov.scot/publications/equality-impact-assessment-new-scots-refugee-integration-strategy-2018-2022/>

SCOTTISH LIBERAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY. (n.d.). What we stand for. Retrieved August 27, 2019, from <http://www.scotlibdems.org.uk/values>

SCOTTISH NATIONAL PARTY. (n.d.). New Scots. Retrieved August 27, 2019, from <https://www.snp.org/groups/new-scots/>

SCOTTISH NATIONAL PARTY. (n.d.). About — Scottish National Party. Retrieved August 27, 2019, from <https://www.snp.org/about/>

SCOTTISH SOCIALIST PARTY. (n.d.). Scottish Socialist Party - For an Independent Socialist Scotland. Retrieved August 27, 2019, from <https://scottishsocialistparty.org/>

SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT. (n.d.). Electoral System for the Scottish Parliament : Pàrlamaid na h-Alba. Retrieved August 27, 2019, from <http://www.parliament.scot/gd/visitandlearn/Education/16285.aspx>

SCOTTISH REFUGEE COUNCIL. (n.d.). New Scots. Retrieved August 27, 2019, from [http://www.scottishrefugeecouncil.org.uk/new\\_scots](http://www.scottishrefugeecouncil.org.uk/new_scots)

SPEAK SCOTS WEBSITE. Available at: <http://www.ayecan.com/>

SPENCER, S. (2011). Policy Primer : Integration. Retrieved August 27, 2019, from <https://migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/PolicyPrimer-Integration.pdf>.

STATISTICS CANADA. (2010, November 3). Definition of "Immigrant." Retrieved August 27, 2019, from <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/81-004-x/2010004/def/immigrant-eng.htm>

UK BORDER AGENCY . (n.d.). Highly Skilled Migrant Programme. Retrieved August 27, 2019, from <https://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20100512232121/http://www.ukba.homeoffice.gov.uk/workingintheuk/tier1/hsmp/>

UK GOVERNMENT. (2007). Chapter 5, section 14: fresh talent working in Scotland scheme. Retrieved August 27, 2019, from <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/chapter-5-section-14-fresh-talent-working-in-scotland-scheme>

UK GOVERNMENT. (2017, December 18). Twenty three universities join student visa pilot. Retrieved August 27, 2019, from <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/twenty-three-universities-join-student-visa-pilot>

UK GOVERNMENT. (2019). Immigration Rules Appendix K: shortage occupation list. Retrieved August 27, 2019, from <https://www.gov.uk/guidance/immigration-rules/immigration-rules-appendix-k-shortage-occupation-list>

UK PARLIAMENT. (n.d.). Past and present post-study work routes. Retrieved August 27, 2019, from <https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201516/cmselect/cmsscota/593/59305.htm>

UNESCO. (n.d.). Asylum seeker. Retrieved August 27, 2019, from <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/social-and-human-sciences/themes/international-migration>

UNESCO. (n.d.-b). Migrant/ Migration. Retrieved August 27, 2019, from <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/social-and-human-sciences/themes/international-migration>

UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH. (n.d.). Post - Study Work Visas [Report]. Retrieved from [https://webarchive.nrscotland.gov.uk/20181118210404/http://www.parliament.scot/EdinburghUni\\_submission.pdf](https://webarchive.nrscotland.gov.uk/20181118210404/http://www.parliament.scot/EdinburghUni_submission.pdf)

UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW. (n.d.). Glasgow Refugee, Asylum and Migration Network. Retrieved August 27, 2019, from <https://www.gla.ac.uk/research/az/gramnet/about/>

U.S. CITIZENSHIP AND IMMIGRATION . (n.d.). Glossary. Retrieved August 27, 2019, from <https://www.uscis.gov/tools/glossary>

WRAY, H., KOFMAN, E., GRANT, S., & PEEL, C. (2015). *Family friendly? The impact on children of the family migration rules: a review of the financial requirements*. Retrieved from <https://www.childrenscommissioner.gov.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/CCO-Family-Friendly-Report-090915.pdf>

WRAY, H. (2018, May 2). *The 'Windrush Generation' and Citizenship* [Blog post]. Retrieved February 1, 2019, from <http://globalcit.eu/the-windrush-generation-and-citizenship/>

WRIGHT, R. E. (2008). *Discussion Paper: The Economics of New Immigration to Scotland*. Retrieved December 1, 2017, from <https://strathprints.strath.ac.uk/15645/>

## 6. Illustrations and videos

AFRO-ASIAN WEST INDIAN UNION. (1959). To the coloured citizens of West London. Retrieved from: <https://cdm21047.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/tav/id/4919> .

BRITISH LIBRARY. (n.d.). *Windrush: post-war immigration* [Illustration]. Retrieved from <http://www.bl.uk/learning/timeline/item107829.html>

BRITISH PATHÉ. (1958). *Notting Hill: Shameful Episode*. Retrieved from: <https://www.britishpathe.com/video/shameful-episode-aka-racial-riots/>.

## 7. Dictionaries

Merriam-Webster online dictionaries. <https://www.merriam-webster.com/>.

Oxford English Dictionary. <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/>.

The Cambridge Online Dictionary. <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/fr/>

The Latin Dictionary Online. <https://www.online-latin-dictionary.com/>

## 8. Conference Presentation

MODOOD, T., (2016, November 8). *Majoritarian Interculturalism and Multicultural Nationalism*. Presented at : Cycle de conférences-débats organisé par HDEA, University of Sorbonne Paris .

---



# **APPENDIX**



## **Appendix A**

### **List of Manifestos involved in the analysis**

#### **The Scottish Conservative Party Manifestoes:**

##### Scottish elections:

- Scotland First (1999).
- TIME TO DO SOMETHING ABOUT IT (2003).
- SCOTTISH CONSERVATIVE MANIFESTO SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT ELECTION (2007).
- Common sense for Scotland (2011).
- A STRONG OPPOSITION - A STRONGER SCOTLAND (2016).

##### General elections:

- Time for common sense (2001).
- ARE YOU THINKING WHAT WE'RE THINKING? IT'S TIME FOR ACTION (2005).
- INVITATION TO JOIN THE GOVERNMENT OF BRITAIN (2010).
- STRONG LEADERSHIP A BRIGHTER, MORE SECURE FUTURE (2015).
- FORWARD, TOGETHER Our Plan for a Stronger Scotland, a Stronger Britain and a Prosperous Future (2017).

#### **The Scottish Labour Party manifestoes:**

##### Scottish elections:

- Building Scotland's future (1999).
- On your side (2003).

- Building Scotland (2007).
- Fighting for what really matters (2011).
- Invest in Scotland's future (2016).

**General elections:**

- Ambitions for Scotland (2001).
- Scotland Forward not back (2005).
- A future fair for all (2010).
- The Scottish Labour Manifesto (2015).
- TOGETHER WE'RE STRONGER (2017).

**The Scottish Liberal Democratic Party manifestoes:**

**Scottish elections:**

- Raising the standard (1999).
- Make the Difference Fresh Thinking for Four More Years (2003).
- We think Scotland has a bright future (2007).
- Solutions for Scotland (2011).
- Be the best again. (2016).

**General elections:**

- For a liberal and democratic Scotland FREEDOM JUSTICE HONESTY (2001).
- The real alternative (2005).
- Change that works for you (2010).
- Stronger economy, fairer society. Opportunity for everyone (2015).
- CHANGE BRITAIN'S FUTURE (2017).

**The Scottish National Party manifestoes:**

Scottish elections:

- EnterpriseCompassionDemocracy (1999).
- THE COMPLETE CASE FOR A BETTER SCOTLAND (2003).
- It's time (2007).
- Re-elect: A SCOTTISH GOVERNMENT WORKING FOR SCOTLAND (2011).

Re-elect (2016)

General elections:

- Heart of the Manifesto (2001).
- IF SCOTLAND MATTERS TO YOU MAKE IT MATTER IN MAY (2005).
- Elect a local champion (2010).
- Stronger for Scotland (2015).
- Stronger for Scotland (2017).

## Appendix B

## Discourse Analysis template used for the 2016 election manifestos

| Overall statement                                                                                   |                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |                                                                                                                                                                                                    |                                                                                                                                                                         |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Discourse Analysis aspects                                                                          | Con_16                                                                                                                                                                                                          | Lab_16                                                                                                                                                                                             | Sup_16                                                                                                                                                                  |
| General Overview (Wider and Immediate context of situation political party positions in government) | Immigration as a salient issue in the UK: Rise of UKIP/ Brexit/ Failure of the 2014 independence referendum/ Poor results for Labour and Cons in the general election in 2015/ Cons winner of UK/ Refugee issue |                                                                                                                                                                                                    |                                                                                                                                                                         |
|                                                                                                     | SNP in government/ Nicola Sturgeon as new 1st minister                                                                                                                                                          |                                                                                                                                                                                                    |                                                                                                                                                                         |
|                                                                                                     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |                                                                                                                                                                                                    |                                                                                                                                                                         |
| Structuring/ Sequencing (Main topics and the way they are organized)                                | "A stronger opposition, a stronger Scotland" Foreword/ Main objectives/ New candidates/ Party alternatives/ Summary/                                                                                            | "Invest in Scotland's Future" Foreword/ sequencing according to main objectives of the party                                                                                                       | "Be the best again" Foreword/ objectives/ topics                                                                                                                        |
|                                                                                                     | Main issues: Strong opposition to SNP/ Economy and welfare/ Education/ health/ Housing/ environment/ community/ Peripheral issues: Gaelic/ Fracking/ Crime/ Law system                                          | End austerity/ increase public spending/ tax/ Education/ Health/ Housing/ safety and security/ pension environment/ Peripheral/ Communities/ culture/ race related issues/ sectarianism/ transport | Main issues: NHS/ Education/ NHS/ Welfare/ local authorities/ Environment/ Peripheral issues: Drugs/ Criminal justice/ Mental health/ decentralisation/ data protection |
| Multi-modal aspects                                                                                 | Ruth Davidson in the No to 2nd ref/ New candidates in family environment                                                                                                                                        | Kesla Dugdale in different situations/ other people pro Labour/ In the "welcoming communities" 2 people wearing Pughabhi Junction uniform                                                          | William Rennie in different situations/ Lib Dem team                                                                                                                    |
| General patterns (Interactional elements)                                                           | Unionist approach. Stress on the importance of opposition and of the union. Sense of mission. Personalisation of Scotland                                                                                       | Manifesto oriented to young people relevant to the slogan. Use of other parties' policies to provide alternative. Statistics. Interactional links                                                  | Reference to educational superiority of Scotland. Need for cross-party consensus. Continued membership to EU in the foreword (decreases)                                |
| Communicative style                                                                                 | Language less formal/ simple/ age                                                                                                                                                                               | Formal/ straight forward style with few figures of speech                                                                                                                                          | Simple and straight forward language                                                                                                                                    |
| Interactional elements                                                                              | Language reflects closeness to the reader and distance from other parties. Deixis: 1st person pronoun = sense of mission/ Collective "we" 3rd person pronoun                                                    | Collective "we" = all of us/ Involving the reader "your vote" Lib reflects closeness                                                                                                               | Deixis: "all of us", collective "we" our us = sense of inclusion/ Closeness reflected                                                                                   |
| Spatial framework                                                                                   | Unionist approach "Scotland within the UK"                                                                                                                                                                      | Scotland with stress on rural areas                                                                                                                                                                | Scotland                                                                                                                                                                |

| Temporal Framework      | Temporal Future and long term+ past                                                                                                                                                         | Future / long term                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | Future                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                | Future / past seven years                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
|-------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Main issues of analysis |                                                                                                                                                                                             |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| Equality                |                                                                                                                                                                                             | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>"We want the system to be culturally and socially sensitive" about occupational segregation in general stress on gender and LGBTII inequality</li> <li>Importance of 3<sup>rd</sup> sector to provide equality and opportunity</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Commissioner for Fair Access to universities</li> <li>"fair" Welfare system accessible to all</li> <li>Convention on the right of the child (Considering that the child should be fully prepared to live an individual life in society, and brought up in the spirit of the ideals proclaimed in the Charter of the United Nations, and in particular in the spirit of peace, dignity, tolerance, freedom, equality and solidarity.)</li> <li>"A society is stronger if it is fairer" <b>Sustainable society</b></li> <li>"Fair" mentioned 23 times</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Campaign for keeping the Human Rights Act</li> <li>We will promote children's health and well-being right throughout early years, primary and secondary education, so that all children and young people learn tolerance, respect, human rights, equality and good citizenship to a degree and prevent prejudice, and how healthy relationships through refreshed age-appropriate and inclusive strategies and resources.</li> <li>(<b>Education</b>)</li> <li>positive impact on inequalities through sport and physical activity (<b>Sports</b>)</li> <li>"we will work towards every professional working with children being trained on equality", to enable them to address prejudice-based bullying, attachment, child development and child protection"</li> <li>support third sector organisations, social enterprises</li> <li>Equalities Act 2010 (<b>equal and fair society</b>)</li> <li>new Race Framework Adviser to take forward a range of actions to tackle existing inequalities within our ethnic communities</li> </ul> |
| Anti-discrimination     | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>"We also need to make further progress on equalities and discrimination at school". LGBTI discrimination in particular (<b>Education</b>)</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Holocaust education- fund fund the national commemoration of Holocaust Memorial Day</li> <li>Anti-sectarianism relation to sports</li> </ul>                                                                                              | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>In the color-coded <b>Communities</b> section among the promises : Act to tackle bullying and discrimination: explained a gain in the support tolerance + train specialists in order to provide equal services</li> </ul>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>appropriate training to support the investigation of hate crimes</li> <li>Reference to the Holocaust and the liberation of Auschwitz</li> </ul>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| Culture                 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Support for Gaelic education</li> </ul>                                                                                                              | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>"We recognise Scotland's rich cultural heritage including Gaelic, Scots and Nords".</li> <li>Commitment to Gaelic education for all students that desire it.</li> <li>Cultural benefits of film industry in Scotland</li> </ul>           | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>"to tackle the barriers to fair representation of Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic people in senior roles in the police and education services" <b>Communities</b></li> <li>Develop "Culture activities"</li> </ul>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Support for Gaelic Medium Education and ongoing commitment to stabilise and increase the number of Gaelic speakers.</li> </ul>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| Identity                |                                                                                                                                                                                             |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| Diversity               |                                                                                                                                                                                             | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>"We know that diverse communities are stronger for what each part of the community brings to the whole"</li> </ul>                                                                                                                        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Build on our case for a diverse, federal UK as the alternative to divisive nationalism" (<b>Communities</b>)</li> <li>Diversity mentioned 9 times throughout different sections</li> <li>"Greater diversity" mentioned as one of the goals</li> </ul>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>"We will look at new ways to engage with our Diaspora and support them as they develop and shape the identity of our country on the world stage" Testimony from a refugee from Kurdistan "I have made Scotland my home" "Nicola Sturgeon will continue to defend our interests"</li> </ul>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |

|                                 |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
|---------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|                                 |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- "Scotland is a rich and diverse country" assertion / statement in the <b>foreword</b></li> <li>- Diversity mentioned in reference to education -&gt; to enrich (use of future)</li> <li>- Use of conditionals -&gt; need for "diverse talents" to increase productivity</li> <li>- Liberals support the creativity and genius that comes from individual liberty and diversity". <b>Communities</b></li> <li>- "We will support tolerance, diversity and human rights at home and abroad."</li> <li>- Promote public appointments "to reflect better the wider diversity in society" <b>Communities</b></li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- "Diverse but equal" tolerance, respect, inclusion</li> </ul>                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| Immigration                     | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Immigration described as "worldwide human displacement" -&gt; "Scotland can be a beacon for the human right of refugee protection" = reminder of the US as a beacon of liberty</li> <li>- "We must put the structures in place to welcome and integrate those forced to flee their own countries"</li> <li>- Refugee Integration (Scotland) Bill Importance of welcoming refugees</li> <li>- Image of Syrian boy Alan Kurdi</li> <li>- "Vishaw to Calais" response to refugee crisis</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Stress on tackling inequalities and preventing discrimination but in generally with a focus on gender and LGBTI</li> <li>- Next to "Welcoming communities" a photo of EMI people from Punjab Junction (stereotypical reference to food)</li> <li>- Stress on the need of refugees integration</li> <li>- Only 1 paragraph dedicated to diversity in relation to refugee integration</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <b>Formal protocol for refugees</b></li> </ul>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Reference to the need to address global issues as "plight of refugees fleeing war and repression" 3<sup>rd</sup> problem enumerated</li> <li>- Support for Syrian refugees through Resettlement Programme and access to studies</li> <li>- Support for asylum seeker students</li> </ul> |
| Patterns of presence or absence | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Absence of reference to diversity or any related issue</li> <li>- LGBTI discrimination</li> <li>- Stress on the importance of the union</li> </ul>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Diversity present throughout the manifesto</li> <li>- Use conditional to describe the positive contribution of diversity through adjectives like "rich"</li> <li>- Reminder of the Fresh Talent -&gt; reference to talents</li> <li>- "fair"</li> </ul>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Focus on refugees crisis and the need to address it</li> <li>- Importance of equality</li> <li>- Reference to sectarianism and the need to address it through sport</li> </ul>                                                                                                           |

**Appendix C**  
**List of main integration and immigration legislation**

| Year | Legislation                              |
|------|------------------------------------------|
| 1948 | British Nationality Act                  |
| 1962 | Commonwealth Immigrants Act              |
| 1965 | Race Relations Act                       |
| 1968 | Race Relations Act                       |
| 1971 | Immigration Act                          |
| 1976 | Race Relations Act                       |
| 1981 | British Nationality Act                  |
| 1988 | Immigration Act                          |
| 1999 | Asylum and Immigration Act               |
| 2000 | Race Relations (Amendment) Act           |
| 2002 | Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act  |
| 2004 | Asylum and Immigration Act               |
| 2006 | Equality Act                             |
| 2009 | Borders, citizenship and Immigration Act |
| 2010 | Race Equality Act                        |
| 2014 | Immigration Act                          |
| 2016 | Immigration Act                          |

## Appendix C

### Key proposals on integration and immigration

- Scottish Conservatives:

An open and diverse Scotland promoted in the first two election manifestos + anti-discrimination

Promotion of Scottish culture and heritage + Promotion of Gaelic education+ call for the creation of BBC Alba

Union and the importance of Britishness

- The Scottish Labour:

Fresh Talents and importance of immigration (2003 and 2007)

One Scotland, many cultures and anti-discrimination (2007)

Equality the establishment of a 'Fairer Scotland commission' and maintain the Equality Unit (2011)

Scottish languages and culture promoted (ex: Burns anniversary/ St Andrew Day/ Highland Year)

Promotion of Gaelic language

Holocaust education and Holocaust Memorial Day (2016)

- The Scottish Liberal Democrats:

Equality is emphasised and promoted through a Race Equality Strategy (2007)/ commissioner for Fair Access to universities (2016)

'One Scotland, Many cultures'

Protecting historic environment + promoting Edinburgh Fringe Artists

Gaelic

Promote public appointments to reflect diversity

- The SNP :

Independence will ensure equality and decentralized immigration and asylum policies

Equality is promoted through sport and Equalities Act of 2010

‘One Scotland, Many cultures’

Multicultural education + support for Catholic schools

Promotion of Scottish culture and heritage abroad (for example: St. Andrew Day/  
Hogmanay and Burns Night)

The establishment of a Gaelic sub-committee and promotion of Gaelic language and  
history + Languages Act (to promote Scots and Gaelic)

‘New Scots’ to welcome newcomers and call for decentralized immigration policy



# INDEX



**A**

Act of Union, 26, 27, 77, 80, 85, 86, 279

**B**

Brexit, 21, 22, 49, 57, 105, 109, 139, 140, 152,  
153, 155, 163, 176, 180, 185, 195, 198, 200,  
201, 205, 253, 258, 266, 284, 291, 296  
British Government, 21, 136, 140, 147, 152, 164,  
223, 255, 258, 260  
Britishness, 19, 31, 32, 42, 86, 104, 113, 134,  
197, 230, 237, 238, 280, 287, 307  
Brown  
G., 134, 175, 179

**C**

Cairney, 24, 28, 194, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200,  
201, 202, 281, 287  
CDA, 36, 37, 38, 290  
Community cohesion, 9, 127, 129  
Comparative Manifesto Project, 40, 43, 46, 47,  
48  
COSLA, 151, 152

**D**

Devolution, 14, 19, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28,  
29, 30, 33, 39, 42, 45, 49, 77, 78, 104, 109,  
110, 124, 125, 126, 140, 141, 154, 164, 167,  
172, 178, 183, 189, 190, 191, 194, 195, 196,  
197, 198, 199, 200, 207, 212, 219, 220, 225,  
247, 265, 266  
Discourse, 1, 3, 31, 34, 36, 77, 206, 282, 283,  
287, 288, 290, 296, 297, 298  
political, 165  
Diversity, 23, 24, 31, 42, 43, 45, 48, 62, 63, 64,  
68, 72, 78, 81, 90, 99, 104, 123, 135, 144,  
145, 151, 164, 171, 172, 177, 178, 181, 184,  
185, 186, 187, 201, 206, 209, 211, 212, 213,  
214, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226,

227, 228, 232, 233, 237, 240, 241, 242, 243,  
247, 251, 252, 253, 260, 263, 264

**E**

ECHR

European Convention on Human Rights, 162  
egalitarianism, 208, 209

EHRC, 91, 132, 133, 140, 141, 147, 282

Empire, 14, 25, 28, 111, 112, 198

EU

European Union, 20, 21, 23, 49, 59, 60, 105,  
109, 120, 127, 129, 139, 140, 150, 152,  
153, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161,  
163, 164, 179, 180, 183, 185, 186, 189,  
195, 201, 236, 237, 242, 246, 248, 249,  
253, 255, 256, 257, 258, 260, 281, 292

**F**

FPTP, 29, 196, 204

Fresh Talent, 9, 141, 142, 177, 281, 285, 293,  
294

FRONTEX

The European Border and Coast Guard  
Agency, 156, 157

**G**

Gaelic, 12, 24, 45, 47, 80, 81, 82, 84, 85, 87, 88,  
91, 101, 173, 178, 182, 187, 188, 206, 210,  
213, 215, 216, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 230,  
237, 247, 249, 262, 263, 265, 283, 298, 307,  
308

**H**

Home Rule, 28, 196

HSMP

Highly Skilled Migrant Programme, 127

**I**

ICMPD

International Centre for Migration Policy  
Development, 161

## Identity

British, 32, 86, 103, 104, 134, 238, 254  
National, 19, 23, 24, 25, 31, 32, 33, 43, 44, 47,  
53, 71, 74, 77, 78, 79, 80, 86, 87, 102, 104,  
105, 106, 129, 134, 143, 146, 207, 209,  
210, 211, 212, 219, 221, 223, 245, 248,  
249, 265  
Scottish, 23, 24, 32, 43, 44, 76, 77, 79, 80, 84,  
85, 86, 90, 101, 104, 105, 106, 207, 211,  
212, 228, 238, 262, 265

Immigration, 14, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 26, 31,  
33, 34, 35, 39, 40, 42, 43, 45, 49, 53, 54, 55,  
57, 58, 59, 60, 68, 70, 71, 73, 75, 76, 78, 88,  
91, 93, 100, 104, 105, 106, 109, 110, 111,  
112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120,  
121, 122, 124, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131,  
132, 133, 134, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141,  
147, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159,  
161, 163, 164, 167, 169, 174, 175, 176, 178,  
179, 180, 183, 184, 185, 186, 188, 189, 190,  
191, 206, 207, 211, 213, 214, 218, 219, 220,  
221, 222, 223, 224, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234,  
235, 236, 237, 241, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249,  
250, 253, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 264,  
265, 266, 279, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 289,  
291, 292, 294, 297, 307, 308

Independence, 8, 31, 44, 53, 80, 83, 84, 90, 186,  
188, 280, 308

independence referendum, 19, 23, 30, 77, 173,  
195, 199, 202, 254

Integration, 1, 3, 57, 65, 66, 68, 69, 150, 159,  
160, 161, 221, 279, 283, 285, 288, 290, 293,  
294, 296

## IOM

International Organization for Migration, 55,  
161

## J

## Jenkins

R., 49, 68, 116, 193, 262, 287, 295

## L

Lad o' Pairts, 207, 208

## M

## McConnell

J., 141, 176, 177, 179, 197, 214

## Migration

economic, 9, 21, 43, 54, 55, 56, 57, 59, 68, 88,  
89, 90, 91, 93, 97, 110, 112, 124, 127, 129,  
130, 131, 133, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140,  
141, 150, 151, 152, 153, 158, 159, 161,  
163, 164, 177, 184, 234, 245, 256, 257,  
258, 260, 279, 280, 286, 297

family, 137

managed, 128

## Miliband

E., 13, 180, 259

## Multiculturalism, 25, 31, 42, 43, 44, 45, 49, 55,

65, 66, 68, 69, 71, 72, 73, 74, 78, 129, 135,  
137, 145, 212, 213, 214, 229, 236, 241, 242,  
243, 264, 289, 290, 292, 295

multi-level, 20, 21, 23, 24, 26, 31, 40, 49, 74, 109,  
126, 155, 167, 169

multinationalism, 25

## N

## Nationalism

British, 47, 196, 197

Scottish, 28, 47, 193, 194, 197, 210, 211, 250,  
265

Nationalism, 23, 31, 32, 279, 282, 283, 284, 288,  
290, 291

## New Labour, 29, 32, 124, 125, 127, 128, 129,

130, 135, 153, 176, 197, 234, 259, 288, 291,  
295

## NPS

National Party of Scotland, 192

## P

PDA, 38

points-based system, 9, 14, 55, 127, 129, 130,  
131, 132, 139, 141, 152, 233, 235, 245, 247,  
248, 250, 256, 283  
*Post-study work visa*, 136

## S

Salmond  
A., 30, 74, 78, 90, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189  
Scottish Conservative and Unionist Party, 11,  
171, 175, 198  
Scottish Conservative Party, 10, 12, 33, 169, 171,  
172, 176, 191, 199, 212, 245, 250, 257  
Scottish Government, 23, 89, 105, 132, 140, 141,  
143, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 164, 172, 177,  
195, 207, 240, 249, 261, 296  
Scottish Greens, 202, 204  
Scottish Labour Party, 10, 11, 12, 15, 29, 33, 169,  
176, 178, 179, 180, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198,  
209, 212, 213, 214, 215, 219, 251, 252, 294  
Scottish Liberal Democratic Party, 11, 170, 181,  
183, 200, 209, 210, 294, 295  
Scottish Office, 27  
Scottish Socialist Party, 202  
Scottishness, 23, 32, 42, 43, 44, 53, 77, 78, 86,  
87, 146, 266, 287  
SCUP  
Scottish Conservative and Unionist Party,  
198

Shortage Occupation List, 14, 132  
SHRA  
Scottish Home Rule Association, 192  
SNL  
Scots National League, 192  
SNP, 9, 12, 13, 14, 15, 19, 23, 27, 29, 30, 44, 76,  
102, 126, 143, 146, 148, 173, 178, 185, 187,  
188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196,  
197, 199, 200, 202, 204, 205, 208, 209, 210,  
213, 214, 215, 217, 219, 222, 223, 224, 225,  
226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 234, 235, 236, 237,  
238, 239, 240, 242, 244, 247, 249, 250, 252,  
253, 254, 255, 259, 260, 262, 264, 265, 266,  
290, 295, 308  
SP  
Scottish Party, 192  
SSP  
Scottish Socialist Party, 202, 204  
Sturgeon  
N., 30, 186, 187, 188, 189, 195, 229, 260, 261,  
296

## U

UDHR, 162  
UN  
United Nations, 161, 162, 163, 235, 255  
UNHCR, 161



---

## Résumé

---

Cette recherche est centrée sur l'Écosse qui après la dévolution développa sa propre trajectoire politique dans le cadre du projet de construction de la nation. Compte tenu du système de gouvernance créé par le processus de décentralisation, le discours politique sur l'immigration et l'intégration évolue et crée une opportunité pour l'élite politique écossaise de façonner leur propre modèle d'intégration d'après une forme civique de l'identité écossaise. Tenant compte de la spécificité démographique de l'Écosse, l'immigration devient un atout important pour le pays.

Grace à une approche reposant principalement sur l'analyse du discours politique des manifestes, les élections parlementaires britanniques et écossaises ont permis de souligner les aspects de consensus entre les partis politiques en Ecosse. Ce projet de recherche vise à décrire et analyser le discours de l'élite politique sur l'immigration et l'intégration et la manière dont il a abouti à des orientations politiques divergentes qui renforcent d'avantage le clivage entre les partis écossais et britanniques. En tenant compte de la complexité de la politique partisane en Écosse, l'orientation multiculturelle des stratégies d'intégration est renforcée grâce à la célébration du patrimoine diversifié de l'Écosse et à la promotion d'une identité nationale civique qui englobe les minorités.

**Mots clefs :** *immigration, discours politique, projet de construction de la nation, multiculturalisme, identité civique*

---

## Abstract

---

The project is centred on the idea that post-devolution Scotland is developing its own political and policy trajectory in the context of the nation-building project. Taking into consideration the multi-level system of governance created by the devolution process, the political discourse over immigration and integration has evolved and created an opportunity for the political elite in Scotland to shape their own integration model according to a civic form of Scottish identity. This consensus can also be related to the demographic specificity of Scotland making of immigrants an important asset to the country.

Through a mixed-method approach relying mainly on the discourse analysis of political discourse this research project attempts to cater the multi-level dimension of party politics in Scotland, and in particular how the narrative advanced by the political elite on immigration and integration especially has resulted in diverging policy orientations that further reinforce the cleavage between Scottish and British parties.

The multicultural orientation of Scotland's integration strategies is reinforced thanks to the promotion of civic form of national identity that is inclusive of minorities, as well as the celebration of Scotland's diverse heritage.

**Keywords:** *immigration, political discourse, nation-building project, multiculturalism, civic identity*

# **L'évolution du discours politique sur l'immigration et l'intégration en Ecosse après la dévolution : Résumé de la thèse**

## **Introduction :**

Le titre de cette thèse, l'évolution du discours politique sur l'immigration et l'intégration en Écosse après la dévolution, tente de révéler la complexité de la gouvernance multi-niveaux mise en place au Royaume Uni, en particulier en relation avec l'immigration et l'intégration. La décentralisation des pouvoirs en Écosse attribue un certain pouvoir et une certaine autonomie aux autorités locales, mais au même temps, le processus reste lié et dépendant du gouvernement central.

Le choix de travailler sur les thèmes de l'immigration et de l'intégration est motivé par leur complexité et leur aspect multidimensionnel. L'aspect le plus intéressant de l'immigration et à l'intégration dans le cas spécifique de l'Écosse est leur influence et leur interaction dans des politiques multi-niveaux ainsi que les réponses formulées en fonction de contextes mondiaux. Il est aussi important de noter l'impact des institutions internationales telles que l'Union Européenne ou l'ONU sur la prise de décisions au niveau local.

Si l'on prend les exemples de l'immigration et de l'intégration, les deux processus se déroulent à différents niveaux de pouvoir. En effet, l'immigration est réservée au gouvernement britannique alors que l'intégration est décentralisée. En outre, l'influence des institutions supranationales mérite d'être prise en considération. L'Union Européenne, par exemple, exerce un pouvoir dans la convergence de la politique entre les États membres. Il serait intéressant d'explorer des mécanismes aussi complexes de gouvernance multi-niveaux en matière d'immigration et d'intégration, ces deux processus devraient être cohérents pour assurer leur efficacité. Cela m'amène à remettre

en question le succès d'une telle politique à la lumière des politiques divergentes entre les États membres au sein de l'Europe et même au sein du même État.

En outre, l'immigration est l'un des défis les plus importants auxquels les sociétés modernes font face aujourd'hui. Pour un pays tel que l'Écosse, l'immigration a une dimension plus importante que le reste du Royaume-Uni. En fait, ayant connu une longue tendance à l'émigration, le pays souffre d'un déficit démographique et la nécessité de repeupler le pays devient une des considérations politiques à traiter en urgence. L'importance de l'immigration dans le pays rend le débat sur une telle question plus important, en particulier dans le contexte de la décentralisation. En effet, ayant la main sur la gestion de l'immigration sur tout le Royaume Uni, le gouvernement central britannique est constamment critiqué pour ne pas prendre en compte les besoins démographiques de l'Écosse. En l'absence de pouvoir sur l'immigration, l'Écosse doit donc s'aligner sur les plans du gouvernement central qui ne reflètent pas nécessairement les besoins du pays. Plus important encore, les politiques qui résultent de la décentralisation des pouvoirs se caractérisent par un manque de stratégies cohérentes en matière d'immigration et d'intégration. À cet égard, depuis la dévolution, l'Écosse a également développé des politiques d'intégration divergentes de l'Angleterre. Comme l'immigration est rarement examinée dans une perspective à différents niveaux de pouvoir, il est donc intéressant d'analyser les questions d'immigration et d'intégration à différents niveaux de la politique, y compris l'influence de la législation et de la politique de l'UE, en place jusqu'à la finalisation du Brexit. Il est aussi à noter que dans le contexte de l'adhésion à l'UE, la nature relativement incontrôlée des processus d'immigration concernant les ressortissants de l'UE et l'effacement des frontières entre les États membres ainsi que la sortie d'immigrants illégaux et de demandeurs d'asile rendent l'immigration plus difficile à gérer pour le gouvernement britannique.

La réponse des politiques à l'égard de l'immigration et de l'intégration ont commencé à diverger depuis la décentralisation des pouvoirs, ce qui a donné lieu à une approche distincte et des stratégies politiques divergentes entre le pouvoir politique écossais et le gouvernement britannique. L'importance du discours politique sur l'immigration et l'intégration permet d'explorer les aspects divergents de la politique écossaise par rapport à leurs homologues britanniques en analysant les programmes électoraux respectifs des partis dominants en Écosse.

Le choix de travailler sur le discours politique sur l'immigration et l'intégration en Écosse, par opposition à d'autres aspects tels que les attitudes publiques, peut s'expliquer par la position de l'Écosse en tant que nation « sans état » avec un fort sentiment de nationalisme. En fait, la décentralisation du pouvoir a accordé à l'Écosse la possibilité de se reconstruire en se distinguant du reste du Royaume-Uni. En outre, la décision d'opter pour un accord de décentralisation est un indicateur de la volonté des Écossais de décider de leurs propres affaires. Les conséquences de la décentralisation des pouvoirs se manifestent dans des décisions politiques en Ecosse de plus en plus convergentes, en particulier en ce qui concerne l'immigration et l'intégration. Ce consensus au sein de l'élite politique écossaise ferait partie du projet de reconstruction de la nation, qui a abouti à une mobilisation politique et vers des stratégies politiques qui peuvent être différentes des orientations des partis britanniques. Ainsi, le choix de travailler sur l'évolution du discours politique sur l'immigration et l'intégration est motivé par un intérêt pour la manifestation d'une stratégie politique distincte de l'élite politique écossaise dans le cadre du projet de construction de la nation.

Le choix de travailler sur la période commençant en 1999, date à laquelle la décentralisation a été mise en œuvre s'explique par l'importance de cette date pour la scène politique en Ecosse. L'année 1999 marque la réouverture effective du Parlement écossais par la Reine et la première élection parlementaire écossaise. Le succès du référendum sur le transfert des responsabilités en 1997 est révélateur d'un mécontentement à l'égard des politiques menées au niveau du Royaume-Uni. Ce processus est décrit comme étant le changement constitutionnel le plus radical du Royaume-Uni depuis la Grande Réforme de 1832, dans sa volonté de concilier deux principes contradictoires : La suprématie du parlement et de l'autonomie gouvernementale. Cela implique un certain degré d'autonomie pour les administrations locales dans le cadre d'un parlement 'suprême'. Dans le cas de l'Écosse, la décentralisation a eu de profondes implications sur la manière dont le pays est gouverné et peut avoir conduit à des exigences constitutionnelles d'indépendance ou à des appels à plus de pouvoirs pour les gouvernements décentralisés. Le débat constitutionnel au Royaume-Uni sur la manière dont il devrait gouverner son territoire est loin d'être terminé et devrait se poursuivre à la lumière des récents événements tels que le succès du référendum sur le Brexit. Cette situation a créé des défis majeurs entre les

gouvernements locaux et le gouvernement central sur la manière de traiter des questions telles que l'immigration et l'intégration.

Il faut également tenir compte des changements constitutionnels et politiques récentes, car ils affectent l'organisation politique du pays. En outre, le succès du référendum sur le Brexit et avant la décision sans équivoque du Royaume-Uni de quitter l'UE a aussi soulevé des inquiétudes en Écosse et a incité les nationalistes écossais à appeler à un second référendum pour l'indépendance de l'Écosse.

Le choix de travailler sur l'Écosse comme cas d'étude est également basé sur sa situation de pays multiethnique, doté d'un riche patrimoine multiculturel et multilingue, et qui en même temps manifeste un fort sentiment d'identité nationale. Un aspect intéressant de l'Écosse est l'apparente harmonie entre un sentiment national prononcé et une prédisposition à la diversité, avec le SNP, premier parti d'Ecosse, prônant le "nationalisme multiculturel". Le concept de "nationalisme multiculturel" est en soi une juxtaposition énigmatique qui mérite d'être étudiée dans le contexte de l'évolution de la politique post-dévolution.

Aujourd'hui, le nationalisme est d'avantage associé à la xénophobie, et les mouvements nationalistes en Europe ont souvent gagné en succès en avançant une rhétorique anti-immigration dans leurs campagnes électorales. Cependant, ce fort sentiment de nationalisme en Écosse ne semble pas susciter le même rejet à l'égard des immigrants et l'absence de partis d'extrême droite comme UKIP dans la scène politique écossaise confirme cet aspect de l'Ecosse, ce qui devient un élément qui la distingue de l'Angleterre et du Pays de Galles. L'intégration des minorités ethniques dans la société écossaise s'est fait dans une certaine mesure grâce à la promotion par le gouvernement écossais d'une identité écossaise "civique" et d'une stratégie multiculturelle. Les acteurs politiques écossais ont fait valoir une image très positive du pays comme étant accueillant des immigrants ainsi qu'une identité inclusive basée sur des marqueurs territoriaux plutôt que sur l'origine ethnique.

L'accent mis sur la période post-dévolution de l'Écosse est également révélateur d'un intérêt pour la complexité des politiques multi-niveaux au Royaume-Uni et dévoile l'importance du pouvoir décisionnel au niveau local, en particulier en relation avec le pouvoir croissant des gouvernements décentralisés. Pour le cas de l'Écosse, avec le

pouvoir croissant du parti nationaliste, les partis écossais ont tendance à se démarquer des stratégies du gouvernement central, offrant ainsi l'occasion d'analyser les différentes approches en matière d'immigration et d'intégration. L'étude des politiques d'immigration et d'intégration devient intéressante, non seulement sur la manière dont les politiques à plusieurs niveaux sont mises en œuvre sur de telles questions, mais aussi sur la manière dont l'immigration est devenue une dimension importante de la compétition entre partis en Écosse après la dévolution.

## **La Problématique**

Ce projet de recherche est centré sur l'idée que l'Écosse, après la dévolution des pouvoirs, a développé sa propre trajectoire politique dans le contexte du projet de construction de la nation. Ceci permet d'élaborer la problématique suivante: Comment les récits de la nation écossaise sont-ils rassemblés et déployés pour s'adapter au discours multiculturel ?

Le point de départ pour cette problématique est lié au nouveau système de gouvernance en Ecosse. En effet ce système de gouvernance a créé une opportunité pour l'élite politique écossaise de façonner leur propre modèle d'intégration selon une forme civique d'identité écossaise. Une identité civique serait plus inclusive pour les minorités ethniques et les immigrants. Cet aspect de l'identité écossaise serait le résultat de l'histoire de l'autonomie institutionnelle de l'Écosse. En fait, depuis 1707, l'Écosse a conservé le pouvoir sur des institutions clés comme l'éducation, la religion et le droit. Il en est résulté une structure institutionnelle qui serait différente, c'est-à-dire plus égalitaire que l'Angleterre. Un exemple de cette différence au niveau des institutions est le système éducatif écossais, considéré comme plus "égalitaire" que le reste du Royaume-Uni. Le résultat de cette autonomie institutionnelle et de cette approche égalitaire est le développement d'une identité nationale basée sur des marqueurs civiques plutôt que ethniques. Ainsi, dans le cadre du projet de construction de la nation suite à la dévolution des pouvoirs, une identité civique plus inclusive pour les minorités ethniques se serait développée. Une deuxième hypothèse sur l'inclusivité de l'identité écossaise est liée à l'histoire de la diversité en Écosse, qui pourrait créer une certaine prédisposition à accepter les minorités. L'Écosse est aussi une nation au patrimoine

multilinguistique. La dimension linguistique constitue aujourd'hui une partie importante dans le projet de construction de la nation, car le gaélique et l'écossais sont présentés comme des éléments importants et des aspects distinctifs de la culture écossaise. Compte tenu de la diversité historique et linguistique de l'Écosse, l'intégration des nouveaux arrivants dans le nouveau contexte de décentralisation pourrait devenir un atout. On prétend même que dans les sociétés multinationales, la diversité peut être mieux acceptée car elle peut contribuer à faire avancer les revendications régionalistes contre l'Etat. Les migrants pourraient s'avérer être des "alliés potentiels" pour la cause nationaliste dans les sociétés multinationales.

On peut aussi considérer la dimension démographique en parlant d'immigration en Ecosse. Les différents partis politiques tentent de formuler des stratégies politiques visant à satisfaire les besoins démographiques spécifiques de l'Écosse, bien que les acteurs politiques en Ecosse n'aient aucun pouvoir réel sur l'immigration au niveau local.

En ce prenant en compte tous ces éléments, un autre objectif de la thèse demeure d'explorer la dynamique et les récits de la nation écossaise en relation avec le discours multiculturel. L'analyse de cette problématique se focalise plus précisément sur le discours politique sur l'immigration et l'intégration en Écosse après la dévolution, en se basant sur l'analyse approfondie de manifestes électoraux. Un corpus de textes composés de manifestes politiques des partis ainsi que de discours de partis et de diffusions électorales sont utilisés afin d'évaluer les aspects de la divergence entre le modèle multiculturel de l'Écosse et le modèle britannique actuel.

La problématique de la thèse peut être liée à d'autres questions sur le succès du modèle multiculturel, promu par l'élite politique écossaise. Ces questions concernent principalement l'intégration des minorités ethniques et leurs revendications dans un environnement multinational déjà complexe. Les tensions et les paradoxes pourraient émaner de l'intersection entre le multiculturalisme et le multinationalisme. Cela peut mettre en question l'aspect civique de l'identité nationale écossaise et sur son caractère inclusif des minorités. Ainsi, ce projet de recherche tente d'analyser et évaluer le modèle multiculturel avancé par l'élite politique écossaise dans le cadre du projet de construction de la nation et les tensions pouvant émaner de l'intersection entre multiculturalisme et multinationalisme.

## CONTEXTE POLITIQUE

Il est indéniable que la décentralisation a eu un impact significatif sur la gouvernance et la politique en Écosse. Aussi appelé "nouvelle politique", la décentralisation a donné lieu à une nouvelle forme de rivalité entre les principaux partis politiques au niveau local, en plus de la forme traditionnelle de compétition pour les sièges de l'Écosse aux élections générales.

L'aspect à plusieurs niveaux du processus de décentralisation a entraîné la division de l'administration des politiques entre les prérogatives des administrations locales et centrales. Ainsi, les questions touchant l'Écosse au niveau local, telles que l'éducation, le logement et la culture, sont traitées au niveau du gouvernement écossais. D'autre part, les questions comme la défense, la politique étrangère et l'immigration sont gérées exclusivement au niveau du gouvernement britannique. Cette division se reflète également dans les stratégies électorales des partis politiques, dans la mesure où les programmes électoraux écossais se concentrent généralement sur les questions décentralisées et où les élections générales se concentrent généralement sur les questions réservées, à l'exception de questions telles que l'immigration ce qui révèle l'importance de ce sujet pour l'Écosse.

Il est important de souligner que l'Écosse, parmi les quatre parties constitutives du Royaume-Uni, a bénéficié d'une forme de décentralisation du pouvoir avant l'accord de dévolution. En fait, selon l'Acte d'Union de 1707, l'Écosse conservait le pouvoir sur des institutions clés dans le cadre de l'accord. Cela a abouti à la création d'un bureau écossais en 1886 et à ce que l'Écosse conserve le pouvoir sur ses systèmes juridique, religieux et éducatif, ce qui lui a permis d'avoir des arrangements distincts pour le traitement des affaires exécutives, mais pas de législature distincte à laquelle l'exécutif écossais pourrait être tenu responsable. Les institutions écossaises ont préservé un haut degré d'autonomie, contribuant à la création d'une sphère publique écossaise distincte et au renforcement du sentiment national écossais.

Cette forme de décentralisation est un indicateur de l'orientation politique particulière de l'Écosse, qui peut également être observée au niveau des préférences de

vote en Écosse. On peut noter que depuis les années 1960, il y a une certaine tendance de vote qui a émergé, nettement plus à gauche que le reste du Royaume-Uni. Pour comprendre cette variation, il est important de définir le centre idéologique du spectre politique en Ecosse. À cet égard, le centre de l'Écosse se situe légèrement à gauche par rapport à celui de l'Angleterre. Le résultat de cette variation peut être observé au niveau des différentes préférences électorales. En suivant cette logique, les Écossais seraient plus enclins à voter pour le Parti travailliste écossais ou le SNP. On peut aussi noter que les partis politiques écossais accordent plus d'importance à certains domaines politiques tels que l'éducation et la culture qui peuvent refléter l'importance de ces institutions pour les Écossais. Cet intérêt pour l'éducation ou la culture résulterait donc du positionnement du centre idéologique à gauche en Écosse

Des tendances de vote similaires ont caractérisé les élections au Royaume-Uni jusqu'aux années 1960, quand une Écosse clairement dominée par les travaillistes a commencé à se dissocier du reste du Royaume-Uni en termes de préférences de vote. La tendance à voter pour le Parti travailliste aux élections générales peut s'expliquer par la tendance déjà mentionnée des électeurs écossais à s'identifier aux partis de gauche. En outre, on soutient souvent que l'électorat écossais a été en majorité de la classe ouvrière, ce qui explique la popularité du Parti travailliste en Ecosse.

Une autre caractéristique importante des années 1960 a été l'ascension du SNP à la scène politique écossaise. Peu à peu, le SNP s'est imposé comme le deuxième parti d'Écosse et a réussi à pousser les conservateurs à la troisième place. Cela reflétait en particulier la déception de l'opinion publique face à l'échec des principaux partis à traiter les affaires écossaises et était une indication de la montée du nationalisme écossais qui s'exprimait en votant pour le SNP. Un vote en faveur du SNP peut être considéré comme un acte de protestation et une manifestation du mécontentement écossais sur la politique gouvernementale plutôt qu'un engagement en faveur de l'indépendance écossaise. Il ne faut donc pas confondre la préférence de l'opinion publique pour le SNP avec une préférence constitutionnelle pour l'indépendance; elle reflète plutôt une divergence par rapport à la politique des partis traditionnels à l'égard d'un parti dont on estime qu'il représente mieux les intérêts de l'Écosse. Le mécontentement de l'opinion publique a encore renforcé la cause autonomiste en 1974. « home rule » ne pouvait plus être ignoré par le Parti travailliste, alors au pouvoir, ce

qui a abouti au premier référendum de dévolution de 1979 pour l'Écosse et le Pays de Galles. Le vote de l'Écosse sur le référendum n'a pas permis d'atteindre le seuil de 40% et de nombreux facteurs ont conduit à son échec.

L'Écosse était perçue comme souffrant d'un "déficit démocratique" en raison du manque de représentation de ses propres priorités et besoins par les gouvernements britanniques successifs. Cela s'est avéré particulièrement évident pendant les années Thatcher. En fait, la vision centrée sur l'Angleterre de la politique de Thatcher a conduit à une hostilité croissante envers le gouvernement britannique. Outre le désenchantement croissant envers l'État britannique et la montée du nationalisme écossais incarné par le SNP, divers commentateurs considèrent également la fin de l'empire comme l'un des principaux facteurs conduisant à la dévolution. L'empire était considéré comme un ciment économique vital qui exerçait une grande influence sur le développement de la conscience et de l'identité nationale britannique.

Malgré les tentatives de maintenir la cause de l'autonomie par la création de groupes comme « Scotland United », « Common Cause » et « Democracy for Scotland », « home rule » a été ignoré pendant les 20 années qui ont suivi. Les Écossais ont attendu jusqu'en 1997 pour voter sur un second référendum sur le transfert des responsabilités, présenté par le Parti travailliste comme une promesse électorale. Les résultats du référendum ont été favorables, ce qui a abouti à la loi écossaise de 1998 qui a permis la création d'un parlement écossais.

Suite à la dévolution des pouvoirs, le Parti travailliste écossais était considéré comme la force politique dominante avec le SNP comme la principale opposition. Le parti travailliste écossais a eu l'avantage de traiter avec une direction centrale travailliste. Cependant, le parti a toujours dû jouer un rôle de médiateur entre les priorités centrales et régionales des partis. Les élections suivantes ont été marquées par les victoires du SNP en 2007, 2011 et 2016. Le SNP est progressivement devenu la force dirigeante naturelle en Écosse, principalement en raison de l'idée largement partagée qu'il était le meilleur choix pour l'Écosse, en plus de la déception croissante à l'égard des politiques du nouveau Parti travailliste. Les Conservateurs écossais se sont retrouvés très peu représentés au parlement écossais jusqu'aux élections de 2016.

Le nouveau contexte post-dévolution a insufflé une nouvelle forme de politique et une nouvelle dynamique de comportement électoral a émergé. Les élections après la dévolution ont été caractérisées par un changement dans le comportement électoral en faveur de partis de gauche, aux dépens des conservateurs écossais. Cette tendance renforce l'idée selon laquelle le centre idéologique en Écosse est plus à gauche, ce qui explique le succès des partis de gauche par rapport au seul parti de droite en Écosse. Dans l'ensemble, les Écossais ont été enclins à voter pour le Parti travailliste écossais aux élections générales et pour le SNP aux élections écossaises. Cependant, lors de dernières élections, le comportement électoral écossais a changé car pour la première fois le SNP a été en mesure de remporter largement les sièges de l'Écosse aux élections générales de 2015.

Le contexte politique post-dévolution a été caractérisé par l'affirmation de la place du SNP dans la politique écossaise. En fait, le parti a pu se lever d'un parti marginal pour former la principale opposition dans les premières administrations travaillistes et au parti au pouvoir depuis 2007. En 2007, Alex Salmond, le leader du SNP, a présenté "Choisir l'avenir de l'Écosse : Une Conversation Nationale, un Livre blanc sur l'indépendance et qui abordait également la question de la décentralisation et de la nécessité d'étendre les pouvoirs de l'Écosse. Le SNP a alors pu faire avancer la cause de l'indépendance à travers un référendum en septembre 2014. Après de nombreuses campagnes électorales, le référendum a échoué, reflétant de nombreuses divisions sur la question. Cependant, malgré l'échec du référendum sur l'indépendance de 2014, l'élite politique a été en mesure de garantir de nouveaux pouvoirs délégués à l'Écosse.

## **CADRE THÉORIQUE**

L'une des principales bases théoriques de cette thèse est la construction de l'identité nationale. Les positions sur la construction identitaire varient entre l'idée qu'une identité nationale écossaise trouve son expression dans un sens plus large de l'identité britannique, et l'idée d'une vision nationaliste de l'identité nationale écossaise.

L'identité nationale devient alors un élément crucial de l'étude du discours politique sur l'immigration et l'intégration. Dans les pays multinationaux, les réponses de l'élite politique à ces questions peuvent être cruciales pour déterminer la position envisagée à l'égard des migrants et de la diversité. Dans le cas de l'Écosse, l'élite politique ont développé une définition civique et territoriale de l'appartenance. Cette forme d'identité nationaliste est construite selon les systèmes éducatifs et juridiques distinctifs de l'Écosse plutôt que selon toute forme de définition ethnoculturelle.

Les définitions civiques et ethniques de l'identité nous ramènent au débat sur la construction de l'identité et de savoir si l'histoire et l'ethnicité sont les principaux piliers de l'identité nationale. Tom Nairn, par exemple, reconnaît l'importance de l'identité en politique et utilise différents témoignages historiques pour plaider en faveur de la présence d'une forte identité écossaise dissimulée sous l'empire britannique, ce qui se traduit par un long état d'hibernation. De même, il admet que les considérations à long terme de pouvoir et de conscience collective sont plus importantes que les questions économiques. Selon Tom Nairn, l'identité écossaise a toujours été présente, mais qu'elle a été maintenue en « auto-subordination » afin de garantir la continuité et la préservation de l'Écosse sans problème. On peut trouver la même idée qui souligne l'importance de l'histoire dans la formation d'une conscience collective dans « Qu'est-ce qu'une nation? » de Renan. Ernest Renan définit une nation comme une entité fondée sur des valeurs communes entre les individus et une histoire commune qui donne lieu à une identité collective.

L'idée de Benedict Anderson de l'identité en tant qu'entité « imaginée » donne une version différente sur la construction de l'identité nationale. L'identité nationale représente un sentiment d'appartenance à une communauté « imaginaire » selon Anderson. Ainsi, les identités sont fluides, choisies, inventées et modifiables. Ernest Gellner suit la même ligne de pensée qu'Anderson et présente l'identité comme « modulaire » et susceptible de changer. L'identité est influencée par la volatilité et le caractère transitoire des allégeances en politique. La même idée d'identité modulaire est utilisée par Stuart Hall qui affirme que la théorisation de l'identité dans les théories modernes est plus une question de « routes » que de « racines ». L'identité à cet égard devient contextuelle et constamment changeante, par opposition à quelque chose de fixe et de fondamental.

Cependant, aucune de ces définitions ne correspond entièrement à la réalité actuelle de la formation complexe de l'identité. Ce travail examine la perspective historique de la formation de l'identité, qui reconnaît la présence de la conscience collective nationale écossaise. L'existence d'une histoire populaire nationale écossaise différente du reste du Royaume-Uni révèle une conscience nationale forte. Cependant, la formulation d'une identité nationale civique et inclusive en Écosse s'inscrit parfaitement dans l'idée que l'Anderson a de l'identité « imaginée » et donc constamment sujette au changement.

## **SOURCES PRIMAIRES**

Ce travail de recherche repose essentiellement sur des programmes électoraux pour les élections législatives en Écosse et des élections parlementaires britanniques. Le choix des manifestes électoraux réside dans leur riche représentation des stratégies politiques des différents partis politiques.

Bien qu'ils soient moins lus que d'autres sources d'information comme les journaux et les sites web dédiés aux campagnes électorales, les manifestes représentent la forme officielle des promesses électorales partis politiques sur des questions politiques diverses, y compris l'immigration et l'intégration. Les manifestes peuvent être considérés comme le document officiel contenant les promesses électorales des différents partis et peuvent être remis en question et évalués sur la base des promesses faites à l'électorat.

Pour suivre l'évolution du discours post-dévolution entre les différents acteurs politiques en Écosse, il est nécessaire de tenir compte des programmes électoraux écossais de la période entre 1999 et 2017. Cela inclut les programmes électoraux de 1999, 2003, 2007, 2011 et 2016. À des fins de comparaison, les manifestes électoraux des élections parlementaires britanniques des partis écossais sont analysés afin de mettre en évidence l'aspect divergent de la politique britannique par rapport à celle des partis écossais. En conséquence, les manifestes pour les élections générales de 2001, 2005, 2010 et 2015, ainsi que les élections anticipées de 2017 sont analysés. L'analyse s'est limitée aux manifestes des quatre principaux partis politiques d'Écosse, à savoir le Parti

national écossais, le Parti travailliste écossais, le Parti conservateur écossais et les Libéraux-démocrates écossais. Cette délimitation est limitée aux partis qui sont susceptibles d'être au pouvoir ou de former la principale opposition et donc d'influer d'une manière ou d'une autre sur la politique d'immigration et d'intégration. En outre, les discours d'acteurs politiques au Royaume Uni et en Ecosse sont analysés afin de consolider mes conclusions.

Une méthodologie analytique de discours suivant l'approche de Jef Verschueren fut retenue pour ce projet de recherche. Cette approche a été adaptée au type de texte du manifeste politique qui peut être différent d'autres textes dans la langue utilisée, le ton, les codes de langage etc.

- "Directives et procédures pragmatiques" de Jef Verschueren

L'analyse du discours adoptée dans ce projet de recherche repose essentiellement sur les "Directives et procédures pragmatiques" de Jef Verschueren. Verschueren soutient que l'interprétation fait partie intégrante du processus de recherche. Il s'agit de faire des choix en utilisant la « variabilité », la « négociabilité » et « l'adaptabilité » du langage, ce qui reflète l'importance du contexte et de la structure comme point d'ancrage de la méthodologie.

Selon Verschueren, les lignes méthodologiques directrices comportent un certain nombre d'étapes à suivre, à partir d'une connaissance approfondie des données en tant qu'élément important du processus d'analyse de la recherche. Cela aussi exige une connaissance approfondie de la quantité de données à analyser.

Dans le cas des manifestes des partis politiques, une analyse du discours fondée sur l'approche de Jef Verschueren serait appropriée dans la mesure où les manifestes peuvent sembler tout à fait directs dans le langage utilisé et les sujets abordés ainsi que les promesses et engagements des partis politiques, mais, lorsqu'on analyse les textes à des niveaux de signification plus profonds, d'autres conclusions peuvent apparaître. En outre, la position sur certains sujets controversés comme l'immigration et la diversité ne

peut être exprimée directement ou peut ne pas être clairement adoptée ou être complètement rejetée.

En utilisant ces lignes directrices comme méthode d'orientation, d'abord, les manifestes sont considérés globalement en expliquant le contexte préélectoral, les partis politiques, la ligne d'idéologie et surtout le contexte politique après le transfert des responsabilités. Ensuite la macrostructure des textes ainsi que de l'aspect multimodal des documents sont traités. Dans le cas de l'analyse du discours politique, il est primordial de considérer d'abord les manifestes dans leur ensemble avec leur séquençage et les éléments relationnels utilisés. Cela peut révéler davantage sur les principaux engagements et priorités des partis et sur la place du discours multiculturel parmi d'autres questions électorales. La présence ou l'absence de certains sujets de débat des manifestes peut révéler les positions des partis politiques sur des sujets tels que le multiculturalisme.

### • Catégories

Afin d'assurer une analyse rigoureuse des manifestes, une délimitation de plusieurs catégories ou mots clés est effectuée. Le but de cette délimitation est d'extraire le maximum d'informations sur les thèmes de l'immigration et de l'intégration en examinant tous les sujets connexes. L'idée de catégories est influencée par le format du « Comparative Manifesto Project » ou CMP qui utilise différentes catégories et sous-catégories pour l'analyse de contenu des manifestes des partis politiques. Les différentes catégories choisies pour l'analyse du discours sont les suivantes : Identité, égalité, discrimination, culture, immigration et diversité. Ces six catégories sont directement ou indirectement liées à l'immigration, aux minorités ethniques et à leur intégration, et elles permettent de mettre en lumière les stratégies des différents partis par l'approche analytique du discours. Ainsi, l'analyse des discours sur l'immigration et l'intégration a été effectuée selon six catégories qui peuvent être reliées de différentes façons au sujet du multiculturalisme en Écosse.

## **PLAN DE LA DISSERTATION**

La première partie de la thèse donne un aperçu du cas d'étude écossais et sa constitution multiculturelle et multiethnique, en mettant l'accent sur l'histoire de la diversité en Écosse. Cette orientation vise à renforcer l'hypothèse selon laquelle le patrimoine multiculturel de l'Écosse pourrait conduire à une meilleure prédisposition à accepter les minorités et rappelle le concept d'identité civique promu par l'élite politique. Cette partie comprend également un aperçu de la répartition actuelle des minorités ethniques dans l'ensemble de l'Écosse afin de fournir une vue d'ensemble plus complète et une compréhension plus claire de la situation dans le pays. En fait, une des critiques possibles de ma thèse vient du fait que l'Écosse n'a pas une population immigrée importante par rapport au reste du Royaume-Uni. La réponse à cette hypothèse nécessite une délimitation des termes migrants et minorités ethniques, ces deux termes étant essentiels à la compréhension de la diversité de la société écossaise. En outre, l'utilisation de tels termes est généralement problématique, en particulier compte tenu de l'utilisation souvent erronée et trompeuse des termes par les médias. Il en résulterait une incompréhension de la différence entre un migrant et une personne appartenant à une minorité ethnique et une mauvaise utilisation et une généralisation excessive des deux termes pour concevoir toute personne de couleur ou d'origine ethnique. La définition d'autres termes clés est également nécessaire pour expliquer le choix de ces mots par rapport aux autres et éviter toute confusion.

La deuxième partie de la thèse examine l'aspect pluridimensionnel de la politique d'immigration et d'intégration au Royaume Uni. Elle offre une vue globale des stratégies d'immigration et d'intégration d'avant la dévolution au niveau du Royaume-Uni, notamment le double interventionnisme d'Etat promu par Roy Jenkins dans les années 1960 et poursuivi ensuite par différents partis politiques au pouvoir. Le deuxième chapitre passe ensuite à l'étude des principales lignes de politique à la suite du transfert des responsabilités, tant au niveau local que national, et de la manière dont les politiques d'immigration et d'intégration interagissent dans un système décentralisé. Enfin, l'influence des institutions supranationales est étudiée en mettant l'accent sur l'impact de l'adhésion à l'UE sur la convergence et l'harmonisation des politiques entre

les États membres, et en tenant compte de la sortie imminente du Royaume-Uni de l'UE et des éventuels défis autour du Brexit.

La troisième partie de la thèse examine en profondeur les programmes électoraux en se concentrant sur les stratégies discursives déployées par les différents partis politiques. Tout d'abord, un aperçu du corpus ainsi que de l'histoire et les lignes idéologiques des principaux partis politiques sont mis en évidence. Le troisième chapitre de cette dernière partie traite l'évolution du discours politique sur l'immigration et l'intégration dans les contextes électoraux écossais et britannique par le biais d'une analyse des programmes électoraux. Une attention particulière est dédiée à la manière dont la politique multi-niveaux opère sur les questions d'immigration et d'intégration dans le cas spécifique de l'Écosse en tant que nation avec un fort sentiment de nationalisme. L'importance de l'agenda nationaliste et les pressions contextuelles aux niveaux national et international ont une incidence sur les stratégies discursives des différents partis politiques. Par la suite, dans la même partie, une analyse des discours prononcés par les chefs de partis est effectuée. Si l'on tient compte de la nature généralement austère et concise des manifestes, le choix de compléter mon travail avec une perspective différente vise à enrichir l'analyse. Une évaluation du modèle multiculturel écossais par rapport au modèle britannique et une étude des tensions possibles entre le multinationalisme et le multiculturalisme dans l'Écosse post-dévolution clôturent la troisième partie.

La dernière partie de ce projet de recherche est un résumé des différents résultats et observations de cette thèse. La conclusion saisit également l'occasion d'indiquer les contributions uniques de ce projet de recherche et de discuter des points forts et des points faibles de l'étude, avant de finalement proposer des idées pour entamer de futures recherches.

## **Partie I : Aperçu général :**

La première partie de la thèse comprend trois chapitres qui visent à clarifier les concepts clés par rapport au titre. Des termes comme « immigration » ou « intégration » peuvent être confus et difficiles à interpréter. Il est donc nécessaire d'élucider l'ambiguïté qui les entoure. D'autres termes tels que « ethnique », « civique » et « citoyenneté » ne figurent pas dans le titre de cette thèse, mais leur définition est nécessaire pour comprendre le contexte politique en Écosse. L'ensemble du récit fourni par l'élite politique en Écosse tourne autour de la dichotomie civique et ethnique et l'Écosse est constamment présentée comme une nation civique plus inclusive. La promotion d'une identité civique et de la citoyenneté inclusive, outre la politique multiculturelle, peut maximiser les chances d'une intégration réussie des nouveaux arrivants.

En outre, comme mon objectif principal est d'analyser l'évolution du discours politique, la notion de contexte devient un élément crucial de la recherche. Connaître le patrimoine culturel de l'Écosse et la composition ethnique de la population écossaise peut étayer l'hypothèse que l'histoire multiculturelle de l'Écosse se traduit par une meilleure acceptation des minorités (en théorie, mais en pratique, il existe des preuves de racisme en Écosse). En plus d'exposer l'histoire de la diversité de la nation, différents événements qui ont eu une incidence sur l'histoire de l'Écosse sont explorés. Des événements comme les guerres d'indépendance ont joué un rôle important pour unir le peuple contre un ennemi commun et ont contribué à façonner la nation et l'identité nationale.

Le dernier chapitre de la première partie offre un aperçu de la répartition ethnique actuelle en Écosse. Il est nécessaire d'explorer cet aspect lié à la composition ethnique de l'Ecosse afin d'avoir une idée des impacts possibles des stratégies successives d'immigration et d'intégration sur la nation.

La population écossaise d'aujourd'hui est diversifiée et se caractérise par des identifications nationales différentes, allant de l'identité écossaise à l'identité britannique, ainsi qu'à d'autres formes d'identification. L'analyse des différents

recensements écossais et britanniques révèle également l'évolution de la population écossaise vers une société plus diversifiée sur le plan ethnique, une tendance plus lente qu'en Angleterre. Cette évolution attire l'attention sur la montée des minorités ethniques en tant qu'acteurs clés de la compétition électorale et demeure un élément crucial pour l'analyse de l'évolution du discours politique sur l'immigration et l'intégration.

Ces résultats corroborent l'idée que l'élite politique en Écosse promeut une identité civique et inclusive dans le contexte de l'édification de la nation post-dévolotion. La diversité historique et linguistique en Écosse peut être considérée comme une meilleure prédisposition à accepter les minorités, et une histoire d'autonomie institutionnelle consolide la spécificité du modèle d'intégration de l'Écosse.

## **Partie 2 : La gouvernance à multi-niveaux de l'immigration et de l'intégration en Ecosse et au Royaume-Uni :**

La deuxième partie de la thèse concerne le contexte plus large de la politique d'immigration et d'intégration en Grande-Bretagne. Différents acteurs interviennent au niveau de la politique d'immigration et d'intégration, y compris les partis politiques, qu'ils soient au pouvoir ou à l'opposition, les groupes de réflexion ainsi que les médias. L'impact d'institutions supranationales telles que l'UE et l'ONU doit également être pris en compte.

La deuxième partie donne un aperçu des principales politiques et initiatives d'immigration et d'intégration qui ont affecté la démographie du Royaume-Uni et contribué à la diversité actuelle du pays. Le Royaume Uni a toujours été une terre de migration. Par exemple, l'Angleterre s'est fortement appuyée sur la main-d'œuvre écossaise, galloise et irlandaise après la révolution industrielle. La source la plus importante de migration provenait de l'Irlande. Cette situation a également affecté l'Écosse, où d'importants flux d'immigrants irlandais s'installent dans différentes régions du pays.

Le principal facteur déterminant des modèles d'immigration d'après-guerre a été les besoins en main-d'œuvre, ce qui a entraîné un afflux important de migrants en

provenance du Commonwealth. Cependant, les mesures migratoires ont progressivement fermé la porte aux migrants potentiels et l'immigration en provenance du Commonwealth a été complètement stoppée avec l'adoption de la loi de 1981 sur la nationalité britannique. Les gouvernements successifs ont également travaillé à l'élaboration d'une législation contre la discrimination afin d'assurer la réussite de l'intégration des migrants nouvellement installés.

Le premier chapitre de cette partie traite de la politique avant le transfert des responsabilités au Royaume-Uni, en mettant l'accent sur d'importantes initiatives gouvernementales et des lois comme le « British Nationality Act » de 1948 ou les différents « Race Relations Acts » qui ont suivi.

Le deuxième chapitre porte sur le cadre post-dévolution et l'aspect à plusieurs niveaux de la politique britannique. Les principaux projets de loi et les réunions d'information et rapports du gouvernement sont examinés afin de montrer l'impact et les changements apportés par la politique de décentralisation sur l'immigration et l'intégration.

L'accord de décentralisation a eu un impact important sur la politique d'immigration et d'intégration au Royaume Uni. Premièrement, les questions liées à l'intégration, comme le logement, la santé, l'éducation, sont décentralisées et donc gérées au niveau local, ce qui donne plus d'autonomie aux différents partis politiques sur les questions décentralisées. L'accord de décentralisation a également donné lieu à une puissance et à un désir d'affirmer la spécificité de l'Écosse, en particulier dans les domaines centralisés, sur lesquels l'Écosse n'a aucun pouvoir au niveau local. Néanmoins, sur des questions comme l'immigration, les besoins de l'Écosse sont exprimés par des acteurs politiques et des initiatives promues pour attirer davantage d'immigrants. La décentralisation a également permis au SNP et à d'autres partis locaux d'avoir leur mot à dire en politique. L'aspect multidimensionnel de la politique est mis en évidence dans ce deuxième chapitre de la deuxième partie de la thèse.

Après l'accord de décentralisation, l'immigration a continué de faire partie des prérogatives du gouvernement britannique, tandis que le gouvernement écossais a conservé le pouvoir sur les questions liées à l'intégration. La décentralisation du pouvoir a conduit à des divergences sur l'immigration, les gouvernements écossais

encourageant les migrations vers l'Écosse, au même moment que les différents gouvernements britanniques s'orientent progressivement vers une immigration plus stricte et plus sélective.

Au niveau du pouvoir central, les gouvernements successifs, Travailleurs et Conservateurs, après 1997 ont opté pour une politique d'immigration sélective, s'engageant à limiter l'immigration aux travailleurs qualifiés et hautement qualifiés. Les initiatives du parti travailliste pour y parvenir ont été la migration « gérée » ou « managed migration ». Un système fondé sur les points a été mis en place afin de mieux gérer l'immigration. L'approche du « New Labour » à l'égard de l'immigration peut être considérée comme étant une ligne politique de migration dure, orientée vers la migration économique.

Au niveau de l'intégration, le « New Labour » a suivi l'approche des gouvernements précédents en matière de relations raciales et s'est concentré sur l'égalité raciale comme objectif principal. Deux lois sur l'égalité raciale ont été adoptées et la portée de ces lois couvre d'autres domaines de discrimination tels que le sexe, la religion, le handicap et l'orientation sexuelle. Les tests de citoyenneté et de langue initiés par le Parti travailliste ont été très controversés car ils remettent en question l'aspect multiculturel de la politique d'intégration britannique

Les questions d'immigration et d'intégration ont également été abordées par rapport à l'adhésion à l'UE. Parmi les questions qui motivent le l'euroscepticisme, il y a la poursuite de l'expansion de l'UE et la nature incontrôlée de l'afflux d'immigrants en provenance des États membres. L'hostilité à l'égard des immigrants a eu des répercussions sur les politiques d'immigration et d'intégration, en particulier en ce qui concerne les migrants en provenance des pays de l'UE. De plus, différents gouvernements, depuis la décentralisation, ont tendance à présenter la citoyenneté comme un droit « acquis », par l'introduction de tests de citoyenneté et de langues.

Les gouvernements Conservateurs ont opté pour une position encore plus stricte sur l'immigration. Sous le leadership de David Cameron, le gouvernement Conservateur a confirmé le passage de politiques multiculturelles à l'exigence de la langue anglaise pour l'immigration des partenaires. Après avoir quitté l'UE, le Royaume-Uni aura encore plus de contrôle sur son système d'immigration.

Comme les questions d'immigration et de réfugiés sont réservées et donc gérées au niveau du gouvernement britannique, l'Écosse n'a pas le pouvoir de légiférer sur ces questions, sauf par l'intermédiaire des députés envoyés au Parlement britannique. Il en va de même pour la législation sur l'égalité qui est décidée au niveau du Parlement britannique. Cependant, les gouvernements écossais et les autorités locales ont été en mesure de faire pression sur les gouvernements britanniques pour qu'ils s'attaquent à l'immigration et qu'ils mettent en œuvre leurs propres stratégies afin d'attirer les nouveaux arrivants.

Les principales stratégies concernant l'immigration et l'intégration élaborées au niveau des gouvernements britanniques sont en contradiction avec la position de l'élite politique écossaise en faveur d'une forme civique et inclusive d'identité nationale. Dans le cadre de la construction d'une nation, les principaux partis politiques d'Écosse ont développé une approche distincte de l'immigration et de l'intégration. On peut citer par exemple la campagne initiée par le gouvernement dirigé par le SNP, « News Scots », qui vise à l'accueil et l'intégration des réfugiés. L'histoire de la diversité en Écosse renforce encore davantage l'inclusion de l'identité nationale écossaise promue par l'élite politique. En fait, comme le montre la première partie, l'Écosse est un pays de plus en plus diversifié, et cette diversité est d'avantage reconnue par les différents partis au gouvernement par des initiatives telles que « One Scotland, many cultures ». En outre, la spécificité démographique de l'Écosse exerce une pression accrue sur les acteurs politiques à différents niveaux sur les stratégies d'immigration et d'intégration envisagées.

Le dernier chapitre de la deuxième partie traite de l'importance et de l'impact des institutions supranationales telles que l'UE, notamment en ce qui concerne les politiques d'intégration et de lutte contre la discrimination. Les récents événements liés au Brexit pourraient apporter des changements à l'autorité de l'UE en termes d'immigration et d'intégration, ainsi que le droit à la libre circulation pour les citoyens de l'UE. Le contexte de l'adhésion à l'UE permet une convergence des approches et la coordination des politiques dans certains aspects de l'immigration, tels que le droit d'asile et l'immigration clandestine. Cette harmonisation est d'avantage renforcée au niveau de l'intégration, où différentes directives ont été formulées afin d'assurer une approche commune pour les Etats membres de l'UE. Il s'agit notamment de l'accord sur les

principes de base sur l'intégration, de la création d'un fonds d'intégration pour les initiatives et de l'eupéanisation des lois anti discrimination.

L'aspect multi-niveaux de l'immigration et de l'intégration au Royaume-Uni est encore renforcé par l'existence de l'UE en tant qu'acteur clé dans l'élaboration de directives dans ce domaine. Aujourd'hui, en tant que membre de l'UE, le Royaume-Uni suit une grande partie des directives de l'UE en termes d'intégration et de droit d'asile, mais bénéficie encore d'une forme de dérogation pour instituer un système d'immigration séparé et contrôler les migrations hors de l'espace Européen. Cependant, la finalisation imminente du Brexit soulève des questions sur l'ampleur de la coordination envisagée entre le Royaume-Uni et l'UE. Les incertitudes entourant le Brexit et le futur rôle de l'UE dans la mise en œuvre de politiques d'intégration convergentes peuvent être considérées comme une opportunité pour l'élite politique écossaise de formuler une approche distincte de l'immigration et de l'intégration dans le contexte de reconstruction de la nation. Cela peut être réalisé dans le cas où l'Écosse se voit accorder davantage de pouvoirs, y compris des pouvoirs sur l'immigration, ou dans le cas du succès du deuxième référendum sur l'indépendance proposé par le SNP au pouvoir.

### **Partie III : L'évolution du discours politique en Écosse depuis la dévolution :**

La troisième partie de ce projet est centrée sur l'évolution du discours politique en Écosse après la dévolution, principalement à travers l'utilisation des manifestes des partis politiques. Le principal objectif de ce projet de recherche est l'analyse de l'évolution du discours politique en Écosse depuis la dévolution des pouvoirs. Une méthodologie d'analyse des discours utilisant les directives de Verschueren est adoptée afin de tracer les aspects de continuité et de changement dans le discours des quatre principaux partis politiques en Écosse. Cela se fait par une analyse approfondie des programmes politiques des élections parlementaires écossaises et générales de 1999 à 2017. Nous avons décidé d'analyser à la fois les programmes électoraux écossais et

britanniques afin de saisir l'aspect multi-niveaux de la politique britannique. Cela explique le choix de travailler sur le corpus au premier chapitre. Le deuxième chapitre met en évidence la diversité politique des principaux partis au Royaume Uni et le troisième chapitre analyse le discours des différents partis politiques.

Le premier chapitre consiste en un examen du corpus, c'est-à-dire un bref résumé et un aperçu des manifestes étudiés. Cela inclut des éléments tels que l'organisation du manifeste, les sujets principaux abordés, et les spécificités déictiques et discursives perceptibles. En outre, l'utilisation des aspects multimodaux est soulignée. Les différents programmes sont organisés chronologiquement et par parti politique. Un aperçu des manifestes peut donner une première idée du positionnement des partis sur les questions d'immigration et d'intégration, car la présence et/ou l'absence de ces sujets électoraux dans les manifestes peuvent révéler leur importance par rapport à d'autres questions électorales. En outre, l'utilisation d'éléments interactionnels et l'expression de la théorie peuvent être révélateurs d'un effort d'identification avec l'électorat écossais. L'utilisation de visuels montre l'importance de certaines questions par rapport à d'autres et peut révéler les positions des différents partis sur la diversité et l'intégration.

Comme le comportement électoral en Écosse est différent du reste du Royaume-Uni, des changements entre les partis écossais et leurs homologues britanniques sont attendus dans l'analyse des manifestes. Le deuxième chapitre donne un aperçu des historiques et lignes d'idéologie des quatre partis politiques, une étape nécessaire pour comprendre et expliquer leurs récits respectifs. L'histoire et les lignes idéologiques des principaux partis étaient également importantes pour comprendre le positionnement des partis sur les questions électorales clés. En Ecosse, les positions des différents partis sur des questions électorales importantes telles que la décentralisation ont été cruciales pour leur succès ou leur échec électoral, comme fut le cas des Conservateurs écossais dans leur campagne contre la dévolution des pouvoirs en 1997. Ainsi, les questions nationales peuvent être considérées comme des sujets qui font consensus en Ecosse. Le principal défi pour les partis politiques en ce qui concerne les questions nationales a été de pouvoir se dissocier de leurs homologues britanniques et de montrer et prouver leur engagement envers l'identité nationale écossaise. Le SNP, étant le seul parti à n'avoir de

représentation qu'en Écosse, le parti a pu avoir un impact politique en Écosse. Le parti est considéré comme un « catalyseur du changement » électoral clé.

Le positionnement des différents partis sur le spectre politique est aussi un aspect à prendre en considération et peut expliquer les décisions sur les questions d'immigration et d'intégration. Cependant, il est important de noter que pour attirer l'électorat, les partis politiques peuvent changer de position sur des questions importantes comme l'immigration.

Le troisième chapitre de la troisième partie examine l'évolution du discours politique sur l'immigration et l'intégration dans les programmes électoraux des partis politiques. L'analyse du discours se fait à deux niveaux. Premièrement, les manifestes électoraux écossais sont analysés chronologiquement et selon les catégories déjà sélectionnées. Les aspects multimodaux sont également examinés. La deuxième étape de l'analyse consiste à adopter une approche similaire aux manifestes électoraux des compagnes électorales britanniques. L'analyse suit les mêmes critères que ceux utilisés pour les élections écossaises et est suivie d'une évaluation des résultats de l'analyse du discours. Dans le cadre de l'évaluation de la rhétorique des partis politiques, l'analyse d'autres sources utilisées, comme les discours de dirigeants des partis politiques, peut mettre la lumière les principaux défis au discours politique dominant sur l'immigration et l'intégration, ainsi que les tensions résultant de l'intersection des discours nationalistes et multiculturels.

L'analyse des discours des programmes électoraux des partis révèle un consensus sur différentes questions électorales, renforçant d'avantage l'existence d'une « dimension écossaise » en politique en Ecosse. Cela devient particulièrement pertinent en considérant la manière dont les acteurs politiques présentent l'identité écossaise. L'identité nationale est une question électorale essentielle dans la politique écossaise et elle est pertinente pour l'enquête sur le discours sur l'immigration et l'intégration. L'analyse du discours révèle un alignement de l'élite politique sur la présentation de l'Écosse comme une société diversifiée et ouverte. Cela va de pair avec la promotion de l'identité civique nationale qui inclut les nouveaux arrivants et les différents groupes minoritaires résidant déjà en Écosse. Cependant, le discours civique est souvent

contredit par une rhétorique plus orientée vers les caractéristiques ethniques de l'Écosse. Ce décalage entre les caractéristiques civiques et non civiques soulève des questions sur l'aspect civique de l'identité nationale tel que promu par les principaux acteurs politiques en Écosse, et sur le degré d'inclusion des minorités.

Pourtant, l'analyse des manifestes politiques en utilisant les catégories « égalité », « anti-discrimination », « culture », « identité », « diversité » et « immigration » montre une acceptation claire du multiculturalisme en Écosse. Malgré l'utilisation limitée du terme dans les programmes des élections tant écossaises que générales, l'orientation multiculturelle de la politique d'intégration en Ecosse est claire.

Enfin, une enquête sur les principaux obstacles au discours politique dominant du projet de multiculturel écossais met en lumière les tensions résultant de l'intersection des discours nationalistes et multiculturels. Cette partie remet en question les résultats et les conclusions tirés de l'analyse des discours des manifestes et d'autres sources utilisées, comme les discours des chefs de partis. Les résultats renforcent d'avantage l'hypothèse d'un modèle d'immigration et d'intégration multiculturelle promu dans le contexte de construction de la nation après la dévolution des pouvoirs.

## **Résultats et conclusions :**

L'analyse des programmes électoraux pour les élections nationales écossaises et les élections générales britanniques dévoile des aspects de convergence entre les partis en compétition pour le Parlement écossais sur des questions électorales qui touche l'Écosse.

Un schéma différent ressort à l'analyse des programmes électoraux des élections parlementaires britanniques et de l'analyse des discours de chefs de partis, révélant des orientations politiques divergentes, voire contrastées, entre les élections parlementaires britanniques et écossaises, et entre les partis écossais et leurs homologues britanniques.

Les aspects de convergence entre les discours des quatre partis politiques étudiés portent en particulier sur l'importance accordée à l'égalité et à la lutte contre la discrimination. Cette tendance peut être liée à la longue tradition de stratégies d'intégration remontant à l'après-guerre aussi appelé « double interventionnisme d'Etat », promu par l'ancien secrétaire d'Etat Roy Jenkins. En fait, la lutte contre la discrimination a été prescrite dans la longue tradition de la politique d'intégration britannique depuis la fin de la Seconde Guerre mondiale. Ainsi, les quatre partis politiques s'associent pour maintenir et renforcer les lois anti discriminatoires. Plus récemment, une attention particulière a été accordée à la lutte contre l'antisémitisme et l'islamophobie, une position qui peut révéler les changements dans la perception publique de la diversité religieuse au Royaume-Uni.

Il convient également de noter que des modèles distincts ressortent de l'analyse des discours consacrés à la catégorie « égalité ». En fait, l'analyse révèle que les partis de gauche sont plus enclins à promouvoir la lutte contre la discrimination et à établir une société plus égalitaire. L'égalité peut être considérée comme un objectif principal pour les quatre principaux partis politiques. Les travaillistes écossais et les libéraux-démocrates écossais consacrent davantage d'attention à l'égalité, les travaillistes écossais se décrivant même comme le « parti de l'égalité ». En outre, les libéraux-démocrates écossais prêtent une attention particulière aux questions de discrimination à l'emploi et proposent des solutions adaptées au processus de recrutement. En outre, le parti encourage la représentation des minorités en politique et appelle à une discrimination positive pour accroître la présence de différentes communautés dans le secteur public. Cette position contredit l'appel des conservateurs écossais à la création d'une "grande méritocratie". De telles positions divergentes peuvent s'expliquer par le positionnement des différents partis dans le spectre politique et reflètent un "schisme" entre les promesses de partis aux élections générales écossaises et écossaises.

L'analyse des différents programmes révèle également un consensus sur la présentation de l'Écosse comme une société plurielle et sur l'engagement en faveur du pluralisme et de l'inclusion. Les aspects multimodaux utilisés dans les manifestes renforcent cette position par l'exposition d'enfants de différents groupes ethniques, une image qui reflète l'aspect jeune et multiculturel de l'Écosse après la dévolution. En ce qui concerne les thèmes de recherche de l'immigration et de l'intégration, l'utilisation

de personnes de différentes origines ethniques peut être destinée à transmettre un message spécifique et une telle stratégie est généralement utilisée pour montrer que le parti politique adopte la diversité.

Dans les manifestes des élections écossaises, le discours politique des quatre principaux partis présente des similitudes reflétant un consensus sur les questions clés liées à l'immigration et à l'intégration. Les principaux partis politiques convergent en se concentrant sur la "culture" en tant que question électorale clé. Cet intérêt est partagé par les quatre principaux partis lors des différentes élections, reflétant l'importance de la culture écossaise pour l'électorat. On peut également constater un consensus au niveau de la promotion de la langue et de la culture gaéliques. Tous les partis semblent être conscients de l'importance du gaélique dans la conscience collective écossaise, ce qui se reflète dans les manifestes par un engagement continu en faveur de la promotion et de l'expansion de la langue gaélique.

Un autre aspect de convergence en termes de promotion d'une identité nationale civique peut être constaté. L'aspect civique de l'Écosse est souligné par les libéraux-démocrates écossais comme étant "la société civique riche et diversifiée de l'Écosse" (2003). L'aspect civique de l'identité est davantage promu dans des institutions telles que l'éducation. L'accent mis sur l'importance des institutions en Écosse dans les programmes électoraux écossais peut être considéré comme le résultat de l'histoire de l'autonomie institutionnelle de l'Écosse. En outre, cette autonomie institutionnelle a donné lieu à l'élaboration de concepts tels que « l'égalitarisme » ou le « mythe de l'égalité », ce qui explique l'importance accordée à l'égalité par les parties en Écosse.

En outre, la diversité de l'Écosse est célébrée par les différents partis politiques et témoigne d'un engagement envers une Écosse multiculturelle dans le nouveau contexte post-dévolution. L'aspect multiculturel de l'Écosse est renforcé par l'utilisation généralisée de mots comme « pluriel », « ouvert », « multiculturel » et « cosmopolite ».

La personnification de l'Écosse est également utilisée par les partis politiques pour renforcer l'aspect multiculturel de l'Écosse. Le processus de « personnification nationale » est utilisé pour renforcer l'aspect civique de l'Écosse. En fait, il y a différents cas où la nation est décrite comme une personne et devient ainsi l'incarnation du même environnement moral et politique que les citoyens. En d'autres termes, par la

personnification de l'Écosse, la nation devient une personne qui fait écho aux valeurs de la société écossaise. Dans ce cas, l'Ecosse telle qu'elle est imaginée par les élites serait « multiculturelle ». L'objectif principal du processus de personnification nationale est d'émuler le caractère progressif de l'Écosse en la présentant comme une pluralité civique et inclusive.

Au niveau des différents manifestes étudiés, on note une domination des représentations civiques. Les positions des différents partis sur l'identité peuvent être révélatrices en particulier en ce qui concerne la manière dont l'élite politique écossaise présente l'identité en Ecosse comme une forme d'identité civique et inclusive des minorités. Cependant, cette position peut être contestée en tenant compte des formulations non civiques de l'identité dans les manifestes des partis. On peut aussi souligner la contradiction qui existe dans la description de la nation écossaise par des articulations civiques et non civiques

Depuis 2001, le discours politique sur l'immigration a mis l'accent sur la nécessité de limiter le nombre de nouveaux arrivants ainsi que sur la lutte contre l'immigration clandestine et les fausses demandes d'asile. Les principaux partis politiques s'alignent dans leurs approches en ce qui concerne l'immigration. En effet, les différents partis reconnaissent la contribution positive de l'immigration, tout en affirmant la nécessité de la restreindre. Il est important de noter que malgré l'aspect restrictif des politiques d'immigration proposées, les différents partis tentent toujours de se décrire comme étant des partis qui promeuvent l'immigration et la diversité.

Un autre aspect convergent des stratégies d'immigration des principaux partis politiques est l'accent mis sur la nécessité de migrants qualifiés dans le cadre d'un système d'immigration « ferme et équitable ». L'accent mis sur l'immigration sélective est d'avantage renforcé en soulignant les besoins et contribution de la main d'œuvre qualifiée à l'économie britannique.

Il est évident qu'il y a une évolution du discours vers une vision de plus en plus restrictive de l'immigration. Cette évolution vers une politique d'immigration plus stricte peut être vue comme une réaction à l'appréhension croissante de l'opinion publique à

l'égard des immigrés et, par la suite, à la popularité croissante des partis d'extrême droite à travers l'Europe comme UKIP. Récemment, la menace posée à la culture occidentale par les migrants, alimentée par la crise des réfugiés et la guerre en Syrie, a conduit à une xénophobie croissante et à la montée en popularité des partis d'extrême droite en Europe.

## **Conclusion**

Cette étude s'appuie sur une analyse empirique mixte des positions des partis écossais sur les questions d'immigration et d'intégration. La méthodologie s'appuie sur un modèle élaboré conformément aux directives de Jef Verschueren sur l'analyse des discours. Les sources primaires de cette étude se basent sur les manifestes des partis politiques, fournissant des déclarations officielles sur des questions électorales telles que l'immigration et l'intégration. Les programmes officiels des partis pour les élections écossaises et britanniques, de 1999 à 2017, ont été analysés pour les quatre principaux partis politiques d'Écosse c.à.d. Le SNP, le parti travailliste écossais, les libéraux-démocrates écossais et les conservateurs écossais. Ainsi, 44 manifestes au total ont fait l'objet de l'étude.

L'analyse des programmes électoraux pour les élections nationales écossaises et les élections générales britanniques a permis de dégager des aspects de la convergence entre les partis sur des questions électorales touchant l'Écosse. Un schéma apparaît à partir des manifestes électoraux des élections parlementaires britanniques et de l'analyse des discours et des débats, révélant des orientations politiques divergentes, voire même contradictoires, entre les élections parlementaires britanniques et écossaises, et entre les partis écossais et leurs homologues britanniques. Les résultats confirment l'hypothèse soulevée dans l'introduction sur l'élaboration d'une trajectoire politique distincte dans le contexte de l'édification de la nation suite à la dévolution des pouvoirs.

Cependant, l'analyse des programmes électoraux des élections britanniques contredit les résultats de l'analyse des discours sur les élections écossaises sur certains

aspects. En fait, les partis politiques étudiés se sont progressivement orientés vers une immigration sélective ou ont fourni des descriptions vagues de leurs futures stratégies d'immigration.

En ce qui concerne l'intégration, des éléments contradictoires ont été décelés, par exemple, dans l'importance dédiée au Royaume Uni et la nécessité de s'adapter aux valeurs britanniques, à l'exception du SNP. Cette rhétorique s'oppose à l'idée d'une trajectoire politique commune dans le contexte d'un projet de construction de la nation.

L'analyse des discours d'acteurs politiques en Ecosse et au Royaume Uni complètent les résultats de l'analyse des discours des manifestes des partis et offrent une vue plus complète du discours politique sur l'immigration et l'intégration en Écosse et au Royaume-Uni. Les discours ont également mis en lumière le débat en cours sur le Brexit et ont révélé des aspects divergents entre les partis britannique et écossais sur la question. Cependant, les discours analysés ne traitent pas nécessairement la situation en Écosse

Afin de bien saisir la dimension linguistique des thèmes de l'immigration et de l'intégration, il était nécessaire de délimiter les termes clés utilisés dans cette étude. Le premier chapitre de la partie I visait à définir les concepts clés comme « immigré », « ethnicité », « race » et « multiculturalisme », ce qui a permis de mieux comprendre et de révéler la complexité et la confusion entourant ces concepts. En outre, le cas d'étude écossais exigeait la délimitation des concepts d'identité et de citoyenneté, ainsi que la mise en lumière du débat sur les formulations civiques et ethniques de l'identité nationale. En fait, l'une des principales fondations de l'identité nationale écossaise promue par l'élite politique repose sur ses aspects civiques, une position inclusive des immigrés et qui renforce un modèle multiculturel d'intégration.

L'exposition du contexte était essentielle à ce projet, en particulier en ce qui concerne l'analyse des discours des manifestes des partis politiques. Selon Jef Verschueren, le contexte n'est pas une réalité extérieure stable, et le discours étudié doit être analysé en relation avec le contexte de l'enquête ainsi qu'avec différents éléments contextuels tels que le contexte social, politique et historique. À cet égard, le deuxième chapitre de la première partie décrit l'histoire multiculturelle de l'Écosse. L'histoire des migrations en Écosse a fourni des éléments d'étude importants qui renforcent

l'hypothèse selon laquelle l'histoire multiculturelle et l'héritage écossais permettent une meilleure acceptation des minorités ethniques. Cette position est consolidée dans le discours politique dans la célébration de l'Ecosse en tant que nation diversifiée et rejette l'origine ethnique des Ecossais. La promotion d'une forme d'identité civique non ethnique peut aussi être considérée comme le résultat de l'histoire d'autonomie institutionnelle de l'Écosse qui a permis le développement d'une société plus égalitaire que le reste du Royaume Uni.

D'autres événements importants de l'histoire écossaise tels que la migration irlandaise ainsi que l'émigration de masse des Écossais ont contribué à la redéfinition de la population écossaise, ce qui a entraîné un déclin démographique à long terme. Le chapitre suivant a exposé la composition démographique de la population écossaise. Aujourd'hui, la population écossaise est plus diversifiée, principalement grâce aux migrations en provenance de l'Europe; la communauté polonaise constituant l'une des minorités les plus importantes d'Écosse.

Les préoccupations démographiques sont exprimées par les différents partis politiques et les politiques entreprises par les gouvernements britanniques renforcent encore le clivage entre les partis britanniques et écossais.

La deuxième partie de cette étude a porté sur un autre élément contextuel important, à savoir le système de gouvernance à multi-niveaux mis en place depuis la mise en place de la décentralisation en Ecosse. En fait, la décentralisation du pouvoir a abouti à l'élaboration d'une approche distincte de l'immigration et de l'intégration. Un exemple est la stratégie « New Scots » dédiée à l'accueil et l'intégration des réfugiés en Écosse, une position qui contredit les décisions concernant les réfugiés et droit d'asile au niveau britannique.

La troisième et dernière partie de cette étude est basée sur l'analyse des discours des manifestes et des discours des partis selon le modèle élaboré à partir des lignes directrices de Jef Verschueren. Le modèle d'analyse comportait un nombre de catégories liées à l'immigration et de l'intégration. D'autres sujets électoraux adjacents ont également été abordés, par exemple la culture, la langue et l'éducation, en raison de leur impact direct sur l'intégration. Ainsi, l'analyse des discours des manifestes se basait sur l'utilisation de six catégories choisies pour leur lien étroit avec les principales questions

d'immigration et d'intégration. En outre, les aspects visuels et multimodaux ont été examinés.

Le chapitre 1 de la partie III consistait en un aperçu du corpus, c'est-à-dire un bref résumé et un aperçu des manifestes étudiés. L'examen des principales histoires et lignes d'idéologie des quatre partis politiques exposées dans le deuxième chapitre de la troisième partie est également important pour la compréhension de l'évolution du discours politique en Écosse après la dévolution. Un aperçu de l'évolution des résultats des élections écossaises et générales depuis 1999 était essentiel pour comprendre l'évolution de la concurrence politique en Écosse et une étape nécessaire pour expliquer les changements dans le temps des manifestes des partis. L'accent mis sur le discours politique sur l'immigration et l'intégration vise principalement à explorer les aspects divergents de la politique écossaise par rapport à leurs homologues britanniques en analysant les programmes électoraux respectifs des partis dominants en Écosse.

L'analyse du discours des programmes des partis a confirmé un consensus au sein de l'élite politique en Écosse dans le cadre du projet de construction de la nation, ce qui a abouti à des stratégies politiques différentes des orientations des partis britanniques. En outre, le discours avancé par l'élite politique sur l'immigration et l'intégration représente désormais un schisme entre les partis écossais et britanniques au sens d'un « clivage centre-périphérie ». D'un autre côté, sur des questions électorales comme la culture et l'identité écossaise, on peut retracer une position plus consensuelle entre les partis écossais. Ainsi, la question nationale conduit à l'alignement des partis politiques.

En outre, l'existence d'une « dimension écossaise » et la place de l'identité dans la politique sont confirmées par les résultats de l'analyse des discours des manifestes des partis pour les élections écossaises. En fait, les différents partis convergent dans l'intérêt dédié à la culture et à l'identité, en plus du consensus sur la représentation de l'Écosse comme une société diversifiée et ouverte, renforçant d'avantage l'aspect civique de l'identité nationale promu par l'élite politique. L'aspect civique de l'identité écossaise est cependant mis en question par la description de la culture et de la beauté naturelles uniques de l'Écosse. L'utilisation d'éléments qui montrent le caractère distinctif culturel et naturel de l'Écosse peut être considéré comme une formulation non civique de l'identité nationale et peut donc remettre en cause l'aspect civique de l'Ecosse.

Grâce à l'analyse du discours politique, ce projet de recherche tente de prendre en compte la dimension multi-niveaux de la politique partisane en Écosse, ainsi que les défis posés par l'intersection entre le multiculturalisme et le multinationalisme.

### **Difficultés et limites de l'étude :**

Une des difficultés rencontrées au cours de cette recherche a été la fusion de l'immigration et de l'intégration dans la même étude. Bien qu'ils soient étroitement liés à l'immigrant, les deux concepts sont généralement traités séparément et se rattachent à des terminologies différentes. En outre, les deux domaines politiques sont traités à différents niveaux de gouvernance au Royaume-Uni, ce qui rend la comparaison entre la politique écossaise et la politique britannique plus difficile dans le contexte de la reconstruction de la nation. En outre, la complexité de ces questions exigeait des recherches sur des questions voisines telles que l'asile et la citoyenneté.

### **Recherche future suggérée**

Ce projet offre différentes possibilités de recherche à l'avenir, y compris la conduite d'enquêtes plus approfondies sur les défis sous-jacents pour les nations apatrides en ce qui concerne les questions de représentation et de nationalité entre la nation et l'État. Travailler sur l'Écosse dans le cadre d'un système de gouvernance multi-niveaux serait l'un des domaines de recherche envisagés. Une approche comparative avec d'autres régions avec un fort sentiment de nationalisme comme le Pays de Galles ou les Cornouailles mérite également d'être envisagée. En outre, une attention particulière est accordée à l'expérience des migrants et des minorités vivant en Écosse et à leur auto-identification et peut compléter mon travail sur les thèmes de l'immigration et de l'intégration, en particulier, l'aspect sociologique de l'immigration et de l'identité nationale. Il serait intéressant de réfléchir à l'expérience des réfugiés nouvellement

installés, venus en Écosse suite à la guerre en Syrie. Cette perspective pourrait mettre en lumière les succès et les limites des politiques gouvernementales en faveur des réfugiés et des demandeurs d'asile.

Aujourd'hui, d'importants défis se posent aux immigrés et aux groupes ethniques minoritaires, avec une opinion publique de plus en plus hostile envers les minorités au Royaume-Uni. Les propositions d'assimilation en tant que solution à l'intégration s'accompagnent d'une plus grande appréhension du public. Cela pose un certain nombre de défis au niveau des politiques écossaise et britannique, en particulier compte tenu de la finalisation du Brexit et de la possibilité d'un second référendum sur l'indépendance. L'enquête sur les causes de l'hostilité croissante du public envers les migrants au Royaume-Uni peut être une autre option intéressante de recherche. Cette thèse sur l'immigration et l'intégration dans l'Écosse moderne donne lieu à une grande diversité de sujets qui méritent d'être étudiés dans le cadre de la carrière d'un chercheur.