

## **The Scotland we know and the Scotland we don't know**

### **Presentation by the Conveners of the Citizens' Assembly of Scotland**

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#### **Kate Wimpres: Convener of the Citizens' Assembly of Scotland**

Over the course of the Assembly you will have the opportunity to discuss a range of evidence about Scotland and the challenges and opportunities for the country.

As we start this journey we thought it might be helpful to set out a few of our own thoughts about Scotland – a taster of some of the facts and figures we've learnt as we prepared for the Assembly and some of our ideas of the kind of issues that we think are important.

I should stress neither David nor I count ourselves as 'experts' in this, and what we say should not be regarded as in any way authoritative or definitive. The facts and figures are drawn from the official statistics though, so you can be sure that they are as accurate as can be.

#### **David Martin: Convener of the Citizens' Assembly of Scotland**

It is an obvious point but no less important for that, that what makes Scotland is the people who live and work here. But how much do we know about who we are?



Maybe the place to start is to say that there are just under 5.5 million people living in Scotland. That may not be an awful lot compared to some countries – for example, there are just over 65.5 million in the whole of the UK and around 513 million in the whole of the EU. But we are not dissimilar to others around us - Ireland, Denmark, Finland, Slovakia and Croatia all have similar populations. In fact 12 of the current 28 EU member states also have populations of less than 6 million.

### [Kate Wimpres: Convener of the Citizens' Assembly of Scotland](#)

And of course the population of Scotland is changing.

The population of Scotland is increasing. But that is actually as a result of migration. We are not growing 'naturally' – since we have more deaths than birth projected each year going forward. That dependency on migration is really important when you think about it in overall population terms.

The situation in the UK is different – a point you may have heard when the effects of immigration has been discussed by politicians in the media. The UK's population as a whole is growing at a much faster rate than Scotland's and is projected to increase by around 9% over the next 25 years.

To put it into perspective if these changes are realised, Scotland's share of the UK population as a whole could fall and that would be important to our economy and politics.

### David Martin: Convener of the Citizens' Assembly of Scotland

As we talk about the people of Scotland we thought it would be interesting to talk about you – the people in the room.

You'll recall from when you were initially approached to join the Assembly that we wanted to ensure that we recruited a group of people broadly representative of the wider population. Well we've done that - through making sure that where you come from broadly mirrors where people live across the country and through the answers that you gave to the questions that we asked about your age, gender, ethnicity, limiting long term conditions, qualifications and current voting attitudes.

So you are a mini public of Scotland.

### Kate Wimpres: Convener of the Citizens' Assembly of Scotland

As David said a moment ago, where you come from is broadly a mirror image of where people live across Scotland as a whole.

[GEOGRAPHY SLIDE]

As the map here on the screen shows –

13% of people live in the south of Scotland

15% in the Lothians

13% in Glasgow

13% in the West of Scotland

12% in mid Scotland and Fife

12% in Central Scotland

14% in the North East of Scotland and

8% in the Highlands and Islands.

I know that some of you will be thinking these are very big areas and wondering why we chose them.

They are the regional constituencies of the Scottish Parliament, MSPs are elected to represent these regions under the 2<sup>nd</sup> vote that you have in those elections.

We chose these regions to ensure that we had coverage of all of Scotland at a high level and then postcodes were chosen randomly from within these areas



to ensure a more representation, but at a level where we could maintain some level of confidentiality about where members come from.

As you can see from the map - the most highly populated part of the country is the Lothians and the lowest is the Highlands and Islands - *is that what you would have expected to see?*

Where people live in Scotland is changing.

It's well known that most of us live in cities and towns – in fact we live on only just over 2% of the land mass.

But people are increasingly moving from west to east in the country and rural populations are continuing to decline.

The fastest growing council area of Scotland is Midlothian - which as most of you will know is just south of Edinburgh. The area where population is falling most is Inverclyde - which is in the West of the country.

Some of the reasons for these changes are fairly obvious, especially around changes to the economy and where more new jobs can be found.



*Is this surprising? You might want to talk about the changes that you are seeing in your own communities.*

So *where* we live is changing. But *how* we live is also changing. More houses are being built, but there are fewer people living in them than ever before - 1 in 3 of the adult population now live on their own.

### David Martin: Convener of the Citizens' Assembly of Scotland

The age profile of the people in the room broadly mirrors that of the wider adult population as well.

[AGE SLIDE]

As this slide shows –

- 21% of the Scottish adult population are aged 16-29
- 23% are aged 30-44
- 26% are aged 45-59
- 20% are aged 60-74
- 10% are aged 75 and over

So nearly half of our adult population are between 30 and 59 years old. A fifth between 16 and 29 years old and a further fifth between 60 and 75 years old. A tenth are over 75 years old.

We've not mentioned either the 924,477 children who make up 17% of our population - and we've spared the 810 centenarians that there are currently in Scotland from duty in the Citizens Assembly

We spoke earlier about our changing total population, but our age profile matters hugely as well of course – for example to the kind of public services that we need – whether that be pre-school and education, or more health and care services, and so on. And our ability to pay for these is affected, as the size of the working age population changes.

It's widely recognised that we have an aging population, with a falling birth rate and people living longer.

Life expectancy for a man in Scotland is actually now 77 years and for a woman is 81.1 years.

But one of the really striking statistics about Scotland is the differences in life expectancy according to where people live. Men and women in the most



deprived areas in Scotland on average live 13 and 9.6 years less than in the most affluent areas of the country.

These are very big differences.

We wanted to show you a slide which puts this into perspective.

[LIFE EXPECTANCY SLIDE]

Some of you will recognise that this is a map of the urban rail line in Glasgow. The slide was developed by an expert called Gerry McCartney using profiles developed by the Scottish Public Health Observatory and published in June 2015.

The slide shows the difference in in life expectancy from one side of Glasgow to the other. By comparing the overall figures it shows that male life expectancy falls by the equivalent of around two years for every station on the train line in Glasgow travelling from Jordanhill (which is in the more affluent west end) to Bridgeton (in the less affluent east end). Overall, on average, a man born in Bridgeton will live 14.3 years less and a woman 11.7 years less, than their counterparts in Jordanhill.





These are very striking statistics which highlight the very real issues around health inequalities in Scotland.

*How important are things like this to you? I'm sure you'll be discussing things like this when you come to talk about the kind of country we are seeking to build.*

### Kate Wimpres: Convener of the Citizens' Assembly of Scotland

One of the unusual features of the Citizens' Assembly is that we have two conveners. That was a deliberate decision by the Scottish Government to make sure that we had proper gender balance in this role.

[GENDER SLIDE]

And you'll see from the slide that is broadly representative of the wider population as well.

There are slightly more women than men in the Citizens' Assembly. As the slide shows - 52% of Scots identify as female and 48% as male.



## David Martin: Convener of the Citizens' Assembly of Scotland

We spoke about the importance of migration earlier and it is an issue that is often talked about and – I would argue – often misunderstood.

To put this into perspective in Scotland, the overwhelming majority of people living in Scotland – nearly 90% of them - still identify themselves as White Scottish or British.

[ETHNICITY SLIDE]

This slide shows a more precise breakdown - and again this broadly mirrors the ethnic background of the people in the room –

77% identify as white Scottish

12% as white British

7% as white other

4% as belonging to other ethnic groups.

*Is that what you would have expected?*

But we are of course becoming a more diverse country.

Scotland's official languages may be English, Gaelic, Scots and British Sign Language, but did you know that over 170 different languages are spoken here – Arabic, Bengali, Cantonese, Dutch, Farsi, French, German, Hebrew, Hindi, Italian, Japanese, Kurdish, Makaton, Mandarin, Punjabi, Polish, Spanish, Turkish, Urdu and many others.

Some of you might have guessed that the most common non-British nationality in Scotland is Polish. Actually, Polish is now the second most spoken language in Scotland.

### [Kate Wimpres: Convener of the Citizens' Assembly of Scotland](#)

In considering other ways to ensure that you would be a broadly representative sample of the wider adult population we considered a range of different indicators about education and employment. It was important that we did not choose too many variables, which would not necessarily have added much to our discussions and would, of course, have risked making the identification process next to impossible.

We chose to look at educational attainment. We did this on the basis that this is widely recognised as being a useful starting point for other variations, for example, the range and type of jobs that people do.



[EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT SLIDE]

As this slide shows -

- around a third of the adult population of Scotland have a degree or professional qualification
- almost a half have standard grade or Higher or equivalent qualifications
- and just under a fifth either have no qualifications or don't know or don't say what qualifications they hold.

Scotland on the whole has a very highly qualified population – we currently have the highest proportion of people aged 25-64 with post-secondary qualifications of any country in the EU.

And we are a country of learning at so many different levels.

*Did you know that we have over 2.5 thousand early learning & childcare centers, and a similar number of schools, and that we have 19 universities or institutes for further education?*

I mentioned earlier that we could not cover every aspect of the social and economic differences across Scotland. But we did think that it was important

to recognise that many people's lives are affected by limiting long term conditions.

[LIMITING LONG TERM CONDITIONS SLIDE]

As this slide shows - almost a quarter of the adult population are affected by disability, by physical or mental health conditions or another limiting long term condition which has lasted or is expected to last 12 months or more and which reduces their ability to carry out day to day activities.

I have to say these figures really surprised David and me. Every individuals needs are important – and these numbers really challenge perceptions of who we are and the services that we need.

[David Martin: Convener of the Citizens' Assembly of Scotland](#)

[POLITICAL INTRO SLIDE]

The final area we need to cover is political attitudes.

As I said yesterday, some political parties criticised the Government when it established the Citizens' Assembly. Those parties were concerned that the members of the Assembly might not be broadly representative of the range of political views in Scotland.



That was a perfectly reasonable thing to be concerned about. To be fair to the Government, one of the things that it insisted upon (as well as making sure that we operate entirely independent of Government) – and which of course Kate and I fully agree – is that we must ensure a properly balanced set of political perspectives in the room.

This was tricky since there are no official statistics on these matters. What we decided to do was to look at three different things which we thought were most important –

- voting intentions for Scottish parliamentary elections
- how people would vote in a EU referendum
- and how people would vote in a referendum on Scottish independence.

To get our target quotas we looked at the average results of opinion polls from all of the major polling companies and drew an average of the last 12 months polls at the time of recruitment.

The results of this analysis come out as follows -

[VOTING INTENTIONS SLIDE]



According to the average of these polls, if there was a Scottish Parliament election tomorrow –

- just under a third of the people of Scotland would vote for the SNP
- around a half would vote for another political party
- and a quarter would not vote or do not know how they would vote.

[VOTING INTENTIONS SLIDE]

And if there was a vote on another EU referendum tomorrow, the average of those polls say that –

- just over half of the people of Scotland would vote to remain
- just under a third would vote to leave
- and the rest are undecided or would not vote.

[VOTING INTENTIONS SLIDE]

And if there were a Scottish Independence referendum tomorrow, the average of those polls say that –



- 40% would vote in support of independence
- 45% against
- and 15% don't know or would not vote.

Obviously these numbers will continue to change over time and no-one here is saying that we should draw from this any definitive conclusion about what Scotland thinks about political issues and what might happen in future elections or referendums.

What it does show you, is that we can say with absolute confidence that the people in the room are a genuine broadly representative sample of the views of the wider population of Scotland on these issues and that any continuing concerns about bias are unfounded. These are important things to bear in mind as we take forward our discussions over the next few weeks.

Incidentally we have published all of these indicators on our website and anyone who is interested in exploring the underlying data can do so there.

[Kate Wimpres: Convener of the Citizens' Assembly of Scotland](#)

[CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES SLIDE]



I hope this quick tour of some basic facts and figures about the people of Scotland has been interesting. David and I certainly learned a few things in putting it all together.

Before handing back to your tables so you can have a discussion about this, we wanted as well to say a few words about the challenges and opportunities facing Scotland. We will of course have plenty of time to discuss these things in more detail over the course of the Assembly, but building on the discussions you have already had about your hopes and fear, and the words you identified earlier when thinking about your experience of living in Scotland, we thought you might find it helpful for us to set out some of our thoughts.

These are of course totally personal thoughts, so please take them in that spirit.

**David Martin: Convener of the Citizens' Assembly of Scotland**

*So what kind of challenges and opportunities are we thinking about?*

The most immediate is what is going to happen on Brexit.

As I said yesterday – we don't know if it will happen and when it will happen, and if it happens at all on what terms we will leave the EU.

I have spent most of my working life as a member of the European Parliament so obviously I think a lot about the impact that leaving the EU would have on Scotland.

In our next weekend we intend that you will hear some high quality expert presentations to explore the impact of Brexit on Scotland in more detail.

This will be important since, no matter what your view of the pros and cons of Brexit, there are very few people who would say that this will not have a major impact for a considerable period of time.

### [Kate Wimpres: Convener of the Citizens' Assembly of Scotland](#)

We had an initial discussion about the wider constitutional outlook with Nicola this morning. Obviously none of us know what will happen on that front either. Again, whether you support independence or not, there is no doubting that it would have a major impact on the country.

And there are different constitutional scenarios out there as well. As Nicola set out – devolution has never really stood still since 1998.

These areas of constitutional change - Brexit, independence, devolution - are going to be important aspects in our discussions.

But in the relatively limited time that we've got over our 6 weekends - which may seem like a long time but will actually pass very quickly – you will want to look at some real-life issues and what the outlook is on those – what the opportunities and challenges are, as well as how these may be affected by constitutional change.

Some issues are really big and work is already in hand to engage citizens in consideration of them, like climate change - you may have heard that the Scottish Government is establishing a citizens assembly to look at that.

There are many economic and social issues for Scotland.

You won't decide today which of those are most important to you, but as you move into table discussions you will be thinking and talking about some of them.

### [David Martin: Convener of the Citizens' Assembly of Scotland](#)

Looking back to our presentation, we can see, for example, that migration is an important issue in our communities, for our economy and for public services delivery.

People have very mixed views of the pros and cons of migration – as do the politicians. *But what are the facts and how are decisions made in this area?*

More broadly, we know that the world of work and the economy is changing. *What are some of those trends, what are some of the main opportunities and challenges and how are these affected by Brexit and other constitutional changes?*

[Kate Wimpers: Convener of the Citizens' Assembly of Scotland](#)

We talked earlier in the weekend about our own Code of Conduct for the Assembly and the rights and responsibilities of Assembly members.

Our rights and responsibilities as citizens and to each other more generally are important. *How are these protected now and how will they be maintained in the future?*

And building on what David has said about migration, *what about borders and free movement – what is the outlook on issues like that, how might we be affected in different constitutional situations?*

You will all have views on how well is the country run – *are we taxed too highly or not enough? Do we pay our fair share? Who decides on such things for*

*Scotland and do they do so well at the moment? Are citizens well-informed and properly involved in decision-making? How can we make improvements to that?*

Some of you will be thinking about very different kinds of issues to those we've touched on so far - the quality of public services for social care, or schools, or about the more local things that affect you and your families on a more personal level and about issues in your communities.

**David Martin: Convener of the Citizens' Assembly of Scotland**

So there are many very important issues about the country and how it is run that you will want to discuss over the course of the Assembly. We obviously can't take evidence on everything, but one of the really great things is that we are being given time and space to talk about what matters to us and the kind of country we want to build.

In some ways of course there need be no limits on our conversations - we should explore the richness and diversity of our collective experiences and ambitions.

**Kate Wimpres: Convener of the Citizens' Assembly of Scotland**

Although we can't talk through everything in 6 weekends, we can make some progress on some things, and more generally in talking to and learning from each other we can prove that when people come together in this kind of way that we can make real progress - that we can understand evidence and that we can agree on the facts and on the options for change, so that – even if we disagree with decisions – we can agree that they have been taken fairly.

[QUOTE FROM FIRST MINISTER SLIDE]

These will be really important things that stand in sharp contrast to much of the political debate that we see around us today and very much chime with what the First Minister said those 6 months ago in setting up the Assembly –

“we should try to find ways of debating our choices respectfully and in a way that seeks maximum areas of agreement. We should lay a foundation that allows us to move forward together, whatever decisions we ultimately arrive at.”

Thanks to all of you for listening to us. It truly is a privilege to have the chance to share our thoughts and to be part of this journey with you.

David Martin and Kate Wimpres: Conveners of the Citizens' Assembly of Scotland