



Documentation to accompany the archived datasets

Background

The Scottish Election Study (SES) 2007 was a major survey of Scottish voters before and after the Scottish Parliament elections on 3 May 2007. It was funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (REF. 000-22-2256) and was based in the Department of Government at the University of Strathclyde. Modelled quite closely on recent British Election Studies (BES), the project's aim was to explain the electoral decisions of Scottish voters, both whether and how to vote. As well as voting behaviour, the survey questionnaires also cover the following topics: attitudes to parties and leaders; issue opinions and evaluations; national identity; constitutional preferences; socio-demographic characteristics. The principal investigators on the project were Robert Johns (University of Strathclyde), David Denver (Lancaster University), James Mitchell (University of Strathclyde) and Charles Pattie (University of Sheffield).

Data collection

The SES 2007 was conducted via the internet. As with the web components of recent BES, the fieldwork was undertaken by YouGov, Britain's leading internet survey agency. The initial sample was drawn randomly from YouGov's panel of subscribers resident in Scotland.

The SES was originally designed as a two-wave panel survey, with the same respondents surveyed before and after the election. These two waves are the basis for investigating electoral behaviour in 2007. Then, in the light of the unforeseen problems surrounding the elections – in particular, the soaring number of rejected ballots - the ESRC agreed to fund a third wave of data collection. In December 2007 we returned to our panel respondents in order to explore their perceptions of the elections and the problems that arose, and to investigate – some time after the furore had died down – whether what happened has had a lasting impact on public attitudes. The table below summarises the key information about each wave of data collection.

Wave	Prefix in datasets	Fieldwork dates (% in first three days of period)	N	Response rate (denominator)
1 – pre-election	'pre_'	17-23 April 2007 (86%)	1,872	71.5% (contacted respondents)
2 – post-election	'post_'	4-10 May 2007 (90%)	1,552	83% (pre- respondents)
3 – follow-up	'post2_'	12-24 December 2007 (80%)	1,166	62% (pre- respondents) ¹

¹ For the follow-up wave we sought responses from all pre-election respondents, even if they had not participated in the post-election wave. That 62% is an overall figure, representing 66% response among pre- and post- respondents, and 47% response from pre-only respondents.

Datasets

Two SES datasets have been archived. (A wider variety of datasets, for example individual files for each wave of the survey, are available from the project website.) The two datasets are:

- ❑ 'SESPanel': the full panel dataset, including data from all three waves of the survey
- ❑ 'SESagg': the full panel dataset plus constituency-level data for aggregate/contextual analyses

The structure of the datasets is simple and chronological: i) a few background variables (e.g. age and gender); ii) pre-election data; iii) post-election data; iv) follow-up data.

In the second dataset this is followed by v) the constituency-level data. There are two types of such variables in 'SESagg', both based on the Scottish Parliament constituency in which the respondent lives. The political variables are drawn from results of the three Scottish Parliament elections (2007, 2003, and 1999), and from the 2001 and 1997 general elections. (There are no data from the 2005 general election, because a reduction in the number of Scottish constituencies meant that the old Westminster/current Holyrood boundaries were redrawn.) The socioeconomic and demographic variables are drawn largely from the 2001 census.



The datasets are in SPSS (.sav) format. They can be transferred into other programs in a number of ways, e.g. via Stat/Transfer, or by saving them as tab-delimited (.dat) files. If users experience problems in converting the datasets into a familiar format, please contact the SES team (details below), and we will endeavour to help. Please also let us know if you spot any errors or omissions in the archived datasets. We can then alert other users to these mistakes, and upload corrected versions of the data to the project's website.

Variables

For ease of use, variables are labelled according to the wave of the survey in which that question was asked. Hence variable names beginning with 'pre_' are from the pre-election survey, those beginning 'post_' are from the post-election survey, and those beginning 'post2_' are from the follow-up survey. Some variables do not have these prefixes: these are standard demographic variables or the aggregate data (see above) which are collected independently of the surveys.

Aside from the prefix indicating the wave of the survey, the variable names include numbers reflecting the order in which those questions were asked in the questionnaires. The variables and values are fully labelled in the datasets; any further information needed can be obtained with reference to the questionnaires (also archived).

Following the Wave 3 ('post2_') variables, there are a few simple summary variables. All of these are fully labelled, with a clear indication of the survey questions from which they are derived. The 'most important issue' variables ('premi' and 'postmi') are derived from coding open-ended questions.

Filters and weighting variables

A few filter variables have been created to facilitate analysis:

- ❑ 'panel': in which waves of the survey did the respondent take part? (0 = pre-wave only; 1 = pre and post; 2 = pre and follow-up; 3 = all three waves)

- ❑ 'votedSP': did the respondent vote in the Holyrood election on 3 May? (0 = no; 1 = yes)
- ❑ 'votedloc': did the respondent vote in the council election on 3 May? (0 = no; 1 = yes)

There are five weighting variables included in the archived datasets:

- ❑ 'pre_W8': YouGov's standard weight for the pre-election sample
- ❑ 'post_W8': YouGov's standard weight for the post-election sample
- ❑ 'post2_W8': YouGov's standard weight for the follow-up sample
- ❑ 'revp_W8': YouGov's standard weight but adjusted by reported party choice to obtain a sample representative of the actual election results
- ❑ 'revt_W8': YouGov's standard weight but adjusted by reported turnout to obtain a sample representative of the actual election turnout

For analyses using only pre-election data, 'pre_W8' is the appropriate weight. For analyses using post-election data but not follow-up data, 'post_W8' is most appropriate. For any analysis using follow-up variables, 'post2_W8' should be used instead.

The 'reverse-engineered' weights, 'revp_W8' and 'revt_W8', are recommended only for simple analyses – e.g. frequencies or crosstabs – in which it is important to recreate the actual party choice or turnout marginals. These variables counteract the biases in the SES sample, which overstates turnout and voting for the SNP, and understates voting for Labour.

Ethical issues

SES respondents were supplied with information about the nature and purposes of the project, and had every opportunity to decline to participate. They were assured at the outset of the confidentiality and anonymity of their participation. These archived datasets are cleaned of any information whereby respondents can be identified and matched to their answers.

More generally, the SES research was reviewed by the University of Strathclyde's Ethics Committee, and was conducted in accordance with the University's Code of Practice on Investigations on Human Beings.

Mode comparison

Roughly the first two-thirds of the SES post-election questionnaire is a precise replication of the election module included in the 2007 Scottish Social Attitudes (SSA) survey. That enables a mode comparison between the internet SES and the face-to-face interviews of the SSA. At the time of archiving the SSA data were not yet available, but soon users will be able to compare the results from the two methods of data collection.

Publications

The SES team is currently writing a book-length report on the project, provisionally titled "*The Rise of the SNP: The 2007 Scottish Parliament Elections*", and due for publication in 2009. In addition, a number of articles based on the data have been submitted to journals. The bibliographic details are as follows:

Johns, R., Denver, D., Mitchell, J. and Pattie, C. (forthcoming), 'Valence politics in Scotland: Towards an explanation of the 2007 election', *Political Studies*, in press.

Johns, R. and Carman, C. (forthcoming), 'Coping with coalitions? Scottish voters under a proportional system', *Representation*, 44(4), in press.

Denver, D., Johns, R. and Carman, C. (under review), 'Rejected ballot papers in the 2007 Scottish Parliament election: The voters' perspective', *British Politics*, submitted June 2008.

Johns, R. and Carman, C. (under review), 'Attitudes to Coalitions and Split-ticket Voting: The Scottish Parliament Elections of 2007', *European Journal of Political Research*, submitted July 2008.

Johns, R., Carman, C. and Denver, D. (under review), 'Problem elections, process evaluations, and willingness to vote: The impact of the Scottish election in 2007', *Political Behavior*, submitted August 2008.

We are keen to hear from other users about their own papers and publications based on the data. Please contact the SES team (details below) with the details.

To find out more about the SES 2007, visit www.scottishelectionstudy.org.uk. If you have queries, comments or suggestions, contact Robert Johns via [e-mail](#) or on 0141 548 2668.

Scottish Election Study 2007 – Pre-election questionnaire**PAGE 1****BASE: All Scottish adults**

How interested are you in the Scottish Parliament election that will be held on May 3rd this year?

- Very interested
- Somewhat interested
- Not very interested
- Not at all interested
- Don't know

And how interested are you in the local council elections that will also be held on May 3rd?

- Very interested
- Somewhat interested
- Not very interested
- Not at all interested
- Don't know

As far as you are aware, which party or parties had ministers in the Scottish Executive between 2003 and the election on May 3rd? [Please tick all that apply] [CLEARLAST]

MULTICODE

- Conservative
- Labour
- Liberal Democrat
- SNP
- Don't know

Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a supporter of any one political party?

- Yes [routepage=3](#)
- No
- Don't know [routepage=4](#)

PAGE 2**BASE: All who say 'NO'**

Do you think of yourself as a little closer to one political party than to the others?

- Yes [routepage=3](#)
- No [routepage=4](#)
- Don't know [routepage=4](#)

PAGE 3**BASE: All who say 'YES'**

Which one?

- Conservative
- Labour
- Liberal Democrat
- SNP

Green Party
 Scottish Socialist Party
 Solidarity
 Scottish Senior Citizens' Unity Party
 Other
 Don't know

If you said 'Other', please specify in the box below which party it is, otherwise leave it blank.

TEXT unvalidated

PAGE 4

BASE: All Scottish adults

On a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means 'very unlikely' and 10 means 'very likely', how likely is it that you will vote in the SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT election?

0 – Very unlikely [route=9](#)

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10 – Very likely

Don't know

PAGE 5

BASE: All except 'Will not vote'

If you do vote in the Scottish Parliament election, have you decided which party you will vote for, or haven't you decided yet?

Yes, have decided

No, have not decided yet

Will not vote [route=9](#)

Don't know [route=9](#)

There will be one ballot paper for the Scottish Parliament election, but you will have two votes. One, on the left hand side of the ballot paper, is for a party list for your REGION. The other, on the right hand side, is for an individual member of the Scottish Parliament – or MSP – for your CONSTITUENCY.

Thinking first about the REGIONAL vote, which party are you most likely to vote for?

Conservative [route=7](#)

Labour [route=7](#)

Liberal Democrat [route=7](#)

SNP [route=7](#)

Green Party [route=7](#)

Scottish Socialist Party [route=7](#)
 Solidarity [route=7](#)
 Scottish Senior Citizens' Unity Party [route=7](#)
 Other
 Don't know [route=7](#)

If you said 'Other', please specify in the box below which party it is, otherwise leave it blank.

TEXT unvalidated

Still thinking about this REGIONAL 'party list' vote...

Which one of the following reasons comes closest to the main reason you will vote for that party?

I always vote that way

I thought it was the best party

It's my second preference; I vote for my first-preference party in the constituency vote

I really preferred another party but it had no chance of winning any party list seats in this region

Other reasons

If you said 'Other reasons', please specify in the box below why you would vote for that party, otherwise leave it blank.

TEXTAREA unvalidated

PAGE 6

BASE: All who 'prefer another party'

Which party do you really prefer?

Conservative

Labour

Liberal Democrat

SNP

Green Party

Other

If you said 'Other', please specify in the box below which party it is, otherwise leave it blank. TEXTAREA unvalidated

PAGE 7

BASE: All except 'Will not vote'

Now thinking of the vote on the right hand side of the ballot paper for an individual MSP for your CONSTITUENCY, which party are you most likely to vote for? (Note that not all of the parties are putting up candidates for the constituency seats.)

Conservative [route=9](#)

Labour [route=9](#)

Liberal Democrat [route=9](#)

SNP [route=9](#)

Other

Don't know [route=9](#)

If you said 'Other', please specify in the box below which party it is, otherwise leave it blank.

TEXT unvalidated

Still thinking about this 'CONSTITUENCY vote'...

Which one of the following reasons comes closest to the main reason you will vote for that party?

I always vote that way

I thought it was the best party

It's my second preference; I vote for my first-preference party in the regional list vote

I really preferred another party but it had no chance of winning in this constituency

Other reasons

If you said 'Other reasons', please specify in the box below why you would vote for one party rather than another, otherwise leave it blank.

TEXT unvalidated

PAGE 8

BASE: All who 'prefer another party'

Which party do you really prefer?

Conservative

Labour

Liberal Democrat

SNP

Green Party

Scottish Socialist Party

Solidarity

Scottish Senior Citizens' Unity Party

Other

If you said 'Other', please specify in the box below which party it is, otherwise leave it blank.

TEXT unvalidated

PAGE 9

BASE: All Scottish adults

On a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means 'very unlikely' and 10 means 'very likely', how likely is it that you will vote in the COUNCIL election on May 3rd?

0 – Very unlikely

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10 – Very likely

Don't know

Does the fact that they will be held on the same day as the Scottish Parliament elections make you more likely or less likely to vote in the council elections, or it doesn't make any difference?

More likely to vote in the council elections

Less likely to vote in the council elections

Makes no difference

If you do vote in the council election, have you decided which party or candidate you will vote for, or you haven't decided yet?

Yes, I have decided

No, I have not decided yet [routepage=11](#)Will not vote [routepage=11](#)Don't know [routepage=11](#)**PAGE 10****BASE: All who will vote**

In the local election you vote by putting candidates in order, marking them 1, 2, 3, etc. You are allowed to number as many or as few candidates on your ballot paper as you wish.

Thinking about your first preference vote, which party's candidate are you most likely to vote for?

Conservative

Labour

Liberal Democrat

SNP

Green Party

Independent candidate

Other

Don't know

If you said 'Other', please specify in the box below which party it is, otherwise leave it blank.

TEXT unvalidated

And still thinking about your first preference vote...

Which of the following statements comes closest to the way you will vote?

I will vote for a party, regardless of the candidate

I will vote for a party only if I approve of the candidate

I will vote for a candidate, regardless of his or her party

Don't know

PAGE 11**BASE: All Scottish adults****Now, some questions about the political parties...**

Please rate each one on a scale 0 to 10, where 0 means you 'strongly dislike' that party and 10 means you 'strongly like' that party. If you come to a party you haven't heard of or don't feel you know enough about, just choose 'don't know'.

How do you feel about...?**START GRID****Conservative Party****Labour Party****Liberal Democrats****SNP****Green Party****Scottish Socialist Party****BY**

0 – Strongly dislike

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10 – Strongly like

Don't know

END GRID**PAGE 12****BASE: All Scottish adults**

Some people say that political parties look after certain groups and are not so concerned about others.

Which one of the following parties do you think MOST closely looks after the interests of...?

working class people

Conservatives

Labour

Liberal Democrats

SNP

Don't know

middle class people

Conservatives

Labour

Liberal Democrats
 SNP
 Don't know

pensioners

Conservatives
 Labour
 Liberal Democrats
 SNP
 Don't know

people running businesses

Conservatives
 Labour
 Liberal Democrats
 SNP
 Don't know

PAGE 13

BASE: All Scottish adults

Which one of the following parties do you think SECOND most closely looks after the interests of...?

working class people

([DISPLAY] not [P12Q2=1]) Conservatives
 ([DISPLAY] not [P12Q2=2]) Labour
 ([DISPLAY] not [P12Q2=3]) Liberal Democrats
 ([DISPLAY] not [P12Q2=4]) SNP
 Don't know

middle class people

([DISPLAY] not [P12Q3=1]) Conservatives
 ([DISPLAY] not [P12Q3=2]) Labour
 ([DISPLAY] not [P12Q3=3]) Liberal Democrats
 ([DISPLAY] not [P12Q3=4]) SNP
 Don't know

pensioners

([DISPLAY] not [P12Q4=1]) Conservatives
 ([DISPLAY] not [P12Q4=2]) Labour
 ([DISPLAY] not [P12Q4=3]) Liberal Democrats
 ([DISPLAY] not [P12Q4=4]) SNP
 Don't know

people running businesses

([DISPLAY] not [P12Q5=1]) Conservatives
 ([DISPLAY] not [P12Q5=2]) Labour
 ([DISPLAY] not [P12Q5=3]) Liberal Democrats
 ([DISPLAY] not [P12Q5=4]) SNP
 Don't know

PAGE 14**BASE: All Scottish adults**

Now, here are some questions on other issues...

What will be the single most important issue for you when deciding how to vote in the Scottish Parliament election? [Please write in the box below. If no issue will be most important for you, please write 'NONE'; if you don't know, please write 'DK'.]

TEXTAREA validated

PAGE 15**BASE: All Scottish adults****Which party is best able to handle this issue?**

Conservative

Labour

Liberal Democrat

SNP

Green Party

Scottish Socialist Party

Solidarity

Scottish Senior Citizens' Unity Party

Other

There are no important issues

Don't know

If you said 'Other', please specify in the box below which party it is, otherwise leave it blank. TEXT unvalidated

PAGE 16**BASE: All Scottish adults****Thinking about the issue of LAW and ORDER...**

Would you say that law and order is mainly the responsibility of the UK government at Westminster or the Scottish executive at Holyrood?

UK government at Westminster

Scottish Executive at Holyrood

Don't know

How well or badly would you say that the Scottish executive has handled law and order over the last four years?

Very well

Fairly well

Neither well nor badly

Fairly badly

Very badly

Don't know

How well or badly do you think an SNP-led coalition WOULD have handled law and order?

Very well

Fairly well

Neither well nor badly
Fairly badly
Very badly
Don't know

PAGE 17

BASE: All Scottish adults

Now thinking about the issue of HEALTH...

Would you say that health is mainly the responsibility of the UK government at Westminster or the Scottish executive at Holyrood?

UK government at Westminster
Scottish Executive at Holyrood
Don't know

How well or badly would you say that the Scottish executive has handled health over the last four years?

Very well
Fairly well
Neither well nor badly
Fairly badly
Very badly
Don't know

How well or badly do you think an SNP-led coalition WOULD have handled health?

Very well
Fairly well
Neither well nor badly
Fairly badly
Very badly
Don't know

PAGE 18

BASE: All Scottish adults

Now thinking about the issue of EDUCATION...

Would you say that education is mainly the responsibility of the British government at Westminster or the Scottish executive at Holyrood?

UK government at Westminster
Scottish Executive at Holyrood
Don't know

How well or badly would you say that the Scottish executive has handled education over the last four years?

Very well
Fairly well
Neither well nor badly
Fairly badly

Very badly
Don't know

How well or badly do you think an SNP-led coalition WOULD have handled education?

Very well
Fairly well
Neither well nor badly
Fairly badly
Very badly
Don't know

PAGE 19

BASE: All Scottish adults

Now a few questions about economic conditions...

How do you think the general economic situation in Scotland has changed over the last 12 months?

Got a lot worse
Got a little worse
Stayed the same
Got a little better
Got a lot better
Don't know

How do you think the general economic situation in Scotland will change over the next 12 months?

Get a lot worse
Get a little worse
Stay the same
Get a little better
Get a lot better
Don't know

How much do you think the Westminster government's policies influence the overall performance of Scotland's economy?

A great deal
Quite a lot
Not very much
Not at all
Don't know

How much do you think the Scottish Executive's policies influence the overall performance of Scotland's economy?

A great deal
Quite a lot
Not very much
Not at all
Don't know

PAGE 20**BASE: All Scottish adults**

More generally, how good or bad a job of running Britain do you think the UK Labour government has done in recent years?

Very good
 Fairly good
 Neither good nor bad
 Fairly bad
 Very bad
 Don't know

And how good or bad a job of running Scotland do you think Labour ministers in the Scottish Executive have done in recent years?

Very good
 Fairly good
 Neither good nor bad
 Fairly bad
 Very bad
 Don't know

And how good or bad a job of running Scotland do you think Liberal Democrat ministers in the Scottish Executive have done in recent years?

Very good
 Fairly good
 Neither good nor bad
 Fairly bad
 Very bad
 Don't know

PAGE 21**BASE: All Scottish adults**

Here are some statements about politics in Scotland. For each one, please could you say how true you think it is?

START GRID

The SNP has promised to hold a referendum on independence if it wins power

Spending on the NHS in Scotland has gone down since 2003

After the election, the new Scottish Executive will have to decide whether to renew the Trident nuclear weapon system

The Scottish Liberal Democrats are committed to replacing the council tax with a local income tax

BY

Definitely true
 Probably true
 Probably not true
 Definitely not true
 Don't know

END GRID

PAGE 22**BASE: All Scottish adults****Now, some questions on a different topic...**

If the election on May 3rd were a general election to the UK House of Commons, would you be more likely to vote, less likely to vote, or wouldn't it make any difference?

More likely

Less likely

routepage=24

Wouldn't make any difference

routepage=25

PAGE 23**BASE: All who are more likely to vote**

Do any of the following reasons explain why you would be more likely to vote in a general election? [Please tick all that apply] [CLEARLAST] MULTICODE

The Westminster Parliament has more influence over our lives than the Scottish Parliament

There's more difference between the parties at the Westminster level

It's obvious who's going to win in the Scottish elections

I prefer the voting system for Westminster elections

I don't approve of the Scottish Parliament

None of these

Don't know

PAGE 24**BASE: All who are less likely to vote****IF [P22Q2=1] then routepage=25;**

Do any of the following reasons explain why you would be less likely to vote in a general election? [Please tick all that apply] [CLEARLAST] MULTICODE

The Westminster Parliament has less influence over our lives than the Scottish Parliament

There's less difference between the parties at the Westminster level

It's less obvious who will win in the Scottish elections

I prefer the voting system for Scottish elections

I don't approve of the Westminster Parliament

None of these

Don't know

PAGE 25**BASE: All who said other party****If [P5Q3=10] then routepage=28;****VAR1=[GETOPTION P7Q1];****IF [P7Q1=1] THEN VAR1="the Conservative Party";****IF [P7Q1=2] THEN VAR1="the Labour Party";****IF [P7Q1=3] THEN VAR1="the Liberal Democrat Party";****IF [P7Q1=4] THEN VAR1="SNP";****IF [P7Q1=5] THEN VAR1="an 'Other' party";**

Earlier you mentioned that you are most likely to vote for **[DISPLAY][VAR1]** in the constituency vote for the Scottish Parliament elections...

If the election on May 3rd were a general election to the UK House of Commons instead, would you...?

Would vote for the same party

Would vote for a different party [route=27](#)

Wouldn't vote [route=28](#)

Don't know [route=28](#)

PAGE 26

BASE: All who would vote for the same party

Do any of the following reasons explain why you would vote for the same party in a general election? [Please tick all that apply] [CLEARLAST] **MULTICODE**

I always vote for that party

At the moment that party has the best policies both for Scotland and the UK

The party I really prefer has no chance of winning in my Holyrood or my Westminster constituency

None of these

Don't know

PAGE 27

BASE: All who would vote for a different party

If not [P25Q2=1] then [route=28](#);

Do any of the following reasons explain why you would vote for a different party in a general election? [Please tick all that apply] [CLEARLAST] **MULTICODE**

I really prefer a smaller party but it has no chance of winning in my Westminster constituency

I really prefer a Scottish party but it has no chance of forming a government at Westminster

At the moment no single party has the best policies both for Scotland and the UK

I will use the Holyrood elections to send a message to London

None of these

Don't know

PAGE 28

BASE: All Scottish adults

How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements

Britain was wrong to go to war with Iraq

Agree strongly

Agree

Neither agree nor disagree

Disagree

Disagree strongly

Don't know

Young people who cause trouble should be banned by law from going out at night

Agree strongly

Agree

Neither agree nor disagree

Disagree

Disagree strongly

Don't know

The UK government has decided to replace Trident, Britain's nuclear weapon system, when it comes to the end of its current life. How much do you agree or disagree with this decision?

Agree strongly

Agree

Neither agree nor disagree

Disagree

Disagree strongly

Don't know

Which of these do you think is the better way of raising the money needed by local councils in Scotland?

Tax people according to the value of the house or flat in which they live

Tax people according to how much income they have

Don't know

PAGE 29**BASE: All Scottish adults****Now, some questions about where parties and voters stand on some political issues...**

On the scale 0 to 10, where 0 means that 'government should cut taxes a lot and spend much less on health and social services' and 10 means that 'government should raise taxes a lot and spend much more on health and social services', where would you place the following on this scale?

START GRID**Yourself****Conservative Party****Labour Party****Liberal Democrats****SNP****BY**

0 - government should cut taxes a lot and spend much less on health and social services

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10 - government should raise taxes a lot and spend much more on health and social services

Don't know

END GRID

Some people think that it is most important to be tough on criminals. Others think it is most important to be tough on the causes of crime. On the scale 0 to 10, 0 means 'tough on criminals' and 10 means' tough on the causes of crime, where would you place the following parties on this grid?

START GRID

Your own view

Conservative Party

Labour Party

Liberal Democrats

SNP

BY

0 – tough on criminals

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10 – tough on the causes of crime

Don't know

END GRID

Finally about the future of Scotland and the union...

On the scale 0 to 10, 0 means 'abolishing the Scottish Parliament and returning to pre-devolution arrangements', and 10 means 'independence for Scotland', where would you place the following parties on this scale?

START GRID

Your own view

Conservative Party

Labour Party

Liberal Democrats

SNP

BY

0 – abolishing the Scottish Parliament and returning to pre-devolution arrangements

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10 – independence for Scotland

Don't know

END GRID**PAGE 30****BASE: All Scottish adults****Here are various options for governing Scotland...****Which one of the following is/ are your preference/s? [Please tick up to three options][CLEARLAST] RESTRICTED MULTICODE**

The Scottish Parliament should be abolished and all Scottish laws passed by Westminster again

There should be no change to the present arrangements: Scotland should have a devolved

Parliament with limited powers

The Scottish Parliament's powers should be increased and it should raise more of its own taxes

Scotland should be independent within the European Union

Scotland should be independent outside the European Union

Don't know

Would you say that compared with other parts of the United Kingdom, Scotland gets pretty much its fair share of government spending, more than its fair share, or less than its fair share of government spending?

Much more than its fair share of government spending

A little more than its fair share of government spending

Pretty much its fair share of government spending

A little less than its fair share of government spending

Much less than its fair share of government spending

Don't know

And how much do you agree or disagree with this statement...**Now that Scotland has its own parliament, it should pay for its services out of taxes collected in Scotland**

Agree strongly

Agree

Neither agree nor disagree

Disagree

Disagree strongly

Don't know

Now, some questions about where you vote...**Do you know the name of your Scottish election constituency? [Please write in the box below. If you don't know, please write DK.]****TEXT AREA validated**

And do you know the name of your local authority area? [Please write in the box below. If you don't know, please write DK.]

TEXT AREA validated

On a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means 'very unlikely' and 10 means 'very likely', how likely is it that the ... will win the election in your constituency?

START GRID

Conservatives

Labour Party

Liberal Democrats

SNP

BY

0 – very unlikely

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10 – very likely

Don't know

END GRID

And, on the same scale from 0 to 10, how likely is it that the ... will win most seats overall in the Scottish Parliament elections?

START GRID

Conservatives

Labour Party

Liberal Democrats

SNP

BY

0 – very unlikely

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10 – very likely

Don't know

END GRID

Now, some questions about possible governments for Scotland...

Which do you think would generally be better for Scotland nowadays...?

To have a government in Edinburgh formed by one political party on its own

To have a coalition government in Edinburgh formed by two political parties together

To have a coalition government in Edinburgh formed by three or more political parties

Don't know

PAGE 31

BASE: All Scottish adults

Here is a list of possible coalitions that might be formed after the elections...

Which of the following coalitions are your most preferred coalitions? [Please tick three coalitions] [CLEARLAST] RESTRICTED MULTICODE

Labour/ Liberal Democrat

SNP/ Liberal Democrat

Labour/ Conservative

SNP/ Conservative

Labour/ SNP

Labour/ Liberal Democrat/ Green

SNP/ Liberal Democrat/ Green

Labour/ Liberal Democrat/ Scottish Socialists

SNP/ Liberal Democrat/ Scottish Socialists

Don't know

PAGE 32

BASE: All Scottish adults

And now think about which coalitions are actually MOST LIKELY to be formed...

Below is a list of coalitions that may be entered into. Please say which of these coalitions you think would be the MOST LIKELY to be formed? [Please tick three coalitions]

[CLEARLAST] RESTRICTED MULTICODE

Labour/ Liberal Democrat

SNP/ Liberal Democrat

Labour/ Conservative

SNP/ Conservative

Labour/ SNP

Labour/ Liberal Democrat/ Green

SNP/ Liberal Democrat/ Green

Labour/ Liberal Democrat/ Scottish Socialists

SNP/ Liberal Democrat/ Scottish Socialists

Don't know

PAGE 33

BASE: All Scottish adults

Now, some questions about what the PARTIES think about coalitions...

First thinking about the Conservative's preferred...

Below is a list of coalitions the Conservative Party may look to enter into. Please say which of these coalitions you think would be the CONSERVATIVE'S preferred coalitions? [Please tick up to three coalitions] [CLEARLAST] RESTRICTED MULTICODE

Conservative/ Labour
 Conservative/ SNP
 Conservative/ Labour/ Green
 Conservative/ SNP/ Green
 Don't know

Now thinking about the Labour Party's preferred coalitions...

Below is a list of coalitions the Labour Party may look to enter into. Please say which of these coalitions you think would be the LABOUR PARTY'S preferred coalitions? [Please tick up to three coalitions] [CLEARLAST] RESTRICTED MULTICODE

Labour/ Liberal Democrat
 Labour/ SNP
 Labour/ Conservative
 Labour/ Liberal Democrat/ Green
 Labour/ Liberal Democrat/ Scottish Socialists
 Labour/ Liberal Democrat/ Solidarity
 Don't know

Now thinking about the Liberal Democrats' preferred coalitions...

Below is a list of coalitions the Liberal Democrats may look to enter into. Please say which of these coalitions you think would be the LIBERAL DEMOCRATS' preferred coalitions? [Please tick up to three coalitions] [CLEARLAST] RESTRICTED MULTICODE

Liberal Democrat/ Labour
 Liberal Democrat/ SNP
 Liberal Democrat/ Labour/ Green
 Liberal Democrat/ SNP/ Green
 Liberal Democrat/ Labour/ Scottish Socialists
 Don't know

And finally, thinking about the SNP's preferred coalitions...

Below is a list of coalitions the SNP may look to enter into. Please say which of these coalitions you think would be the SNP'S preferred coalitions? [Please tick up to three coalitions] [CLEARLAST] RESTRICTED MULTICODE

SNP/ Liberal Democrat
 SNP/ Labour
 SNP/ Conservative
 SNP/ Liberal Democrat/ Green
 Don't know

PAGE 34**BASE: All Scottish adults****Now we'd like to know how you feel about some politicians...****On a scale 0 TO 10, where 0 means 'strongly dislike' and 10 means 'strongly like', please tell us how you feel about the following politicians...****START GRID**

Tony Blair

David Cameron

Gordon Brown

Jack McConnell

Alex Salmond

Nicol Stephen

Annabel Goldie

Tommy Sheridan

BY

0 – Strongly dislike

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10 – Strongly like

Don't know

END GRID**PAGE 35****BASE: All Scottish adults****As you may know, Members of the Scottish Parliament (MSPs) are elected by a different electoral system – known as the 'additional member system' – from the one used to elect MPs to Westminster.****How well would you say that you understand the voting system used in Scottish Parliament elections?**

Very well

Quite well

Not very well

Not at all

Don't know

And does the use of this system make you more likely or less likely to vote in Scottish elections than if they were run under the Westminster system, or doesn't it make any difference to you?

More likely to vote because of the different system

Less likely to vote because of the different system
 Makes no difference
 Don't know

Here are some statements that people have made about the Scottish Parliament electoral system. For each one, please could you say how true you think it is?

START GRID

You can't vote for the same party in both the constituency and the regional list votes
If you're going to vote for a small party, you're better off choosing it in the regional list vote than in the constituency vote
Where a party is very strong, there isn't much point voting for it on the regional list
The number of seats won by a party is decided by the number of constituency votes it gets

BY

Definitely true
 Probably true
 Probably not true
 Definitely not true
 Don't know

END GRID

This year's council elections will be run under a new electoral system, known as the 'single transferable vote'.

Have you heard about this change of system?

I know about the change of system
 I've heard something about it but don't know any details
 I've heard nothing about it
 Don't know

How well would you say that you understand the voting system to be used in this year's council elections?

Very well
 Quite well
 Not very well
 Not at all
 Don't know

And does the use of this new system make you more likely or less likely to vote in the council elections than if they were run under the old system, or doesn't it make any difference to you?

More likely to vote because of the new system
 Less likely to vote because of the new system
 Makes no difference
 Don't know

PAGE 36**BASE: All Scottish adults**

Here are some statements that people have made about the new system for Scottish council elections. For each one, please could you say how true you think it is?

START GRID

You vote by ranking candidates rather than choosing just one

You can only rank candidates from one party

Each ward will be represented by 3 or 4 councillors

Only your first two preferences count in the calculations of who gets elected

BY

Definitely true

Probably true

Probably not true

Definitely not true

Don't know

END GRID**PAGE 37****BASE: All Scottish adults**

Finally, a few questions about yourself and your background...

How often do you read a daily morning newspaper?

Every day

Sometimes

Not at all

[routepage=39](#)

PAGE 38**BASE: All who read a daily morning newspaper every day or sometimes**

Which daily morning newspaper do you read most often?

Scottish Daily Express

Scottish Daily Mail

Scottish Daily Mirror

Daily Star

Scottish Sun

Daily Record

Daily Telegraph

Financial Times

Guardian

Independent

Times

Scotsman

(Glasgow) Herald

(Aberdeen) Press and Journal

Courier/ Dundee Courier

Other

None of these

Don't know

PAGE 39**BASE: All Scottish adults****What is your marital status?**

- Married
- In civil partnership
- Living with a partner (but not married)
- Separated (after being married)
- Divorced
- Widowed
- Single (never married)

PAGE 40**BASE: All Scottish adults****Which one of the following words BEST describes the way you think of yourself?**

- British
- Scottish
- English
- European
- Irish
- Northern Irish
- Ulster
- Welsh
- Other
- Don't know

If you said you think of yourself as having an 'other' national identity, please write in the box below, otherwise leave it blank.

TEXT unvalidated

PAGE 41**BASE: All Scottish adults****Which of following groups do you consider you belong to?**

- Black: of African origin
- Black: of Caribbean origin
- Black: of other origin
- Asian: of Indian origin
- Asian: of Pakistani origin
- Asian: of Bangladeshi origin
- Asian: of Chinese origin
- Asian: of other origin
- White: of any European origin
- White: of other origin
- Mixed origin
- Other
- Don't know

If you said you consider yourself to belong to 'other' ethnic background, then please say what it is in the box below, otherwise leave it blank. **TEXT unvalidated**

Do you regard yourself as belonging to any particular religion?

Yes

No [route page=44](#)

PAGE 42

BASE: All who say 'yes'

Which religion or denomination do you belong to?

Church of England/ Anglican/ Episcopal

Roman Catholic

Presbyterian/ Church of Scotland

Methodist

Baptist

United Reformed Church

Free Presbyterian

Brethren

Jewish

Hindu

Islam/ Muslim

Sikh

Buddhist

Other

No religion

Don't know

If you said you belong to 'other' religion, then please say what it is in the box below, otherwise leave it blank.

TEXT unvalidated

PAGE 43

BASE: All who regard belonging to any particular religion

If ([P42Q1=14] or [P42Q1=15] or [P42Q1=16]) then route page=44;

Apart from such special occasions as weddings, funerals and baptisms and so on, nowadays, how often do you attend services or meetings connected with your religion?

Once a week or more

At least once in two weeks

At least once a month

At least twice a year

At least once a year

Less often

Never or practically never

Varies too much to say

PAGE 44

BASE: All Scottish adults

Which of the following best describes the sort of work you do? (If you aren't working now, please tell me what you did in your last job.)

Professional or higher technical work (work that requires at least degree-level qualifications, e.g. doctor)

Accountant, school teacher, university lecturer, social worker, systems analyst

Manager or senior administrator (e.g. company director, finance manager, personnel manager, senior sales manager, senior local government officer)

Clerical (e.g. clerk, secretary)

Sales or services (e.g. commercial traveller, shop assistant, nursery nurse, care assistant, paramedic)

Small business owner (e.g. shop owner, small builder, restaurant owner)

Foreman or supervisor of other workers (e.g. building site foreman, supervisor of cleaning workers)

Skilled Manual Work (e.g. plumber, electrician, fitter, train driver, cook, hairdresser)

Semi-skilled or unskilled manual work (e.g. machine operator, assembler, postman, waitress, cleaner, labourer, driver, bar-worker, call-centre worker)

Other

Never worked

If you said you do/ did 'other' sort of work, then please say what it is in the box below, otherwise leave it blank.

TEXT unvalidated

PAGE 45

BASE: ALL who are married, in civil partnership or living with a partner

If not ([P39Q1=1] or [P39Q1=2] or [P39Q1=3]) then routepage=46;

And, which of the following best describes the sort of work your husband, wife or partner (as applicable) does/ did?

Professional or higher technical work (work that requires at least degree-level qualifications, e.g. doctor)

Accountant, school teacher, university lecturer, social worker, systems analyst

Manager or senior administrator (e.g. company director, finance manager, personnel manager, senior sales manager, senior local government officer)

Clerical (e.g. clerk, secretary)

Sales or services (e.g. commercial traveller, shop assistant, nursery nurse, care assistant, paramedic)

Small business owner (e.g. shop owner, small builder, restaurant owner)

Foreman or supervisor of other workers (e.g. building site foreman, supervisor of cleaning workers)

Skilled manual work (e.g. plumber, electrician, fitter, train driver, cook, hairdresser)

Semi-skilled or unskilled manual work (e.g. machine operator, assembler, postman, waitress, cleaner)

Labourer, driver, bar-worker, call-centre worker)

Other

Never worked

If you said your spouse or partner does/ did 'other' sort of work, then please say what it is in the box below, otherwise leave it blank.

TEXT unvalidated

PAGE 46**BASE: All Scottish adults****Which type of the following organisations do/ did you work for?**

Private sector firm or company (e.g. limited company, PLC, small business)

Nationalised industry or public corporation (e.g. post office, BBC)

Other public sector employer (e.g. central government, Civil Service, LEA, NHS, Police, armed forces)

Charity/voluntary sector (e.g. charitable companies, churches, trade unions)

Other

Never worked

PAGE 47**BASE: All who work**

If not ([P45Q1=1] or [P45Q1=2] or [P45Q1=3]) then routepage=48;

Which type of the following organisations does/ did your spouse or partner (as applicable) work for?

Private sector firm or company (e.g. limited company, PLC, small business)

Nationalised industry or public corporation (e.g. post office, BBC)

Other public sector employer (e.g. central government, Civil Service, LEA, NHS, Police, armed forces)

Charity/voluntary sector (e.g. charitable companies, churches, trade unions)

Other

Never worked

PAGE 48**BASE: All Scottish adults****Which of the following is the main source of income for you (if in a relationship your spouse/ partner) at present?**

Earnings from employment (own or spouse/ partner's)

Occupational pension(s) – from previous employer(s)

State retirement or widow's/ widower's pension(s)

Jobseeker's Allowance/ Unemployment benefit

Income Support or family credit

Invalidity, sickness or disabled pension or benefit(s)

Other state benefit

Interest from savings or investments

Student grant or loan

Dependent on parents/ other relatives

Other main source

Don't know

If you said you/ your spouse/ partner had 'other' main source of income, then please say what it is in the box below, otherwise leave it blank.

TEXT unvalidated

And, which of the following represents the total income of your household from all sources before tax – including benefits, saving and so on?

Less than £5,000
 £5,000 to £10,000
 £10,001 to £15,000
 £15,001 to £20,000
 £20,001 to- £25,000
 £25,001 to £30,000
 £30,001 to £35,000
 £35,001 to £40,000
 £40,001 to £45,000
 £45,001 to £50,000
 £50,001 to £60,000
 £60,001 to £70,000
 £70,001 and more
 Don't know

PAGE 49

BASE: All Scottish adults

At what age did you finish full-time education?

15 or younger
 16
 17
 18
 19 or older
 Still at school in full-time education
 Still at university in full-time education

Do you have any educational or work-related qualifications?

Yes
 No [route page=0](#)

PAGE 50

BASE: All who said have educational or work-related qualifications

What is the highest qualification you have?

Postgraduate degree
 University or CNAA first degree, e.g. BA, BSc
 University or CNAA diploma
 Teaching qualification (not degree)
 Nursing qualification (e.g. SEN, SRC, SCM, RGC)
 Higher National Certificate (HNC) or Higher National Diploma (HND), City & Guilds level 4 (Full Technological), NVQ4/ SVQ4 or NVQ5/ SVQ5
 Scottish Higher/Higher Still Grades, Scottish SLC/ SUPE at Higher Grade, Scottish Higher School Certificate
 GCE A level, S level, A2 level, AS level, International Baccalaureate
 Ordinary National Certificate (ONC) or Diploma (OND), City & Guilds level 3 (Advanced/ Final), NVQ/ SVQ level 3
 Scottish Ordinary Bands A-C or pass, Scottish Standard Grades 1-3 or Pass/ Lower Certificate
 GCSE A*-C, CSE grade 1, GCE O level grade A –C, School Certificate

GCSE grades D-G, CSE grades 2-5, GCE O level grade D –E, Short Course GCSE, Vocational GCSE

City & Guilds level 2 (Craft/ Intermediate/ Ordinary) or Scotvec Higher National Units or NVQ2/ SVQ2

City & Guilds level 1, Scotvec National Certificate Modules, NVQ1/ SVQ1

Clerical and commercial qualification (e.g. typing, shorthand, book-keeping)

Recognised trade apprenticeship completed

Youth training certificate, skill seekers

Other technical, professional or higher qualification

If you said 'other' technical, professional or higher qualification, then please say what it is in the box below, otherwise leave it blank.

TEXT unvalidated

Scottish Election Study 2007 – Post-election questionnaire

PAGE 1

BASE: All Scottish adults

How much interest do you generally have in what is going on in politics?

- A great deal
- Quite a lot
- Some
- Not very much
- None at all
- Don't know

PAGE 2

BASE: All Scottish adults

Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a supporter of any one political party?

- Yes [routepage=4](#)
- No
- Don't know

PAGE 3

BASE: All except 'YES'

Do you think of yourself as a little closer to one political party than to the others?

- Yes
- No [routepage=5](#)
- Don't know [routepage=5](#)

PAGE 4

BASE: All who say 'YES'

Which one?

- Conservative
- Labour
- Liberal Democrat
- SNP
- Green Party
- Scottish Socialist Party
- Solidarity
- Scottish Senior Citizens' Unity Party
- Other
- Don't know

If you said 'Other', please specify in the box below which party it is, otherwise leave it blank.

TEXT unvalidated

PAGE 5

BASE: All Scottish adults

How much you agree or disagree with the following statements? [Please tick one option on each horizontal row]

START GRID

Britain was wrong to go to war with Iraq

Taxes on businesses should be cut to strengthen Scotland's economy

Under no circumstances should any new nuclear power stations be built in Scotland

All people aged over 65 should get a reduction in their council tax

**Young people who cause trouble should be banned by law from going out at night
Nobody should have to pay prescription charges for medicine they need, even if they can afford to do so**

BY

Agree strongly

Agree

Neither agree nor disagree

Disagree

Disagree strongly

Don't know

END GRID

PAGE 6

BASE: All Scottish adults

The UK government has decided to replace Trident, Britain's nuclear weapon system, when it comes to the end of its current life. How much do you agree or disagree with this decision?

Agree strongly

Agree

Neither agree nor disagree

Disagree

Disagree strongly

Don't know

PAGE 7

BASE: All Scottish adults

Here are two things that might be done to reduce congestion. Please say how much you would be in favour of or against each one. [Please tick one option on each horizontal row]

START GRID

Charging all motorists £2 each time they enter or drive through a city or town centre at peak times

Charging £1 for every 50 miles motorists travel on motorways

BY

Strongly in favour

In favour

Neither in favour nor against

Against

Strongly against

Can't choose

END GRID

PAGE 8

BASE: All Scottish adults

Which of these do you think is the better way of raising the money needed by local councils in Scotland?

Tax people according to the value of the house or flat in which they live

Tax people according to how much income they have

Don't know

PAGE 9

BASE: All Scottish adults

As far as you are aware, which party or parties had ministers in the Scottish Executive between 2003 and the election on May 3rd of this year? [Please tick all that apply] [CLEARLAST] MULTICODE

Conservative
 Labour
 Liberal Democrat
 SNP
 Don't know

PAGE 10

BASE: All Scottish adults

Talking to people about the election to the Scottish Parliament on the 3rd of May, we have found that a lot of people *didn't* manage to vote. Which of these statements best describes what you did?

I did not vote in the Scottish Parliament election on May 3rd [routepage=20](#)

I thought about voting in the Scottish Parliament election but in the end I didn't
[routepage=20](#)

I usually vote but didn't this time [routepage=20](#)

I am sure I voted in the Scottish Parliament election on May 3rd

PAGE 11

BASE: All SP VOTERS (i.e. option 4 in the question above)

How did you vote?

In person at a polling station

By post

Someone voted on my behalf

[Show Graphic 1 about here] Here is a copy of the ballot paper that was used in the Scottish Parliament election. You will see there were two votes. One, on the left hand side of the ballot paper (coloured brown) was for a party list for your region. The other, on the right hand side (coloured lilac), was for an individual member of the Scottish Parliament – or MSP – for your constituency.

Thinking first of all about the REGIONAL vote on the left hand side, which party did you vote for?

Conservative

Labour

Liberal Democrat

SNP

Green Party

Scottish Socialist Party

Solidarity

Scottish Senior Citizens' Unity Party

Other

Don't know

If you said 'Other', please specify in the box below which party it is, otherwise leave it blank.

TEXT unvalidated

PAGE 12

BASE: All SP VOTERS

Still thinking about this REGIONAL 'party list' vote, which one of the following reasons comes closest to the main reason you voted for that party?

I always vote that way [routepage=14](#)

I thought it was the best party [routepage=14](#)

I really preferred another party but it had no chance of winning any party list seats in this region

Other reasons [routepage=14](#)

If you said 'Other reasons', please specify in the box below why you voted for that party, otherwise leave it blank.

TEXTAREA unvalidated

PAGE 13

BASE: All who 'prefer another party' (option 3 in the 'reasons for vote' question)

Which was the party you REALLY preferred?

([DISPLAY] not [P11Q3=1]) Conservative

([DISPLAY] not [P11Q3=2]) Labour

([DISPLAY] not [P11Q3=3]) Liberal Democrat

([DISPLAY] not [P11Q3=4]) SNP

([DISPLAY] not [P11Q3=5]) Green Party

Other

PAGE 14

BASE: All SP VOTERS

[If possible, show Graphic 1 again about here] Now thinking of the vote on the right hand side of the ballot paper for an individual MSP for your CONSTITUENCY, which party's candidate did you vote for?

Conservative

Labour

Liberal Democrat

SNP

Other

Don't know

If you said 'Other', please specify in the box below which party it is, otherwise leave it blank.

TEXT unvalidated

PAGE 15

BASE: All SP VOTERS

Still thinking about this CONSTITUENCY vote, which one of the following reasons comes closest to the main reason you voted for that party?

I always vote that way [routepage=17](#)

I thought it was the best party [routepage=17](#)

I really preferred another party but it had no chance of winning in this constituency

Other reasons [routepage=17](#)

If you said 'Other reasons', please specify in the box below why you voted for that party, otherwise leave it blank.

TEXTAREA unvalidated

PAGE 16

BASE: All who 'prefer another party' (option 3 in the 'reasons for vote' question)

Which was the party you really preferred?

([DISPLAY] not [P14Q1=1]) Conservative

([DISPLAY] not [P14Q1=2]) Labour

([DISPLAY] not [P14Q1=3]) Liberal Democrat

([DISPLAY] not [P14Q1=4]) SNP

Green Party

Other

PAGE 17**BASE: All SP VOTERS**

And again still thinking of this CONSTITUENCY vote, which of these statements comes closest to the way you voted?

- I voted for a party, regardless of the candidate
- I voted for a party only if I approved of the candidate
- I voted for a candidate, regardless of his or her party
- Don't know

PAGE 18**BASE: All SP VOTERS**

When you were deciding how to vote in the Scottish Parliamentary election, did you vote...?

- Mostly** according to what was going on in Scotland
- Mostly** according to what was going on in Britain as a whole
- Other reasons
- Don't know

If you said 'Other reasons', please specify in the box below why you would vote for that party, otherwise leave it blank.

TEXTAREA unvalidated

PAGE 19**BASE: All SP VOTERS**

Thinking still about the elections to the Scottish Parliament, if you had been given a different kind of ballot paper that required you to give two votes IN ORDER OF PREFERENCE, which party would you have put as your FIRST choice?

- Conservative
- Labour
- Liberal Democrat
- SNP
- Green Party
- Scottish Socialist Party
- Solidarity
- Scottish Senior Citizens' Unity Party
- Other
- Don't know

If you said 'Other', please specify in the box below which party it is, otherwise leave it blank.

TEXT unvalidated

And which would you have put as your SECOND choice?

- Conservative [routepage=21](#)
- Labour [routepage=21](#)
- Liberal Democrat [routepage=21](#)
- SNP [routepage=21](#)
- Green Party [routepage=21](#)
- Scottish Socialist Party [routepage=21](#)
- Solidarity [routepage=21](#)
- Scottish Senior Citizens' Unity Party [routepage=21](#)
- Other [routepage=21](#)
- Don't know [routepage=21](#)

If you said 'Other', please specify in the box below which party it is, otherwise leave it blank.

TEXT unvalidated

PAGE 20

BASE: All SP NON-VOTERS (i.e. options 1-3 in the 'Talking to people...' question)

[Show Graphic 1 about here] Here is a copy of the ballot paper that was used in the Scottish Parliament election. You will see there were two votes. One, on the left hand side of the ballot paper (coloured brown) was for a party list for your region. The other, on the right hand side (coloured lilac), was for an individual member of the Scottish Parliament – or MSP – for your constituency.

If you had voted in the Scottish Parliament election, which party would you have voted for on the REGIONAL vote?

Conservative

Labour

Liberal Democrat

SNP

Green Party

Scottish Socialist Party

Solidarity

Scottish Senior Citizens' Unity Party

Other

Don't know

If you said 'Other', please specify in the box below which party it is, otherwise leave it blank.

TEXT unvalidated

[Show Graphic 1 about here again] And which party would you have voted for in the vote for an individual MSP for your CONSTITUENCY?

Conservative

Labour

Liberal Democrat

SNP

Other

Don't know

If you said 'Other', please specify in the box below which party it is, otherwise leave it blank.

TEXT unvalidated

PAGE 21

BASE: All Scottish adults

As well as the election to the Scottish Parliament there were also local elections on the 3rd of May. But a lot of people don't vote in local elections. How about you?

Which of the statements best describes what you did?

I did not vote in the local election on May 3rd [route page=32](#)

I thought about voting in the local election but in the end I didn't [route page=32](#)

I usually vote but didn't this time [route page=32](#)

I am sure I voted in the local election

PAGE 22

BASE: All LOCAL VOTERS (i.e. option 4 in the question above)

In the local election you voted by putting candidates in order, marking them 1, 2, 3, etc. You were allowed to number as many or as few candidates on your ballot paper as you wish.

Thinking about your first preference vote, do you remember which party's candidate you put first?

Conservative
Labour
Liberal Democrat
SNP
Green Party
Independent candidate
Other
Don't know

If you said 'Other', please specify in the box below which party it is, otherwise leave it blank.

TEXT unvalidated

PAGE 23

BASE: All LOCAL VOTERS

And thinking of your first preference vote in the local election, which one of these reasons comes closest to the main reason you voted for the party you chose?

I always vote that way [route=25](#)
I thought it was the best party [route=25](#)
I really preferred another party but it had no chance of winning in this ward
Other reasons [route=25](#)

If you said 'Other reasons', please specify in the box below why you voted for that party, otherwise leave it blank.

TEXTAREA unvalidated

PAGE 24

BASE: All who 'prefer another party' (option 3 in the 'reasons for local election vote' question)

Which was the party you REALLY preferred?

([DISPLAY] not [P22Q2=1]) Conservative
([DISPLAY] not [P22Q2=2]) Labour
([DISPLAY] not [P22Q2=3]) Liberal Democrat
([DISPLAY] not [P22Q2=4]) SNP
([DISPLAY] not [P22Q2=5]) Green Party
Other

PAGE 25

BASE: All LOCAL VOTERS

Still thinking of your first preference vote in the local election, which of these statements comes closest to the way you voted?

I voted for a party, regardless of the candidate
I voted for a party only if I approved of the candidate
I voted for a candidate, regardless of his or her party
Don't know

PAGE 26

BASE: All LOCAL VOTERS

Thinking about the candidate you gave your first preference vote to, how often, if ever, have you spoken to the candidate?

- Often
- Occasionally
- Once or twice
- Never
- Don't know

If this candidate had been running for any of the other parties would you still have given a first preference vote to him/ her?

- Yes
- No
- Depends on the other party
- Don't know

PAGE 27

BASE: All LOCAL VOTERS

We'd like to know how much you liked or disliked the candidate that you put first. How would you rate that candidate on this scale, where 0 means you strongly dislike the candidate and 10 means you strongly like the candidate?

- 0 – Strongly dislike
- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6
- 7
- 8
- 9
- 10 – Strongly like
- Don't know

PAGE 28

BASE: All LOCAL VOTERS

Now thinking about your SECOND preference vote, do you happen to remember which party's candidate you put second?

- Didn't put a second preference [route page=30](#)
- Conservative
- Labour
- Liberal Democrat
- SNP
- Green Party
- Independent candidate
- Other
- Don't know

If you said 'Other', please specify in the box below which party it is, otherwise leave it blank.

TEXT unvalidated

PAGE 29

BASE: All except 'Didn't put a second preference' at the question above

And using that same 0-10 scale, where 0 means you strongly dislike the candidate and 10 means you strongly like the candidate, how would you rate the candidate you put second?

0 – Strongly dislike

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10 – Strongly like

Don't know

PAGE 30

BASE: All LOCAL VOTERS

Did the political party to which you gave your first preference vote in the election ask people in this area to vote for their candidates in a particular order?

Yes

No [route page=33](#)

Don't know [route page=33](#)

PAGE 31

BASE: If 'Yes' above

And did you vote for the candidates in that order?

Yes [route page=33](#)

No [route page=33](#)

Don't know [route page=33](#)

PAGE 32

BASE: All LOCAL NON-VOTERS (i.e. options 1-3 in the 'As well as...' question above)

In the local election you vote by putting candidates in order, marking them 1, 2, 3, etc. If you had voted in the local election on May 3rd, which party's candidate do you think you would have put first?

Conservative

Labour

Liberal Democrat

SNP

Green Party

Independent candidate

Other

Don't know

If you said 'Other', please specify in the box below which party it is, otherwise leave it blank.

TEXT unvalidated

PAGE 33

BASE: All Scottish adults

If there had been a general election to the UK House of Commons on the 3rd of May, do you think you would have voted in that election or do you think you would not have voted?

Would have voted
 Would not have voted [route=35](#)
 Don't know

PAGE 34

BASE: All except 'would not have voted' (i.e. options 1 and 3 above)

Which party do you think you would have voted for?

Conservative
 Labour
 Liberal Democrat
 SNP
 Green Party
 Scottish Socialist Party
 Solidarity
 Other
 Don't know

If you said 'Other', please specify in the box below which party it is, otherwise leave it blank.

TEXT unvalidated

PAGE 35

BASE: All Scottish adults

Which do you think would generally be better for Scotland nowadays...?

To have a government in Edinburgh formed by one political party on its own
 To have government in Edinburgh formed by two political parties together – in coalition
 Don't know

If you had to choose, which of the following do you think would be better for Scotland?

To have a government in Edinburgh formed by Labour and the Liberal Democrats together,
 To have a government in Edinburgh formed by the SNP and the Liberal Democrats together?
 Don't know

PAGE 36

BASE: All Scottish adults

Now, here are some questions about political leaders. Please rate each one on this scale where 0 means very bad and 10 means very good. If you come to a leader you haven't heard of or don't feel you know enough about, just choose 'don't know'.

First, how good or bad a job do you think Tony Blair has done as Prime Minister?

0 – Very bad
 1
 2
 3
 4
 5
 6
 7
 8
 9
 10 – Very good
 Don't know

Again on this scale from 0 to 10, how good or bad a job do you think Jack McConnell has done as First Minister?

0 – Very bad

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10 – Very good

Don't know

And again on this scale from 0 to 10, how good or bad a job do you think the following would do as First Minister? [Please tick one option on each horizontal row]

START GRID

Nicol Stephen

Alex Salmond

Annabel Goldie

BY

0 – Very bad

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10 – Very good

Don't know

END GRID

PAGE 37

BASE: All Scottish adults

Please say which of these statements comes closest to your view:

Scotland should become independent, separate from the UK and the European Union

Scotland should become independent, separate from the UK but part of the European Union

Scotland should remain part of the UK, with its own elected parliament which has some taxation powers

Scotland should remain part of the UK, with its own elected parliament which has no taxation powers

Scotland should remain part of the UK without an elected parliament

Don't know

PAGE 38

BASE: All Scottish adults

Thinking about the institutions below, which do you think ought to make most of the important decisions for Scotland about the following? [Please tick one option on each horizontal row]

START GRID

Levels of welfare benefits
The National Health Service
Schools
Defence and foreign affairs

BY

The Scottish parliament
 The UK government at Westminster
 Local councils in Scotland
 The European Union
 Don't know

END GRID

PAGE 39

BASE: All Scottish adults

How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement: Government ministers in the Scottish Executive should always stand up for what they think is best for Scotland, even if it means having serious rows with the UK Government at Westminster

Agree strongly
 Agree
 Neither agree nor disagree
 Disagree
 Disagree strongly
 Don't know

PAGE 40

BASE: All Scottish adults

On the whole, do you think that England's economy benefits more from having Scotland in the UK, or that Scotland's economy benefits more from being part of the UK, or is it about equal?

England benefits more
 Scotland benefits more
 About equal
 Don't know

Would you say that compared with other parts of the United Kingdom, Scotland gets pretty much its fair share of government spending, more than its fair share, or less than its fair share of government spending?

Much more than its fair share of government spending
 A little more than its fair share of government spending
 Pretty much its fair share of government spending
 A little less than its fair share of government spending
 Much less than its fair share of government spending
 Don't know

PAGE 41

BASE: All Scottish adults

Please say how much you agree or disagree with the following statements. [Please tick one option on each horizontal row]

START GRID

The Scottish parliament should be given more powers
Now that Scotland has its own parliament, it should pay for its services out of taxes collected in Scotland

BY

Agree strongly
 Agree
 Neither agree nor disagree
 Disagree
 Disagree strongly
 Don't know

END GRID

At the moment, most taxes in Scotland are decided by the UK government. Say that instead all taxes in Scotland were to be decided by the Scottish Parliament. Do you think as a result taxes in Scotland would be higher, lower or would it make no difference?

A lot higher
 A little higher
 Would make no difference
 A little lower
 A lot lower
 Don't know

PAGE 42

BASE: All Scottish adults

From what you have seen and heard so far, do you think that having a Scottish Parliament is going to:

Make it more likely that Scotland eventually leaves the United Kingdom
 Make it more likely that Scotland stays in the United Kingdom
 Make no difference
 Don't know

PAGE 43

BASE: All Scottish adults

Thinking of Members of the Scottish Parliament, which one of these qualities would you say it is MOST important for MSPs to have?

To speak their own mind
 To speak up for the area they represent
 To help individual voters sort out their problems
 To be loyal to the party they represent
 Other
 Don't know

If you said 'Other', please type this quality into the box below, otherwise leave it blank.

TEXT unvalidated

Now thinking of local councillors, which one of these qualities would you say it is most important for local councillors to have?

To speak their own mind
 To speak up for the area they represent
 To help individual voters sort out their problems
 To be loyal to the party they represent
 Other
 Don't know

If you said 'Other', please type this quality into the box below, otherwise leave it blank.

TEXT unvalidated

PAGE 44

BASE: All Scottish adults

Which, if any, of the following best describes how you see yourself?

- Scottish not British
- More Scottish than British
- Equally Scottish and British
- More British than Scottish
- British not Scottish
- Other description
- Don't know

If you said 'Other description', please type it in the box below, otherwise leave it blank.

TEXT unvalidated

PAGE 45

BASE: All Scottish adults

Most people say they belong either to the middle class or the working class. If you had to make a choice, which would you say you belong to?

- Middle class
- Working class [route page = 47](#)
- Don't know [route page = 48](#)

PAGE 46

BASE: 'Middle class'

Would you say that you had more in common with middle class English people or with working class Scottish people?

- Middle class English [route page = 48](#)
- Working class Scottish [route page = 48](#)
- Don't know [route page = 48](#)

PAGE 47

BASE: 'Working class'

Would you say that you had more in common with working class English people or with middle class Scottish people?

- Working class English
- Middle class Scottish
- Don't know

PAGE 48

BASE: All Scottish adults

Please tell us where you were born:

- Scotland
- England
- Wales
- Northern Ireland
- Republic of Ireland
- Other

If you said 'Other', please specify in the box below which country it was, otherwise leave it blank.

TEXT unvalidated

PAGE 49

BASE: All Scottish adults

Thinking back to the last general election – that is the one in 2005 – do you remember which party you voted for then, or perhaps you didn't vote in that election?

- Did not vote/not eligible/too young to vote
- Voted Conservative
- Voted Labour
- Voted Liberal Democrat
- Voted SNP
- Voted Green
- Voted Scottish Socialist
- Voted for Other party
- Don't know/can't remember

If you said 'Other', please specify in the box below which party it is, otherwise leave it blank.

TEXT unvalidated

PAGE 50

BASE: All Scottish adults

Thinking about the last election to the Scottish Parliament – held four years ago in 2003 – you had two votes, one for an individual member of the parliament for your constituency and one for a regional party list. Do you remember which party you voted for on the CONSTITUENCY vote, or perhaps you didn't vote in that election?

- Did not vote/not eligible/too young to vote
- Voted Conservative
- Voted Labour
- Voted Liberal Democrat
- Voted SNP
- Voted Green
- Voted Scottish Socialist
- Voted for Other party
- Don't know/can't remember

If you said 'Other', please specify in the box below which party it is, otherwise leave it blank.

TEXT unvalidated

And what about the vote for a party list for your region? Do you remember which party you voted for?

- Did not vote/not eligible/too young to vote
- Voted Conservative
- Voted Labour
- Voted Liberal Democrat
- Voted SNP
- Voted Green
- Voted Scottish Socialist
- Voted for Other party
- Don't know/can't remember

If you said 'Other', please specify in the box below which party it is, otherwise leave it blank.

TEXT unvalidated

PAGE 51

BASE: All Scottish adults

How good or bad a job of running Britain do you think the UK Labour government has done in recent years?

Very good
Fairly good
Neither good nor bad
Fairly bad
Very bad
Don't know

And how good or bad a job of running Scotland do you think Labour ministers in the Scottish Executive have done in recent years?

Very good
Fairly good
Neither good nor bad
Fairly bad
Very bad
Don't know

And how good or bad a job of running Scotland do you think Liberal Democrat ministers in the Scottish Executive have done in recent years?

Very good
Fairly good
Neither good nor bad
Fairly bad
Very bad
Don't know

PAGE 52

BASE: All Scottish adults

How much you agree or disagree with the following statements? [Please tick one option on each horizontal row]

START GRID

The UK should introduce proportional representation so that the number of MPs each party gets in the House of Commons matches more closely the number of votes each party gets?

The Scottish Parliament should be elected using proportional representation
Local councils in Scotland should be elected using proportional representation

BY

Agree strongly
Agree
Neither agree nor disagree
Disagree
Disagree strongly
Don't know

END GRID

PAGE 53

BASE: All Scottish adults

We would like to know what you think about some of our political parties. Please rate each one on a scale 0 to 10, where 0 means you 'strongly dislike' that party and 10 means you 'strongly like' that party. If you come to a party you haven't heard of or

don't feel you know enough about, just choose 'don't know'. [Please tick one option on each horizontal row]

How do you feel about...?

START GRID

Conservative Party

Labour Party

Liberal Democrats

SNP

Green Party

Solidarity

BY

0 – Strongly dislike

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10 – Strongly like

Don't know

END GRID

PAGE 54

BASE: All Scottish adults

Some people say that all political parties look after certain groups and are not so concerned about others. How closely do you think each of these parties look after the interests of Scottish people in general? [Please tick one option on each horizontal row]

START GRID

Labour Party in Scotland

SNP

Conservative Party in Scotland

Liberal Democrats in Scotland

BY

Very closely

Fairly closely

Not very closely

Not at all closely

Don't know

PAGE 55

BASE: All Scottish adults

How much do you agree or disagree with this statement: Now that Scotland has its own parliament, Scottish MPs should no longer be allowed to vote in the UK House of Commons on laws that only affect England

Agree strongly

Agree

Neither agree nor disagree

Disagree

Disagree strongly

Don't know

PAGE 56

BASE: All Scottish adults

In the election to the Scottish Parliament on May 3rd there was one ballot paper on which there were two votes. One was for a party list for your region, the other for an individual Member of Parliament – or MSP – for your constituency. Some people say that filling in this ballot paper is very difficult. Others say that it is not at all difficult. How difficult do YOU think it is filling in the ballot paper for the Scottish Parliament election?

Very difficult

Fairly difficult

Not very difficult

Not at all difficult

Can't choose

And in the local council elections on May 3rd voters were asked to put the candidates in order, marking them 1,2,3, etc. How difficult do you think it is filling in the ballot paper for the local council election?

Very difficult

Fairly difficult

Not very difficult

Not at all difficult

Can't choose

PAGE 57

BASE: All Scottish adults

Some people say that it is difficult to understand how the number of seats a party wins is worked out under the voting system used in Scottish Parliament elections. Others say that it is not at all difficult. How difficult do YOU think it is to understand how the seats are worked out?

Very difficult

Fairly difficult

Not very difficult

Not at all difficult

Can't choose

And now thinking of the voting system used in local council elections, how difficult do you think it is to understand how the seats are worked out?

Very difficult

Fairly difficult

Not very difficult

Not at all difficult

Can't choose

PAGE 58

BASE: All Scottish adults

Now some questions about Scottish independence. Leaving aside your own views on whether or not Scotland should be independent, would you support or oppose a referendum being held on this issue?

Support a referendum on independence

Oppose a referendum on independence

Don't know

If there were a referendum on whether to keep the present arrangements or to make Scotland an independent state, how would you vote?

Keep the present arrangements
 Make Scotland an independent state
 Would not vote
 Don't know

If there were a referendum and there was an additional option of greater powers for the Scottish Parliament, how would you vote?

Keep the Scottish Parliament with its existing powers
 Keep the Scottish Parliament but give it greater powers
 Make Scotland an independent state
 Would not vote
 Don't know

PAGE 59

BASE: All Scottish adults

In these elections, what was your view of the connection between an SNP victory and independence?

Would make independence inevitable
 Would make independence much more likely
 Would make independence a little more likely
 Would make no difference to the likelihood of independence
 Don't know

Rather than pledging to make Scotland independent straight away, the SNP is proposing a referendum on the issue. Again regardless of your actual vote, what effect did this referendum pledge have on your likelihood to support the SNP?

Made me more likely to vote for them
 Made me less likely to vote for them
 Made no difference
 Don't know

PAGE 60

BASE: All Scottish adults

During the election campaign, did a canvasser from any party visit your home to talk with you?

Yes
 No [route page =62](#)
 Don't know [route page =62](#)

PAGE 61

BASE: 'Yes' at previous question

Which party or parties did they represent? [Please tick all that apply]

MULTICODE

Conservatives
 Labour
 Liberal Democrats
 SNP
 Greens
 Other
 Don't know

Can you remember: were the visitors campaigning for the Scottish elections, the local elections or both?

Scottish elections

Local elections

Both

Can't remember

PAGE 62

BASE: All Scottish adults

Did you read an election leaflet that was put through your door?

Yes

No routepage =64

No leaflets were received routepage =64

Don't know routepage =64

PAGE 63

BASE: 'Yes' at previous question

Which party or parties sent out the leaflet(s) that you read? [Please tick all that apply]

MULTICODE

Conservatives

Labour

Liberal Democrats

SNP

Greens

Other

Don't know

Can you remember: were the leaflets for the Scottish elections or the local elections (or both)?

Scottish elections

Local elections

Both

Can't remember

PAGE 64

BASE: All Scottish adults

Did anyone from a political party telephone to ask you how you might vote?

Yes

No routepage =66

Don't know routepage =66

PAGE 65

BASE: 'Yes' at previous question

Which party or parties did they represent? [Please tick all that apply] MULTICODE

Conservatives

Labour

Liberal Democrats

SNP

Greens

Other

Don't know

PAGE 66

BASE: All Scottish adults

Did you see any of the Party Election Broadcasts that were shown on television?

Yes
 No routepage =68
 Don't know routepage =68

PAGE 67**BASE: 'Yes' at previous question****Which parties' Election Broadcasts did you see? [Please tick all that apply]****MULTICODE**

Conservatives
 Labour
 Liberal Democrats
 SNP
 Greens
 Other
 Don't know

PAGE 68**BASE: All Scottish adults**

Campaigning is said to be 'positive' when it involves putting forward your own policies and personalities. 'Negative' campaigning means criticising the policies and personalities of the other parties. How would you rate the campaigns of the following parties on a scale from 'very positive' to 'very negative'? [Please tick one option on each horizontal row]

START GRID

Conservatives
Labour
Liberal Democrats
SNP

BY

Very positive
 Fairly positive
 Neither positive nor negative
 Fairly negative
 Very negative
 Don't know

END GRID**PAGE 69****BASE: All Scottish adults**

Now here are some questions about issues. What was the single most important issue for you when deciding how to vote in the Scottish Parliament election? [Please write in the box below. If no issue was most important for you, please write 'NONE'; if you don't know, please write 'DK'.]

TEXTAREA**Which party is best able to handle this issue?**

Conservative
 Labour
 Liberal Democrat
 SNP
 Green Party
 Scottish Socialist Party
 Solidarity
 Scottish Senior Citizens' Unity Party

Other
 There were no important issues
 Don't know

If you said 'Other', please specify in the box below which party it is, otherwise leave it blank. TEXT unvalidated

PAGE 70

BASE: All Scottish adults

Now thinking about the economy, would you say that the economy is mainly the responsibility of the UK government at Westminster or the Scottish executive at Holyrood?

UK government at Westminster
 Scottish Executive at Holyrood
 Don't know

How well or badly would you say that the Scottish executive has handled the economy over the last four years?

Very well
 Fairly well
 Neither well nor badly
 Fairly badly
 Very badly
 Don't know

How well or badly do you think an SNP-led coalition WOULD have handled the economy?

Very well
 Fairly well
 Neither well nor badly
 Fairly badly
 Very badly
 Don't know

PAGE 71

BASE: All Scottish adults

Now thinking about transport, would you say that transport is mainly the responsibility of the UK government at Westminster or the Scottish executive at Holyrood?

UK government at Westminster
 Scottish Executive at Holyrood
 Don't know

How well or badly would you say that the Scottish executive has handled transport over the last four years?

Very well
 Fairly well
 Neither well nor badly
 Fairly badly
 Very badly
 Don't know

How well or badly do you think an SNP-led coalition WOULD have handled transport?

Very well
 Fairly well

Neither well nor badly
 Fairly badly
 Very badly
 Don't know

PAGE 72

BASE: All Scottish adults

Now thinking about environmental issues, would you say that environmental issues are mainly the responsibility of the UK government at Westminster or the Scottish executive at Holyrood?

UK government at Westminster
 Scottish Executive at Holyrood
 Don't know

How well or badly would you say that the Scottish executive has handled environmental issues over the last four years?

Very well
 Fairly well
 Neither well nor badly
 Fairly badly
 Very badly
 Don't know

How well or badly do you think an SNP-led coalition WOULD have handled environmental issues?

Very well
 Fairly well
 Neither well nor badly
 Fairly badly
 Very badly
 Don't know

PAGE 73

BASE: All Scottish adults

How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements about voting and elections? [Please tick one option on each horizontal row]

START GRID

Most of my family and friends think voting is a waste of time

It was obvious who was going to win this election

It is every citizen's duty to vote

People are so busy that they don't have time to vote

I feel a sense of satisfaction when I vote

BY

Agree strongly
 Agree
 Neither agree nor disagree
 Disagree
 Disagree strongly
 Don't know

END GRID

PAGE 74

BASE: All Scottish adults

How much of a difference do you think it makes who wins the following types of election? [Please tick one option on each horizontal row]

START GRID

**Elections to the Scottish Parliament
General elections to the UK House of Commons
Local council elections**

BY

A great deal
Quite a lot
Some
Not very much
None at all
Don't know

END GRID**PAGE 75****BASE: All Scottish adults**

Considering everything that the SNP and the Labour party stand for, how much difference would you say there is between them?

A great deal
Quite a lot
Some
Not very much
None at all
Don't know

PAGE 76**BASE: All Scottish adults**

To end, just a few more questions about systems for voting in Scotland. As you may know, Members of the Scottish Parliament (MSPs) are elected by a different electoral system – known as the ‘additional member system’ – from the one used to elect MPs to Westminster.

How well would you say that you understand the voting system used in Scottish Parliament elections?

Very well
Quite well
Not very well
Not at all
Don't know

PAGE 77**BASE: All Scottish adults**

Here are some statements that people have made about the Scottish Parliament electoral system. For each one, please could you say how true you think it is? [Please tick one option on each horizontal row]

START GRID

You can't vote for the same party in both the constituency and the regional list votes

If you're going to vote for a small party, you're better off choosing it in the regional list vote than in the constituency vote

Where a party is very strong, there isn't much point voting for it on the regional list

The number of seats won by a party is decided by the number of constituency votes it gets

BY

Definitely true
Probably true
Probably not true

Definitely not true

Don't know

END GRID

PAGE 78

BASE: All Scottish adults

This year's council elections were run under a new electoral system, known as the 'single transferable vote'.

How well would you say that you understand the voting system used in this year's council elections?

Very well

Quite well

Not very well

Not at all

Don't know

And does the use of this new system make you more likely or less likely to vote in the council elections than if they were run under the old system, or doesn't it make any difference to you?

More likely to vote because of the new system

Less likely to vote because of the new system

Makes no difference

Don't know

PAGE 79

BASE: All Scottish adults

Here are some statements that people have made about the new system for Scottish council elections. For each one, please could you say how true you think it is?

[Please tick one option on each horizontal row]

START GRID

You vote by ranking candidates rather than choosing just one

You can only rank candidates from one party

Each ward will be represented by 3 or 4 councillors

Only your first two preferences count in the calculations of who gets elected

BY

Definitely true

Probably true

Probably not true

Definitely not true

Don't know

END GRID

Scottish Election Study 2007 – Follow-up questionnaire

PAGE 1

BASE: All Scottish adults

Suppose that there was an election for the Scottish Parliament tomorrow. On a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means ‘very unlikely’ and 10 means ‘very likely’, how likely is it that you would vote in that election?

0 – Very unlikely

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10 – Very likely

Don't know

You have two votes in Scottish Parliament elections: one for a party list for your REGION, and one for an individual member of the Scottish Parliament – or MSP – for your CONSTITUENCY.

Thinking first about the REGIONAL vote, which party would you be most likely to vote for?

Conservative

Labour

Liberal Democrat

SNP

Green Party

Scottish Socialist Party

Solidarity

Scottish Senior Citizens' Unity Party

Other

Don't know

Would not vote [route page=2](#)

If you said ‘Other’, please specify in the box below which party it is, otherwise leave it blank.

TEXT unvalidated

Now thinking of the vote on the right hand side of the ballot paper for an individual MSP for your CONSTITUENCY, which party would you be most likely to vote for?

Would not vote

Conservative

Labour

Liberal Democrat

SNP

Other

Don't know

If you said ‘Other’, please specify in the box below which party it is, otherwise leave it blank.

TEXT unvalidated

PAGE 2

BASE: All Scottish adults

On the whole, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way that democracy works in Scotland?

- Very satisfied
- Fairly satisfied
- A little dissatisfied
- Very dissatisfied
- Don't know

How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements [Please tick one option on each row]

GRID

People like me have no say in what government does
MSPs soon lose touch with the people who elected them
Politics and government are too complicated for me to understand
Parties are only interested in votes, not voters' opinions

- Agree strongly
- Agree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Disagree
- Disagree strongly
- Don't know

END GRID

PAGE 3

BASE: All Scottish adults

How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements about voting and elections? [Please tick one option on each row]

GRID

Most of my family and friends think voting is a waste of time
It is every citizen's duty to vote
Elections help to keep politicians accountable for the promises they make
Elections allow voters to express their opinions but don't really change anything
Elections give voters an opportunity to tell politicians what they think is really important
All things considered, most elections are just a big waste of time and money

- Agree strongly
- Agree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Disagree
- Disagree strongly
- Don't know

END GRID

In some countries, people believe their elections are conducted fairly. In other countries, people believe that their elections are conducted unfairly. Thinking first of WESTMINSTER elections in general, how fair would you say they are?

- Very fair
- Quite fair
- Not very fair
- Not at all fair
- Don't know

And now thinking of **SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT** elections in general, how fair would you say they are?

- Very fair
- Quite fair
- Not very fair
- Not at all fair
- Don't know

PAGE 4

BASE: All Scottish adults

Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted, or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people? Please use the 0-10 scale to indicate your view, where 0 means 'can't be too careful in dealing with people' and 10 means 'most people can be trusted'.

- 0 – Can't be too careful
- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6
- 7
- 8
- 9
- 10 – Most people can be trusted
- Don't know

And do you think that most people you come into contact with would try to take advantage of you if they got the chance or would they try to be fair? Please use the 0-10 scale again where 0 means 'would try to take advantage' and 10 means 'would try to be fair'.

- 0 – Would try to take advantage
- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6
- 7
- 8
- 9
- 10 – Would try to be fair
- Don't know

PAGE 5

BASE: All Scottish adults

[Ad hoc]

Now, some questions about the Scottish Parliament elections earlier this year.

[End Ad hoc]

For you, which of these best describes the result of the election in terms of seats?

- A clear SNP win
- A quite narrow SNP win
- A very narrow SNP win

A dead heat between the SNP and Labour
 None of the above
 Don't know

Which of these statements comes closest to your view about the government that was formed?

The SNP was right to become a minority government
 The SNP should have found partners to form a majority coalition
 Labour should have found partners to form a majority coalition
 None of the above
 Don't know

PAGE 6

BASE: All Scottish adults

Thinking back to the 2007 election to the Scottish Parliament, how fair would you say it was?

Very fair
 Quite fair
 Not very fair
 Not at all fair
 Don't know

Prior to polling day in 2007, do you recall seeing any public education (e.g. leaflets, newspaper adverts) about how to vote in the upcoming elections?

Yes
 No
 Can't remember

As you may have heard, there has been some public debate about various aspects of these elections. Do you think there were problems with those aspects of organising the 2007 elections? If so, how serious were the problems?

GRID

Postal voting

The electronic counting machines

The number of rejected ballot papers

The new electoral system for council elections

Very serious problems
 Quite serious problems
 Not very serious problems
 No problems at all
 Don't know

END GRID

PAGE 7

BASE: All Scottish adults

In 2007 there were many more rejected ballot papers than in previous Scottish Parliament elections. Some voters were unsure whether their ballots had been counted or rejected. Have you spoken to anyone – perhaps a family member, friend or neighbour – who was worried about their ballot being rejected?

Yes
 No
 Don't know

Thinking of your own ballot in the Scottish Parliament election, how confident are you that it was counted and not rejected?

Very confident

Quite confident

Not that confident

Not at all confident

I deliberately spoiled my ballot or left it blank

I didn't vote in the Scottish Parliament election

Don't know

If you were to make a mistake in marking your ballot paper, and you thought you had 'spoiled' it, which of these do you think you should do?

Cross out your mistake and vote as you originally intended

Write on the ballot paper that you made a mistake, and indicate how you intended to vote

Ask the polling station workers for another ballot paper

None of the above

Don't know

PAGE 8

BASE: All Scottish adults

Various reasons have been suggested for the big increase in rejected ballots, and six of them are listed below. Which of these do you think was most important in causing the large increase in rejected ballot papers?

Putting both Scottish Parliament votes on the same ballot paper

Electronic machines not being able to read the votes properly

The council elections held on the same day

Not enough public information for voters before the elections

Lack of instructions on the ballot papers

Many voters are too dim to get it right

Don't know [routepage=10](#)

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BASE: Respondents FIRST preference

If p8q1.Value=1 then p9q1a1.IsHidden = true

If p8q1.Value=2 then p9q1a1.IsHidden = true

If p8q1.Value=3 then p9q1a1.IsHidden = true

If p8q1.Value=4 then p9q1a1.IsHidden = true

If p8q1.Value=5 then p9q1a1.IsHidden = true

If p8q1.Value=6 then p9q1a1.IsHidden = true

And which do you think was the SECOND most important?

Putting both Scottish Parliament votes on the same ballot paper

Electronic machines not being able to read the votes properly

The council elections held on the same day

Not enough public information for voters before the elections

Lack of instructions on the ballot papers

Many voters are too dim to get it right

Don't know [routepage=10](#)

PAGE 10

There is also disagreement about who is to blame for the big increase in rejected ballot papers. Based on the information you have heard, who do you think was most to blame?

- Voters themselves
- The people who counted the votes
- The people who designed the electronic counting machines
- The Scottish Office at Westminster
- The Scottish Executive at Holyrood
- The political parties in Scotland
- Don't know [route=12](#)

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BASE: Respondents FIRST preference

- If p10q1.Value=1 then p11q1a1.IsHidden = true
- If p10q1.Value=2 then p11q1a1.IsHidden = true
- If p10q1.Value=3 then p11q1a1.IsHidden = true
- If p10q1.Value=4 then p11q1a1.IsHidden = true
- If p10q1.Value=5 then p11q1a1.IsHidden = true
- If p10q1.Value=6 then p11q1a1.IsHidden = true

And who do you think was second most to blame?

- Voters themselves
- The people who counted the votes
- The people who designed the electronic counting machines
- The Scottish Office at Westminster
- The Scottish Executive at Holyrood
- The political parties in Scotland
- Don't know [route=12](#)

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BASE: All Scottish adults

In your opinion, how likely is it that the relatively large number of rejected ballots affected the outcome of the election a) in your constituency, and b) in Scotland overall?

GRID

**In your constituency
In Scotland overall**

- Very likely
- Quite likely
- Not very likely
- Not at all likely
- Don't know

END GRID

Please tick any regions that you think had a particularly high proportion of rejected ballots, or just choose 'Don't know'. [MULTICODE]

- Central Scotland
- Glasgow
- Highlands and Islands
- Lothians
- Mid Scotland and Fife
- North East Scotland

South of Scotland
 West of Scotland
 Don't know

Do you happen to know roughly what percentage of ballot papers was rejected overall?

Less than 1%
 1% to 5%
 5 to 10%
 10% to 20%
 More than 20%
 Don't know

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BASE: All Scottish adults

Thinking of the results in Scotland overall, which if any of these parties do you think may have gained because of the large number of rejected ballots? Please tick all that apply, or choose 'None of the parties'. [MULTICODE]

Conservative
 Labour
 Liberal Democrat
 SNP
 Greens
 Scottish Socialist Party
 Solidarity
 Other
 None of the parties gained
 Don't know

If you said 'Other', please specify in the box below which party it is, otherwise leave it blank.

TEXT unvalidated

Again thinking of the overall results, which if any of these parties do you think may have lost because of the large number of rejected ballots? Please tick all that apply, or choose 'None of the parties'. [MULTICODE]

Conservative
 Labour
 Liberal Democrat
 SNP
 Greens
 Scottish Socialist Party
 Solidarity
 Other
 None of the parties lost
 Don't know

If you said 'Other', please specify in the box below which party it is, otherwise leave it blank.

TEXT unvalidated

PAGE 14**BASE: All Scottish adults**

All things considered, what effect have the problems in 2007 had on the likelihood of you voting in future Scottish Parliament elections?

Makes no difference

Makes me slightly less likely to vote

Makes me much less likely to vote

Don't know

PAGE 15

As you may know, a commission led by Ron Gould recently reported on the problems in the 2007 elections. The Gould Commission made several recommendations, some of which are listed below. Which of these do you think is the most important – that is, which should be the top priority for the next elections?

There should be a Chief Returning Officer responsible for all elections in Scotland

Scottish Parliament and local elections should be held on different days

The two votes in the Scottish Parliament elections should be on separate ballot papers

Parties should have to use their own names on the ballot papers

The responsibility for Scottish elections should be devolved from Westminster to Holyrood

Vote counting should start on Friday morning, not on Thursday night

Don't know [routepage=17](#)

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If p15q1.Value=1 then p16q1a1.IsHidden = true

If p15q1.Value=2 then p16q1a1.IsHidden = true

If p15q1.Value=3 then p16q1a1.IsHidden = true

If p15q1.Value=4 then p16q1a1.IsHidden = true

If p15q1.Value=5 then p16q1a1.IsHidden = true

If p15q1.Value=6 then p16q1a1.IsHidden = true

And which do you think is SECOND most important?

There should be a Chief Returning Officer responsible for all elections in Scotland

Scottish Parliament and local elections should be held on different days

The two votes in the Scottish Parliament elections should be on separate ballot papers

Parties should have to use their own names on the ballot papers

The responsibility for Scottish elections should be devolved from Westminster to Holyrood

Vote counting should start on Friday morning, not on Thursday night

Don't know [\[ClearOthers\] routepage=17](#)

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Thinking of the Gould recommendations overall, how likely do you think they are to be implemented by those in power?

Very likely

Quite likely

Not very likely

Not at all likely

Don't know [\[ClearOthers\]](#)

PAGE 18**BASE: All Scottish adults****[Adhoc]**

Now a few questions about coalitions and governments. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements? [Please tick one option on each row]

[End Adhoc]**GRID**

It is better to have just one party in government, even if that party didn't get a majority of seats

Coalitions tend to result in more moderate policies

When one party gets a majority, they just do what they want and ignore the voters

A coalition government means that nobody gets the government they voted for

If a party doesn't get a majority of seats, it shouldn't be allowed to govern on its own

By winning a majority, a party has shown that it is the clear choice of the voters

Agree strongly

Agree

Neither agree nor disagree

Disagree

Disagree strongly

Don't know

END GRID

Some people say that coalitions are better because they allow a wider range of opinion to be represented. Others think that single-party government is better because then you know exactly who is responsible for government decisions. Please use the 0-10 scale to indicate your view, where 0 means 'coalitions better to represent a range of opinion' and 10 means 'single-party government better so you know who is responsible'.

0 – Coalitions better to represent a range of opinion

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10 – Single-party government better so you know who is responsible

Don't know **[ClearOthers]**

And which of these statements come closest to your view about parties and their coalition partners?

The parties should announce coalition plans **BEFORE** election day so we know what we're voting for

The parties should campaign on their own and leave coalition discussions until **AFTER** the election

Don't know **[ClearOthers]**

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BASE: All Scottish adults

[Adhoc]

Now a few questions about the political parties...

[End Adhoc]

Please rate each one on a scale from 0 to 6, where 0 means 'moderate' and 6 means 'extreme'.

GRID

Conservative Party

Labour Party

Liberal Democrats

SNP

BY

0 – Moderate

1

2

3

4

5

6 – Extreme

Don't know **[ClearOthers]**

END GRID

Now please rate each one on a different scale from 0 to 6, where 0 means 'divided' and 6 means 'united'.

GRID

Conservative Party

Labour Party

Liberal Democrats

SNP

BY

0 – Divided

1

2

3

4

5

6 – United

Don't know **[ClearOthers]**

GRID

And now please rate each one on a different scale from 0 to 6, where 0 means 'not at all competent' and 6 means 'extremely competent'.

GRID

Conservative Party

Labour Party

Liberal Democrats

SNP

BY

0 – Not at all competent

1

2

3

4

5

6 – Extremely competent

Don't know

END GRID

PAGE 20

BASE: All Scottish adults

During the 2007 Scottish election campaign there was a lot of talk about the competence of Labour and the SNP to govern at Holyrood. Please use the competence scale again, where 0 means 'not at all' and 6 means 'extremely', to rate those parties on different aspects of competence. Thinking first about how competent they would be TO TAKE TOUGH DECISIONS, how would you rate Labour and the SNP?

GRID

Labour Party

SNP

BY

0 – Not at all

1

2

3

4

5

6 – Extremely

Don't know

END GRID

Thinking now about how competent the parties would be TO MANAGE PUBLIC SERVICES please rate them on the same scale previously used.

GRID

Labour Party

SNP

0 – Not at all

1

2

3

4

5

6 – Extremely

Don't know

END GRID

Thinking now about how competent the parties would be IN A CRISIS, please rate them on the scale of 0 – 6.

GRID

Labour Party

SNP

BY

0 – Not at all

1

2

3

4

5

6 – Extremely

Don't know
END GRID

Thinking finally about how competent the parties would be TO DELIVER ON THIER
MANIFESTO PROMISES, please rate them on the scale 0 – 6.

GRID

Labour Party
SNP

0 – Not at all

1

2

3

4

5

6 – Extremely

Don't know

END GRID

[END]