Post-Election

Thank you for agreeing to participate in the 2021 Scottish Election Study questionnaire.

Your responses will provide an invaluable resource for researchers around the world and for many decades into the future, so we would really encourage you to answer thoughtfully and honestly.

Your YouGov Account will be credited with **150 points** for completing the survey.

We have tested the survey and found that, on average it takes around 20 minutes to complete. This time may vary depending on factors such as your Internet connection speed and the answers you give.

Please click the forward button below to continue.

[pi1] {single} Please could you tell us how interested you are, if at all, in politics at Holyrood in general?

- <1>Very interested
- <2>Fairly interested
- <3>Not very interested
- <4>Not at all interested

[voted] Talking to people about the election to the Scottish Parliament on 6th May, we have found that a lot of people didn't manage to vote. Which of these statements best describes what you did?

- <1> I did not vote in the Scottish Parliament election on 6th May
- <2> I thought about voting in the Scottish Parliament election but in the end I didn't
- <3> I usually vote but didn't this time
- <4> I definitely voted in the Scottish Parliament election
- <5> Can't recall

{module nonvote if voted!=4}

[vb6] {single} When did you decide not to vote in this Scottish Parliament election?

- <1> On election day
- <2> In the last few days of the campaign
- <3> Early on in the campaign
- <4> In the year or so running up to the election
- <5> I never vote
- <6> It wasn't a decision as such, I just never thought about voting
- <7> Not sure

[vb5] {open rows=6 cols=60 dk=1} People have many reasons for not voting. Could you tell us why you chose not to vote in the election? <
br/>>Please type your answer in the box below.

[vb7] {single} If you had voted in the Scottish Parliament election, you would have had two votes and two separate ballot papers. One would have been for an individual member to represent your CONSTITUENCY. The other would have been to vote for a party list for your REGION. <
br/>>>Which party's candidate do you think you would have voted for in your CONSTITUENCY? (Note that not all of the parties put up candidates for the constituency seats.)

```
constituency seats.)
<1> Scottish Conservative and Unionist
<2> Scottish Labour
<3> Scottish Liberal Democrats
<4> Scottish National Party
<10> Other party [ vb7o] {open}
<98> Would not vote
<99> Don't know

{page nonvotersplit}
{
  nonvotersplit = random(1,2)
}
{end page nonvotersplit}
# [nonvotersplit]Which split for nonvotersplit?
# <1>Group A NON-VOTERS
# <2>Group B NON-VOTERS
```

GROUP A NON-VOTERS

[vb8a if nonvotersplit==1] {single} And which party do you think you would have voted for on the REGIONAL list?

- <1> Scottish Conservative and Unionist
- <2> Scottish Labour
- <3> Scottish Liberal Democrat
- <4> Scottish National Party
- <5> Scottish Greens
- <14> Alba Party
- <13> All for Unity
- <15> Scottish Family Party
- <7> UK Independence Party (UKIP)
- <8> Reform UK
- <10> Some other party [vb8a_other] {open}
- <11> Would not vote
- <12> Don't know

GROUP B NON-VOTERS

[vb8b if nonvotersplit==2] {single} And which party do you think you would have voted for on the REGIONAL list?

- <14> Alba Party
- <13> All for Unity
- <16> Independent Green Voice
- <8> Reform UK
- <1> Scottish Conservative and Unionist
- <15> Scottish Family Party
- <5> Scottish Greens
- <2> Scottish Labour
- <3> Scottish Liberal Democrat
- <4> Scottish National Party
- <7> UK Independence Party (UKIP)
- <10> Some other party [vb8b_other] {open}
- <11> Would not vote
- <12> Don't know

{end module nonvote}

{module voter if voted==4}

[voteWhyOpen] {open rows=6 cols=60 dk=1} In your own words, what best describes why you voted for the party or parties you did?

[voteMeans] {single} Thinking back to election day, which of the following best describes how you cast your ballot?

- <1> In person at the polling station
- <2> By post
- <3> By proxy (getting someone else to cast your vote)
- <4> By emergency proxy specifically due to COVID
- <5> Can't remember

[vb18a if voteMeans in [1,3,4]] {single} When did you decide how you would vote in this Scottish Parliament election?

- <1> At the polling station
- <2> In the last few days of the campaign
- <3> Early on in the campaign
- <4> In the year or so running up to the election
- <5> I always vote the same way
- <6> Not sure

[vb18b if voteMeans==2] {single} When did you decide how you would vote in this Scottish Parliament election?

<1> On the day I filled in my ballot paper

- <2> In the last few days before I filled out my ballot paper
- <3> Early on in the campaign
- <4> In the year or so running up to the election
- <5> I always vote the same way
- <6> Not sure

[eligible] {single} Is this the first Scottish Parliament election in which you were eligible to vote?

- <1> Yes
- <2> No
- <9> Don't know

When you voted in the Scottish Parliament election, you had two votes and two separate ballot papers. One (on a lilac-coloured ballot paper) was for an individual member to represent your CONSTITUENCY. The other (on a peach-coloured ballot paper) was to vote for a party list for your REGION.

[vb12] {single spd_category="politics"} Thinking about your vote for your CONSTITUENCY MSP, which party's candidate did you vote for? (Note that not all of the parties put up candidates for the constituency seats.)

- <1> Scottish Conservative and Unionist
- <2> Scottish Labour
- <3> Scottish Liberal Democrats
- <4> Scottish National Party
- <5> Scottish Greens
- <9> Some other party [vb12o] {open}
- <10> Some other party
- <99> Can't recall

[vb13] {single} Still thinking of this constituency vote, which of the following comes closest to the main reason why you voted for this party's candidate?

- <1> I always vote this way
- <2> The party has the best policies
- <3> The party has the best leader
- <4> I voted for a specific candidate, regardless of party
- <5> It was a tactical vote I voted to stop another party from winning in my constituency
- <6> I really prefer another party, but they had no chance of winning in my constituency
- <7> I really prefer another party, but they were not standing a candidate in my constituency
- <8> Other reasons [vb13o] {open}

[vb14a if vb13 in [5,6,7]] {single} Which party did you really prefer?

- <1 if vb12!=1> Scottish Conservative and Unionist
- <2 if vb12!=2> Scottish Labour
- <3 if vb12!=3> Scottish Liberal Democrats
- <4 if vb12!=4> Scottish National Party
- <10> Other party [vb14ao] {open}

[vb14b if vb13==5] {single} Which party did you want to stop from winning in your constituency?

- <1 if vb12!=1> Scottish Conservative and Unionist
- <2 if vb12!=2> Scottish Labour
- <3 if vb12!=3> Scottish Liberal Democrat
- <4 if vb12!=4> Scottish National Party
- <10> Other party [vb14bo] {open}

[vb15] {single spd_category="politics"} Thinking now about your vote on the REGIONAL list, which party did you vote for?

- <1> Scottish Conservative and Unionist
- <2> Scottish Labour
- <3> Scottish Liberal Democrat
- <4> Scottish National Party
- <5> Scottish Greens
- <14> Alba Party
- <13> All for Unity
- <15> Scottish Family Party
- <7> UK Independence Party (UKIP)
- <8> Reform UK
- <10> Some other party [vb15o] {open}
- <11> Would not vote
- <12> Don't know

[vb16] {single} Still thinking of this regional vote, which of the following comes closest to the main reason why you voted for this party?

- <1> I always vote this way
- <2> The party has the best policies
- <3> The party has the best leader
- <4> I voted for a specific candidate, regardless of party
- <5> It was a tactical vote. I voted to stop another party from winning in my region
- <6> I really prefer another party, but they had no chance of winning in my region
- <7> I really prefer another party, but they were not standing in my region
- <8> Other reasons [vb160] {open}

[vb17a if vb16 in [6,7]] {single} Which party do you really prefer?

- <1 if vb15!=1> Scottish Conservative and Unionist
- <2 if vb15!=2> Scottish Labour
- <3 if vb15!=3> Scottish Liberal Democrat
- <4 if vb15!=4> Scottish National Party
- <5 if vb15!=5> Scottish Greens
- <7 if vb15!=7> UK Independence Party (UKIP)
- <8 if vb15!=8> Reform UK
- <13 if vb15!=13> All for Unity
- <14 if vb15!=14> Alba Party

<10> Some other party [vb17ao] {open}

```
[ vb17b if vb16==5] Which party did you want to stop from winning seats in your region?
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- <1 if vb15!=1> Scottish Conservative and Unionist
- <2 if vb15!=2> Scottish Labour
- <3 if vb15!=3> Scottish Liberal Democrat
- <4 if vb15!=4> Scottish National Party
- <5 if vb15!=5> Scottish Greens
- <7 if vb15!=7> UK Independence Party (UKIP)
- <8 if vb15!=8> Reform UK
- <13 if vb15!=13> All for Unity
- <14 if vb15!=14> Alba Party
- <10> Some other party [vb17bo] {open}

#routing: if regional and constituency vote choices don't match

[vb21 if (vb12==1 and vb15 in [2,3,4,5,14,13,15,7,8,10]) or (vb12==2 and vb15 in [1,3,4,5,14,13,15,7,8,10]) or (vb12==3 and vb15 in [1,2,4,5,14,13,15,7,8,10]) or (vb12==4 and vb15 in [1,2,3,5,14,13,15,7,8,10]) or (vb12==5 and vb15 in [1,2,3,4,14,13,15,7,8,10])] {single order=randomize} Quite a few voters these days vote for different parties on the constituency and regional list ballots. Earlier you indicated that you voted for different parties. Which of the following best describes why you did so?

- <1> The party I prefer only stands on the regional ballot
- <2> The constituency vote is for your first preference and the regional vote is for your second preference
- <3> My preferred party was going to do so well on the constituencies that there was no point voting for it on the regional list
- <4> I don't like any party enough to vote for it twice
- <5> I used the regional ballot to vote for my preferred First Minister
- <6> I wanted to make sure that there was a wide variety of voices in Holyrood
- <7> I didn't like the constituency candidate of the party I voted for on the list
- <8> I was voting tactically so backed a different party in the constituency

[votePostalWhy if voteMeans==2] {single} You have indicated that you voted by post. Which of these statements best describes why you did so?

- <1> I always vote by post
- <2> I was concerned about voting in person due to COVID-19
- <3> I find it more convenient
- <4> I couldn't vote in person due to a medical condition or disability
- <5> I knew I would be doing something else on election day
- <6> Other [votePostalWhyo] {open}
- <7> Prefer not to say

[voteSafety if voteMeans==1] Thinking about COVID-19, how did you feel about your visit to the polling station on election day?

- <1> I felt very safe
- <2> I felt fairly safe

- <3> I felt fairly unsafe
- <4> I felt very unsafe

[votePollingStation if voteMeans==1] {multiple} Which (if any) of these did you observe at the polling station? Select all that apply.

- <1> Appropriate social distancing
- <2> Hand sanitiser readily available
- <3> Poll workers wearing masks
- <4> Other voters wearing masks
- <5> Screens separating poll workers from voters
- <6 xor>None of the above

{end module voter}

Campaign and reaction to result

[resultHappy] {scale 0 10 dk=1 dk_text="Don't know"} Overall, how happy or how disappointed are you with the results of the Scottish Parliament elections on 6th May? -[happyScotelecresult] Extremely disappointed | Extremely happy

[elecImpact] {grid} Now that the results of the election are known, do you think it will make the following outcomes more or less likely?

- -[elecImpactRef] A second Scottish independence referendum taking place
- -[elecGovtImpactIndy] Scotland actually becoming independent
- <1> Much more likely
- <2> Somewhat more likely
- <3> It makes no difference
- <4> Somewhat less likely
- <5> Much less likely

People get information about elections and politics from a variety of sources. What about you? For each of the following can you tell us about the amount of information on the Scottish Parliament election that you received?

[PE1] {scale 1 5} Family and friends

-[PE1_1] No information | A lot of information

[PE4] {scale 1 5} Political party websites

-[PE1_4] No information I A lot of information

[PE5] {scale 1 5} Political party leaflets -[PE1_5] No information | A lot of information

[PE6] {scale 1 5} Social media

-[pe1_6] No information | A lot of information

[PE7] {scale 1 5} Electoral Commission -[PE1_7] No information | A lot of information

[PE8] {scale 1 5} Newspapers (print or online) -[PE1 8] No information | A lot of information

[PE9] {scale 1 5} Radio or Television -[PE1 9] No information | A lot of information

[elecContactHow] {multiple order=randomize} Could you indicate all the ways that you were contacted by political parties during the election campaign? Please select all that apply.

- <1> Telephone call
- <2> Leaflet or letter delivered to your home
- <3> A visit to your home
- <4> Contact in the street/street stall
- <5> Email or text message
- <6> Advertisements on social media
- <7 fixed> Other ways
- <8 fixed xor> None of these

[campaignContact if elecContactHow.has_any ([1,2,3,4,5,6,7])] {grid-check roworder=randomize} Could you indicate which political parties have contacted in these ways during the past four weeks? Please select all that apply.

- -[elecContactPhoneParty if 1 in elecContactHow] Telephone call
- -[elecContactLeafletParty if 2 in elecContactHow] Leaflet or letter delivered to your home
- -[elecContactHomeParty if 3 in elecContactHow] A visit to your home
- -[elecContactStreetParty if 4 in elecContactHow] Contact in the street/street stall
- -[elecContactTextParty if 5 in elecContactHow] Email or text message
- -[elecContactSocialParty if 6 in elecContactHow] Advertisements on social media
- -[elecContactOtherParty if 7 in elecContactHow] {fixed=1} Other ways
- <1> Scottish Conservative and Unionist
- <2> Scottish Labour
- <3> Scottish Liberal Democrat
- <4> Scottish National Party
- <5> Scottish Greens
- <6 fixed xor> None of these
- <7 fixed xor> Can't remember

START MODULE - GROUP A

{module campaign_groupa if firstsplit==1}

[de4grid] {grid roworder=randomize} Now we have some questions about how the 2021 Scottish Parliament election campaign went. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements about the campaign?

- -[de4a] The election campaign gave me enough information to make an informed choice
- -[de4b] During the election campaign, the parties talked about the issues that really matter to me
- -[de4c] The election was overshadowed by the pandemic
- -[de4d] The parties were completely invisible; I didn't hear anything from any of them
- -[de5e] The campaign helped me understand how to use the voting system to stop parties I don't like
- -[de5f] Apart from their views on independence, the parties didn't disagree on much
- <1>Strongly agree
- <2>Tend to agree
- <3>Neither agree nor disagree
- <4>Tend to disagree
- <5>Strongly disagree
- <99> Don't know

[campPosNeg] {grid roworder=randomize} Campaigning is said to be "positive" when it involves putting forward your own policies and personalities. "Negative" campaigning means attacking the policies and personalities of the other parties. How would you rate the 2021 election campaigns of the following parties on a scale from "very positive" to "very negative"?

- -[campPosNegCon] Scottish Conservative and Unionist
- -[campPosNegGreen] Scottish Greens
- -[campPosNegLab] Scottish Labour
- -[campPosNeqLD] Scottish Liberal Democrats
- -[campPosNegSNP] Scottish National Party
- <1> Very positive
- <2> Fairly positive
- <3> Neither positive nor negative
- <4> Fairly negative
- <5> Very negative
- <9> Don't know

{end module campaign_groupa}

MODULE - GROUP B

{module campaign_groupb if firstsplit==2}

[debatewatch3] {single} There were four televised leaders' debates during the election campaign. Did you watch any of these?

- <1> Yes, I watched all of them
- <2> Yes, I watched some but not all of them
- <3> No, I did not watch any debates
- <6> Can't remember

[leaderDebate if debatewatch3 in [1,2]] {single} There were four televised leaders' debates during the campaign, how would you say it affected your vote choice?

- <1> Didn't have any impact my mind was already made up before the campaign
- <2> Didn't have any impact I made my choice during the campaign for different reasons
- <3> Made me think but didn't change my mind
- <4> Got me seriously thinking about changing my mind
- <5> Changed my mind completely

{end module campaign_groupb}

Other party stuff

[ptvScot] {grid roworder=randomize} Using a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means 'very unlikely' and 10 means 'very likely', how likely is it that you would ever vote for each of the following parties in a Scottish election?

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-[ptvScota] Scottish Conservative and Unionist
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- -[ptvScotb] Scottish Greens
- -[ptvScotc] Scottish Labour
- -[ptvScotd] Scottish Liberal Democrats
- -[ptvScote] Scottish National Party
- <1> 0 Very unlikely
- <2> 1
- <3> 2
- <4> 3
- <5> 4
- <6> 5
- <7> 6
- <8> 7
- <9>8
- <10> 9
- <11> 10 Very likely
- <99> Don't know

{page partylr}

In politics people sometimes talk of Left and Right. Where would you place yourself and the following parties on this scale?

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[leftRight] {scale 0 10 dk=1 dk_text="Don't know"} Yourself -[leftRightyourself] Left | Right
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[IrSNP] {scale 0 10 dk=1 dk_text="Don't know"} Scottish National Party -[leftrightSNP] Left | Right
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[IrCon] {scale 0 10 dk=1 dk_text="Don't know"} Scottish Conservative and Unionist Party -[leftrightCon] Left | Right

[IrLibDem] {scale 0 10 dk=1 dk_text="Don't know"} Scottish Liberal Democrats -[leftrightLibDem] Left | Right

[lrLab] {scale 0 10 dk=1 dk_text="Don't know"} Scottish Labour Party -[leftrightLab] Left | Right

[IrGreens] {scale 0 10 dk=1 dk_text="Don't know"} Scottish Greens -[leftrightGreens] Left | Right

{end page partylr}

[scotIntsgrid] {grid roworder=randomize} And how well do you think that each of these parties stand up for Scotland's interests? Please tick one option on each horizontal row.

- -[scotIntsCon] Scottish Conservative and Unionist
- -[scotIntsLab] Scottish Labour
- -[scotIntsSNP] Scottish National Party
- <1> Very well
- <2> Quite well
- <3> Not very well
- <4> Not at all
- <99> Don't know

MODULE - GROUP B

[groupInterestCon if firstsplit==2] {grid} Some people say that all political parties look after certain groups and are not so concerned about others. Thinking about the **Scottish Conservative and Unionist Party**, how much would you say they look after the following groups?

- -[groupInterestConWorking] Working class people
- -[groupInterestConMiddle] Middle class people
- -[groupInterestConBusiness] Small business owners
- -[groupInterestConYoung] Young people
- -[groupInterestConOld] Old people
- -[groupInterestConWomen] Women
- <1> Not at all
- <2> Not a lot
- <3> Quite a lot
- <4> A great deal
- <9> Don't know

[groupInterestLab if firstsplit==2] {grid} Some people say that all political parties look after certain groups and are not so concerned about others. Thinking about the **Scottish Labour Party**, how much would you say they look after the following groups?

- -[groupInterestLabWorking] Working class people
- -[groupInterestLabMiddle] Middle class people
- -[groupInterestLabBusiness] Small business owners
- -[groupInterestLabYoung] Young people
- -[groupInterestLabOld] Old people
- -[groupInterestLabWomen] Women
- <1> Not at all
- <2> Not a lot
- <3> Quite a lot
- <4> A great deal
- <9> Don't know

[groupInterestSNP if firstsplit==2] {grid} Some people say that all political parties look after certain groups and are not so concerned about others. Thinking about the **Scottish National Party**, how much would you say they look after the following groups?

- -[groupInterestSNPWorking] Working class people
- -[groupInterestSNPMiddle] Middle class people
- -[groupInterestSNPBusiness] Small business owners
- -[groupInterestSNPYoung] Young people
- -[groupInterestSNPOld] Old people
- -[groupInterestSNPWomen] Women
- <1> Not at all
- <2> Not a lot
- <3> Quite a lot
- <4> A great deal
- <9> Don't know

END MODULE

[leaderLikeScogrid if firstsplit==1] {grid roworder=randomize} Here are some questions about political leaders. Using a scale that runs from 0 to 10, where 0 means "strongly dislike" and 10 means "strongly like", please tell us how you feel about the following Scottish party leaders. If you don't recognise a name, then please just say "Don't know".

- -[leaderLikeStur] Nicola Sturgeon
- -[leaderLikeRoss] Douglas Ross
- -[leaderLikeSarwar] Anas Sarwar
- -[leaderLikeSlater] Lorna Slater
- <1> 0 Strongly dislike
- <2> 1
- < 3 > 2
- <4> 3
- <5> 4
- <6> 5
- <7> 6
- <8> 7
- <9>8

```
<10> 9
<11> 10 – Strongly like
<99> Don't know

{page secondsplit}
{
  secondsplit = random(1,3)
}
{end page secondsplit}

# [secondsplit]Which split for secondsplit?

# <1>Group A

# <2>Group B

# <3>Group C
```

Affective polarisation

[friendsGroup] {grid} How comfortable are you having close personal friends who are...?

- -[friendsYes] Yes voters
- -[friendsNo] No voters
- -[friendsRemain] Remain voters
- -[friendsLeave] Leave voters
- -[friendsSNP] SNP voters
- -[friendsCon] Conservative voters
- -[friendsImmigrants] Immigrants
- <1> Very comfortable
- <2> Fairly comfortable
- <3> Not very comfortable
- <4> Not at all comfortable

[marriedGroup] {grid} Suppose a son or daughter of yours was getting married. How would you feel if he or she married someone who was...?

- -[marriedYes] a Yes voter
- -[marriedNo] a No voter
- -[marriedRemain] a Remain voter
- -[marriedLeave] a Leave voter
- -[marriedSNP] a SNP voter
- -[marriedCon] a Conservative voter
- -[marriedImmigrants] an immigrant
- <1> Very comfortable
- <2> Fairly comfortable
- <3> Not very comfortable
- <4> Not at all comfortable

If there was a referendum tomorrow on Scotland's future and this was the question, how would you vote?

[uk10] {single spd_category=politics} Should Scotland be an independent country?

- <1> Yes
- <2> No
- <3> Would not vote
- <4> Don't know

[indyscale] {scale -10 10 spd_category=politics} Some people are more or less committed to voting a certain way and even undecided voters sometimes lean towards particular options. On a scale of -10 to +10, where -10 is definitely would vote Yes, +10 is definitely would vote No, and 0 is don't know, how would you vote?

-[indyscalex] Definitely would vote Yes I Definitely would vote No

[reasonsNo if uk10==2] {open} You said that you would vote against Scottish independence. What are your main reasons for this?

[reasonsYes if uk10==1] {open} You said that you would vote for Scottish independence. What are your main reasons for this?

MODULE - GROUP A

[ssaConstitutionPref if firstsplit==1] Which of these statements comes closest to your view?

- <1> Scotland should become independent, separate from the UK and the European Union
- <2> Scotland should become independent, separate from the UK but part of the European Union
- <3> Scotland should remain part of the UK, with its own elected parliament which has some taxation powers
- <4> Scotland should remain part of the UK, with its own elected parliament which has no taxation powers
- <5> Scotland should remain part of the UK without an elected parliament
- <99> Don't know

MODULE - GROUP B

[indyEUPref if firstsplit==2] {rank slots=4 order=randomize dk=1} Still thinking about Scotland's future relationship with the UK and EU, please rank these scenarios from best to worst according to what you think is best for Scotland, where 1 is best and 4 is worst.

- <1> INSIDE the UK and OUTSIDE the EU
- <2> INSIDE both the UK and the EU
- <3> OUTSIDE both the UK and the EU
- <4> OUTSIDE the UK and INSIDE the EU

```
{page thirdsplit}
{
thirdsplit = random(1,3)
}
```

{end page thirdsplit}

- # [thirdsplit]Which split for thirdsplit?
- # <1>Group A
- # <2>Group B
- # <3>Group C

GROUP A

[indyMandate2control if thirdsplit==1] {single} There is a lot of talk about whether there is a mandate for another independence referendum. <
br/>>>
br/>>> Which of these comes closest to your view about whether the May 6th election delivered a mandate?

- <1> Definitely did
- <2> Probably did
- <3> Probably didn't
- <4> Definitely didn't

GROUP B

[indyMandate2treat2 if thirdsplit==2] {single} The SNP won the election but didn't get a majority of seats in the Scottish Parliament. There is a lot of talk about whether this means there is a mandate for another independence referendum. <
br/>>>
>> Which of these comes closest to your view about whether the May 6th election delivered a mandate?

- <1> Definitely did
- <2> Probably did
- <3> Probably didn't
- <4> Definitely didn't

GROUP C

[indyMandate2treat3 if thirdsplit==3] {single} Pro-independence parties won a majority of seats in the Scottish Parliament. There is a lot of talk about whether this means there is a mandate for another independence referendum. <
br/>>>
br/>>> Which of these comes closest to your view about whether the May 6th election delivered a mandate?

- <1> Definitely did
- <2> Probably did
- <3> Probably didn't
- <4> Definitely didn't

[indyref2When] {single} The SNP promised to hold a second independence referendum in the next two-and-a-half years, once the COVID-19 crisis is over. Which of these comes closest to your view on when a second independence referendum should take place, if at all?

- <1> As soon as possible after the election
- <2> Within the next two-and-a-half years
- <3> Within the next five years
- <4> Some time after the next five years
- <5> Never
- <99> Don't know

[yesIndyPref if uk10==1] Some people think the SNP-led Scottish Government should be more aggressive in pursuing Scottish independence. Others think it is best to take a more gradual approach. Which of these comes closest to your view of what the Scottish Government should do?

- <1> Immediately declare independence and not bother with another referendum
- <2> Hold another referendum as soon as possible without seeking UK Government approval
- <3> Try to work with the UK Government to reach an agreement but still hold a referendum if they disagree
- <4> Only hold a referendum if and when the UK Government agrees to it
- <5> Build the case for an independence referendum over the coming years

[govlevel_now] {grid roworder=randomize} For each of the following issues, please indicate which level of government you think *currently* has the most influence in Scotland:

- -[govlevel_NHS] The National Health Service (NHS)
- -[govlevel_school] Schools
- -[govlevel_police] Policy about law and order
- -[govlevel_def] Defence and foreign affairs
- <1> The Scottish Government
- <2> The UK Government
- <3> Don't know

[wmEcon] {grid} How much influence would you say each government has on the overall performance of Scotland's economy?

- -[ec3] The UK Government at Westminster
- -[ec4] The Scottish Government at Holyrood
- <1> A great deal
- <2> A fair amount
- <3> Not very much
- <4> None at all
- <5> Don't know

Other political attitudes

[statements] {grid roworder=randomize displaymax=5} How much do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?

- -[statements1] Government should redistribute income from the better off to those who are less well off
- -[statements2] Big business takes advantage of ordinary people
- -[statements3] Ordinary working people do not get their fair share of the nation's wealth
- -[statements4] There is one law for the rich and one for the poor
- -[statements5] Management will always try to get the better of employees if it gets the chance
- -[statements6] Young people today don't have enough respect for traditional values

- -[statements7] People who break the law should be given stiffer sentences
- -[statements8] For some crimes, the death penalty is the most appropriate sentence
- -[statements9] Schools should teach children to obey authority
- -[statements10] Censorship of films, magazines and the internet is necessary to uphold moral standards
- <1> Strongly agree
- <2> Agree
- <3> Neither agree nor disagree
- <4> Disagree
- <5> Strongly disagree

[populism] {grid roworder=randomize} Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

- -[scottishValuesx] {fixed=1} In Scotland our values make us different from the rest of the UK
- -[populism1] The politicians in the Scottish Parliament need to follow the will of the people
- -[populism2] The people, and not politicians, should make our most important policy decisions
- -[populism4] I would rather be represented by a citizen than by a specialised politician
- -[populism5] Elected officials talk too much and take too little action
- -[populism6] What people call "compromise" in politics is really just selling out on one's principles
- -[populismExtra1] {fixed=1} MSPs should put the views of their constituents over their party's promises
- -[populismExtra2] {fixed=1} Scotland would be better off if party leaders worked together to find common ground
- <1> Strongly agree
- <2> Agree
- <3> Neither agree nor disagree
- <4> Disagree
- <5> Strongly disagree
- <99> Don't know

[immigStatements] {grid roworder=randomize} And how about these statements?

- -[immigEcon] Immigration is good for Scotland's economy
- -[immigCultural] Immigration undermines Scotland's cultural life
- -[immigLevel] The number of immigrants from foreign countries coming to live in Scotland should be increased
- -[immigInternal] The number of English people coming to live in Scotland should be reduced
- <1> Strongly agree
- <2> Agree
- <3> Neither agree nor disagree
- <4> Disagree
- <5> Strongly disagree

Participation

[indyRally] {multiple} Have you participated in any political rallies, demonstrations, or counter-protests either for or against Scottish independence since the referendum held on 18 September 2014? Select all that apply.

- <1> I have attended a pro-independence demonstration to show my support for independence
- <2> I have attended an anti-independence demonstration to show my opposition to independence
- <3> I have been a counter-protestor at a demonstration held by the other side of the independence divide
- <4 xor> I have not attended any pro- or anti-independence events

Knowledge

[amsDifficult] {single} 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?

- <1> Very difficult
- <2> Fairly difficult
- <3> Not very difficult
- <4> Not at all difficult
- <99> Can't choose

[eSysViewsGrid] {grid roworder=randomize} 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)

- -[eSysViewsGrid1] You can't vote for the same party in both the constituency and the regional list votes
- -[eSysViewsGrid2] 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
- -[eSysViewsGrid3] Where a party is very strong, there isn't much point voting for it on the regional list
- <1> Definitely true
- <2> Probably true
- <3> Probably not true
- <4> Definitely not true
- <99> Don't know

Social trust etc.

[demsatis] On the whole, how satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the way democracy works in this country?

- <1> Very dissatisfied
- <2> Fairly dissatisfied

```
<3> Fairly satisfied
```

<4> Very satisfied

<99> Don't know

[efficGeneral] {grid roworder=randomize} To what extent do you agree or disagree with these statements?

- -[efficDontCare] Politicians don't care much about what people like me think
- -[efficNoSay] People like me don't have any say about what the government does
- -[efficComplicated] Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on
- <1> Strongly agree
- <2> Tend to agree
- <3> Neither agree nor disagree
- <4> Tend to disagree
- <5> Strongly disagree
- <6> Don't know

[socialTrustScale] {scale 0 10 dk=1 dk_text="Don't know"} Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted, or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people? Please answer on the following scale.

-[socialTrust] You can't be too careful | Most people can be trusted

[riskscale] {scale 0 10 dk=1 dk_text="Don't know"} Now here is a scale where 0 means 'unwilling to take risks' and 10 means 'fully prepared to take risks'. How willing are you to take risks?

-[riskWilling] Unwilling to take risks | Fully prepared to take risks

Identities

[E_grid] {grid} Here is a scale that we would like you to use to describe to what extent you think of yourself as Scottish, British or European. Some people who live in Scotland might also feel English. On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 means 'Not at all' and 10 means 'Very strongly', where would you place yourself?

```
-[E_grid_1] Scottish
```

-[E_grid_2] British

-[E_grid_3] European

-[E_grid_4] English

<1>0 – Not at all

- <2> 1
- <3> 2
- <4>3
- <5> 4
- <6> 5
- <7> 6
- <8> 7
- <9>8
- <10> 9

```
<11> 10 – Very strongly
```

<12> Don't know

[england] {multiple} Many people in Scotland have a connection to England. What about you? Please select any of the following that apply.

- <1> I was born in England
- <2> My family comes from England
- <3> I spent at least some of my childhood in England
- <4> I have lived in England as an adult
- <5> I have family members who live in England
- <6> Other [englando] {open}
- <7 xor> None of the above

MODULE – GIVE TO GROUP B (same as received the "does x party look after working/middle class")

{module class if firstsplit==2}

{page p_scale}

[classIDa] {scale 0 10 dk=1} Where would you place yourself on this scale? -[mclassness] Not at all middle class I Very strongly middle class

[classIDb] {scale 0 10 dk=1} And where would you place yourself on this scale? -[wclassness] Not at all working class | Very strongly working class

{end page p_scale}

[classIDbx] And which, if any, of the following best describes how you see yourself?

- <1> Middle class not working class
- <2> More middle class than working class
- <3> Equally middle class and working class
- <4> More working class than middle class
- <5> Working class not middle class
- <6> Other description [classIDbo] {open}
- <7> I don't have a class

{end module class}

END MODULE

[identityImportance] {multiple order=randomize max=3} People differ in how they think of themselves. If you had to pick **three** things from this list to describe yourself – things that are very important to you when you think of yourself – what would they be?

- <1> Being working class
- <2> Being middle class

- <3> Being Scottish
- <4> Being British
- <5> Being European
- <6> Being a parent
- <7> Being a spouse/partner
- <8> Your hometown or home region
- <9> Your age group/generation
- <10> Your religion
- <11> Your race or ethnic background
- <12> Your gender/sex
- <13> Your sexuality
- <14> Your occupation
- <15> Your political party
- <16> A particular political cause
- <17> Being a Leaver/Brexiteer
- <18> Being a Remainer/pro-European
- <19> Being in favour of Scottish independence
- <20> Being opposed to Scottish independence
- <98 fixed> Others [identityImportanceo] {open}
- <99 fixed xor> Don't know

MODULE - GROUP A

[cultureWar if firstsplit==1] {grid roworder=randomize} On a scale from "Very favourable" to "Very unfavourable", how do you feel about the following social movements and political causes?

- -[cultureWarBLM] Black Lives Matter
- -[cultureWarFeminism] Feminism
- -[cultureWarVeganism] Veganism
- -[cultureWarCA] The Countryside Alliance
- -[cultureWarAntiLockdown] Anti-Lockdown Campaigners
- -[cultureWarOO] The Orange Order
- <1> Very favourable
- <2> Somewhat favourable
- <3> Neither favourable nor unfavourable
- <4> Somewhat unfavourable
- <5> Very unfavourable
- <9> No opinion

MODULE - GROUP B

[cultureFigures if firstsplit==2] {grid roworder=randomize} On a scale from "Very favourable" to "Very unfavourable", how do you feel about the following famous social and political figures?

- -[cultureFiguresGreta] Greta Thunberg
- -[cultureFiguresTrump] Donald Trump
- -[cultureFiguresChurchill] Winston Churchill
- -[cultureFiguresRashford] Marcus Rashford

- -[cultureFiguresMarkle] Meghan Markle
- -[cultureFiguresPiers] Piers Morgan
- -[cultureWarFiguresBigYin] Billy Connolly
- <1> Very favourable
- <2> Somewhat favourable
- <3> Neither favourable nor unfavourable
- <4> Somewhat unfavourable
- <5> Very unfavourable
- <9> No opinion

Wrap up

[dpq1] {single spd_category=politics} If there were a United Kingdom general election held tomorrow, which party would you vote for?

- <1>Conservative
- <2>Labour
- <3>Liberal Democrat
- <5>Scottish National Party (SNP)
- <6>Green
- <8>Some other party {open}
- <98>Would not vote
- <99>Don't know

[workingStatus] {single} Which of these best describes what you were doing last week?

- <1> Working full time (30 or more hours per week)
- <2> Working part time (8-29 hours a week)
- <3> Working part time (less than 8 hours a week)
- <4> Unemployed and looking for work
- <5> Full time university student
- <6> Other full time student
- <7> Retired
- <10> Furloughed
- <8> Not in paid work for any other reason
- <9> Other

#Auto-matching occupation module

[prevJob if workingStatus in [4,7,8,9]]{single} Have you worked in a paid job in the past?

- <1> Yes, I have done paid work in the past
- <111> No, I have never done paid work
- <99> Don't know

#This module is only for current job

{module currentOccupation if workingStatus in [1,2,3,10]}

[occupation_open]{open rows=1 cols=60} What is your occupation?

[selfOccStatus]{single} Are you an employee or self-employed/an independent contractor?

<1> An employee

<111> Self-employed/an independent contractor

<99> Don't know

[selfOccSupervise if selfOccStatus==1]{single} Do you supervise or are you responsible for the work of any other people?

<1> Yes

<111> No

<99> Don't know

[selfOccOrgSize if selfOccStatus==1] How many people work for your employer at the place where you work?

<1> 1 to 24 employees

<2> 25 to 499 employees

<3> 500 or more employees

<99> Don't know

[selfOccEmployees if selfOccStatus==111] Do you work on your own or do you have employees?

<111> I do not have employees

<1> I have employees

<99> Don't know

[selfNumEmployees if selfOccEmployees==1] How many people do you employ at the place you work?

<1> 1 to 24 employees

<2> 25 to 499 employees

<3> 500 or more employees

<99> Don't know

{end module currentOccupation}

#This module is for previous workers

{module lastOccupation if prevJob==1}

[exoccupation_open]{open rows=1 cols=60} What was your occupation?

[exselfOccStatusLast]{single} Were you an employee or self-employed/an independent contractor?

<1> An employee

<111> Self-employed/an independent contractor

<99> Don't know

```
[exselfOccSuperviseLast if exselfOccStatusLast==1]{single} Did you supervise or were you
responsible for the work of any other people?
<1> Yes
<111> No
<99> Don't know
# [exselfOccOrgSizeLast if exselfOccStatusLast==1] How many people worked for your
employer at the place where you worked most recently?
# <1> 1 to 24 employees
# <2> 25 to 499 employees
# <3> 500 or more employees
# <99> Don't know
[exselfOccEmployeesLast if exselfOccStatusLast==111]Did you work on your own or did
you have employees?
<111> I did not have employees
<1> I had employees
<99> Don't know
# [exselfNumEmployeesLast if exselfOccStatusLast==1] How many people did you employ
at the place you worked?
# <1> 1 to 24 employees
# <2> 25 to 499 employees
# <3> 500 or more employees
# <99> Don't know
{end module lastOccupation }
{page occtype}
occtextstem = ""
if workingStatus in [1,2,3,10]:
 occtextstem = "What is the name of your job?"
if prevJob==1:
 occtextstem = "What is the name of your most recent job?"
{end page occtype}
{
#load json
list_json = resource("/test_andreas_DK/occupations2.json")
```

```
}
{page p_occupation if workingStatus in [1,2,3,10] or prevJob==1}
<<li>k rel="stylesheet" href="//code.jquery.com/ui/1.12.1/themes/base/jquery-ui.css">>
<<script>
$(page_state).on('after_content_loaded', function() {
$(".question input:text").eq(1).hide();
$(".question").eq(0).hide();
$.getJSON('$list_json.raw', function(data) {
    var dataP = $(data.lista).map(function() {
      return {
        value: this.text,
        id: this.unique_id
      };
     }).get();
  $( ".question input:text" ).eq(2).autocomplete({
    source: dataP,
    minLength: 3,
    select: function (event, ui) {
     $(".question input:text").eq(1).val(ui.item.value);
     $(".question input:text").eq(0).val(ui.item.id);
     console.log(ui.item);
     // save selected id to hidden input
    },
    focus: function (event, ui) {
            this.value = ui.item.label;
            event.preventDefault()
    },
    change: function (event, ui) {
        if (ui.item == null || ui.item == undefined) {
          $(".question input:text").eq(0).val("");
          $(".question input:text").eq(1).val("");
          $(".question input:text").eq(2).val("");
        }
```

```
}
  });
  //
      $.ui.autocomplete.filter = function (array, term) {
      var matcher = new RegExp("^" + $.ui.autocomplete.escapeRegex(term), "i");
  //
      return $.grep(array, function (value) {
  //
         return matcher.test(value.label || value.value || value);
  //
      });
  // };
});
$('input[type=checkbox]').on("input",function(){
  if ($('input[type=checkbox]').is(':checked')) {
     $('input[type=text]').attr("disabled", true);
     $('input[type=text]').val('');
  } else {
     $('input[type=text]').attr("disabled", false);
  }
});
});
</script>>
[C_id] {open rows=1 required=0} ID for your occupations.
[AllowSearch] {open rows=1 required=0} $occtextstem<br/>Please start typing in the box
below and choose an occupation that matches what you currently do or most recently did.
<br/><br/>**Please be aware that the options might take a few seconds to load. **<br/>br/>
{text if errorQc}
<<div class="alert alert-error">Please enter a response and select an answer from the
suggested list</div>>
{end text}
[Qc] {open rows=1 cols=50 required=0} <<div style="display:none"> Type your
occupation.</div>>
[Occupation_dk] {multiple required=0} <<span style='display:none;'>Don't know / Can't
find job</span>>
<1> Don't know / Can't find job
```

```
{
errorQc = False
if AllowSearch=="" and (not 1 in Occupation_dk): errorQc = True
if errorQc == False:
  if AllowSearch!= Qc: errorQc = True
}
{goto page p_occupation if errorQc}
{end page p_occupation}
[occCheck if (workingStatus in [1,2,3,10] or prevJob==1) and not 1 in Occupation_dk] How
well do you think that the job you chose in the previous question describes what you do, or
most recently did?
<5> Very well
<4> Fairly well
<3> Neither well nor badly
<2> Fairly badly
<1> Very badly
<99> Don't know
```