

Pre-Election Wave

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 ****200 points**** for completing the survey.

We have tested the survey and found that, on average it takes around 25 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.

{end page intro}

Political Interest and Party ID

[pi1grid21] {grid} Please could you tell us how interested, if at all, you are in each of these?

-[pi1a21] The Scottish Parliament election coming up on the 6th of May

-[pi1b21] Politics at Holyrood in general

-[pi1c21] Politics at Westminster in general

-[pi1d21] Politics in the wider world

<1> Very interested

<2> Fairly interested

<3> Not very interested

<4> Not at all interested

[pi2a] {single} Some people think of themselves as usually being a supporter of one political party rather than another (even if they might vote for a different party from time to time).

Thinking about ****Scottish politics at Holyrood****, do you usually think of yourself as being a supporter of one particular party or not?

<1> No, I do not

<2> Scottish Conservative and Unionist

<3> Scottish Greens

<4> Scottish Labour

<5> Scottish Liberal Democrats

<6> Scottish National Party

<7> Other [pi2ao] {open}

[pi2b if pi2a==1] {single} Do you generally think of yourself as a little closer to one of the parties than the others? If so, please say here which party this is. If not, please choose "No - None".

- <1> No - None
- <2> Scottish Conservative and Unionist
- <3> Scottish Greens
- <4> Scottish Labour
- <5> Scottish Liberal Democrats
- <6> Scottish National Party
- <7> Other [pi2bo] {open}

[pi2c if pi2b>1] {single} Would you call yourself a very strong, fairly strong, or not very strong supporter of that party?

- <1> Very strong
- <2> Fairly strong
- <3> Not very strong

[pi3a] {single} Thinking now about **UK politics at Westminster**, do you usually think of yourself as being a supporter of one particular party or not?

- <1> No, I do not
- <2> Conservative
- <3> Labour
- <4> Liberal Democrat
- <7> Scottish National Party
- <8> Other [pi3ao] {open}

Vote Intention and Election

[vi1] On a scale of 0 'certain NOT to vote' to 10 'absolutely certain to vote', how likely are you to vote in the Scottish election on the 6th of May if you haven't already voted by post?

- <1> 0 – Certain NOT to vote
- <2> 1
- <3> 2
- <4> 3
- <5> 4
- <6> 5
- <7> 6
- <8> 7
- <9> 8
- <10> 9
- <11> 10 – Absolutely certain to vote
- <12> I have already voted by post
- <99> Don't know

[vi9 if vi1!=12] {single} How sure are you about which way you will vote? Using a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means 'not at all sure' and 10 means 'absolutely sure', how sure are you?

<1> 0 – Not at all sure

<2> 1

<3> 2

<4> 3

<5> 4

<6> 5

<7> 6

<8> 7

<9> 8

<10> 9

<11> 10 – Absolutely sure

[voteMeans if vi1!=12] If you do vote, how do you intend to cast your ballot?

<1> In person at the polling station

<2> By post

<3> By proxy (getting someone else to cast your vote)

[voteAnxious if voteMeans==1] In light of the COVID-19 situation, which of these comes closest to the way you feel about your visit to the polling station on election day?

<1> I am not at all anxious about visiting the polling station

<2> I am not very anxious about visiting the polling station

<3> I am slightly anxious about visiting the polling station

<4> I am very anxious about visiting the polling station

{module notyetvoted if vi1!=12}

{text}

When you vote in the Scottish Parliament election, you receive two separate ballot papers. One is to vote for an individual member to represent your CONSTITUENCY. The other is to vote for a party list for your REGION.

{end text}

[q1] {single spd_category=politics} Thinking about the election to the Scottish Parliament on 6th May, and thinking about the ****constituency vote****, how will you vote?

<1> Scottish Conservative and Unionist

<2> Scottish Labour

<3> Scottish Liberal Democrats

<4> Scottish National Party

<5> Some other party

<6> Will not vote

<7> Don't know

[q1a if q1==5] {single spd_category=politics} Which other party will you vote for?

<5> Scottish Greens

- <7> Reform UK
- <9> Some other party [q1ao] {open}
- <10> Don't know

[q2] {single spd_category=politics} And thinking about the **regional or party vote** for the Scottish Parliament on 6th May, which party list will you vote for?

- <1> Scottish Conservative and Unionist
- <2> Scottish Labour
- <3> Scottish Liberal Democrat
- <4> Scottish National Party
- <5> Scottish Greens
- <7> UK Independence Party (UKIP)
- <8> Reform UK
- <13> All for Unity
- <14> Alba Party #was Action for Independence
- <10> Some other party [q2o] {open}
- <11> Will not vote
- <12> Don't know

{end module notyetvoted}

{module voted if vi1==12}

{text}

When you voted in the Scottish Parliament election, you received two separate ballot papers. One was to vote for an individual member to represent your CONSTITUENCY. The other was to vote for a party list for your REGION.

{end text}

[q1voted] {single spd_category=politics} Thinking about the **constituency vote**, how did you vote?

- <1> Scottish Conservative and Unionist
- <2> Scottish Labour
- <3> Scottish Liberal Democrats
- <4> Scottish National Party
- <5> Some other party
- <6> Did not vote
- <7> Don't know

{end page p_q1voted}

[q1avoted if q1voted==5] {single spd_category=politics} Which other party did you vote for?

- <5> Scottish Greens

<7> Reform UK
<9> Some other party [q1avotedo] {open}
<10> Don't know

[q2voted] {single spd_category=politics} And thinking about the ****regional or party vote****, which party list did you vote for?

<1> Scottish Conservative and Unionist
<2> Scottish Labour
<3> Scottish Liberal Democrats
<4> Scottish National Party
<5> Scottish Greens
<7> UK Independence Party (UKIP)
<8> Reform UK
<13> All for Unity
<14> Alba Party #was Action for Independence
<10> Some other party [q2votedo] {open}
<11> Did not vote
<12> Don't know

{end module voted}

{module m_vi13a if SESsplit==1}

SPLIT – GROUP A

[vi13a] {single} In deciding how to vote in the Scottish Parliament election, will or did you decide...?

<1> Mostly according to what is going on in Scotland
<2> Mostly according to what is going on in Britain as a whole
<3> Other reasons [vi13o] {open}
<4> Not sure

{end module m_vi13a}

{module m_vi13b if SESsplit==2}

SPLIT - GROUP B

[vi13b] {single} In deciding how to vote in the Scottish Parliament election, will or did you decide...?

<1> Mostly about what is going on in Scotland
<2> Mostly about what is going on in Britain as a whole
<3> Mostly about the relationship between Scotland with the rest of UK
<4> Other reasons [vi13bo] {open}
<5> Not sure

{end module m_vi13b}

[scotgovComposition] {multiple} As far as you are aware, which party or parties have formed the Scottish Government since 2016? Select any that apply.

- <1> Scottish Conservative and Unionist
- <2> Scottish Labour
- <3> Scottish Liberal Democrat
- <4> Scottish Greens
- <5> Scottish National Party
- <6 xor> None of these
- <7 xor> Don't know

[likelyWinElecgrid] {grid roworder=randomize} Using a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means 'very unlikely' and 10 means 'very likely', how likely do you think each of the following outcomes are after the Scottish election?

- [likelyMajoritySNP] An SNP majority in parliament
- [likelyMajorityIndy] A majority for pro-independence parties in parliament
- [likelyRefHappen] An independence referendum in the next five years
- <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

Participation and Efficacy

[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

[polPart] {multiple} Here is a list of activities. During the last 12 months, have you done any of the following? Please select all that apply.

- <1> Contacted a politician, government or local government official
- <2> Signed a petition on the internet
- <3> Signed a petition in person
- <4> Done any work on behalf of a political party or action group

- <5> Given any money to a political party, organisation or cause
- <6> Taken part in a public protest or demonstration
- <7> Bought - or refused to buy - any products for political or ethnical reasons
- <8> Gone on strike or taken industrial action
- <9> Participated in an online political meeting or event
- <10> Posted about politics on social media
- <11 xor> None of these

[polDiscussion] {multiple} Who have you talked to about politics in the last three months, if anyone at all? Please select all that apply.

- <1 xor> Nobody
- <2> Family members
- <3> Friends
- <4> Colleagues at work/classmates
- <5> Other social acquaintances
- <6> People I interacted with online but don't know in real life
- <7> Other [polDiscussionopen]{open}

[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

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

- [dutyToVote2] It is every citizen's duty to vote in an election
- [effic4Turnout1] The last few years show that it's referendums, not elections, that change things
- [effic4Turnout2] The SNP cares more about staying in power than achieving Scottish independence
- [effic4Turnout3] After twenty years, Scottish devolution is living up to its potential
- [effic4Turnout4] It's important to vote, no matter what the polls say will happen
- [effic4Turnout5] When we fought world wars to defend democracy, it wasn't Holyrood elections that we were fighting for
- <1> Strongly agree
- <2> Tend to agree
- <3> Neither agree nor disagree
- <4> Tend to disagree

<5> Strongly disagree

<6> Don't know

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. 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

<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

[classID] {single} Do you ever think of yourself as belonging to a particular class?

<1> Yes, middle class

<2> Yes, working class

<3> Yes, other [classo] {open}

<4> No

[natClass] {single} Would you say that you had more in common with English people of the same class, or Scottish people of a different class?

<1> English people of the same class

<2> Scottish people of a different class

<3> No difference

<4> Don't know

[leftRight] {single} In politics people sometimes talk of left and right. Where would you place yourself on the following scale?

<1> 0 – Left

<2> 1

<3> 2

<4> 3

<5> 4

<6> 5

- <7> 6
- <8> 7
- <9> 8
- <10> 9
- <11> 10 – Right
- <12> Don't know

[indyID1] {single} Following the first independence referendum in 2014, some people think of themselves as belonging to the Yes or No side. Do you think of yourself as belonging to the Yes side, the No side, or neither?

- <1> Belonging to the Yes side
- <2> Belonging to the No side
- <3> No, neither

[indyID2a if indyID1 == 1] {single} Would you call yourself very strongly, fairly strongly, or not very strongly Yes?

- <1> Very strong
- <2> Fairly strong
- <3> Not very strong

[indyID2b if indyID1 == 2] {single} Would you call yourself very strongly, fairly strongly, or not very strongly No?

- <1> Very strong
- <2> Fairly strong
- <3> Not very strong

[brexID1] {single} Following the EU referendum, some people now think of themselves as belonging to the Leave or Remain side. Did you think of yourself as a Leaver, a Remainer or neither of the two?

- <1> A Leaver
- <2> A Remainer
- <3> No, neither

[brexID2a if brexID1 == 1] {single} Would you call yourself very strongly, fairly strongly, or not very strongly Leave?

- <1> Very strong
- <2> Fairly strong
- <3> Not very strong

[brexID2b if brexID1 == 2] {single} Would you call yourself very strongly, fairly strongly, or not very strongly Remain?

- <1> Very strong
- <2> Fairly strong
- <3> Not very strong

Issues and Positions

[miiSco] {open rows=1 cols=60 dk=1} Now, we'd like to ask you a few questions about the issues and problems facing Scotland and the UK. As far as you're concerned, what is the SINGLE MOST important issue **facing Scotland** at the present time? Please type your answer in the box below.

[miiScoBest if miiSco!="__DK__"] {single} Which party is best able to handle this issue?

- <1> No party is able to handle this issue
- <2> Scottish Conservative and Unionist
- <3> Scottish Labour
- <4> Scottish Liberal Democrats
- <5> Scottish Greens
- <6> Scottish National Party
- <7> Other [miiScoBestOpen] {open}
- <99> Don't know

{module m_miiUK if SESsplit==1}

SPLIT – GROUP A

[miiUK] {open rows=1 cols=60 dk=1} As far as you're concerned, what is the SINGLE MOST important issue **facing the UK** at the present time? Please type your answer in the box below.

[miiUKBest if miiUK!="__DK__"] {single} Which party is best able to handle this issue?

- <1> No party is able to handle this issue
- <2> Conservatives
- <3> Labour
- <4> Liberal Democrats
- <5> Scottish National Party
- <6> Other [miiUKOpen] {open}
- <99> Don't know

{end module m_miiUK}

[is7grid] {grid roworder=randomize} How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements:

- [is7gridTuition] It should be free for students from Scotland to attend a Scottish university
- [is7gridCouncils] Local authorities who don't have enough money to maintain local services should be supported by the Scottish Government, even if that means less money for other better-off local authorities
- [is7gridTax] Income tax rates in Scotland should keep in step with income tax rates in the rest of the UK
- [is7gridSpending] Levels of public spending in Scotland should be reduced to the levels in the rest of the UK

-[is7gridEU] The Scottish Government should keep staff and buildings in Brussels to maintain links with the European Union

-[is7gridIslands] The Scottish Government should subsidize the cost of air and ferry travel to islands and outlying areas

-[is7gridAlcohol] There should be a minimum price for some alcoholic drinks

-[is7gridImmigrants] The Scottish Government should look to increase the number of immigrants coming into Scotland

-[is7gridGaelic] The Scottish Government spends too much money trying to preserve the Gaelic language

<1> Agree strongly

<2> Tend to agree

<3> Neither agree nor disagree

<4> Tend to disagree

<5> Disagree strongly

<6> Don't know

{module m_is8_1 if SESsplit==2}

SPLIT – GROUP B

[is8_1] {single} Now, some questions about where you and the parties stand on various issues. First, using a 0 to 10 scale, where 0 means that government should cut taxes 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 yourself?

<1> 0 – Government should cut taxes a lot and spend much less

<2> 1

<3> 2

<4> 3

<5> 4

<6> 5

<7> 6

<8> 7

<9> 8

<10> 9

<11> 10 – Government should raise taxes a lot and spend much more

<12> Don't know

[is8grid] {grid roworder=randomize} And where would you place the...

-[is8a] Scottish Labour Party

-[is8b] Scottish Conservative and Unionist Party

-[is8c] SNP

<1> 0 – Government should cut taxes a lot and spend much less

<2> 1

<3> 2

<4> 3

<5> 4
<6> 5
<7> 6
<8> 7
<9> 8
<10> 9
<11> 10 – Government should raise taxes a lot and spend much more
<12> Don't know

[is9_1] {single} Some people think that it is most important to protect the environment, even if it means limiting economic growth. Others think that economic growth should take priority over environmental considerations. On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 means top priority for protecting the environment and 10 means top priority for economic growth, where would you place yourself?

<1> 0 – Protecting the environment
<2> 1
<3> 2
<4> 3
<5> 4
<6> 5
<7> 6
<8> 7
<9> 8
<10> 9
<11> 10 – Economic growth
<12> Don't know

[is9grid] {grid roworder=randomize} And where would you place the...

-[is9a] Scottish Labour Party

-[is9b] Scottish Conservative and Unionist Party

-[is9c] SNP

<1> 0 – Protecting the environment
<2> 1
<3> 2
<4> 3
<5> 4
<6> 5
<7> 6
<8> 7
<9> 8
<10> 9
<11> 10 – Economic growth
<12> Don't know

[is10_1] {single} And now here's a question about the future of Scotland and the union. Where would you place yourself on the scale 0 to 10, where 0 means 'abolishing the

Scottish Parliament and returning to pre-devolution arrangements', and 10 means 'independence for Scotland'?

<1> 0 – Abolishing the Scottish Parliament

<2> 1

<3> 2

<4> 3

<5> 4

<6> 5

<7> 6

<8> 7

<9> 8

<10> 9

<11> 10 – Independence for Scotland

<99> Don't know

[is10grid] {grid roworder=randomize} And where would you place the...

-[is10a] Scottish Labour Party

-[is10b] Scottish Conservative and Unionist Party

-[is10c] SNP

<1> 0 – Abolishing the Scottish Parliament

<2> 1

<3> 2

<4> 3

<5> 4

<6> 5

<7> 6

<8> 7

<9> 8

<10> 9

<11> 10 – Independence for Scotland

<12> Don't know

[is10_1x] {single} And now here's a question about the UK's future relationship with the EU. Where would you place yourself on the scale 0 to 10, where 0 means 'Protecting the UK's sovereignty', and 10 means 'Prioritising ease of trade'?

<1> 0 – Protecting the UK's sovereignty

<2> 1

<3> 2

<4> 3

<5> 4

<6> 5

<7> 6

<8> 7

<9> 8

<10> 9

<11> 10 – Prioritising ease of trade

<99> Don't know

[is10gridx] {grid roworder=randomize} And where would you place the...

-[is10ax] Scottish Labour Party

-[is10bx] Scottish Conservative and Unionist Party

-[is10cx] SNP

<1> 0 – Protecting the UK's sovereignty

<2> 1

<3> 2

<4> 3

<5> 4

<6> 5

<7> 6

<8> 7

<9> 8

<10> 9

<11> 10 – Prioritizing ease of trade

<12> Don't know

{end module m_is8_1}

{module m_is4gridConservatives if SESsplit==1}

SPLIT – GROUP A

[is4gridConservatives] {grid} Thinking about Scottish politics, using a scale where 0 means 'no trust at all' and 10 means 'a great deal of trust', how far do you trust the **Scottish Conservatives** to deal effectively with the following issues in Scotland:

-[is4gConservativesa] Looking after the economy

-[is4gConservativesb] Protecting the environment

-[is4gConservativesc] Energy and natural resources

-[is4gConservativesd] Immigration

-[is4gConservativese] Law and order

-[is4gConservativesf] Health

-[is4gConservativesg] Education

-[is4gConservativesh] Tackling inequality

-[is4gConservativesi] Standing up for Scotland

-[is4gConservativesj] The COVID-19 pandemic

<1> 0 – No trust at all

<2> 1

<3> 2

<4> 3

<5> 4

<6> 5

<7> 6

<8> 7

<9> 8
<10> 9
<11> 10 – Great deal of trust
<99> Don't know

[is4gridLab] {grid} Thinking about Scottish politics, using a scale where 0 means 'no trust at all' and 10 means 'a great deal of trust', how far do you trust ****Scottish Labour**** to deal effectively with the following issues in Scotland:

- [is4gLaba] Looking after the economy
- [is4gLabb] Protecting the environment
- [is4gLabc] Energy and natural resources
- [is4gLabd] Immigration
- [is4gLabe] Law and order
- [is4gLabf] Health
- [is4gLabg] Education
- [is4gLabh] Tackling inequality
- [is4gLabi] Standing up for Scotland
- [is4gLabj] The COVID-19 pandemic

<1> 0 – No trust at all
<2> 1
<3> 2
<4> 3
<5> 4
<6> 5
<7> 6
<8> 7
<9> 8
<10> 9
<11> 10 – Great deal of trust
<99> Don't know

[is4gridSNP] {grid} Thinking about Scottish politics, using a scale where 0 means 'no trust at all' and 10 means 'a great deal of trust', how far do you trust the ****SNP**** to deal effectively with the following issues in Scotland:

- [is4gSNPa] Looking after the economy
- [is4gSNPb] Protecting the environment
- [is4gSNPc] Energy and natural resources
- [is4gSNPd] Immigration
- [is4gSNPe] Law and order
- [is4gSNPf] Health
- [is4gSNPg] Education
- [is4gSNPh] Tackling inequality
- [is4gSNPi] Standing up for Scotland
- [is4gSNPj] The COVID-19 pandemic

<1> 0 – No trust at all
<2> 1

- <3> 2
- <4> 3
- <5> 4
- <6> 5
- <7> 6
- <8> 7
- <9> 8
- <10> 9
- <11> 10 – Great deal of trust
- <99> Don't know

[salmondScandalBlame] {single} Recently a Scottish Parliament committee conducted an inquiry into the way the Scottish Government handled sexual misconduct allegations against former First Minister Alex Salmond. Who do you think is most to blame for the situation?

- <1> Alex Salmond
- <2> Nicola Sturgeon
- <3> The Scottish Government
- <4> The media
- <5> The courts
- <6> The police
- <7> Other [salmondScandalBlameo] {open}
- <8> No one is to blame
- <99> Don't know

[salmondScandalSturgeon] {single} Thinking specifically about the way Nicola Sturgeon has handled the situation, which of these comes closest to your view?

- <1> She did nothing wrong and has been treated unfairly
- <2> She made some mistakes but did her best in a difficult situation
- <3> She made serious errors in judgement but was right not to resign
- <4> She deliberately misled Parliament and should have resigned
- <5> Other [salmondScandalSturgeo] {open}
- <99> Don't know

{end module m_is4gridConservatives}

SPLIT – GROUP A

[salmondAlbaHelpa if SESsplit==1] Recently Alex Salmond launched a new pro-independence political party called Alba to contest seats on the regional list. He argues that this will help the independence movement achieve a large majority in the Scottish Parliament. Which of the following comes closest to your view?

- <1> I think this will help the independence movement
- <2> I think this will hinder the independence movement
- <3> I think this will make no difference
- <4> Don't know

GROUP B

[salmondAlbaHelpb if SESsplit==2] Recently Alex Salmond launched a new pro-independence political party called Alba to contest seats on the regional list. He argues that this will help the independence movement to achieve a large majority in the Scottish Parliament. Which of the following comes closest to your view?

- <1> I think he is most focused on independence
- <2> I think he is most focused on restoring his own reputation
- <3> I think he is most focused on getting back at Nicola Sturgeon
- <4> Don't know

Party Characteristics

[leaderLikeScogrid] {grid roworder=randomize} And 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
- [leaderLikeRenn] Willie Rennie
- [leaderlikeHarv] Patrick Harvie
- [leaderLikeSalmond] Alex Salmond

- <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

[leaderLikeUKgrid] {grid roworder=randomize} On the same scale, please tell us how you feel about these UK party leaders?

- [leaderLikeJohn] Boris Johnson
- [leaderLikeStarm] Keir Starmer

- <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

[ap11grid] {grid roworder=randomize} Using a scale that runs from 0 to 10, where 0 means 'strongly dislike' and 10 means 'strongly like', how do you feel about...

-[ap11a] Scottish Conservative and Unionist Party

-[ap11b] Scottish Labour Party

-[ap11c] Scottish Liberal Democrats

-[ap11d] Scottish Greens

-[ap11e] SNP

<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

{module m_ap6grid if SESsplit==2}

SPLIT – GROUP B

[ap6grid] {grid roworder=randomize} On the whole, would you describe the following political parties as...?

-[ap6a21] Scottish Conservative and Unionist

-[ap6b21] Scottish Labour

-[ap6d21] SNP

<1> United

<2> Divided

<3> Not sure

[ap7grid] {grid roworder=randomize} Would you say the following political parties...?

-[ap7a21] Scottish Conservative and Unionist

-[ap7b21] Scottish Labour

-[ap7d21] SNP

<1> Keep their promises

<2> Break their promises

<3> Not sure

[ap8grid] {grid roworder=randomize} And would you describe the following political parties as...?

-[ap8a21] Scottish Conservative and Unionist

-[ap8b21] Scottish Labour

-[ap8d21] SNP

<1> In touch with ordinary people

<2> Out of touch with ordinary people

<3> Not sure

{end module m_ap6grid}

Government Performance and Multi-Level Attributions

[is6a] {single} How do you think the general economic situation in Scotland has changed over the last 12 months?

<1> Improved a lot

<2> Improved a little

<3> Stayed the same

<4> Declined a little

<5> Declined a lot

<6> Don't know

[is6b] {single} And is this mainly the result of...

<1> The policies of the UK government at Westminster

<2> The policies of the Scottish Government

<3> Both equally

<4> Some other reason [is6bo] {open}

<5> Don't know

[is6c] {single} And what about the economic situation for you and your household? Has it improved or declined over the last twelve months?

<1> Improved a lot

<2> Improved a little

<3> Stayed the same

<4> Declined a little

<5> Declined a lot

<6> Don't know

{module m_is3a if SESsplit==1}

SPLIT – GROUP A

[is3a] {single} Since the last election to the Scottish Parliament in 2016, would you say that the standard of the health service in Scotland has increased or fallen?

- <1> Increased a lot
- <2> Increased a little
- <3> Stayed the same
- <4> Fallen a little
- <5> Fallen a lot
- <6> Don't know

[is3b] {single} And is this mainly the result of...

- <1> The policies of the UK government at Westminster
- <2> The policies of the Scottish Government
- <3> Both equally
- <4> Some other reason [is3bo] {open}
- <5> Don't know

[is4a] {single} And what about the quality of education in Scotland? Has it increased or fallen since the last election to the Scottish Parliament in 2016?

- <1> Increased a lot
- <2> Increased a little
- <3> Stayed the same
- <4> Fallen a little
- <5> Fallen a lot
- <6> Don't know

[is4b] {single} And is this mainly the result of...

- <1> The policies of the UK government at Westminster
- <2> The policies of the Scottish Government
- <3> Both equally
- <4> Some other reason [is4bo] {open}
- <5> Don't know

[is5a] {single} What about the standard of law and order in Scotland? Has it increased or fallen since the last election to the Scottish Parliament in 2016?

- <1> Increased a lot
- <2> Increased a little
- <3> Stayed the same
- <4> Fallen a little
- <5> Fallen a lot
- <6> Don't know

[is5b] {single} And is this mainly the result of...

- <1> The policies of the UK government at Westminster
- <2> The policies of the Scottish Government
- <3> Both equally
- <4> Some other reason [is5bo] {open}

<5> Don't know

{end module m_is3a}

[pe4] {single} Overall, how good or bad a job of running Scotland do you think the SNP Government at Holyrood has done since 2016?

<1> Very good

<2> Fairly good

<3> Neither good nor bad

<4> Fairly bad

<5> Very bad

<6> Don't know

[pe5] {grid} Different parties might form the Scottish Government after the 2021 election. How good or bad a job of running Scotland do you think they would do?

-[pe5Con] Scottish Conservative and Unionist

-[pe5Lab] Scottish Labour

-[pe5SNP] Scottish National Party

<1> Very good

<2> Fairly good

<3> Neither good nor bad

<4> Fairly bad

<5> Very bad

<6> Don't know

[pe1] {single} More generally, how good or bad a job of running the UK do you think the Conservative government at Westminster has done since the 2019 general election?

<1> Very good

<2> Fairly good

<3> Neither good nor bad

<4> Fairly bad

<5> Very bad

<6> Don't know

[salmondScandalSNP] {single} Would you say the inquiry into the Scottish Government's handling of sexual harassment complaints against the former First Minister, Alex Salmond, has made you less likely or more likely to vote SNP, or has it made no difference?

<1> More likely

<2> Less likely

<3> No difference – I have already made up my mind

<4> No difference – I have not made up my mind but it won't affect my choice

<5> Don't know

Scottish Independence

****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

[indyMandate1] {single} Which of these comes closest to your view about the mandate for another Scottish independence referendum?

- <1> There is already a mandate
- <2> The mandate depends on how the Scottish electorate votes on May 6th
- <3> No election result on May 6th would deliver a mandate
- <99> Don't know

[indyMandate2 if indyMandate1==2] {multiple} What election result, in your view, would give a Scottish government a mandate to hold an independence referendum? Please tick all that apply.

- <1> If the SNP wins a majority of seats on its own
- <2> If pro-independence parties win a majority of seats
- <3> If the SNP wins more seats than any other party
- <99 xor> Don't know

Brexit

[brexitIndyMore] {single} The United Kingdom has now left the European Union (EU). What, if anything, has been the impact of the Brexit process on your views of Scottish independence?

- <1> It has made me more certain about my views on independence
- <2> It has made no difference to my views on independence
- <3> It has made me less certain about my views on independence
- <4> It has made me change my mind on independence

[brexitIndyCert if brexitIndyMore == 3] {single} Which comes closest to your view? I used to know how I'd vote but now...

- <1> ...I'd probably vote the same way but it's not guaranteed
- <2> ...I'm not sure which option is best
- <3> ...I might vote differently
- <99> Don't know

[brexitIndyHow if brexitIndyMore == 4] {single} How has it changed your views?

- <1> Made me more likely to vote Yes to Scottish independence
- <2> Made me more likely to vote No to Scottish independence
- <99> Don't know

[brexitRightWrong] {single} In hindsight, do you think Britain was right or wrong to vote to leave the EU?

<1> Right to leave

<2> Wrong to leave

<3> Don't know

[brexitConsequences] {single} From what you've heard would you say that the consequences of the UK leaving the EU have been better or worse than expected?

<1> Much worse than you expected

<2> Worse than you expected

<3> Neither better or worse than you expected

<4> Better than you expected

<5> Much better than you expected

<6> Don't know

Affective Polarisation

[affectiveScale] {grid} Using the 0-10 scale below, we'd like you to rate how you feel about the following groups of people. On this scale 0 means strongly unfavourable, 5 means you have no feelings either way, and 10 means strongly favourable.

-[affectiveScaleYes] Yes voters

-[affectiveScaleNo] No voters

-[affectiveScaleRemain] Remain voters

-[affectiveScaleLeave] Leave voters

-[affectiveScaleSNP] SNP voters

-[affectiveScaleCon] Conservative voters

-[affectiveScaleCatholics] Catholics

-[affectiveScaleProtestants] Protestants

-[affectiveScaleMuslims] Muslims

-[affectiveScaleImmigrants] Immigrants

<1> 0 - Strongly unfavourable

<2> 1

<3> 2

<4> 3

<5> 4

<6> 5 - No feelings either way

<7> 6

<8> 7

<9> 8

<10> 9

<11> 10 - Strongly favourable

Coronavirus

[covidExperiencesInfection] {multiple order=randomize} Now we'd like to ask you some questions about your experience of COVID-19.

Could you indicate which of these you have personally experienced since the beginning of the pandemic? Please select all that apply.

- <1> Tested NEGATIVE for COVID-19
- <2> Tested POSITIVE for COVID-19
- <3> Received at least one dose of a COVID-19 vaccine
- <4> Received medical attention (apart from testing) due to COVID-19 symptoms or infection
- <5> Been hospitalised, or know someone who was hospitalised, with COVID-19
- <6> Know someone who passed away with COVID-19
- <7> Believe you have been infected with the virus
- <8> Been contacted by Test and Protect and asked to self-isolate
- <9 fixed xor> None of these
- <10 fixed xor> Prefer not to say

[covidImpactScale] {grid roworder=randomize} Aside from the virus itself, the COVID-19 pandemic has had an impact on many different aspects of people's lives. On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 means "No disruption at all" and 10 means "A great deal of disruption", how much of an impact have these aspects of the pandemic had on your life?

-[covidImpactScaleVirus] Efforts to avoid contracting and passing on the virus (e.g. shielding, avoiding public places)

-[covidImpactScaleEcon] Personal financial situation (e.g. unemployment, furlough)

-[covidImpactScaleCaring] Caring responsibilities (e.g. home-schooling, providing personal care)

-[covidImpactScaleIsolation] Personal social isolation (e.g. not seeing friends and family)

- <1> 0 - No disruption at all
- <2> 1
- <3> 2
- <4> 3
- <5> 4
- <6> 5
- <7> 6
- <8> 7
- <9> 8
- <10> 9
- <11> 10 - A great deal of disruption

[covidFollowRulesSelf] {single} Thinking about the national lockdown restrictions in Scotland this year, how well would you say you have followed the rules?

- <1> I have gone further than the government said I had to
- <2> I have followed the rules, but have not gone further
- <3> I have tried to follow the rules but sometimes bent them
- <4> I have largely ignored the government rules
- <5> I have completely ignored the government rules
- <6> Not sure

[covidFollowRulesOthers] {single} And how well do you think other people have followed the rules?

- <1> Most people have gone further than the government said they had to
- <2> Most people have followed the rules but not gone further
- <3> Most people have tried to follow the rules but sometimes bent them
- <4> Most people have largely ignored the rules
- <5> Most people have completely ignored the rules
- <6> Not sure

[covidLockdownexit] {grid roworder=randomize} Thinking about the past weeks and months, do you think the UK and Scottish Government's rules on what people can do during the pandemic have been too strict or too relaxed?

-[covidLockdownexit_Sco] Scottish Government

-[covidLockdownexit_UK] UK Government

- <1> 0 - Much too strict
- <2> 1
- <3> 2
- <4> 3 – About right
- <5> 4
- <6> 5
- <7> 6 - Much too relaxed
- <8> Don't know

[covidSco] {grid} Thinking about how **the Scottish Government at Holyrood** has dealt with the COVID-19 pandemic, on a scale from "Very well" to "Very badly", how well would you say they have done on these issues?

-[covidScoComms] Communicating decisions to the public

-[covidScoLockdown] Handling the lockdown restrictions

-[covidScoVaccine] Rolling out the vaccines

- <1> 0 - Very well
- <2> 1
- <3> 2
- <4> 3
- <5> 4
- <6> 5
- <7> 6 - Very badly
- <8> Don't know

[covidUK] {grid} Thinking about how **the UK Government at Westminster** has dealt with the COVID-19 pandemic, on a scale from "Very well" to "Very badly", how well would you say they have done on these issues?

-[covidUKComms] Communicating decisions to the public

-[covidUKLockdown] Handling the lockdown restrictions

-[covidUKVaccine] Rolling out the vaccines

- <1> 0 - Very well

- <2> 1
- <3> 2
- <4> 3
- <5> 4
- <6> 5
- <7> 6 - Very badly
- <8> Don't know

Campaign Contact

[electionLastWeek] {single} Have you heard, seen or read anything about the Scottish Parliament election in the last week?

- <1> Yes
- <2> No

[campaignContact21] {multiple} Could you indicate which political parties have contacted you during the past four weeks? Please select all that apply.

- <1> Scottish Conservative and Unionist
- <2> Scottish Greens
- <3> Scottish Labour
- <4> Scottish Liberal Democrats
- <5> SNP
- <9> Other parties or independent candidates [campaignContact21o] {open}
- <10 xor> None

[campaignContact21_whattype] {multiple} Which of the following party contacts have you received during this election campaign? Please tick all that apply.

- <1> Leaflets
- <2> Door knocking
- <3> Social media posts
- <4> Telephone calls
- <5> Other [campaignContact21_whattypeo] {open}
- <6 xor> None

#VERSION (6 April to 13 April)

[debatewatch1] There has been one televised leaders' debates during the election campaign. Did you watch it?

- <1> Yes, I watched the first debate on BBC on 30th March
- <3> No, I did not watch the debate
- <4> Can't remember

VERSION 2 (from 14 April to 3rd debate)

[debatewatch2] {multiple} There have been two televised leaders' debates during the election campaign. Did you watch either of these?

<1> Yes, I watched the first debate on BBC on 30th March

<2>Yes, I watched the second debate on STV on 13th April
<3> No, I did not watch either debate
<4>Can't remember

VERSION 3 if 3rd debate held
[debatewatch3] {multiple} There have been three televised leaders' debates during the election campaign. Did you watch either of these?
<1>Yes, I watched the first debate on BBC on 30th March
<2>Yes, I watched the second debate on STV on 13th April
<3> Yes, I watched the third debate on BBC on DATE
<3> No, I did not watch any debates
<4>Can't remember

Amend routing when switched versions of debatewatch
[leaderDebate if debatewatch1==1] {single} You said you watched at least one of the leaders' debates, how would you say it affected your vote choice?
<1> I watched a debate but I still don't know how I'll vote
<2> Didn't have any impact – my mind was already made up
<3> Made me think but didn't change my mind
<4> Got me seriously thinking about changing my mind
<5> Changed my mind completely

Political Knowledge

[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 at Westminster
<3> Don't know

[knowledge] {grid} Using a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means very little knowledge and 10 means a very large amount of knowledge, how much knowledge do you think you have about...

-[knowledge_Scotland] ...devolved politics in Scotland?
-[knowledge_Westminster] ...UK politics at Westminster?
-[knowledge_voting] ... the voting system used for devolved Scottish elections
<1> 0 - very little knowledge
<2> 1
<3> 2
<4> 3

<5> 4
<6> 5
<7> 6
<8> 7
<9> 8
<10> 9
<11> 10 - very large amount of knowledge
<12> Don't know

Sociodemographics and Misc.

Age
Dependents
Newspaper readership
Other media consumption info
Type of area you stay in (urban/rural)
Postcode
Home ownership
Marital status
Ethnicity
Religion and religiosity
Employment
Income (household and personal)
Income source
When respondent left education
Highest qualification
For 16/17yos - parental occupation
Country of birth (contingent question below)
Country of birth for parents

[ba4] Which, if any, of the following best describes how you see yourself?

<1> Scottish not British
<2> More Scottish than British
<3> Equally Scottish and British
<4> More British than Scottish
<5> British not Scottish
<6> Other description [ba4o] {open}
<7> Don't know

[born] Where were you born?

<1> Scotland
<2> England
<3> Wales
<4> Northern Ireland
<5> An EU member state, outside of the UK

<6> Outside of the EU

[yearArrivedSco if born>1] {dropdown default_text="Please select one."} What year did you first come to live in Scotland?

<1> 1940 or earlier

<2> 1941

<3> 1942

<4> 1943

<5> 1944

<6> 1945

<7> 1946

<8> 1947

<9> 1948

<10> 1949

<11> 1950

<12> 1951

<13> 1952

<14> 1953

<15> 1954

<16> 1955

<17> 1956

<18> 1957

<19> 1958

<20> 1959

<21> 1960

<22> 1961

<23> 1962

<24> 1963

<25> 1964

<26> 1965

<27> 1966

<28> 1967

<29> 1968

<30> 1969

<31> 1970

<32> 1971

<33> 1972

<34> 1973

<35> 1974

<36> 1975

<37> 1976

<38> 1977

<39> 1978

<40> 1979

<41> 1980

<42> 1981

<43> 1982
<44> 1983
<45> 1984
<46> 1985
<47> 1986
<48> 1987
<49> 1988
<50> 1989
<51> 1990
<52> 1991
<53> 1992
<54> 1993
<55> 1994
<56> 1995
<57> 1996
<58> 1997
<59> 1998
<60> 1999
<61> 2000
<62> 2001
<63> 2002
<64> 2003
<65> 2004
<66> 2005
<67> 2006
<68> 2007
<69> 2008
<70> 2009
<71> 2010
<72> 2011
<73> 2012
<74> 2013
<75> 2014
<76> 2015
<77> 2016
<78> 2017
<79> 2018
<80> 2019
<81> 2020
<82> 2021

[bornParents] {grid} Where were your parents born?

-[q32a] Father

-[q32b] Mother

<1> Scotland

<2> England

- <3> Wales
- <4> Northern Ireland
- <5> An EU member state, outside of the UK
- <6> Outside of the EU
- <8> Don't know

[incomeSource] {single} Which of the following is the main source of income for you at present?

- <1> Earnings from employment (own or spouse/partner's)
- <2> Occupational pension(s) – from previous employer(s)
- <3> State retirement or widow's/widower's pension(s)
- <4> Unemployment benefit/Jobseeker's Allowance
- <5> Income Support or family credit
- <6> Invalidity, sickness or disabled pension or benefit(s)
- <7> Other state benefit
- <8> Interest from savings or investments
- <9> Student grant or loan
- <10> Dependent on parents/other relatives
- <11> Other main source [incomeSourceo]{open}
- <12> Don't know
- <13> Prefer not to say

[profile_religion] {single varlabel="Religion" spd_category="religion"} Do you regard yourself as belonging to any particular religion, and if so, to which of these do you belong?

- <2> Church of England/Anglican/Episcopal
- <3> Roman Catholic
- <4> Presbyterian/Church of Scotland
- <5> Methodist
- <6> Baptist
- <17> Orthodox Christian
- <18> Pentecostal (e.g. Assemblies of God, Elim Pentecostal Church, New Testament Church of God, Redeemed Christian Church of God)
- <19> Evangelical – independent/non-denominational (e.g. FIEC, Pioneer, Vineyard, Newfrontiers)
- <7> United Reformed Church
- <8> Free Presbyterian
- <9> Brethren
- <10> Judaism
- <11> Hinduism
- <12> Islam
- <13> Sikhism
- <14> Buddhism
- <15> Other
- <1> No, I do not regard myself as belonging to any particular religion.
- <16> Prefer not to say

[religiosity if not profile_religion in [1,16]] {single} In general, how often do you attend religious ceremonies?

- <1> Almost never
- <2> A few times a year
- <3> Monthly
- <4> Almost every week
- <5> More often

[sexualOrientation] {single spd_category="health"} Which of the following options best describes how you think of yourself?

- <1> Heterosexual or Straight
- <2> Gay or Lesbian
- <3> Bisexual
- <4> Other
- <5> Prefer not to say

[birthSex] {single spd_category="health"} What sex were you assigned at birth, on your original birth certificate?

- <1> Male
- <2> Female

[genderID] {single spd_category="health"} How would you describe your gender identity?

- <1> Man
- <2> Woman
- <3> Nonbinary or other gender non-conforming
- <4> Prefer not to say

[transID if genderID==3 or ((birthSex==1) and (genderID==2)) or ((birthSex==2) and (genderID==1))] {single spd_category="health"} You have indicated that your current gender identity is different from sex assigned at birth. Would you describe yourself as transgender?

- <1> Yes
- <2> No
- <3> Prefer not to say

[disability] {single spd_category="health"} Are you hampered in your daily life activities in any way by any longstanding illness, or disability, infirmity or mental health problem?

- <1> Yes
- <2> No

[disabilityType if disability==1] {multiple order=randomize spd_category="health"} What type of impairment(s) do you have?

- <1> Learning disability (e.g. dyslexia, ADHD)
- <2> Physical disability (e.g. speech, sight, mobility, hearing etc.)
- <3> Autism Spectrum Disorder
- <4> Genetic condition causing disability (e.g. Downs Syndrome, Fragile X Syndrome, etc.)

<5> Chronic illness (cancer, diabetes, autoimmune disorders, etc.)

<6> Psychological disorder (depression, etc.)

<7 fixed> Other (please specify) [disabilityTypeo] {open}

[disabilityCommunity if disability==1] {single} Do you consider yourself as belonging to a wider community of disabled people?

<1> Yes

<2> No

<3> Don't know

[disabilityImpact if disability==1] {single} To what extent does this impact your daily life activities?

<1> A lot

<2> To some extent

<3> Not very much

[disabilityFamilyMember] {single} Are you the family member or partner of a person with a disability, or do you currently care regularly for a person with a disability?

<1> Yes

<2> No

[disabilityFamily if disabilityFamilyMember==1] {multiple order=randomize} What type of impairment does this person have?

<1> Learning disability (e.g. dyslexia, ADHD)

<2> Physical disability (e.g. speech, sight, mobility, hearing etc)

<3> Autism Spectrum Disorder

<4> Genetic condition causing disability (e.g. Downs Syndrome, Fragile X Syndrome, etc)

<5> Chronic illness (cancer, diabetes, autoimmune disorders, etc)

<6> Psychological disorder (depression, etc)

<7 fixed> Other (please specify) [familydiso] {open}

[disabilityFamilyImpact if disabilityFamilyMember==1] {single} To what extent does their disability impact their daily life activities?

<1> A lot

<2> To some extent

<3> Not very much

<4> Not at all

<5> Don't know

[profile_household_children] {single} How many dependent children do you have in your household?

<1> 0

<2> 1

<3> 2

<4> 3

<5> 4

- <6> 5 or more
- <8> Don't know
- <9> Prefer not to say

[media_main_source] {single varlabel = "Main source of news"} Which of the following would you say is your primary source of news?

- <1> A printed copy of a newspaper
- <2> A newspaper's website
- <3> A news website not associated with a newspaper
- <4> A news app on a mobile or tablet device
- <5> Email newsletters or RSS feeds
- <6> Social network websites
- <7> Blogs not associated with major media organisations
- <8> Television
- <9> Radio
- <10> Magazines
- <11> Podcasts
- <97 fixed xor> None of the above
- <96 fixed xor> Don't know

[newspaper_read_12_months]{multiple columns = 2 varlabel = "Newspapers read - last 12 months"} Which, if any, of the following newspapers have you read a physical print edition of in the past 12 months? Please select all that apply.

- <1> Scottish Daily Express or Scottish Sunday Express
- <2> Scottish Daily Mail or Scottish Mail on Sunday
- <3> Daily Mirror or Sunday Mirror # no Scottish specific edition
- <4> Daily Star or Daily Star Sunday
- <5> Scottish Sun or Scottish Sun on Sunday
- <6> Daily Record or Sunday Mail
- <7> Daily Telegraph or Sunday Telegraph
- <8> Financial Times
- <9> The Guardian or Observer
- <10> The Independent or Independent on Sunday
- <11> The i
- <12> The Times or Sunday Times
- <13> The Scotsman or Scotland on Sunday
- <14> The Herald or Herald on Sunday
- <15> The National or Sunday National
- <16> Press and Journal (Northern Scotland)
- <17> Evening Express (Aberdeen)
- <18> The Courier (Dundee/Tayside/Fife)
- <19> Evening Telegraph (Dundee)
- <20> Glasgow Times
- <21> Edinburgh Evening News
- <95> Other

<97 fixed xor> Don't know

<99 fixed xor> None of these

Yes, I did vote in the election to the Scottish Parliament

<2> No, I did not vote in the election to the Scottish Parliament

<3> Don't know