



Cameron's Caledonian Conundrum

Scottish voters and the Conservative Party

Lord Ashcroft KCMG PC

Cover image: Mapped answers to the question “how would you vote if there were a general election tomorrow?”

See LordAshcroftPolls.com for more opinion maps from this research.

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Cameron's Caledonian Conundrum

Since the Conservative Party was booted out of office in 1997, successive leaders have declared that there would be no no-go areas for the Tories. In recent years the party has made great efforts, though not always sustained, to do better in the North of England, Wales, among working class voters and ethnic minorities.

The success of these endeavours has been varied at best (indeed it could be said in some cases that the variation ranges only from “marginal” to “limited”). But nowhere has the Conservative decline been so marked, and recovery so lacking, as in Scotland. By the 2010 election the party's vote share had not even recovered to the meagre 17.5% it recorded thirteen years previously, when it was left without a single seat. Its chief ambition for 2015 is to hold onto its solitary MP and achieve a vote share closer to one in five than one in six.

What went wrong? Explanations abound, economic and cultural as well as political. One of the most common is that the Tories are still being punished for the legacy of Mrs Thatcher and what she “did to” Scotland. But this theory does not ring true. For one thing, the Conservatives' popularity in Scotland has been waning since 1955, when they were the largest party. For another thing, when the supposedly wickedly anti-Scottish Thatcher was in Number 10, the Tories won more seats and more votes in Scotland than they have ever done since. And for a third thing, even if Mrs Thatcher were universally reviled in Scotland – which she is not – I do not believe that most Scots are so unimaginative as to vote according to what they thought of the PM before the PM before the PM before last.

Whatever the history, the task for the Tories is to work out where they are now and what they can do about it. Over the last eight months I have looked into this question, starting with a 10,000-sample poll conducted between February and May looking at attitudes to the parties and leaders, what they stand for and whom they represent, who is most trusted on different policy areas, the degree of optimism or pessimism about prospects, and preferred results of the next election. While opinion may have shifted slightly on some issues since then, the purpose of the survey was to capture the general picture – which changes much more slowly – and to find out whether there are parts of the electorate not currently voting Tory which were open to doing so. This was supplemented by qualitative research among these persuadable voters to find out more about what appealed to them about the party and what put them off, and later by further polls to explore some of the questions they raised in more detail, particularly people's views on Holyrood and the Scottish Government. Some of the results were released in September 2013. Collected in this report is what I believe to be the biggest study of Scottish politics yet published.

The good news for the Conservatives is that there are potential Tory voters at large in Scotland. The research identified eight “segments” of opinion. Just under one in twelve of the Scottish electorate constitute the Tory Core – loyal and longstanding Conservative voters who always turn out and say the party shares their values. They are older and better off than the Scottish population as a whole, and more likely to be retired and to own their home outright.

Next are the group I have termed “Reluctant Cameroons”. These people are attracted to David Cameron and trust the Tories on the economy ahead of any other party, but most of them say they would not vote Conservative tomorrow – though three quarters say they will consider the party in 2015. They are more likely than most to be undecided and to say they may change their mind on how to vote before the next election. Another tenth of the

electorate fall into the “Willing to Listen” segment – a group that currently leans towards Labour despite preferring Cameron as Prime Minister, with large numbers of undecided voters who are open to persuasion by all the main parties.

There are few votes to be garnered from the remaining five segments I identified: “Militant Liberals” who are loyal to the Lib Dems and think Nick Clegg would make the best Prime Minister; the “Cynical Disengagement” group who dismiss all parties and are unlikely to vote; the “Nationalist Tendency” who strongly back the SNP; “Tribal Labour”, who are strongly committed to their party even though many have doubts about Ed Miliband; and “Majority Labour”, who overwhelmingly support the party but are more likely to say they may change their mind over time.

The Conservative Party holds three principal attractions for its target voters. They strongly prefer David Cameron as Prime Minister to the alternatives; they see the Tories as willing to take tough decisions for the long term good of the country; and they trust Cameron and Osborne on the economy more than Miliband and Balls. Unusually, the Reluctant Cameroons think the Conservatives have the best approach to promoting jobs and growth, as well as the deficit and the debt and overall economic management.

At the same time, they see three principal drawbacks. First, a familiar problem that I have discussed at length in previous research: the idea that the Tories are not really on the side of people like them. Though they like Cameron and often credit him with making some progress on this front, they do not associate the Conservative Party with fairness or looking out for the interests of ordinary people. This view, which has been enough by itself to hold back the Tories’ recovery in England for years, is aggravated by two further factors north of the border.

One of these is the idea that the Tories do not much care about Scotland. Only a quarter of voters in our poll said the Conservatives were the best party when it came to representing “Britain as a whole”, but this was more than twice the proportion who said they best represented “Scotland as a whole”. Few among the target voters who participated in the research thought the party was hostile to the country, but it did seem indifferent. Having opposed devolution, the Conservatives had had to go along with the referendum’s outcome but had no real enthusiasm for Scotland’s new institutions. And while Cameron evidently supported the Union, many English people probably saw Scotland as a burden they wished to be rid of – an attitude they thought was probably reflected among southern Tories.

The final obstacle for many potential Conservative supporters was that they considered the party to be effectively irrelevant in Scottish elections, and that a Tory vote would be wasted. Indeed more than a quarter of all those saying they would not vote Conservative at the next election cited this – rather than disagreeing with what the party stands for – as the main reason.

Many participants who would certainly have voted Conservative in England felt it was more important where they lived to try to keep out whichever of Labour or the SNP they believed more disastrous.

If this is a pretty bleak assessment of the Tories’ situation in Scotland, it is at least realistic. I have often remarked that the job of the pollster is not the same as that of the strategist, but I will make some observations on the choices the party faces.

Whatever happens, the Conservative Party in Scotland – as everywhere else – must continue the work of modernisation, in the true sense of showing it is in touch with people’s anxieties and aspirations as they are today. This means campaigning on health, public services and housing as well as constitutional issues and the deficit, and understanding that the benefits of an economic recovery seem remote to many people.

Like David Cameron, Ruth Davidson is an asset here. If she has yet to make a big impression on Scottish voters, she is not alone: neither have Johann Lamont or Willie Rennie. The swing voters we spoke to had a generally positive view of her – and if the thing that most stuck in their minds was that she had been asked for ID when trying to buy a beer at a Springsteen gig at Hampden Park, this at least proves her to be the antithesis of the hunting-shooting-fishing caricature of the Scots Tory. As a number of our participants commented, she does a thankless job with great spirit.

Part of the Tories' conundrum is how to show they are a party that stands up for Scotland without making themselves seem even more irrelevant. Picking a fight over policy with David Cameron, for example, might demonstrate the Scottish party's independence from the London party, but in so doing it could decouple itself from what is, in voters' eyes, its main source of credibility. Scots who want a party of opposition, whether to UK government in general or the current government in particular, already have plenty of options.

(The idea of separating the Tory message in Scotland from the Tory Party nationally reaches its purest form in the proposal that the Scottish Conservatives should be wound up and replaced by a new centre-right unionist party, which would be free of the Tories' historical baggage, though it would inevitably be populated by many of the same people. This idea rather reminds me of when Winnie-the-Pooh, in pursuit of honey, sought to deceive the bees in the tree by floating up with a blue balloon so they would think he was only part of the sky. Like the bees, I suspect the voters would be suspicious.)

In Holyrood elections, the problem of the Tories' irrelevance is not just the self-fulfilling one of people not voting for them because they won't win. For the people willing to give them a hearing, the chief virtue of the Conservative Party is its readiness to make difficult but necessary choices in the national interest. But as they see it, those choices are currently being made in Westminster. For many of them, Holyrood's purpose is to wave the flag and hand out the money: asked to name its main achievements, they list the things they used to pay for but are now free. What need is there for a nettle-grasping party where there are no nettles to be grasped?

This would change in a Scottish Parliament fully responsible for everything it raised and spent. In such a situation, I found, Scottish voters would expect an increase in spending and debt with no corresponding improvement in public services. They would quickly find themselves in need of someone to make sure the books were balanced.

Ironically enough, this need would be greatest of all in an independent Scotland – something that goes against the party's historic principle, which it will vigorously oppose. I am not suggesting they should do otherwise. But if the Scots vote to keep the Union, what then? Many Conservatives instinctively oppose the transfer of further powers to Holyrood. This is debatable as a matter of policy – and Ruth Davidson has said some properly Conservative things about the need to devolve powers to people, not just different levels of government – but more powers for Edinburgh could be to the party's political advantage. As long as voters think the Scottish Parliament exists to sign the cheques, while the fiscal prudence happens elsewhere, the Conservatives will seem redundant. In other words, nothing would show the need for Tories in Holyrood like a dose of Devo Plus.

These questions overlap with those of party organisation, and how best to use campaigning resources. The Tory priority at the next general election will be to hold on to the lone MP; the party's top "target" seat was lost by nearly eight points in 2010. The online opinion maps accompanying this research demonstrate the difficulty in deciding where to focus support. It may be more profitable to direct the message at potential switchers wherever they can be found, which would bring more dividends in Holyrood than Westminster elections.

But the coming referendum campaign offers an opportunity to reflect on what the Union means in political terms. Showing the Tories are capable of representing Scots and worthy of doing so is not just a matter for the party in Scotland. If trying to stand up for Scotland against Westminster is futile and even counterproductive, Conservatives need to stand up for Scotland *in* Westminster. As more than one of our swing voters told us, the party needs to show it takes an interest. Among other things it will mean more visits, more campaign support, more attention given to the effects in Scotland of national policy decisions.

In the longer term, there are two overlapping routes to a Tory revival in Scotland. The party could take both, but will have to choose at least one. It can help shape more independent Scottish institutions where voters will see a role for the Conservatives. Or it can show it takes the Union as seriously as it claims to.

If it sounds like a hopeless cause, consider the case of our capital. In 1997 the Conservatives won just 11 of the 74 seats in London, 19 points behind Labour in the popular vote. A city renowned for its liberal tendencies was given a degree of self-government, and promptly elected, then re-elected, an anti-establishment leader from the left. But what happened next?

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Methodology

Quantitative

- 10,007 adults in Scotland were interviewed by telephone and online between 22 Feb and 9 May 2013.
- 1,000 adults in Scotland were interviewed online between 7 and 17 June 2013.
- 1,013 adults in Scotland were interviewed by telephone between 2 and 9 August 2013.
- 1,039 adults in Scotland were interviewed by telephone between 4 and 8 October 2013.

All results have been weighted to be representative of all adults in Scotland.

Eight segments of opinion were identified from the results of the first poll using Factor Analysis. The segments are identified throughout this report as follows. Full descriptions can be found on p 11.

- Segment 1: Tory Core
- Segment 2: Reluctant Cameroons
- Segment 3: Willing to Listen
- Segment 4: Militant Liberals
- Segment 5: Cynical Disengagement
- Segment 6: Nationalist Tendency
- Segment 7: Majority Labour
- Segment 8: Tribal Labour

Full data tables – and ‘opinion maps’ showing the geographical spread of opinion in Scotland based on selected results from the Spring 2013 poll – are available at LordAshcroftPolls.com.

Qualitative

Eight focus groups were conducted in Aberdeen, Dundee, Edinburgh and Glasgow in July 2013. All participants were members of the two segments with the highest proportion of uncommitted voters willing to consider voting Conservative. Participants had not voted Conservative at the 2010 election and did not rule out doing so in 2015. Separate groups were held of younger (18-39) and older (40+) voters, and of men and women.

Key points

- The research identified eight segments of political opinion in Scotland. As well as the loyal “Tory Core” (8% of the population) there are two segments that constitute good targets for the Conservatives: “Reluctant Cameroons” who are attracted to David Cameron and most trust the Tories on the economy, and “Willing to Listen”, who are uncommitted but currently lean towards Labour. They doubt whether the Conservatives are in touch with ordinary people and fear the party would be a wasted vote in Scotland.
- Nearly one third of voters said they had voted Conservative at a general election in the past, including 20% of SNP voters and 37% of Liberal Democrats.
- The Conservatives were more than twice as likely to be thought the party that best represents “Britain as a whole” as to represent “Scotland as a whole”. They were also thought the most “willing to take tough decisions for the long term”, the only attribute on which the party had an overall lead.
- The Conservatives led on cutting the deficit and the debt, controlling immigration, reforming welfare, and standing up for Britain’s interests in Europe. Labour led on the NHS, schools, crime, creating jobs and managing the economy overall. Miliband and Balls were more trusted than Cameron and Osborne (though the reverse was the case among the Conservatives’ two target segments).
- “The Conservative Party” was rated slightly more highly by Scottish voters than “the Scottish Conservative Party” – the only party for which this was the case. More than a quarter of all those who said they would not vote Conservative at the next election said the main reason was that the Tories would never win in Scotland so it would be a wasted vote.
- Few thought the Conservative Party was hostile towards Scotland – largely because David Cameron was so enthusiastic about the union – but many thought a lot of English people would prefer Scotland to be independent.
- Ed Miliband led David Cameron as the best Prime Minister by 31% to 26%, with Nick Clegg on 9% (with one third saying “none” or “don’t know”). Asked to compare Cameron and Miliband, 22% said they were satisfied with Cameron, and 28% said they were dissatisfied but still preferred Cameron to Miliband as PM – a combined 50% which outweighed the 40% who said they were dissatisfied with Cameron and would rather see Miliband at Number 10.
- The numbers saying they had positive views of the Scottish Labour, Conservative and Lib Dem leaders were outweighed by those saying they had never heard of them or had no opinion. In focus groups, many participants failed to recognise or put names to photographs of them.
- While most people think life in Scotland has got worse over the last ten years, a majority think things will improve over the next decade, both for the country and for themselves. SNP supporters were the most optimistic. However, there was a great deal of uncertainty about the future, not least because the prolonged independence debate. Most felt the quality of life was better in Scotland than in England, with a greater sense of community and a more relaxed pace of life.

- Nearly half of voters thought the Scottish Government's current priority was independence, while 7% thought it was the economy and 5% the NHS. 61% thought the current priority was wrong; of this group, 41% thought the economy should be the priority, and 15% the NHS. Swing voters in focus groups felt the independence campaign was distracting the Scottish Government from more important matters, and that the debate seemed endless and repetitive.
- Only 14% said they had a very good idea of what the Scottish Parliament was responsible for; 44% said they had some idea and four in ten "very little idea". Even so, half of all voters said MPs and MSPs were equally likely to have an impact on issues that were important to them, and most said Holyrood and Westminster elections were equally important (though most focus group participants said if they could only vote in one election they would choose Westminster). Asked to say unprompted what they considered the Scottish Parliament's main achievements, two thirds mentioned the provision of free services. Most thought that taxes and borrowing in Scotland would rise if Holyrood were given full financial responsibility, but only 29% thought public services would improve.

Who is the target?

Analysis of the 10,000-sample poll revealed the following eight segments of political opinion in Scotland:

‘Tory Core’

8% of the population

This segment is dominated by Conservative supporters whose likelihood to vote is well above average. They are the least likely to say they may change their mind, and around four fifths say they identify with the Tories beyond the question of how they will vote. Nine out of ten say they have voted Conservative at a general election in the past. Most say the Conservative Party shares their values and they associate the party with a wide range of positive attributes, including standing for fairness, being for everyone and being on the side of people like them. The deficit and the debt, reforming welfare and creating jobs are the most important issues to this group, and they say the Tories have the best approach on all policy areas. Four fifths want to see a Conservative government with an overall majority after the next election, and they overwhelmingly oppose Scottish independence. They are disproportionately likely to be older (41% are aged 65 or above), male, to work in the private sector, to own their home outright, and to be in social group AB.

‘Reluctant Cameroons’

15% of the population

The Conservatives have a small lead over Labour among this group, and three quarters say they will seriously consider the Tories in 2015 – but it includes a high proportion of undecided voters and its members are the most likely to say they may change their mind before the election. Most do not identify with any party. Three quarters say David Cameron is their preferred Prime Minister, and they are significantly more likely to say feel more favourable towards him than to the party as a whole than to say the reverse. They associate the Conservatives with willingness to take tough decisions, and are more likely than most to say the party is competent and shares their values. However, they do not associate the party with fairness, representing everyone rather than just some types of people, or standing up for Scotland. Jobs, the deficit and the NHS are their most important priorities. They say the Conservatives have the best approach to all policy areas except the NHS and schools, and overwhelmingly trust Cameron and Osborne over Miliband and Balls to manage the economy overall. Only just over half currently want to see the Conservatives in government after the next election, and only two fifths with an overall majority. They are more likely than average to oppose Scottish independence, and to be in social group AB.

‘Willing to Listen’

9% of the population

Though headline voting intention for this segment is similar to that of Scotland as a whole, the group contains a high proportion of undecided voters. Two fifths say they will seriously consider the Conservatives at the next election, and they have a strong preference for Cameron as Prime Minister. They are more generous than most in their assessment of parties and politicians, rating the Conservatives highest on willingness to take tough decisions, competence and doing what they say, and lowest on representing everyone and standing up for Scotland. While they put the Conservatives ahead by a small margin on managing the economy overall and most other policy issues, they say Labour has a better approach to growth and jobs, the NHS, schools, and ensuring people are treated fairly. They are more likely than most to say things have improved in Scotland over the last ten years, both for the country as a whole and for themselves and their family, and to be optimistic on both fronts for the next decade. Just over half currently say they would like to see Labour in government (just under a third with an overall majority). The age profile of the segment is younger than that of Scotland as a whole.

‘Militant Liberals’

6% of the population

Committed Liberal Democrat voters dominate this group. Their preferred Prime Minister is Nick Clegg, closely followed by David Cameron. They put the Lib Dems ahead in all areas except taking tough decisions. While they say the Conservatives have the best approach on the deficit, crime, Europe, welfare and immigration (and trust Cameron and Osborne over Miliband and Balls) they prefer the Lib Dems on jobs and growth, the NHS, schools and the economy overall. The majority identify with the Lib Dems beyond the question of how they vote, and more would prefer a coalition with Labour (41%) than with the Tories (28%). Members of this segment are more likely than average to be female, aged 65 or over, and in social group AB.

‘Cynical Disengagement’

15% of the population

Members of this segment are the least likely to vote. They are more likely than most to say they will vote UKIP or Green, and only one in ten say they will consider the Conservatives at the next election. They give very low ratings for all politicians and parties, and are pessimistic about the prospects for themselves and the country. They are the least likely say it is possible to be successful in Scotland whatever your background, and the most likely to say they don’t know what they want the result of the next election or the referendum to be. They are disproportionately younger and more likely than average to be female.

‘Nationalist Tendency’

15% of the population

This segment overwhelmingly comprises SNP supporters, and two thirds identify with the party beyond the question of how they vote. They are more likely to name Miliband as the best PM than the alternatives, but are more likely still to say “none of them”. Alex Salmond is the only leader for whom they give positive ratings but they are more favourable towards the SNP as a whole than towards the leader. They are the only group among whom a majority think things in Scotland are better than they were ten years ago, both for themselves and their families and for the country as a whole. They are also the most optimistic for the next ten years on both counts.

‘Majority Labour’

15% of the population

Four fifths of this group say they will vote Labour (though nearly half say they may change their mind) and more than two thirds prefer Miliband as PM. They say Labour are the party most likely to represent ordinary people, share their values, and to be on the side of people like them, but rate the party less highly on taking tough decisions, competence and doing what they say. They say the Conservatives are the best party on the deficit, crime, Europe, welfare and immigration, but trust Miliband and Balls on the economy over Cameron and Osborne by a wide margin. Just over half say they identify with the Labour Party. They are more likely than most to work in the public sector.

‘Tribal Labour’

18% of the population

Nearly nine in ten of this group say they will vote Labour, with the proportion saying they have firmly decided how to vote well above average. Around seven in ten say they identify with Labour over and above the question of how they will vote, they give a clear lead to Labour on all issues and party attributes, and Ed Miliband and Johann Lamont are the only politicians to whom they give a positive rating – though only just over half name Miliband as the best available Prime Minister (one fifth say they don’t know, or that none of the candidates would be good).

Scotland and Holyrood

Scottish life and prospects

Just over half (53%) of Scottish adults thought that overall things were worse for Scotland as a whole than they were ten years ago. SNP voters were the most likely to say things were better: 48% of them said this, compared to 35% overall. The Reluctant Cameroons and Willing to Listen segments were also more likely than average to think things had improved for Scotland in the last decade.

People were more positive about how things had changed for themselves and their families, with 40% saying things had got better and 43% worse. SNP voters (47%) and Conservatives (48%) were the most likely to say things had improved for them. A majority of the Willing to Listen group said things were better, more even than among the Nationalist Tendency (48%).

These views were largely reflected in the groups, with many in Glasgow and Dundee in particular saying improvements in local infrastructure had contributed to a better quality of life in recent years.

Asked about the next ten years, a small majority thought things would be better for Scotland as a whole (52%) and exactly half thought things would improve for themselves and their families. SNP voters were the most optimistic, with 62% saying they thought things would improve in both cases. The Reluctant Cameroons were slightly more likely, and the Willing to Listen segment significantly more likely than average to be optimistic both for themselves and the country.

Asked specifically about economic prospects in the October poll, a majority of voters overall (including three quarters of Conservatives and two thirds of Lib Dems, but only just under half of Labour and SNP supporters) thought things would get better over the next year for themselves and their families. However, they were more closely divided when it came to the country as a whole, with most Labour and SNP voters saying they expected things to get worse.

For many in the groups the overriding feeling was one of uncertainty – which helps explain the close division between the optimists and pessimists in the poll.

"It feels like it's in the balance at the moment. I don't feel we have any real security yet."

Woman, Glasgow

"There is an air of angst – the financial climate, job security. A cloud of worry."

Man, Glasgow

Many participants said this uncertainty, both about personal prospects and the direction of the country, was tied to the prolonged debate over independence. In particular, many worried that companies were postponing or abandoning plans to invest in Scotland until the question was resolved.

"A lot of people are not investing now because it's 'what if?' It feels a bit in limbo."

Man, Edinburgh

There were also deeper concerns about the foundations of the Scottish economy, particularly the dominance of the public sector which many feared was unsustainable in itself as well as being a poor basis for growth and prosperity.

"Companies will come here and open call centres and things but as soon as they get into trouble they go back over the border."

Man, Glasgow

"Over half our employment is in the public sector. It's totally unsustainable."

Woman, Glasgow

Just under two thirds of Scottish voters agreed that "if you work hard, it is possible to be very successful in Scotland no matter what your background". Conservative voters (80%) were the most likely to think this, and three quarters of Reluctant Cameroons and Willing to Listen also agreed, as did seven in ten Lib Dems and 65% of SNP voters.

The Tribal Labour (42%) and Cynical Disengagement (39%) segments were the most likely to agree with the alternative: that in Scotland today "people from some backgrounds will never have a real chance to be successful no matter how hard they work".

Despite their concerns about prospects in Scotland, few thought things would be much better in most parts of England. Pay might be higher but so would the cost of living, and though there may be more jobs there would also be more people applying for them. A few younger participants took a different view, saying the range of opportunities and experiences available was much greater in London. Overall most felt the standard of living – and certainly the quality of life – was better north of the border, with a greater sense of community and a more relaxed pace of life.

"The standard of living in Scotland is better than in the rest of the UK. Certainly better than in the North of England."

Man, Aberdeen

"We're quite tolerant as a country. Not like people in London who don't even speak to each other. It's less of a rat race."

Woman, Edinburgh

"The houses are not close together like sardines, like in England. And we're not as obnoxious."

Woman, Dundee

What are the Scottish Government's priorities?

Asked what they thought the Scottish Government was currently treating as its main priority, 49% of respondents spontaneously answered "independence" – seven times as many as mentioned the economy and jobs (7%), which was the second most popular answer. One in twenty thought its main priority was improving the NHS.

However, only just over a third (36%) thought the Scottish Government's current priority was the right one (though more than two thirds of SNP voters – and more than three quarters of independence supporters – thought the current priority was correct). Three quarters of Labour, Conservative and Liberal Democrat voters thought the Scottish Government's current focus was wrong.

Just over two fifths (41%) of those who thought the Scottish Government currently had the wrong priority thought its focus ought to be the economy and jobs, with 15% naming the NHS.

Many in the focus groups thought the Scottish Government was wrongly prioritising the independence campaign. They often found this exasperating, both because it prevented them dealing with more important issues and because the debate seemed endless and repetitive.

"They're not doing anything for the country because they're obsessed with the referendum."

Woman, Dundee

"It shouldn't be the priority when young people can't get a job. The economy should be the priority."

Man, Dundee

"There's not a lot to be said about independence that hasn't already been said. It goes round in circles. They should do things that people want rather than telling us we want independence."

Woman, Glasgow

What has the Scottish Parliament achieved?

Asked to say unprompted what they considered the Scottish Parliament's biggest achievements since devolution, nearly two thirds mentioned the provision of free services: free prescriptions (27%), free university tuition (16%), free social care (13%), ending road tolls (3%) and free eye tests (2%).

The smoking ban, promoting renewable energy and campaigning for independence were the next most popular answers, though each was mentioned by less than 4%. Nearly a third (31%) of respondents said they didn't know, and 13% said the Scottish Parliament had no achievements to its name.

Participants in the focus groups echoed this prevailing view that Holyrood's main function was to allocate money. For many, however, the question of what the Scottish Parliament did was secondary to the fact that it existed: it was there to give a voice to Scotland which would be heard less clearly as a minority in Westminster, able to devote more attention to specifically Scottish issues than they would otherwise receive.

"They allocate money independently from down south. Apart from that I don't really know what they do."

Woman, Edinburgh

"It's really to support the identity of Scotland rather than being answerable to Westminster. Too many people forget about Scotland otherwise."

Man, Dundee

"Different things matter up here. Even things like wind energy. It would never reach the agenda in Westminster – we would always be second fiddle."

Woman, Glasgow

"Having a parliament shuts people up. They don't notice what it does and doesn't do. I can't see a lot of proof of what they've accomplished."

Man, Edinburgh

"It's great for the bus tour. It was the one thing missing in a capital city."

Man, Edinburgh

Holyrood and Westminster

Four in ten voters in our poll admitted that they had "very little idea" which areas of government were the responsibility of the Scottish Parliament and which remained with Westminster. More than half (51%) of women said they had "very little idea". A further 44% said they had "some idea" and only 14% (including only 21% of SNP voters, but only 8% of women) said they had "a very good idea" which parliament was responsible for what.

Half of all voters said MSPs and Scottish MPs at Westminster were equally likely to have an impact on decisions that were important to them. While voters for the three unionist parties were more likely to name Scottish MPs at Westminster than MSPs, SNP voters were much more likely to think MSPs had a bigger impact on things that mattered to them.

When it came to being in touch and committed to their local communities, MSPs were more likely to do a better job than Scottish MPs at Westminster. Nearly half (49%) said this was more likely to be true of MSPs, 37% said it would be equally true of both, and only 11% thought it truer of Westminster MPs representing Scottish seats.

Just over two fifths (42%) thought the two sets of parliamentarians equally likely to do a good job representing people like them. However, while Labour and (especially) SNP voters were more likely to think this true of MSPs than MPs, the opposite was the case for Conservatives and Liberal Democrats.

Overall, half of voters thought MSPs and Scottish MPs equally likely to be career politicians who put their own interests above their constituents'. They were more likely, and SNP voters much more likely, to think it truer of Westminster MPs than the reverse.

Respondents in our poll were more likely to say they thought Westminster general elections more important than Scottish Parliament elections (27%) than the reverse (18%), but a majority (53%) said they considered them equally important. Conservative voters were much more likely than average to think Westminster elections mattered more (47%). SNP voters were the only group in which people were more likely to think Scottish Parliament elections more important (38%) than the opposite (10%).

Men (33%) were more likely than women (21%) to say Westminster elections were more important, and women (61%) more likely than men (45%) to say consider them equally important.

There were also some regional differences. In the South of Scotland, 37% said Westminster elections mattered more, compared to 19% of those in the Highlands & Islands – who were the most likely to say the two elections were equally important (65%).

In our focus groups of potential Conservative target voters, the prevailing view was that the big decisions were still made in Westminster. If, hypothetically, they were only able to vote in one election, most said they would choose Westminster. Many said they considered different issues at the two elections, and some even thought of Holyrood elections as a chance to cast a protest vote. Accordingly, a number of participants said they voted for different parties at the two elections.

“People change from one election to another. In some ways the Scottish election is an opportunity to record a protest vote. Westminster makes the big decisions.”

Man, Dundee

“The UK election seems more important. You’re not thinking about Scottish issues in a national election.”

Man, Edinburgh

“It sounds terrible but you just think, ‘oh, it’s just the Scottish elections’. I’ll always go and vote but you’re a bit happy-go-lucky. I will always give Westminster more thought.”

Woman, Glasgow

“Now I’d vote Conservative at Westminster elections because of the money issue, but Scotland has nicer choices, easier choices – what will benefit Scotland, rather than the tough decisions about what to cut.”

Woman, Glasgow

Focus group participants often laughed at the suggestion that the different voting systems for different elections meant that Scots had become the world’s most sophisticated electorate. A number of people who were otherwise well-informed and engaged readily admitted they did not really understand the system for electing MSPs. Some automatically used both votes for the same party, some were too confused to use the second vote, and a few always voted for two different parties because they did not realise they could vote for the same party twice.

"It's hard enough for me to make up my mind even once!"

Man, Dundee

"I didn't realise you could vote for the same party twice!"

Man, Dundee

"I didn't use the second vote. I wasn't sure how it worked so I played it safe."

Man, Glasgow

"The second vote lets people in through the back door. I voted for the guy I liked best and that was it."

Man, Glasgow

"I use the second vote as a secret protest vote."

Woman, Glasgow

Devo Max?

Asked what would happen if the Scottish Parliament and the Scottish Government were to be made responsible for all areas of policy except defence and foreign affairs, a majority (59%) said they thought taxes in Scotland would rise. Four fifths of Conservative voters thought this, as did two thirds of Labour voters (but only 37% of SNP supporters).

However, only 29% thought public services in Scotland would improve if Holyrood were to be given more powers, and a quarter (including 43% of Conservative voters) thought they would get worse. SNP voters (52%) were the only group among whom a majority thought public services would get better.

Nearly half of all voters thought government spending would increase, and a majority – including 70% of Conservatives and two thirds of Labour voters – thought the amount of government borrowing and debt would rise. SNP voters were the least likely to expect this, though nearly two fifths (38%) thought it likely.

Most focus group participants were very sceptical about the idea of giving Holyrood more powers (and very few had heard the term 'devo max'). Their biggest concern was that MSPs could not be trusted with full responsibility for the finances: taxes would inevitably rise and, judging from the experience of previous large-scale projects, spending might run out of control. Those who felt that the Scottish Government had concentrated on the independence campaign at the expense of what they regarded as more important priorities were particularly reluctant to see it take on more responsibilities.

"They've done some good things but I don't think they've got the experience to run the country."

Man, Dundee

"Alex Salmond has quite sufficient power at the moment!"

Woman, Edinburgh

"All the big spending projects they have ever done have ended in complete disaster, so the thought of giving them more powers is terrifying. I worry about trusting them with the purse strings."

Man, Edinburgh

"I don't think they'd be responsible with it. All they go on about is independence. It's hard to see what they're doing currently, so if they were given more responsibility for the country financially I would worry. They would spend so much time revelling in their powers that they would forget to do anything good."

Woman, Glasgow

"Holyrood should be turned into a Travelodge and the whole thing should revert to Westminster."

Man, Aberdeen

Parties and leaders

Party identification and party attributes

Nearly one in three (29%) of adults in Scotland said they identified with the Labour Party, in that they saw the party as consistently representing people like them and felt an affinity with the party beyond the question of how they vote. This was by far the highest score: 15% said they identified with the SNP, 11% with the Conservatives and 5% with the Liberal Democrats. 36% said they did not identify with any party.

Just under two thirds (65%) of Labour and Conservative voters said they identified with their respective parties, compared to 58% of SNP voters and 43% of Liberal Democrats. Lib Dem voters were the most likely of the party groups to say they did not identify with any party (41%).

Members of the Reluctant Cameroons and Willing to Listen segments were more likely than average to say they did not identify with any political party (52% and 45% respectively).

Just under one third (31%) of the Scottish electorate said they had voted Conservative at a general election before. A fifth of SNP voters said this, as did 37% of Lib Dems and 15% of Labour voters. More than half (58%) of Reluctant Cameroons had voted Tory at a general election, as had 39% of the Willing to Listen group.

The poll asked which of the three main UK parties best represented a number of different kinds of people. The Conservatives were thought most likely to represent “a middle class professional” and “an ambitious person who wants to be successful”. Labour were most associated with “a low paid worker”, “an unemployed person who wants to work and is looking for a job”, “Scotland as a whole”, “Britain as a whole”, “someone like you” and, by a very small margin, “someone who has started their own business” (but also with “people who would rather live on benefits than work”). The Tories were more than twice as likely to be thought to represent “Britain as a whole” (25%) than “Scotland as a whole” (10%).

However, there was some variation between segments. The Willing to Listen group put the Conservatives ahead, and Reluctant Cameroons well ahead, on representing “someone who has started their own business”, but were no more likely than average to think the Tories represented “a low paid worker”. However, they were much more likely than the Scottish population as a whole to say the Conservatives represented “someone like you” and “Britain as a whole” (though not “Scotland as a whole”. A majority (56%) of Reluctant Cameroons said the Conservatives best represented “Britain as a whole”.

The Conservatives were most likely to be thought “willing to take tough decisions for the long term” (40%), ahead of Labour (32%) and the SNP (27%). Around three quarters of the two target segments thought this was true of the Conservatives.

This was the only attribute tested on which the Tories had an overall lead. Labour were most likely to be thought to be “on the side of people like me” (42%) with 33% thinking this true of the SNP and 16% saying it of the Conservatives. Labour also had a clear lead on wanting to “help ordinary people get on in life” and “standing for fairness”, and by narrower margins on “shares my values” and “representing everyone, not just some types of people”. The SNP was thought most likely to “stand up for Scotland”.

In all cases, the Reluctant Cameroons and Willing to Listen groups were more likely than average to associate positive attributes with the Conservatives. The latter were also more

likely to think each attribute true of other parties, suggesting they are open to persuasion from any quarter.

The parties – and the ‘Scottish’ parties

Poll respondents were asked to rate how positive or negative they felt towards each of the parties on a 10-point scale. The sample was split, with half being asked about the Labour Party, the Conservative Party and the Liberal Democrats, and the other half being asked about the Scottish Labour Party, the Scottish Conservatives and the Scottish Liberal Democrats.

The Conservative Party received a slightly higher score (3.86) than the Scottish Conservative Party (3.75). They were the only party for which this was the case: the Scottish Labour Party was given a fractionally higher score (5.64) than the Labour Party (5.59), and the Scottish Lib Dems (4.11) more than the Lib Dems (4.01).

The two target groups awarded higher than average scores to the Conservative Party (5.99 and 5.06). In these groups there was a bigger than average gap between the national and ‘Scottish’ party scores.

Conservative and Lib Dem voters awarded each others’ parties higher than average scores.

The Conservatives in Scotland

For the focus group participants, the Conservative Party’s biggest (and sometimes only) virtue was that it seemed willing to take tough and necessary but unpopular decisions. The downsides were a feeling that the party remained out of touch with ordinary people (though some felt this was beginning to change), that it did not much care about Scotland and – even among those best disposed to the Tories – was irrelevant in Scottish politics. Several who might otherwise have supported the Conservatives therefore used their vote to stop whichever they liked least of Labour and the SNP.

“They seem more willing to take the hard line and do things because they need to be done.”

Man, Aberdeen

“They don’t tend to get in in Scotland so you’re frightened to waste your vote, so the ones you really don’t want get in.”

Woman, Aberdeen

“They concentrate on London and the London area. The further away you go the worse it gets.”

Woman, Dundee

“They’re beating their head against a brick wall in Scotland. It doesn’t matter what they do, it will take generations to get back up because it’s institutionalised.”

Man, Glasgow

"There's still a huge stigma to voting Conservative. Not so much in Dumfries but there is in Glasgow."

Woman, Glasgow

Asked specifically about the Scottish Conservative Party, many participants were lost for an answer. They were seen at best as a small and dwindling branch of the UK party, or at worst as a "vacuum", rather than a political group with any distinct identity. Wealthy farmers and the shooting and fishing fraternity were thought to be its most likely supporters.

"My mind is blank. They don't seem to exist in Scotland. It's like a football team that loses week in, week out."

Woman, Aberdeen

"The Scottish Conservatives are just an arm of the English Conservatives. A lower division of the same machine. The B-team."

Man, Aberdeen

"You almost feel the Conservative Party is sort of humouring them. 'You can be a Scottish Conservative'. A wee pat on the head, 'you can do your thing up there and we'll make all the decisions down here'."

Woman, Glasgow

More than a quarter (27%) of those who said they would not vote Conservative in the next Scottish Parliament election – including 24% of SNP voters and 41% of those who would vote Lib Dem – said the main reason was that the Tories "would never win in Scotland so it would be a wasted vote". Six out of ten said the most important reason was that "I don't like their policies or what they stand for".

One third of those aged 65 or over, and 31% of those opposed to Scottish independence, said the risk of wasting their vote was the more important of the two reasons why they would not vote Conservative.

For many focus group participants, the perceived irrelevance of the Tories in Scotland was a powerful disincentive to vote for them. Others said that family tradition and historical factors, including what many (but by no means all) regarded as the damaging legacy of Margaret Thatcher, still played an important part.

"It would be wasted. At the count it would be just my vote in a box at the end of the hall. 'Good Lord, someone's voted Conservative'."

Man, Edinburgh

"It's because of the Thatcher days. I grew up being told she was a witch!"

Woman, Dundee

"They caused so much damage I don't think they've done anything like enough to get back. These villages and towns are dead, they haven't recovered."

Man, Edinburgh

Despite these longstanding negative impressions of the party, few in the groups thought the Conservative Party was currently hostile towards Scotland, if it ever was (though some said the English generally seemed to regard Scotland as a hindrance and would rather separate). David Cameron's evident enthusiasm for the Union was important evidence on this score – though for some, the threat from Alex Salmond had forced London to take Scotland seriously.

"If the Tories were hostile, David Cameron would say 'bugger off' but he's doing everything in his power to hold onto Scotland and the Union."

Man, Aberdeen

There was a widespread feeling in the groups that the Conservatives were still ambivalent about devolution. Many felt that having opposed the idea – whether out of unionist principle or anti-Scottish bloody-mindedness – the party had had to come to terms with it but had probably done so with little enthusiasm.

That being the case, some said they would be sceptical if the Conservatives decided to support the devolution of further powers from Westminster to Holyrood. Some thought it would be a pragmatic move and a logical extension of the Tories' belief in localism, but more said they would be suspicious of the party's motives in making such a radical departure from its previous policy.

"It would show they were taking localism seriously. Conservatives are supposed to be about devolving power."

Man, Aberdeen

"It would mean David had told Ruth to curry favour."

Man, Aberdeen

"It would look like a political game, rather than their true belief."

Man, Glasgow

As well as continuing to show that the party had changed, several participants said the best way for the party to win back support would be for the Westminster government to "embrace" Scotland rather more than it seems to at the moment.

"HS2 is going to stop at Birmingham. If we are going to be one nation things can't stop in the south."

Woman, Edinburgh

"Talk about Scotland a bit more. They are very London focused. Take more of an interest."

Man, Edinburgh

"Westminster leaves Scotland on the outside like a slight irritation. Make it more obvious that they're addressing local problems on a national and international level."

Man, Edinburgh

Cameron, Miliband, Clegg and Salmond

David Cameron was fairly well regarded in our focus groups of potential Conservative target voters who do not currently vote Tory. Though there were some concerns about his privileged background he was given credit for doing a good job in difficult circumstances, particularly over the deficit. Many also said they were happy to have him representing the UK internationally, and that he was by far the most credible of the unionist party leaders.

"He's got his priorities right. And it's remarkable to be Prime Minister at a time of austerity and have the poll ratings he has."

Man, Aberdeen

"He's got a hard job to do. He has stepped in at a horrible moment and stopped it getting a lot worse."

Woman, Dundee

"He's gone up in my estimation. I always thought the Conservatives were upper class but he is trying to capture normal people. They always used to be toffs and farmers."

Woman, Dundee

"If he's representing the UK at the G8 or the EU you feel he would do the right thing. I think that goes a long way in a general election."

Woman, Edinburgh

"He doesn't know how much a pint of milk is. He wasn't brought up in the real world."

Man, Dundee

"He's got baggage with his Eton background but that's not his fault. He's doing a reasonable job in difficult circumstances."

Man, Glasgow

"He has balls. I don't think anyone from the other parties has his stature."

Man, Edinburgh

Ed Miliband had made little positive impression on the participants, though many of them had voted Labour in 2010 and were considering doing so again. Nick Clegg was widely dismissed as being ineffectual within the coalition.

In the October poll, 40% said they were dissatisfied with the job David Cameron was doing and would prefer to have Ed Miliband as PM instead. But while only 22% said they were satisfied with Cameron overall, a further 28% said they were dissatisfied but would rather have him as PM than Miliband – a total of 50% who would rather see Cameron in Number 10.

In a choice of the three leaders, 31% of voters in Scotland said Ed Miliband would make the best Prime Minister of the three main party leaders, five points ahead of David Cameron (with Nick Clegg on 9% and one third saying 'none of them' or 'don't know').

While 84% of Conservative voters saw Cameron as the best available PM, only 56% of Labour voters said the same of Miliband, 13% of them named Cameron.

Nearly half of SNP voters answered 'none' or 'don't know'; Miliband (26%) was the most popular answer among the remainder, but nearly one in five (18%) named Cameron.

Cameron was the most popular choice in the Conservatives' two target segments. Three quarters of Reluctant Cameroons named him as the best available PM, as did 40% in the Willing to Listen segment, 18 points ahead of Miliband and 25 points ahead of Clegg.

Half of all Scots said they had a favourable view of Miliband, including just over three quarters (77%) of Labour voters. Only just over a third (36%) had a positive view of Cameron, though this included 91% of his own party's supporters and 81% of Reluctant Cameroons and 62% of the Willing to Listen segment.

Nearly half (45%) had a favourable of Alex Salmond, including 90% of SNP voters.

Only three in ten said they had a positive view of Nick Clegg, including 72% of Liberal Democrat voters and nearly half (46%) of Conservatives. The two Tory target segments were also more likely than average to have a favourable opinion of him.

Nearly two fifths (39%) of Reluctant Cameroons said they felt more favourable towards Cameron than towards the Conservative Party as a whole (more than twice the average in Scotland). The Willing to Listen segment were also more likely than most to say this (29%). Conservative voters and members of the Tory Core segment were the only groups more likely to say they felt more favourable to the party as a whole than to Cameron than they were to say the reverse.

For Miliband, Clegg and Salmond, all groups of voters were more likely to favour the party over the leader than the opposite.

Davidson, Lamont and Rennie

In our poll, fewer than a third of voters (32%) said they had a favourable view of Johann Lamont, and only just over a fifth said the same of Ruth Davidson and Willie Rennie (21% each). Only bare majorities of each leader's own party supporters had a positive view of them: 53% of Tory voters said so of Davidson, 53% of Lib Dems said so of Rennie and 50% of Labour voters said so of Lamont.

However, these numbers were depressed by the proportions saying they had never heard of the individuals or had no opinion of them. 39% said they had never heard of Ruth Davidson or had no opinion of her, including 29% of Conservative voters. 42% (including 35% of Labour voters) said the same of Johann Lamont, and 50% (including 36% of Lib Dem voters) said the same of Willie Rennie. These figures were still higher among women: 47% had not heard or had no opinion of Davidson, 50% of Lamont, and 60% of Rennie.

These findings were borne out in the focus groups, in which many participants failed to recognise photographs of the three leaders, or of they did, struggled to put a name to them. This was particularly the case for Willie Rennie, whose picture drew a blank in most groups.

Rather more recognised Johann Lamont, though most could not immediately put the correct name to the picture. Few had anything very positive to say about her or could remember the last time they heard from her.



"The wee Labour woman. Is it Roseanna Cunningham?" Woman, Aberdeen

"Is it Margaret Ewing?" Man, Aberdeen

"It's Johann Lamont. She's a nippy sweetie." Woman, Aberdeen

"She's steadied the ship. Getting more confident but still a lightweight compared to Alex Salmond." Man, Glasgow

Ruth Davidson's picture was recognised by at least as many participants as Johann Lamont's. Impressions of her were, on balance, positive. A number of people sympathised with her position, saying she inevitably struggled to get coverage but came across well when she did, and was generally taking on an impossible job with some spirit. A few said they remembered her recently talking about the right to buy council properties; rather more recalled her being asked for ID while trying to buy beer at a Bruce Springsteen concert.



"She got ID'd at a Springsteen concert. I can't remember her name though." Man, Aberdeen

"Doesn't get much publicity but very honest and measured." Woman, Aberdeen

"Not long in the job. No idea where she came from and all of a sudden she was leader of the Scottish Conservatives." Man, Dundee

"It's a tough job to be taking on her shoulders. Good on her." Woman, Edinburgh

"You hear more from her than from Johann Lamont or the guy I'd never heard of from the Lib Dems. But I don't think she's got a chance in Scotland." Woman, Glasgow

Trust on the economy and other policies

Scottish voters were more likely to say they trusted Ed Miliband and Ed Balls to manage the economy than David Cameron and George Osborne, though Labour's lead fell from 8 points to 6 points between the spring and October polls, with more voters saying they did not trust either. In the spring poll, 17% of Labour voters, 29% of SNP supporters and 53% of Liberal Democrats most trusted the Conservative team.

There was wide variation between segments: a majority (54%) of the Willing to Listen segment and nearly nine in ten (86%) Reluctant Cameroons most trusted Cameron and Osborne – as did one in ten of the Tribal Labour group.

Labour were thought to have the best approach to “getting the economy growing and creating jobs” (though Reluctant Cameroons put the Conservatives well ahead in this area) and “managing the economy overall” (though the Tories led on this measure in both target segments).

The Conservatives were seen as the best party overall, and led in most segments, on “cutting the deficit and the debt”. They also led on “defending Britain's interests in Europe”, “controlling immigration” and (by a single point) “dealing with crime”. Labour were well ahead (and the Conservatives third behind the SNP) on the NHS, schools and “ensuring people are treated fairly”.

The next election

A majority wanted to see Labour in government after the next election: 45% with an overall majority, and a further 16% in coalition with the Liberal Democrats. A quarter wanted the Tories to remain in office: 16% governing alone, and a further 8% in a second coalition with the Lib Dems.

Only three quarters of Labour and Conservative voters wanted to see their respective parties governing with an overall majority; a further 15% of Labour voters and 18% of Tories wanted coalitions with the Lib Dems.

Lib Dem voters were slightly more likely to favour a coalition with Labour (39%) than with the Conservatives (30%). Nearly a fifth said they would prefer either a Labour government (9%) or a Conservative government (9%).

Just under two thirds of SNP voters wanted to see Labour in government in Westminster after the next election, either with an overall majority (46%) or in coalition with the Lib Dems (18%). However, 17% wanted the Tories in office again, including one in ten who wanted a Conservative government with an overall majority.

Reluctant Cameroons were twice as likely as the population as a whole to favour a Conservative-led government after the next election; 37% wanted an overall Tory majority, and 17% a coalition with the Lib Dems.

Though the Willing to Listen segment were also twice as likely as average to prefer a Conservative-Lib Dem coalition (15%), they were only fractionally more likely than the Scottish population in general to want to see a Conservative government with an overall majority (19%).

Full poll results

- 10,007 adults in Scotland were interviewed by telephone and online between 22 Feb and 9 May 2013.
 - 1,000 adults in Scotland were interviewed online between 7 and 17 June 2013.
 - 1,013 adults in Scotland were interviewed by telephone between 2 and 9 August 2013.
 - 1,039 adults in Scotland were interviewed by telephone between 4 and 8 October 2013.
- All results have been weighted to be representative of all adults in Scotland.

Segmentation

See p11 for descriptions of each segment

- 1: Tory Core
- 2: Reluctant Camerons
- 3: Willing to Listen
- 4: Militant Liberals
- 5: Cynical Disengagement
- 6: Nationalist Tendency
- 7: Majority Labour
- 8: Tribal Labour

1. If a general election for Westminster were held tomorrow, how would you vote?

%	Spring 2013	Oct 2013
Labour	45	40
SNP	23	31
Conservative	16	18
Lib Dem	8	6
UKIP	5	2
Others	2	3

Results by segment:

[Spring 2013]

%	ALL	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Labour	45	3	30	42	4	39	10	84	89
SNP	23	2	20	25	-	26	83	9	7
Conservative	16	86	36	18	3	7	-	-	1
Lib Dem	8	1	3	5	91	3	1	1	1
UKIP	5	7	8	5	-	16	3	4	2
Others	2	2	4	5	1	9	2	1	1

- Labour support was highest among 18-24s (56%) and public sector workers (51%). It was lowest among those aged 65+ (37%) and ABs (38%).
- Conservative support was highest among those aged 65+ (25%). It was lowest among 18-24s (10%), public sector workers (11%) and C2DEs (12%).

2. Have you definitely decided how you will vote at the next general election, or do you think you may well change your mind?

[Spring 2013]

%	ALL	Lab	SNP	Con	Lib Dem	Other
Pretty sure which party I will vote for	47	62	61	60	45	41
May well change my mind	48	37	38	39	54	55

%	ALL	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Pretty sure which party I will vote for	47	68	27	36	42	23	62	55	62
May well change my mind	48	31	70	62	57	62	34	44	34

3. Which of the following parties would you seriously consider voting for at the next general election for Westminster? [All those saying they may change their mind]

[Spring 2013]

%	ALL	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Labour	55	26	49	57	51	35	52	78	83
SNP	37	14	31	36	15	30	83	43	39
Conservative	27	74	61	38	30	9	2	5	6
Lib Dem	29	21	32	45	83	16	14	22	14
Green	16	6	15	19	19	14	21	19	15
UKIP	14	29	18	13	6	14	11	13	10

- 34% of those aged 65+ said they would consider the Conservatives, compared to 22% of 25-34s. 33% of ABs would do so, compared to 21% of DEs. 32% of private sector workers would do so, compared to 22% of those in the public sector.

4. Which of the following do you think would make the best Prime Minister?

[Spring 2013]

%	ALL	Lab	SNP	Con	Lib Dem	Other
David Cameron	26	13	18	84	28	24
Ed Miliband	31	56	26	3	14	21
Nick Clegg	9	6	10	4	34	8
None/don't know	35	25	47	10	23	47

%	ALL	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
David Cameron	26	83	75	40	28	8	7	2	7
Ed Miliband	31	2	4	22	14	11	30	68	58
Nick Clegg	9	3	6	15	32	7	9	7	6
None/don't know	35	11	16	24	26	73	53	23	29

- Those who oppose Scottish independence name David Cameron as the best Prime Minister by 33% to 30%.

5. Which of the following statements do you most agree with?

[Oct 2013]

%	ALL	Lab	SNP	Con	Lib Dem
I am satisfied with the job David Cameron is doing overall as PM	22	12	15	58	32
I am dissatisfied with the job DC is doing as PM – but I'd still prefer to have him as PM than Ed Miliband	28	11	38	39	28
I am dissatisfied with the job DC is doing as PM – and I'd prefer to have Ed Miliband as PM instead	40	72	34	1	26
Don't know	10	4	12	1	13

6. Please tell me whether you have a very favourable, favourable, unfavourable or very unfavourable view of each of the following. If you have never heard of the person please say so.

[Spring 2013]

% favourable – % unfavourable	ALL	Lab	SNP	Con	Lib Dem	Other
Ed Miliband	+8	+59	-6	-58	-13	-25
David Cameron	-25	-53	-50	+85	-5	-42
Alex Salmond	-5	-25	+82	-53	-35	-32
Nick Clegg	-32	-48	-44	-1	+47	-47
Ruth Davidson	-20	-33	-41	+35	-5	-25
Johann Lamont	+4	+36	-21	-18	-2	-22
Willie Rennie	-7	-11	-15	-7	+42	-23

% favourable – % unfavourable	ALL	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Ed Miliband	+8	-61	-26	+16	-13	-18	-18	+67	+57
David Cameron	-25	+80	+67	+26	-5	-53	-75	-74	-73
Alex Salmond	-5	-61	-4	0	-43	-20	+89	-19	-26
Nick Clegg	-32	-16	-7	+15	+43	-45	-58	-48	-61
Ruth Davidson	-20	+35	+6	+3	-4	-22	-50	-38	-39
Johann Lamont	+4	-24	-6	+9	-1	-9	-26	+31	+39
Willie Rennie	-7	-16	-1	+14	+41	-12	-21	-6	-19

- 39% (including 29% of Conservative voters) had never heard of Ruth Davidson or had no opinion of her. 47% of women had never heard of her or had no opinion.
- 42% (including 35% of Labour voters) had never heard of Johann Lamont or had no opinion of her. 50% of women had never heard of her or had no opinion.
- 50% (including 36% of Lib Dem voters) had never heard of Willie Rennie or had no opinion of him. 60% of women had never heard of him or had no opinion.

7. Please tell me how positive or negative you feel about each of the following parties on a scale of 1 to 10, where 1 means “extremely negative” and 10 means “extremely positive”.

[Split sample: “The X Party” and “The Scottish X Party” asked separately]

[Spring 2013]

Mean score	ALL	Lab	SNP	Con	Lib Dem	Other
The Labour Party	5.59	7.59	4.90	3.52	4.88	4.11
The Scottish Labour Party	5.64	7.39	4.93	3.71	4.79	4.32
The Conservative Party	3.86	3.07	2.84	7.42	4.32	3.61
The Scottish Conservatives	3.75	3.03	2.92	6.81	4.26	3.48
The Liberal Democrats	4.01	3.51	3.42	4.85	7.17	3.30
The Scottish Liberal Democrats	4.11	3.69	3.77	4.73	6.68	3.59
The Scottish National Party	5.01	4.40	8.19	3.19	4.08	3.98

Mean score	ALL	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
The Labour Party	5.59	3.39	4.91	5.87	4.81	4.59	4.77	7.11	7.58
The Scottish Labour Party	5.64	3.41	5.22	5.70	4.90	4.64	4.90	6.90	7.53
The Conservative Party	3.86	7.46	5.99	5.06	4.41	3.19	2.18	2.89	2.45
The Scottish Conservatives	3.75	6.87	5.42	4.87	4.10	3.42	2.52	2.74	2.59
The Liberal Democrats	4.01	4.40	4.73	5.12	7.13	3.62	3.00	3.68	2.94
The Scottish Liberal Democrats	4.11	4.34	4.85	5.17	6.80	3.75	3.57	3.69	3.23
The Scottish National Party	5.01	2.87	4.90	5.06	3.87	4.37	8.38	4.74	4.36

8. Would you say you were more favourable towards David Cameron or the Conservative Party in general?

[Spring 2013]

%	ALL	Lab	SNP	Con	Lib Dem	Other
More favourable to DC than to Cons	18	18	16	22	28	14
Neither	62	70	71	33	50	62
More favourable to Cons than to DC	17	10	11	45	20	22

%	ALL	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
More favourable to DC than to Cons	18	24	39	29	27	9	10	14	10
Neither	62	29	35	47	54	70	78	74	80
More favourable to Cons than to DC	17	46	24	21	18	12	10	11	8

9. Would you say you were more favourable towards Ed Miliband or the Labour Party in general?
[Spring 2013]

%	ALL	Lab	SNP	Con	Lib Dem	Other
More favourable to EM than to Lab	10	12	11	9	13	13
Neither	41	21	48	61	41	53
More favourable to Lab than to EM	46	66	39	28	44	32

%	ALL	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
More favourable to EM than to Lab	10	8	7	13	13	7	11	12	13
Neither	41	68	42	37	40	56	49	23	25
More favourable to Lab than to EM	46	22	49	49	44	29	39	64	60

10. Would you say you were more favourable towards Nick Clegg or the Liberal Democrats generally?
[Spring 2013]

%	ALL	Lab	SNP	Con	Lib Dem	Other
More favourable to NC than to LDs	10	10	9	18	12	9
Neither	57	60	60	53	28	61
More favourable to LDs than to NC	30	28	29	28	59	27

%	ALL	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
More favourable to NC than to LDs	10	17	16	17	11	5	6	10	8
Neither	57	57	48	43	26	67	64	53	68
More favourable to LDs than to NC	30	24	33	38	62	19	28	36	21

11. Would you say you were more favourable towards Alex Salmond, or the Scottish National Party generally?
[Spring 2013]

%	ALL	Lab	SNP	Con	Lib Dem	Other
More favourable to AS than to SNP	16	14	24	11	15	15
Neither	47	50	29	61	51	51
More favourable to SNP than to AS	34	33	46	27	31	31

%	ALL	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
More favourable to AS than to SNP	16	11	18	17	13	10	27	15	12
Neither	47	65	43	46	56	52	30	44	53
More favourable to SNP than to AS	34	23	37	35	30	30	42	40	33

- 12. I am going to read out some things people have said about each of the political parties. Please can you say whether you think each is true or not true of Labour / the Conservatives / the Liberal Democrats / the Scottish National Party?**
[Spring 2013]

%	ALL	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
On the side of people like me									
Labour	42	8	32	57	24	15	25	71	78
Conservatives	16	76	23	41	13	3	2	5	3
Liberal Democrats	15	11	11	52	68	5	6	10	5
SNP	33	9	27	48	15	10	91	24	25
Wants to help ordinary people get on in life									
Labour	51	20	43	74	40	22	33	78	80
Conservatives	17	74	18	51	17	5	3	5	3
Liberal Democrats	20	19	19	67	64	9	10	16	6
SNP	35	13	28	60	22	10	88	27	27
Willing to take tough decisions for the long term									
Labour	32	6	16	51	18	15	22	37	69
Conservatives	40	85	72	75	45	14	14	47	14
Liberal Democrats	14	9	9	52	42	7	8	10	8
SNP	27	6	18	47	17	10	78	16	21
Shares my values									
Labour	39	6	26	52	18	14	21	71	76
Conservatives	17	78	33	42	12	4	3	4	2
Liberal Democrats	16	9	15	51	70	8	7	11	4
SNP	31	6	24	42	11	9	88	19	21
Competent and capable									
Labour	34	8	23	54	24	12	18	46	68
Conservatives	23	77	42	61	27	6	3	11	5
Liberal Democrats	13	9	10	52	47	6	3	6	4
SNP	30	9	25	50	18	8	85	18	21
Will do what they say									
Labour	23	6	13	35	13	6	13	29	56
Conservatives	15	56	18	40	14	2	3	9	5
Liberal Democrats	8	7	5	31	32	3	3	5	4
SNP	25	8	21	36	15	5	72	17	18
Represents everyone, not just some types of people									
Labour	37	13	26	50	23	13	24	54	71
Conservatives	12	62	8	33	9	3	4	4	4
Liberal Democrats	18	15	18	56	55	7	10	17	6
SNP	27	11	21	41	13	8	77	20	19

%	ALL	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Its heart is in the right place									
Labour	39	10	31	66	27	15	23	55	70
Conservatives	18	71	21	58	14	7	3	7	3
Liberal Democrats	22	17	22	73	59	11	11	20	8
SNP	38	12	34	61	23	17	88	30	28
Stands for fairness									
Labour	42	11	31	66	27	15	26	66	74
Conservatives	16	75	18	49	12	3	3	5	3
Liberal Democrats	22	17	23	71	66	8	10	19	7
SNP	31	9	24	55	16	9	85	21	22
Will stand up for Scotland									
Labour	30	17	23	49	22	13	11	40	58
Conservatives	10	52	7	32	8	4	1	4	2
Liberal Democrats	10	14	7	37	43	4	2	5	3
SNP	68	41	74	80	59	50	99	74	54

13. Which party do you think would have the best approach to each of the following issues – Labour, the Conservatives, the Liberal Democrats or the SNP?
[Spring 2013]

	ALL				1				2				3				4			
	C	L	LD	S	C	L	LD	S	C	L	LD	S	C	L	LD	S	C	L	LD	S
Getting the economy growing & creating jobs	20	40	6	19	93	3	1	1	49	24	3	12	21	37	9	21	22	20	38	7
Cutting the deficit & debt	36	28	5	13	94	3	1	1	73	9	4	5	43	22	10	11	43	11	26	3
Improving NHS	12	46	7	18	83	6	3	2	14	48	9	12	8	45	12	16	12	26	40	8
Improving schools	14	40	8	19	84	5	4	2	19	41	10	13	10	40	14	20	15	21	38	7
Crime	28	30	5	16	88	3	1	1	53	18	4	8	31	27	8	13	39	13	24	4
Europe	33	29	6	11	88	2	1	1	66	13	4	5	39	25	9	11	40	15	28	3
Reforming welfare	43	24	5	11	91	3	2	1	73	11	3	5	49	18	9	12	47	12	27	3
Immigration	34	24	5	12	85	3	2	1	57	13	4	7	38	20	9	10	41	12	22	5
Fairness	11	40	12	19	87	3	4	1	10	37	18	16	8	38	21	18	11	17	57	4
Managing the economy	26	33	6	15	95	1	1	1	65	13	3	7	31	27	10	15	28	16	35	4

	ALL				5				6				7				8			
	C	L	LD	S	C	L	LD	S	C	L	LD	S	C	L	LD	S	C	L	LD	S
Jobs	20	40	6	19	4	13	5	16	2	13	2	74	5	76	3	8	1	91	1	5
Deficit	36	28	5	13	11	7	6	12	12	15	3	54	49	29	4	3	3	89	1	2
NHS	12	46	7	18	3	14	7	14	4	17	3	67	3	81	4	6	2	92	1	4
Schools	14	40	8	19	6	8	7	15	4	13	3	69	7	70	5	10	2	87	2	6
Crime	28	30	5	16	5	7	5	11	8	11	2	63	38	35	4	7	2	89	1	4
Europe	33	29	6	11	8	8	6	10	13	19	5	43	46	31	4	3	4	86	1	3
Welfare	43	24	5	11	17	7	6	9	23	12	4	44	74	10	3	2	6	84	1	3
Immigration	34	24	5	12	8	5	6	11	19	12	4	44	58	13	4	7	3	84	1	3
Fairness	11	40	12	19	2	8	10	13	3	11	4	74	3	76	7	7	1	89	1	6
Economy	26	33	6	15	5	6	8	10	5	14	2	65	17	56	5	5	1	92	1	3

14. With our economy facing challenges in the months ahead, who do you most trust to manage the economy in the interests of Britain – David Cameron and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, George Osborne, or Ed Miliband and the Shadow Chancellor, Ed Balls?

%	Spring 2013	Oct 2013
Cameron and Osborne	36	34
Miliband and Balls	44	40
Don't know	17	24

Segmentation:

[Spring 2013]

	ALL	Lab	SNP	Con	Lib Dem	Other
Cameron and Osborne	36	17	29	91	53	38
Miliband and Balls	44	71	44	3	33	36
Don't know	17	11	23	5	12	22

	ALL	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Cameron and Osborne	36	92	86	54	51	17	17	8	10
Miliband and Balls	44	4	7	35	33	25	51	83	79
Don't know	17	4	6	11	14	52	25	8	10

15. I am going to read out two statements. Please say which one you most agree with, even if you don't completely agree with either of them.

[Spring 2013]

	ALL	Lab	SNP	Con	Lib Dem	Other
If you work hard, it is possible to be very successful in Scotland no matter what your background	64	59	65	80	69	60
In Scotland today, people from some backgrounds will never have a real chance to be successful no matter how hard they work	33	38	33	18	29	37

	ALL	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
If you work hard, it is possible to be very successful in Scotland no matter what your background	64	76	74	75	69	53	64	60	56
In Scotland today, people from some backgrounds will never have a real chance to be successful no matter how hard they work	33	21	25	23	29	39	34	38	42

16. Which party do you think best represents each of the following – the Conservatives, Labour or the Liberal Democrats?

[Spring 2013]

	ALL			1			2			3			4		
	C	L	LD	C	L	LD	C	L	LD	C	L	LD	C	L	LD
A middle class professional	47	25	10	86	4	2	64	14	9	52	23	15	44	9	38
Someone who has started their own business	30	33	9	82	3	2	49	22	8	34	30	15	30	14	36
A low-paid worker	8	61	7	46	33	5	8	65	8	9	63	13	5	51	28
People who would rather live on benefits than work	11	41	5	21	59	3	10	57	5	9	46	8	7	49	12
An unemployed person who wants to work and is looking for a job	14	49	7	73	9	2	25	38	10	17	50	12	15	34	32
An ambitious person who wants to be successful	41	27	7	91	2	1	68	10	4	49	21	12	48	8	30
Someone like you	18	42	10	89	1	1	42	25	7	25	37	16	10	8	68
Scotland as a whole	10	45	9	65	11	3	15	37	9	14	45	14	5	21	53
Britain as a whole	25	43	7	93	2	1	56	22	5	34	39	11	25	19	43

	ALL			5			6			7			8		
	C	L	LD	C	L	LD	C	L	LD	C	L	LD	C	L	LD
A middle class professional	47	25	10	31	11	8	39	26	12	50	31	11	29	57	4
Someone who has started their own business	30	33	9	11	15	6	18	34	11	28	45	8	11	71	2
A low-paid worker	8	61	7	3	27	5	4	53	7	3	85	2	2	85	1
People who would rather live on benefits than work	11	41	5	7	20	4	12	32	4	11	41	5	12	39	4
An unemployed person who wants to work and is looking for a job	14	49	7	4	20	5	6	46	8	5	77	3	2	84	1
An ambitious person who wants to be successful	41	27	7	21	10	5	31	26	8	44	34	6	16	68	1
Someone like you	18	42	10	4	15	6	5	36	9	3	77	5	1	85	1
Scotland as a whole	10	45	9	4	19	6	2	34	7	3	75	4	1	81	1
Britain as a whole	25	43	7	9	18	5	11	45	9	12	71	4	3	87	1

17. Do you identify with a political party – that is, do you think of one party as consistently representing people like you and feel an affinity towards that party beyond the question of how you vote?

[Spring 2013]

%	ALL	Lab	SNP	Con	Lib Dem	Other
The Conservatives	11	1	2	65	4	9
Labour	29	65	9	2	5	8
The Liberal Democrats	5	1	1	2	43	4
The SNP	15	3	58	2	3	5
No party	36	27	28	27	41	42

%	ALL	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
The Conservatives	11	79	16	11	5	2	1	1	-
Labour	29	1	14	23	4	11	8	57	72
The Liberal Democrats	5	-	3	4	51	2	1	2	1
The SNP	15	1	10	12	1	7	65	5	4
No party	36	14	52	45	37	68	21	33	20

- 21% of 'Others' voters said they identified with UKIP.

18. Do you think that, overall, things in Scotland are better or worse than they were ten years ago for Scotland as a whole / for you and your family?

[Spring 2013]

	ALL	Lab	SNP	Con	Lib Dem	Other
For Scotland as a whole						
Better	35	28	48	40	40	31
No change	8	7	6	12	10	10
Worse	53	60	43	44	47	55
For me and my family						
Better	40	37	47	48	45	35
No change	14	13	11	18	16	14
Worse	43	48	39	32	37	48

	ALL	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
For Scotland as a whole									
Are better	35	38	40	45	39	19	51	32	24
No change	8	11	8	8	9	13	4	7	7
Are worse	53	48	48	42	48	59	42	58	66
For me and my family									
Are better	40	47	46	53	44	21	48	42	31
No change	14	19	14	13	16	17	10	13	11
Are worse	43	31	38	31	37	54	40	43	56

19. And do you think that, overall, things in ten years' time will be better or worse than they are now for Scotland as a whole / for you and your family?
[Spring 2013]

	ALL	Lab	SNP	Con	Lib Dem	Other
For Scotland as a whole						
Will be better	52	52	62	53	52	41
No change	7	6	5	8	8	8
Will be worse	27	29	21	22	27	38
For me and my family						
Will be better	50	51	64	50	49	37
No change	6	5	4	8	8	8
Will be worse	28	30	20	24	27	41

	ALL	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
For Scotland as a whole									
Will be better	52	54	55	63	51	34	63	54	48
No change	7	8	7	5	9	10	5	6	5
Will be worse	27	23	26	19	27	36	20	29	32
For me and my family									
Will be better	50	51	52	60	49	31	67	50	48
No change	6	7	5	5	8	10	4	6	4
Will be worse	28	25	28	20	27	39	17	28	33

20. I'd like to get a sense of how optimistic or pessimistic you are about Britain's economy. Thinking about all the things that may effect the economy – such as changes in salaries and wages, the level of interest rates and tax, the rates of inflation and unemployment, and the strength of the pound – how do you think the British economy will fare over the next year for the country as a whole / for you and your family?
[Oct 2013]

Country / Me & Family	ALL	Labour	SNP	Con	Lib Dem
Well	48 / 52	42 / 50	41 / 47	73 / 73	59 / 63
Badly	45 / 39	50 / 41	53 / 44	22 / 21	33 / 20

21. If an election for the Scottish Parliament were to be held tomorrow, how would you vote?
22. As you probably know, in elections for the Scottish Parliament you also have a second, or 'list' vote. How would you use your second vote?

[June 2013]

%	1 st vote	2 nd vote
SNP	40	36
Labour	35	24
Conservative	15	10
Lib Dem	5	13
UKIP	4	11
Other	1	5

23. I am going to read out some things people have said about the Conservative Party. Please say if you agree or disagree with each one.

[Spring 2013]

Net agreement	ALL	Lab	SNP	Con	Lib Dem	Other
The Conservatives would have more credibility in Scotland if they campaigned as David Cameron's party for the whole UK, rather than claim they are the best party to stand up for Scotland	+5	+2	-18	+46	+14	+3
The Conservatives in Scotland need to put Scotland first, even if that means sometimes disagreeing with what David Cameron is saying	+63	+61	+67	+64	+66	+57

Net agreement	ALL	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
The Conservatives would have more credibility in Scotland if they campaigned as David Cameron's party for the whole UK, rather than claim they are the best party to stand up for Scotland	+5	+50	+34	+28	+14	-	-28	-7	-8
The Conservatives in Scotland need to put Scotland first, even if that means sometimes disagreeing with what David Cameron is saying	+63	+69	+68	+70	+67	+52	+68	+69	+50

24. Have you ever voted Conservative in a general election before – that is, an election to vote for the government at Westminster?

[Spring 2013]

	ALL	Lab	SNP	Con	Lib Dem	Other
Yes, have voted Conservative before	31	15	20	90	37	41

	ALL	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Yes, have voted Conservative before	31	90	58	39	37	22	17	17	11

25. The next general election is expected to be in May 2015. Though it is still very early to judge, given what you know about the coalition government's performance so far, and what you expect it to do in the future, and what the other parties are saying or doing, which of the following would you most like to see as the outcome of the next election?

[Spring 2013]

	ALL	Lab	SNP	Con	Lib Dem	Other
A Conservative government	16	3	10	72	9	21
A Conservative-Lib Dem coalition	8	1	7	18	30	6
A Labour-Lib Dem coalition	16	15	18	2	38	19
A Labour government	45	76	46	3	9	31
Don't know	12	4	14	4	7	13

	ALL	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
A Conservative government	16	79	37	19	10	6	6	2	1
A Conservative-Lib Dem coalition	8	13	17	15	28	5	4	1	1
A Labour-Lib Dem coalition	16	2	12	22	41	14	17	21	10
A Labour government	45	3	23	32	10	28	52	71	84
Don't know	12	3	10	11	7	40	13	3	3

26. Finally [in the Spring poll] the question that will be asked in the referendum next year: should Scotland be an independent country?

[Spring 2013]

	ALL	Lab	SNP	Con	Lib Dem	Other
Yes	26	14	69	5	12	21
No	65	78	20	92	83	72
Don't know	10	8	11	3	5	7

	ALL	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Yes	25	4	17	22	10	20	76	16	18
No	65	93	75	69	84	62	14	74	72
Don't know	10	3	8	9	6	18	10	10	10

27. Which election would you say is more important – the Westminster general election, or the Scottish Parliament election?

[August 2013]

%	ALL	Lab	SNP	Con	Lib Dem
The Westminster general election	27	31	10	47	32
The Scottish Parliament election	18	11	38	6	6
They are of equal importance	53	58	52	46	62

- Men (33%) were more likely than women (21%) to say the Westminster general election was more important. Women (61%) were more likely than men (45%) to say they were of equal importance.
- 37% of those in the South of Scotland said the Westminster general election was more important, compared to 19% of those in the Highlands & Islands. Those in the Highlands & Islands were the most likely to say the two elections were of equal importance (65%).

28. What do you think the Scottish Government is treating as its main priority at the moment?

[Unprompted]

[August 2013]

%	ALL	Lab	SNP	Con	Lib Dem
Independence	49	54	41	58	59
The economy/jobs	7	7	14	4	4
Improving the NHS	5	5	9	2	4
Improving schools	2	1	4	2	4
Environment/renewable energy	2	2	2	2	6
Welfare reform	2	2	2	1	0
Something else	6	8	4	5	2
Don't know	25	20	22	25	21

29. And do you think that is the right priority for the Scottish Government, or should it have a different priority?

[August 2013]

%	ALL	Lab	SNP	Con	Lib Dem
Right priority	36	24	69	22	24
Should have a different priority	61	73	28	76	76

- 77% of those in favour of Scottish independence said they thought the Scottish Government currently had the right priority. 79% of those who opposed independence thought it had the wrong priority.

30. What do you think the Scottish Government's main priority should be?

[All those saying the Scottish Government currently has the wrong priority]

[August 2013]

%	ALL	Lab	SNP	Con	Lib Dem
The economy/jobs	41	42	40	42	59
Improving the NHS	15	15	17	19	5
Improving schools	7	10	7	1	8
Welfare reform	7	8	5	4	5
Independence	3	1	7	0	0
Controlling immigration	2	1	4	2	2
Dealing with crime	2	2	3	4	0
Something else	12	11	8	19	16

31. Thinking about some of the specific things the Scottish Parliament has done since devolution in 1999, what would you say are the three main achievements of the Scottish Parliament?

[Unprompted]

[August 2013]

% naming in top three	ALL	Lab	SNP	Con	Lib Dem
Free prescriptions	27	25	34	25	23
Free university tuition	16	18	23	13	24
Free social care	13	9	17	13	11
Standing up for/being a voice for Scotland	6	4	13	4	2
Smoking ban	4	4	7	1	4
Campaigning for independence	4	2	8	3	2
Scrapping road tolls	3	3	5	3	0
Environment/renewable energy	3	-	4	3	7
Free eye tests	2	2	3	2	4
Something else	25	24	36	17	34
None	13	15	7	22	6
Don't know	31	33	20	29	32

32. Thinking about Members of the Scottish Parliament, and Scottish MPs at Westminster, which do you think...

[August 2013]

%	ALL	Lab	SNP	Con	Lib Dem
...are more likely to have an impact on decisions that are important to you?					
Members of the Scottish Parliament	23	18	40	11	17
Both equally	50	51	45	45	50
Scottish MPs at Westminster	25	29	13	44	34
...are more likely to be in touch and committed to their local communities?					
Members of the Scottish Parliament	49	44	65	39	40
Both equally	37	40	28	44	50
Scottish MPs at Westminster	11	12	6	14	7
...are more likely to do a good job representing people like you?					
Members of the Scottish Parliament	38	32	62	17	20
Both equally	42	46	31	47	55
Scottish MPs at Westminster	16	18	5	29	25
...are more likely to be 'career politicians' who put their own interests above the people they represent?					
Members of the Scottish Parliament	12	14	7	21	17
Both equally	50	55	35	48	62
Scottish MPs at Westminster	31	26	52	23	20

33. Following devolution in 1999, the Scottish Parliament was given control over some areas of government, while others were retained by the Westminster parliament. Which of the following statements would you say most applies to you?

[August 2013]

	ALL	Lab	SNP	Con	Lib Dem
I have a <u>very good idea</u> of which areas are the responsibility of the Scottish Parliament, and which are the responsibility of Westminster	14	14	21	15	13
I have <u>some idea</u> which areas of government are the responsibility of which parliament	44	40	49	44	45
I have <u>very little idea</u> which areas of government are the responsibility of which parliament	40	43	29	39	42

- 21% of men, but 8% of women, said they had a very good idea which areas of government were the responsibility of which parliament. 51% of women said they had very little idea, compared to 28% of men.

34. Leaving aside for now the question of whether Scotland should become an independent country, some people have proposed that the Scottish Parliament and the Scottish Government should have more powers, and be responsible for all areas of policy except defence and foreign affairs. This is sometimes called 'Devo Max'. This would mean the Scottish Parliament would be responsible for all decisions about the level of tax and spending in Scotland. If this were to happen, do you think...

[August 2013]

%	ALL	Lab	SNP	Con	Lib Dem
...taxes in Scotland would...?					
...rise	59	66	37	80	60
...stay about the same	29	23	48	12	28
...fall	7	6	10	5	4
...public services in Scotland would...?					
...improve	29	22	52	16	27
...stay about the same	42	46	37	38	48
...get worse	25	30	8	43	23
...the amount of government spending in Scotland would...?					
...go up	46	41	46	53	41
...stay about the same	30	30	35	25	25
...go down	19	24	14	19	26
...the amount of government borrowing and debt would...?					
...go up	55	66	38	70	57
...stay about the same	27	21	38	18	22
...go down	10	7	19	4	11

35. You said you would not vote Conservative in the next Scottish Parliament election. Which of the following is the more important reason why you would not vote Conservative?

[August 2013]

%	ALL	Lab	SNP	Lib Dem
I don't like their policies or what they stand for	60	72	70	52
They would never win in Scotland so it would be a wasted vote	27	21	24	41
Neither	8	6	5	6
Don't know	4	1	2	2

- 33% of those aged 65+, and 31% of those opposed to Scottish independence, said being a wasted vote was the more important of the two reasons they would not vote Conservative.

DEMOGRAPHICS: 10k sample poll
[Spring 2013]

	ALL	Lab	SNP	Con	Lib Dem	Other
Male	48	47	54	54	45	58
Female	52	53	46	46	55	42
18-24	11	13	9	6	9	9
25-34	18	18	18	13	11	18
35-44	20	20	21	18	20	21
45-54	18	17	19	16	18	19
55-64	14	14	15	14	14	15
65+	20	17	18	33	27	18
Private sector	52	48	53	65	55	61
Public sector	48	52	47	35	45	39
Own outright	32	26	28	47	49	39
Own with a mortgage	37	39	36	38	29	30
Public rented	15	18	19	4	8	12
Private rented	8	8	9	5	7	11
AB	25	22	21	39	39	21
C1	22	20	22	21	25	22
C2	27	29	29	21	21	29
DE	26	29	28	19	15	28

<i>Segments</i>	ALL	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Male	48	54	51	52	43	37	53	51	45
Female	52	46	49	48	57	63	47	49	55
18-24	11	4	12	17	9	13	8	13	10
25-34	18	10	18	20	14	24	16	18	18
35-44	20	16	22	20	18	21	20	20	19
45-54	18	14	19	19	18	16	20	18	18
55-64	14	15	12	11	13	12	16	16	15
65+	20	41	18	13	28	14	19	17	20
Private sector	52	65	58	54	52	48	52	48	47
Public sector	48	35	42	46	48	52	48	52	53
Own outright	32	54	33	27	47	25	30	31	26
Own with a mortgage	38	31	41	42	30	36	33	40	37
Public rented	15	4	9	10	8	18	21	13	23
Private rented	8	5	8	9	8	12	10	8	7
AB	25	34	32	30	41	15	22	26	16
C1	22	20	24	24	24	23	21	23	19
C2	27	24	24	26	19	30	27	29	30
DE	26	21	20	19	16	32	30	22	35