



# The Scottish Question, Six Months On

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# What do we know about referendums?

- Limited theorising of referendum preferences (Hobolt)
- Often take place in low cue, low information environments (Franklin; Hobolt) but variation (Leduc; deVreese and Semetko)
- Self-determination referendums an exception
  - High cue, high information environments
  - Emotive, binary issue
  - Raises the stakes for losers' consent
- So not one 'Scottish question', but three
  - Who voted No and who voted Yes?
  - Did the campaign matter?
  - What are the implications of the referendum vote for Scottish public life?

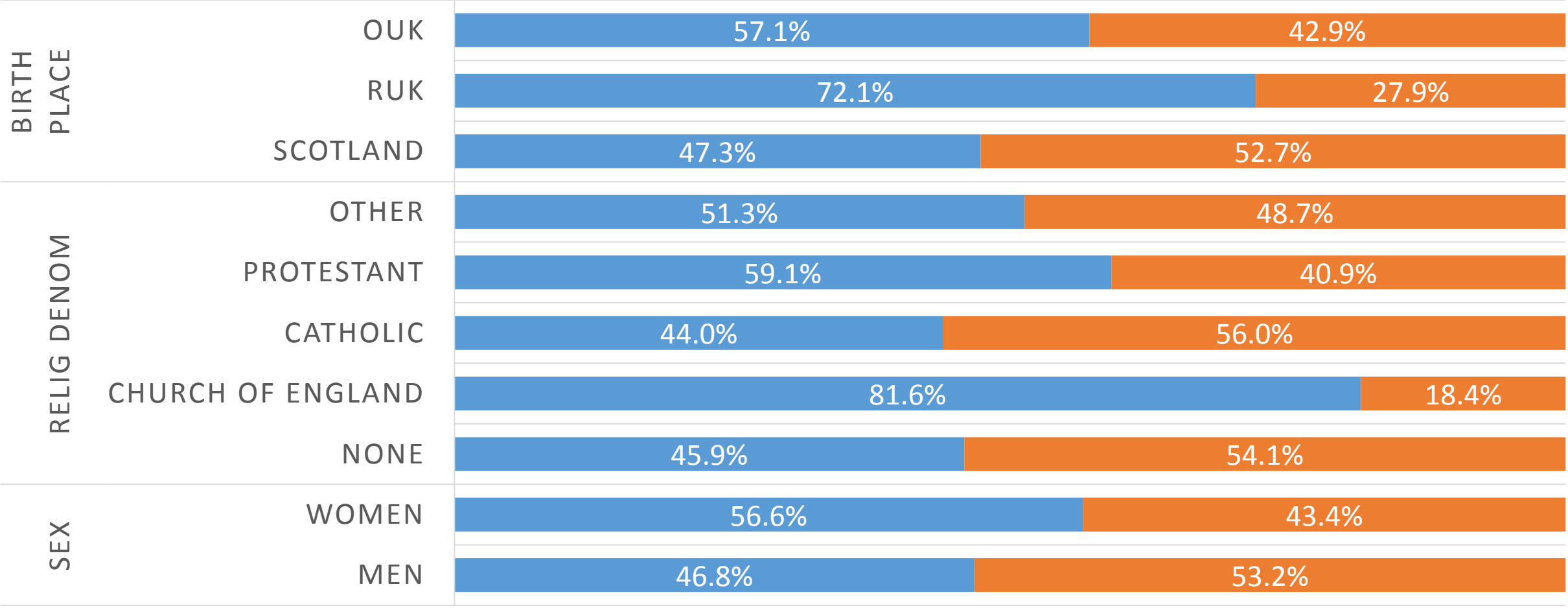
# Scottish Referendum Study

- ESRC funded (Ailsa Henderson, Rob Johns, Chris Carman, James Mitchell)
- Question completion for waves 1 and 2
- 3 wave internet survey, fieldwork YouGov (split sample BES, SES)
  - Wave 1: 22 August-17 September (rolling cross section)
  - Wave 2: 22 -26 September (small and large questionnaire)
  - Wave 3: March 2015
- Sample size wave 1: 4849
- Sample size wave 2: 3719 (across 2 surveys)

1. Who voted No (and who voted Yes)?

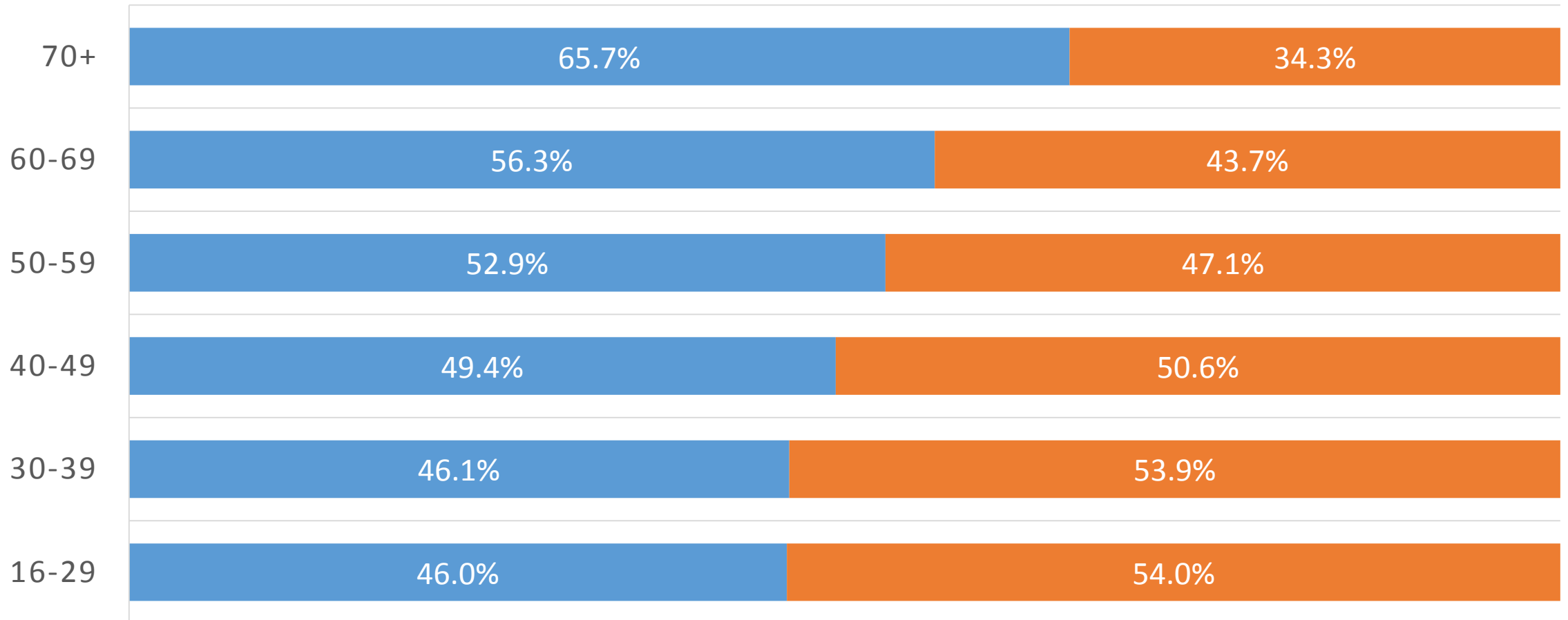
# Demographics I

■ No ■ Yes



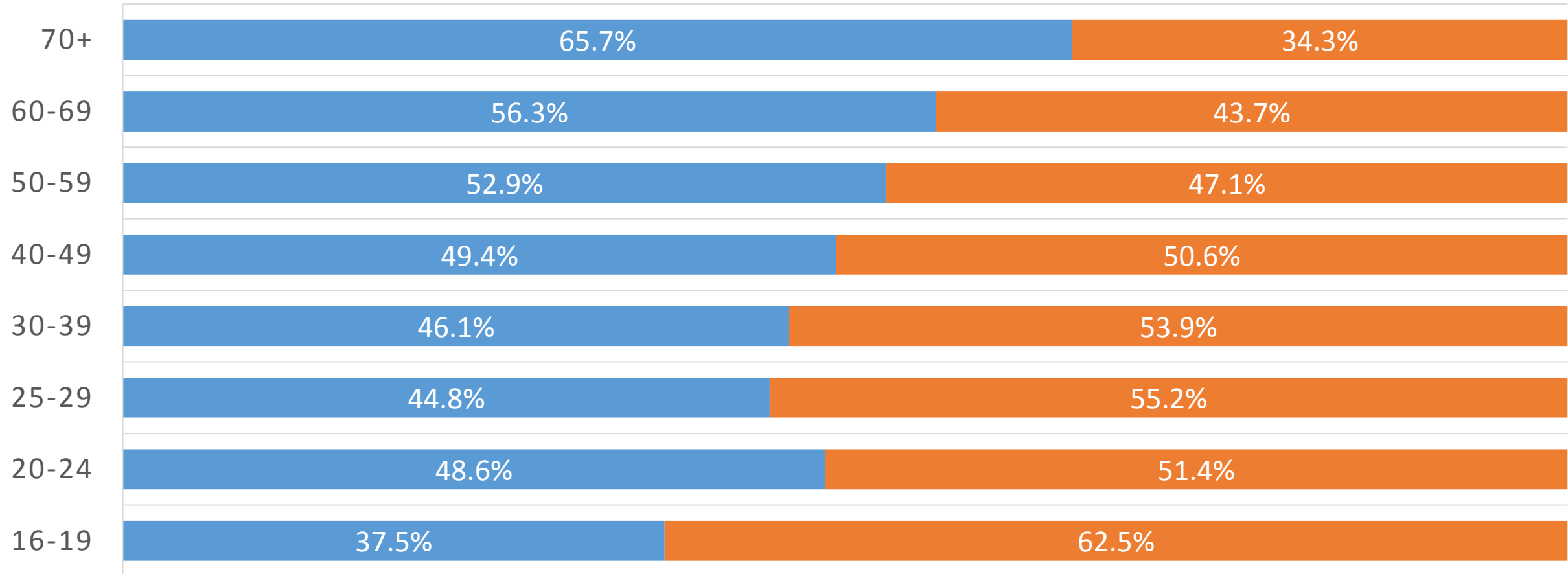
# Demographics: Age

■ No ■ Yes



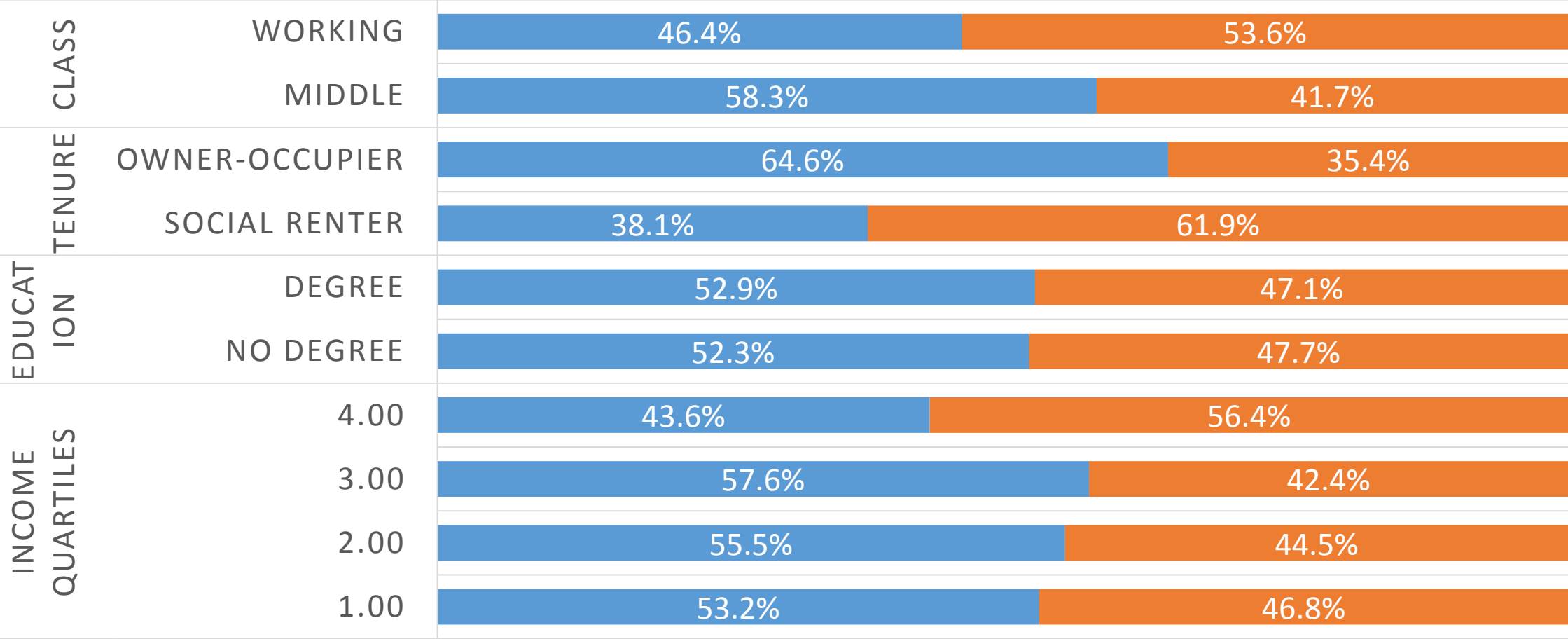
# Demographics: How younger people voted

■ No ■ Yes



# Demographics II

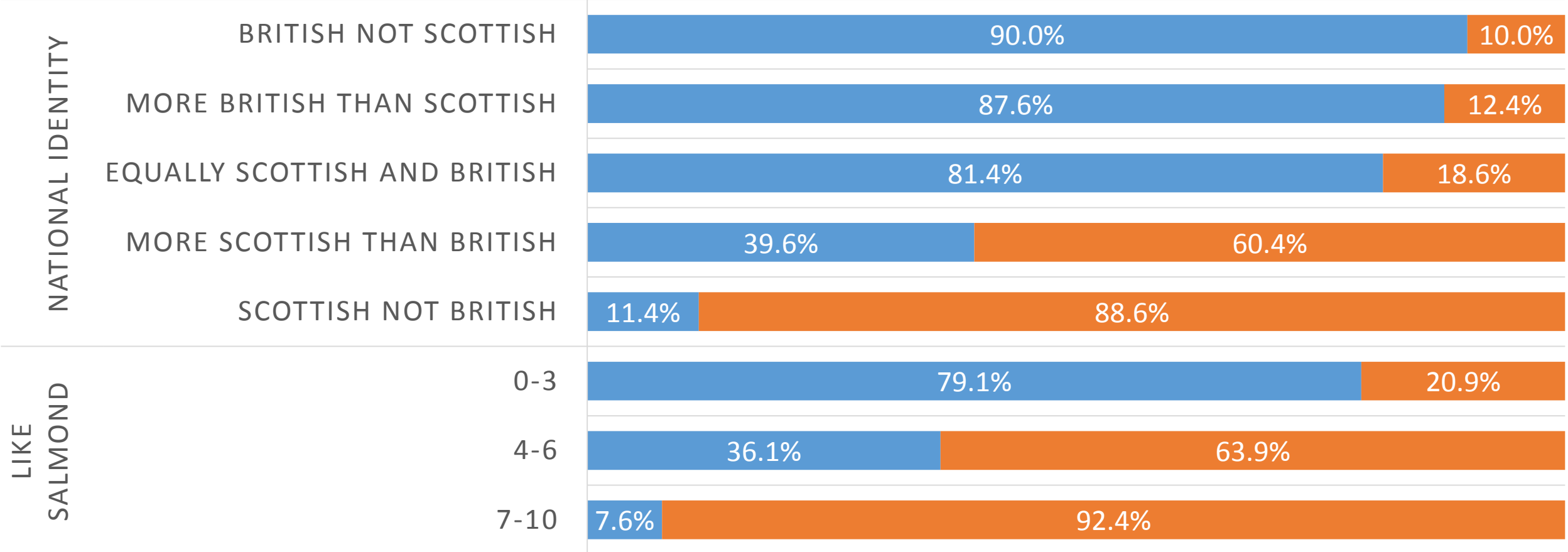
■ No ■ Yes





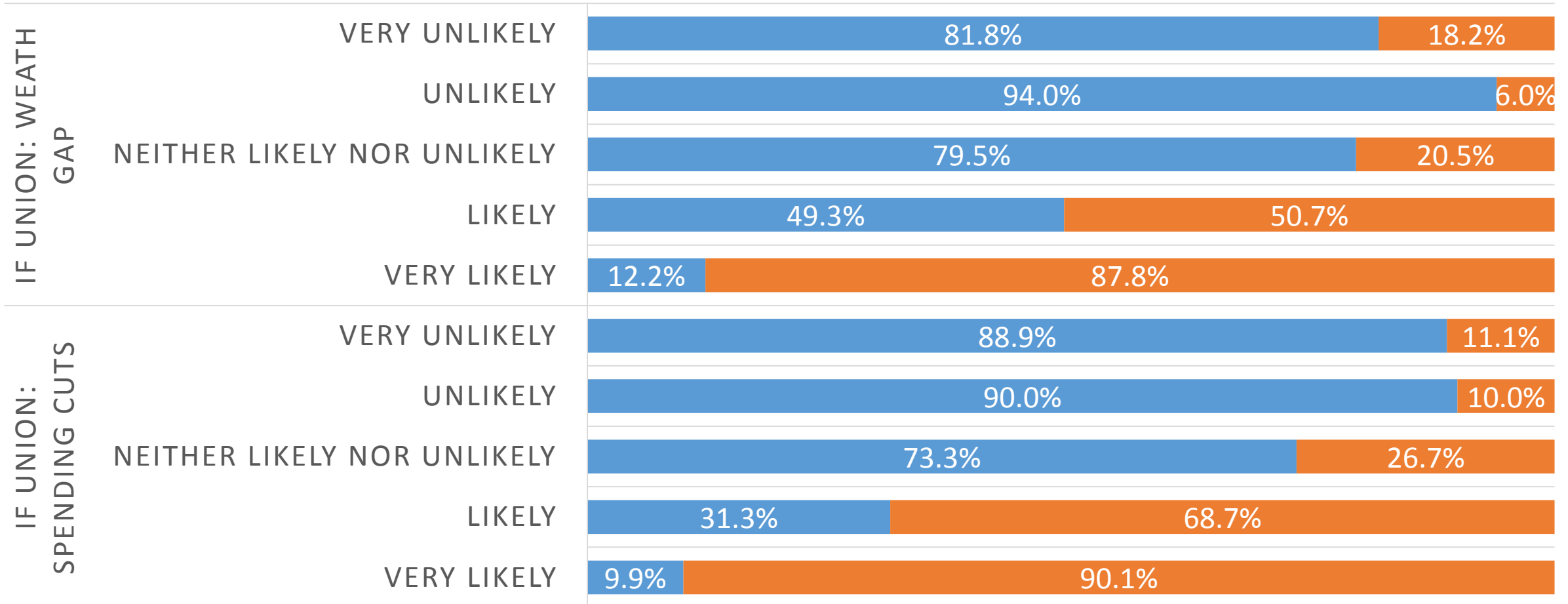
# National identity and Leadership

■ No ■ Yes



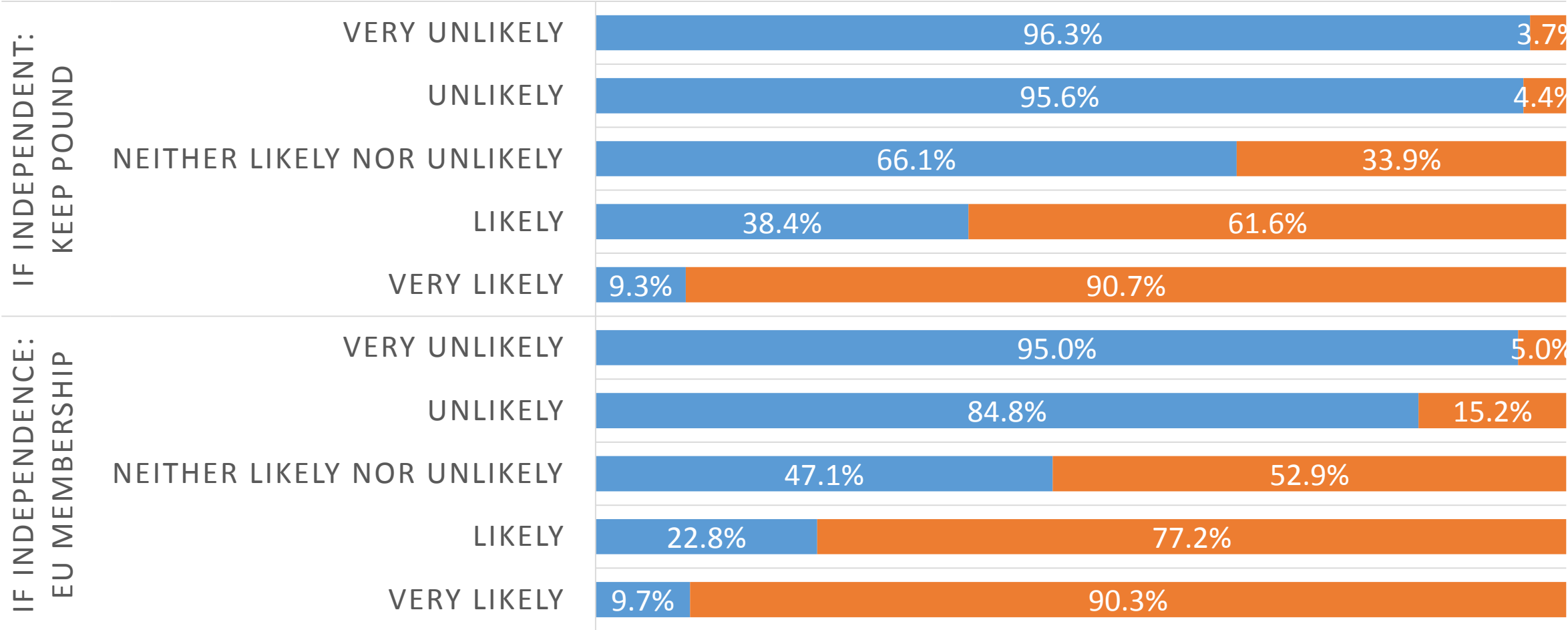
# Perceived costs of a “No” vote

■ No ■ Yes

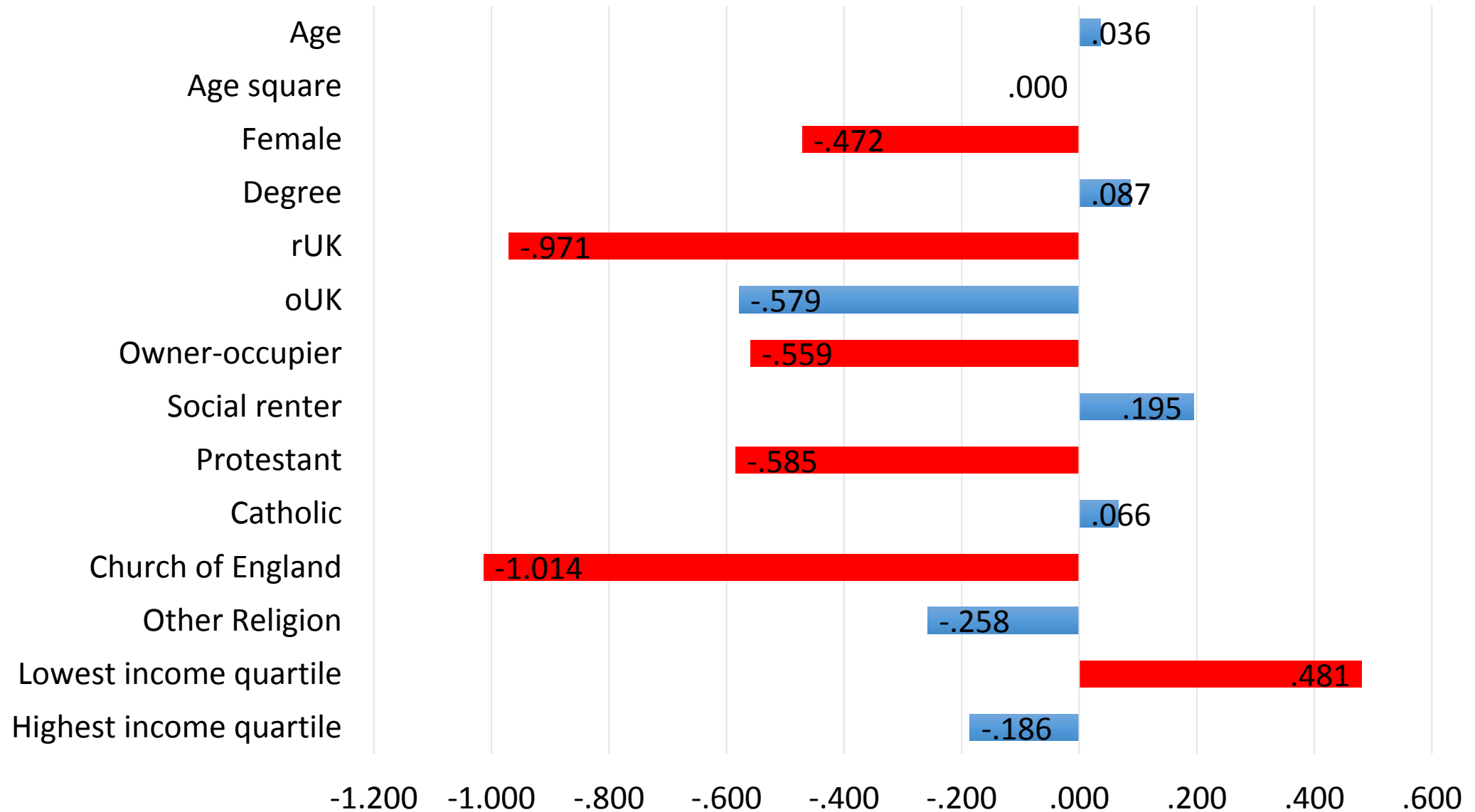


# Perceived costs of a “Yes” vote

■ No ■ Yes



# Modelling vote choice after the referendum

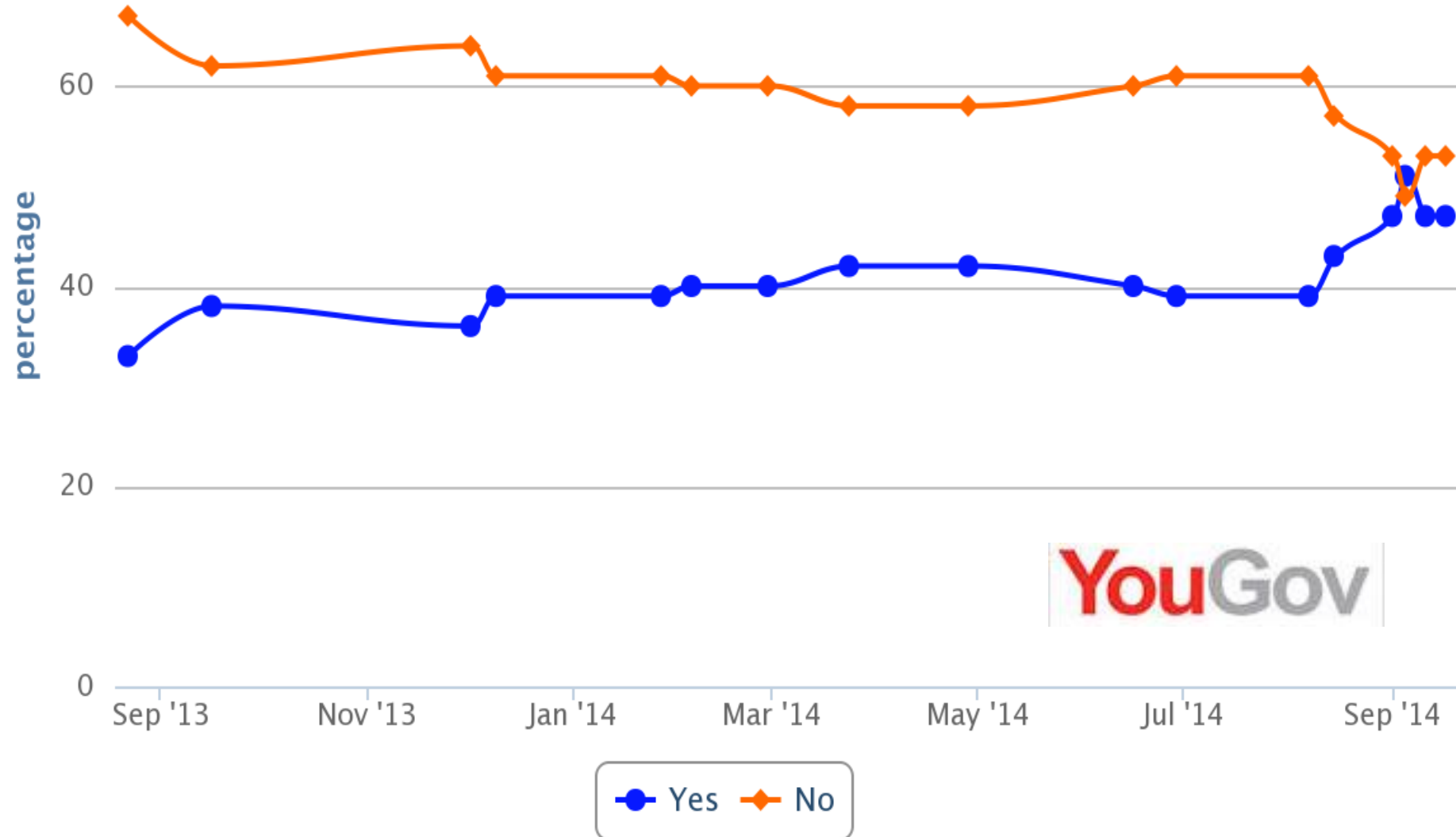


2. Did the campaign matter?

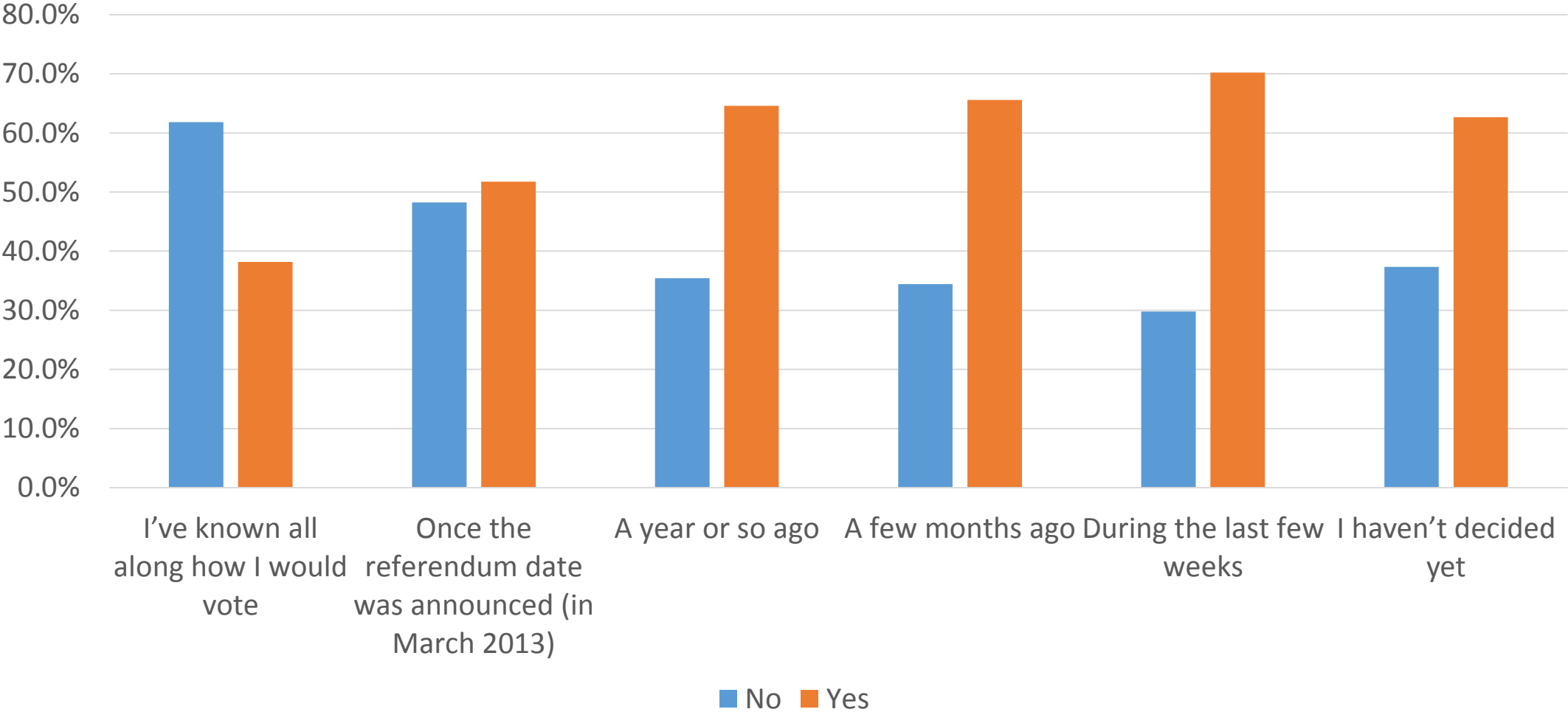
# How might we evaluate the impact of the campaign?

- Timing of decision to vote
- Vote switching
- High levels of knowledge and engagement
- Citing campaign issues/events in reasons for voting Yes or No

# Capacity for campaign influence: Boredom, then excitement



# Timing of vote decision

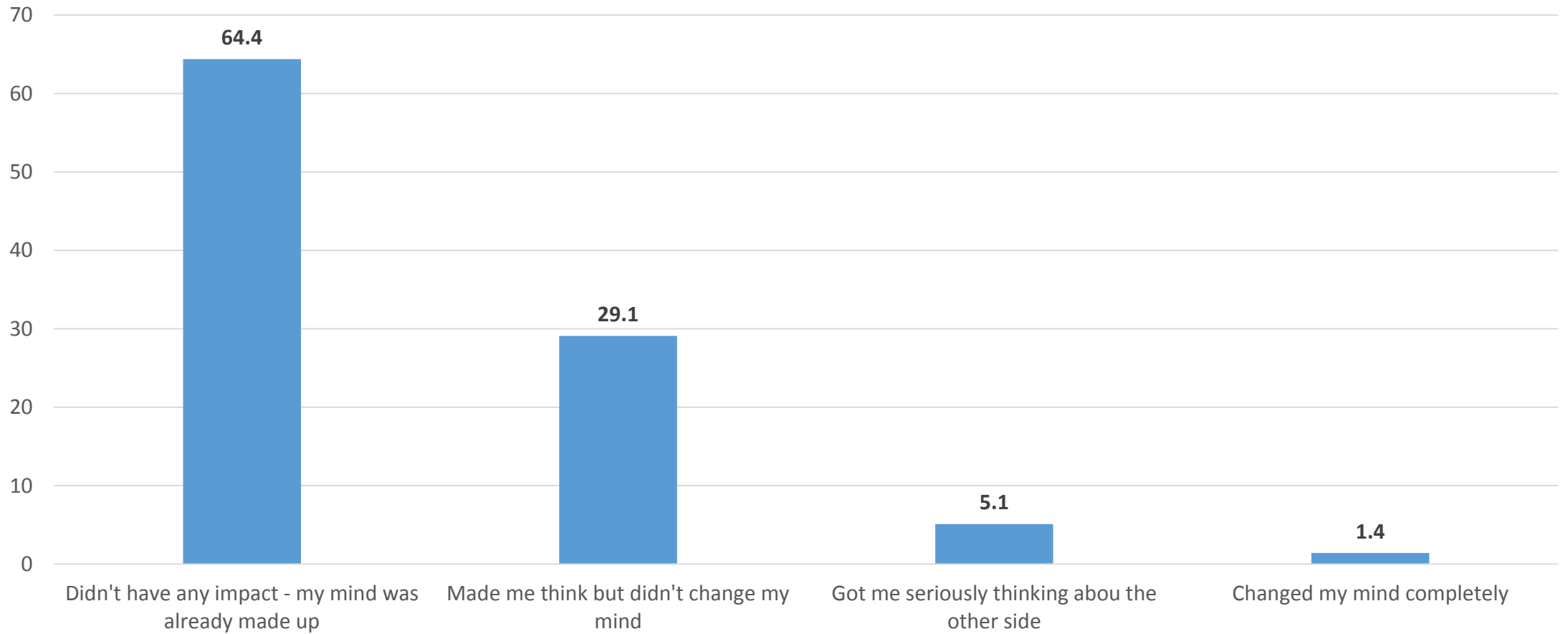




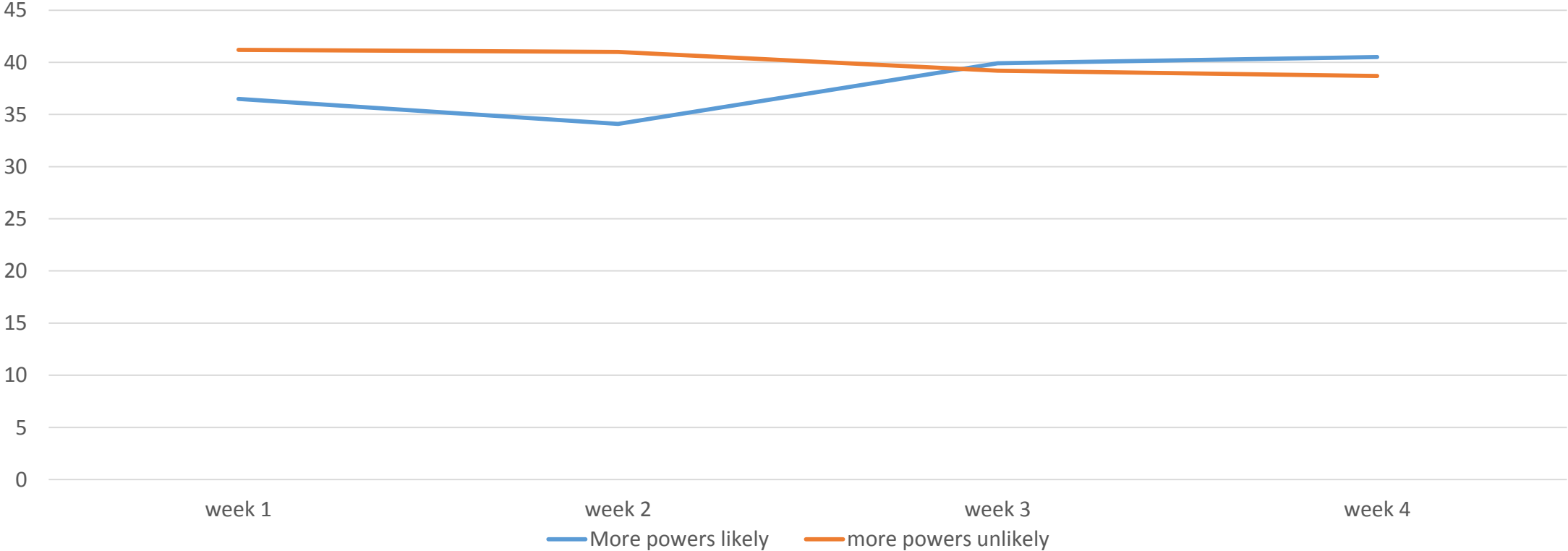
# Vote switching

- Very few in dataset
  - 48 from Yes to No
  - 45 from No to Yes

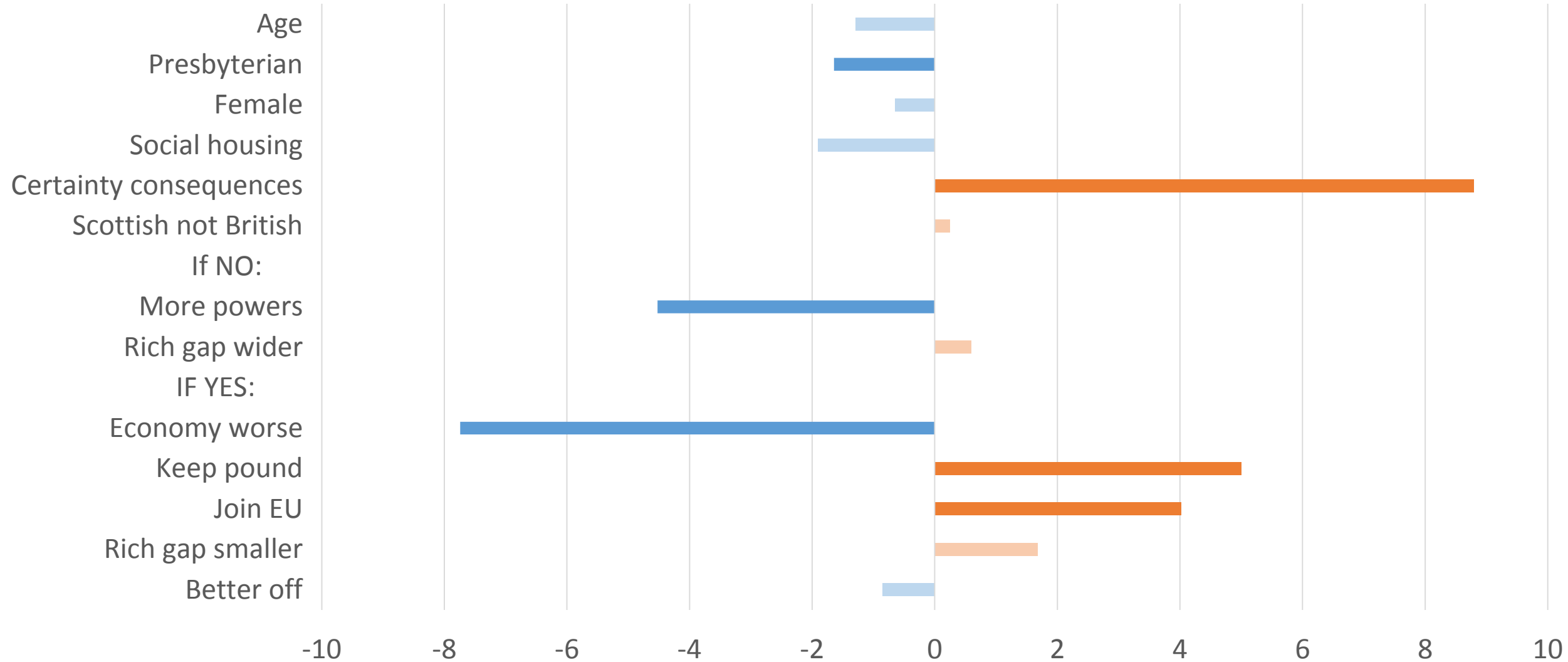
# Impact of the debates



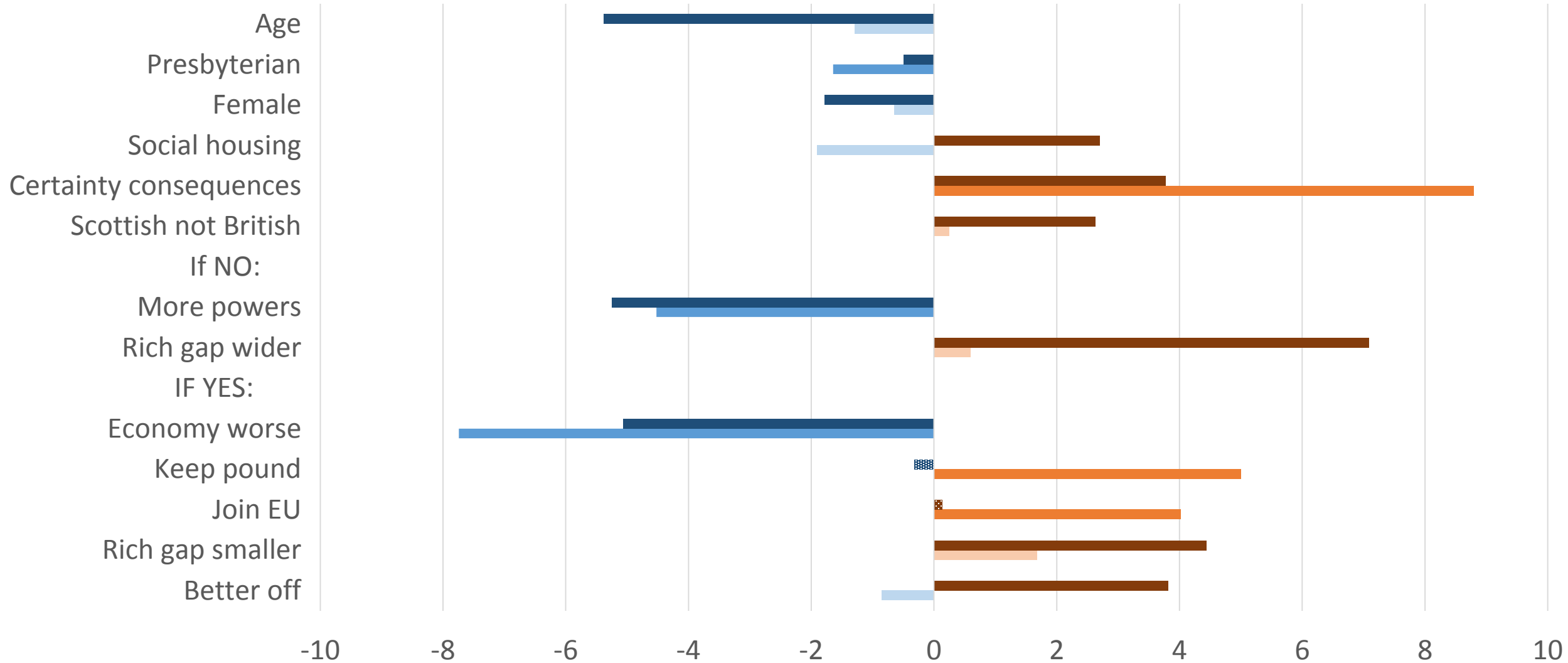
# The Vow: More likely to expect further devolution?



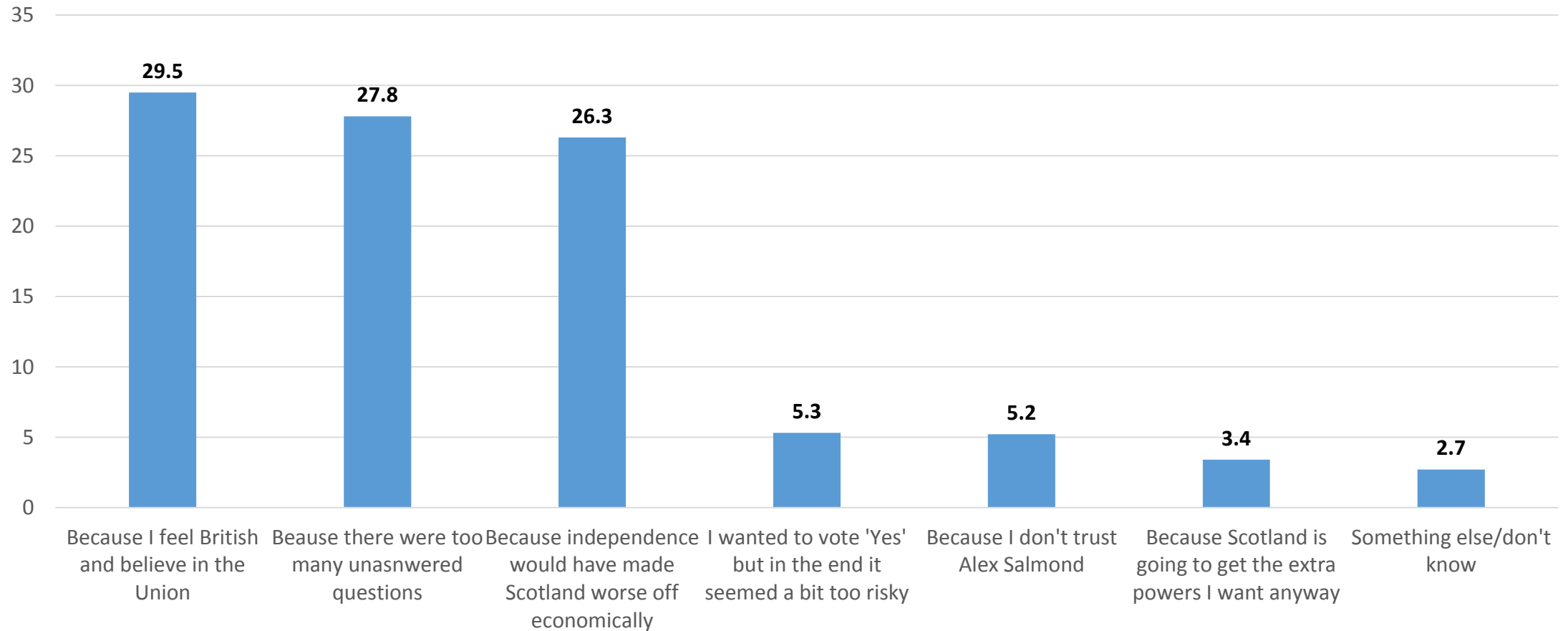
# Impact of campaign on vote choice (SRS week 1)



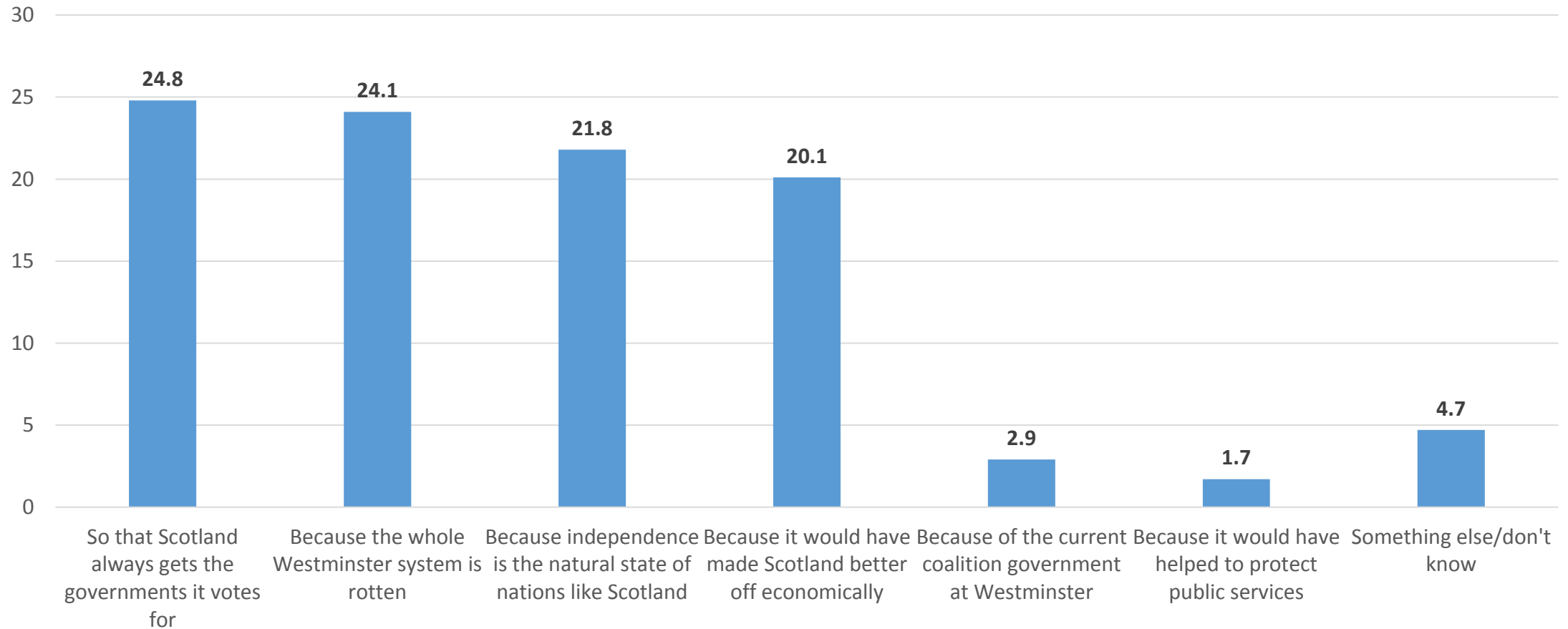
# Impact of campaign on vote choice (SRS weeks 1 & 4)



# Stated reasons for voting No (SRS w2 n=421)



# Stated reasons for voting Yes (SRS w2, n=389)



# Reasons for switching from No to Yes (SRS w2, n=40)

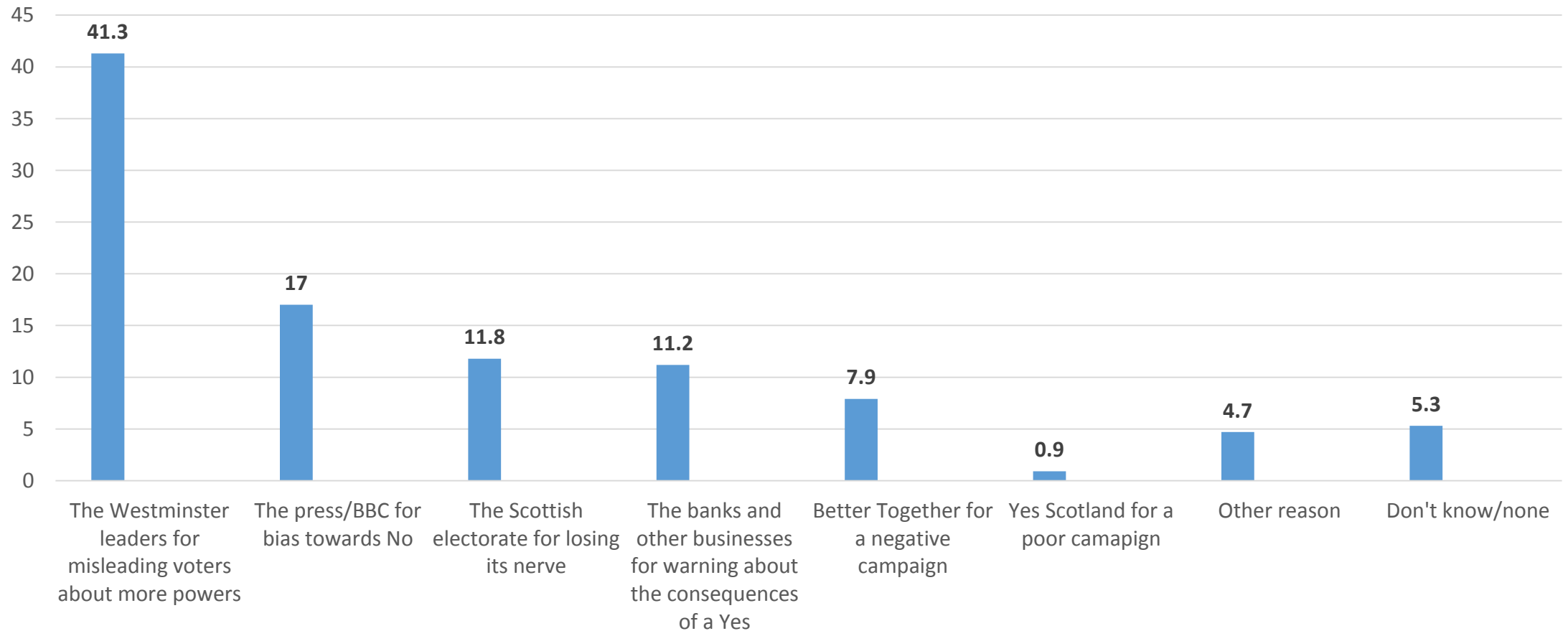
- Anything to do with lack of trust in Westminster/Tories/UKIP 44%
  - “I do not trust Westminster (and I’m English)”
  - “The last minute promises that came from Westminster didn’t sit well with me and I feel it was unconstitutional to change the goalposts so late in the after a two year campaign”
- Negativity of no side 29%
  - “Scaremongering by No campaign”
- Change/make a difference/social democracy 15%
  - “Once in a lifetime opportunity for me and my family”
- Other 6%



# Reasons for switching from Yes to No (SRS w2, n=41)

- Economic risk/uncertainty 48%
  - “My pension, I wanted to be sure that I was safe”
- Other Risk/uncertainty 18%
  - “Decided was too great a risk. Heart said yes but head said No”
- Promise of more powers 10%
  - “The promise of devo max which is a transition to home rule”
- Alex Salmond/Aggressive nature of Yes campaign 10%
  - “The ‘Yes’ campaign was alarmingly dishonest and aggressive”
- Other 15%

Some voters hold different people responsible for the fact that the Yes side lost the election. What about you? Which of the following do you think is most responsible for the fact that the Yes side lost?

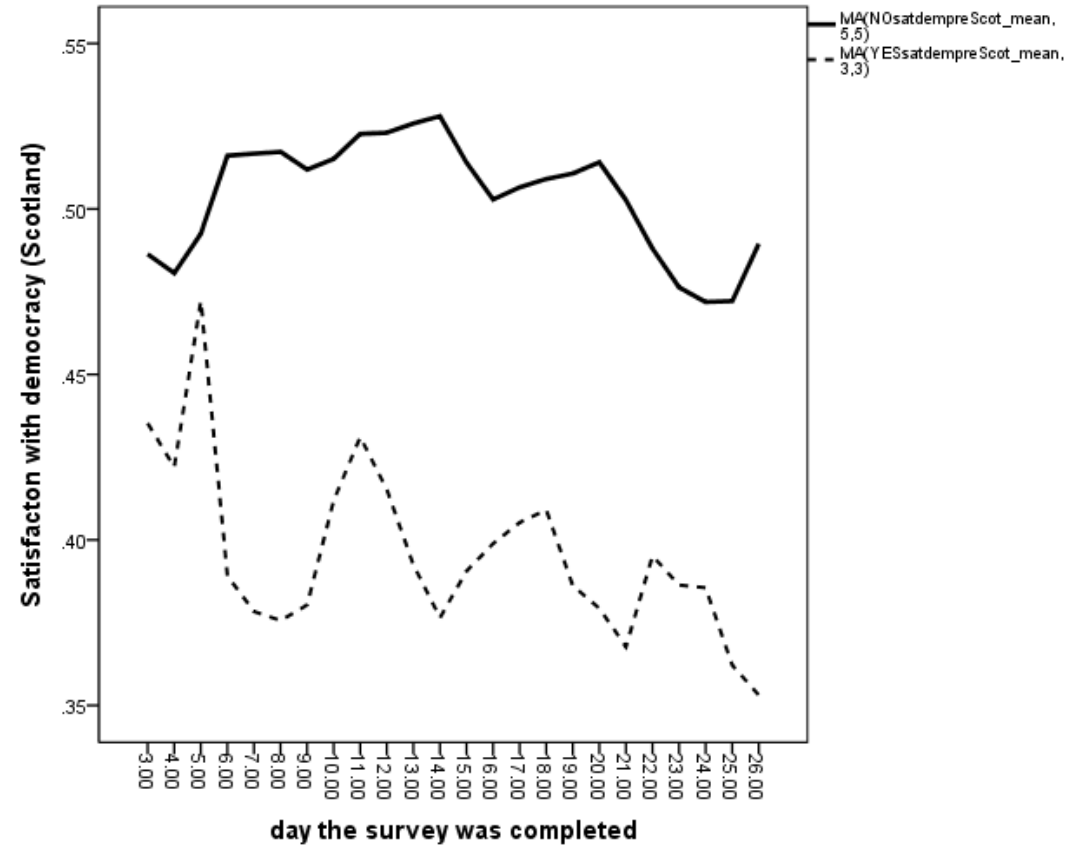


3. What are the implications of the referendum vote for public life?

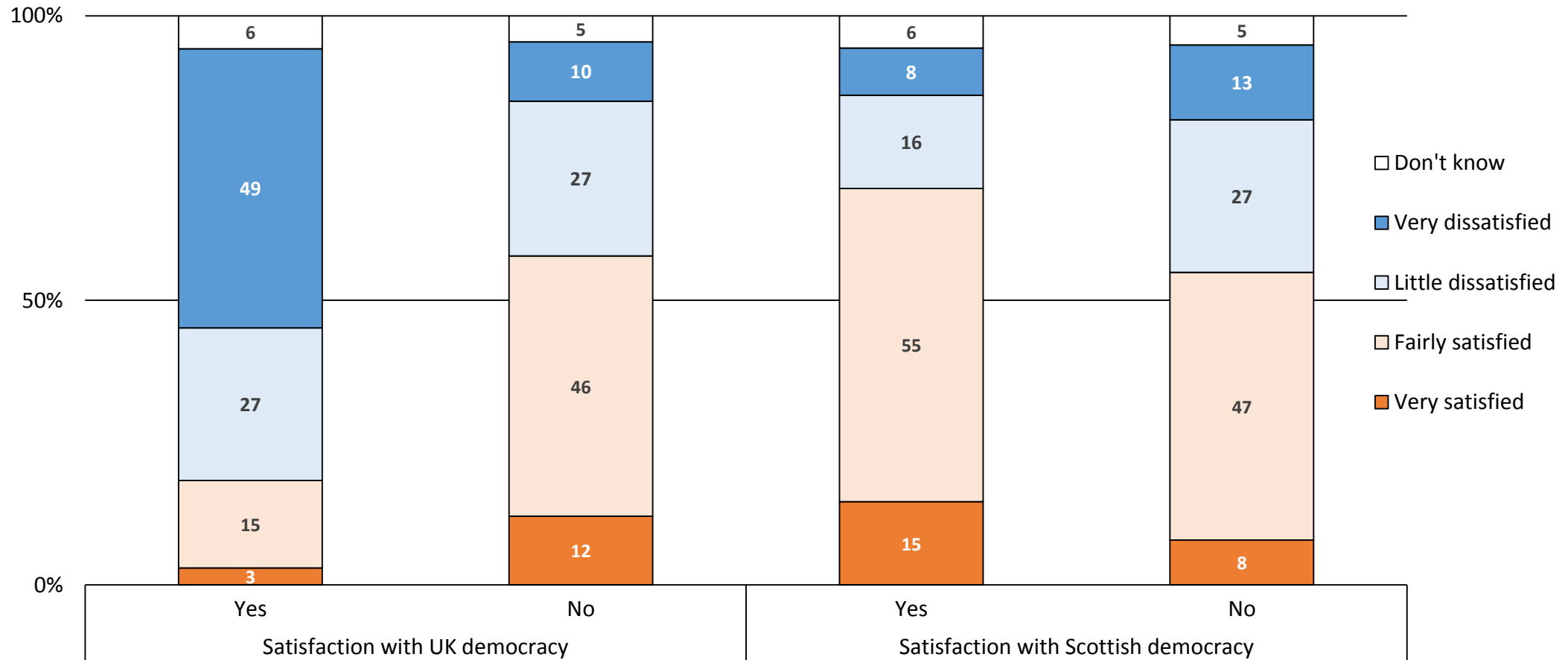
# How might we evaluate the implications?

- Losers' consent
- Elevated levels of public engagement
  - Political interest
  - Political participation

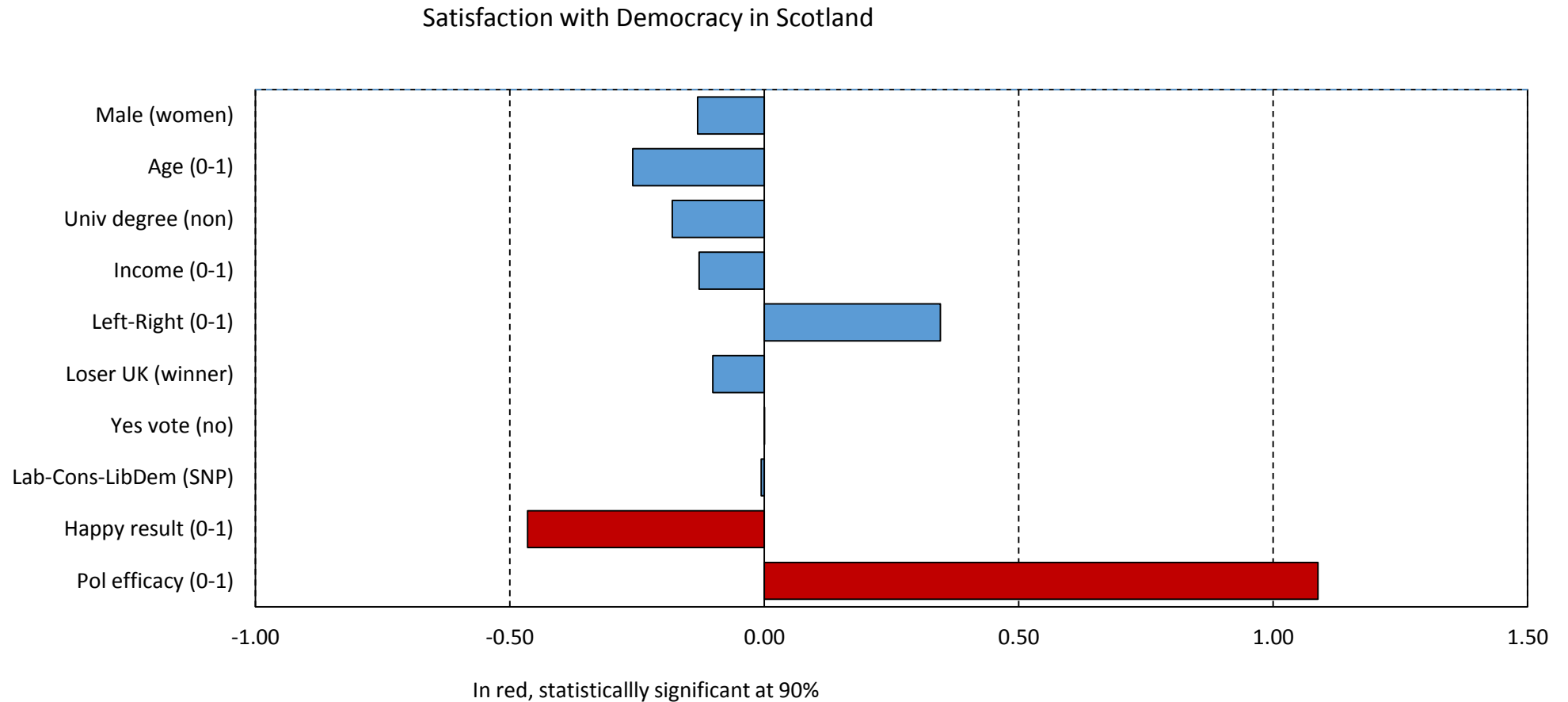
# Losers' consent (3 day rolling average)



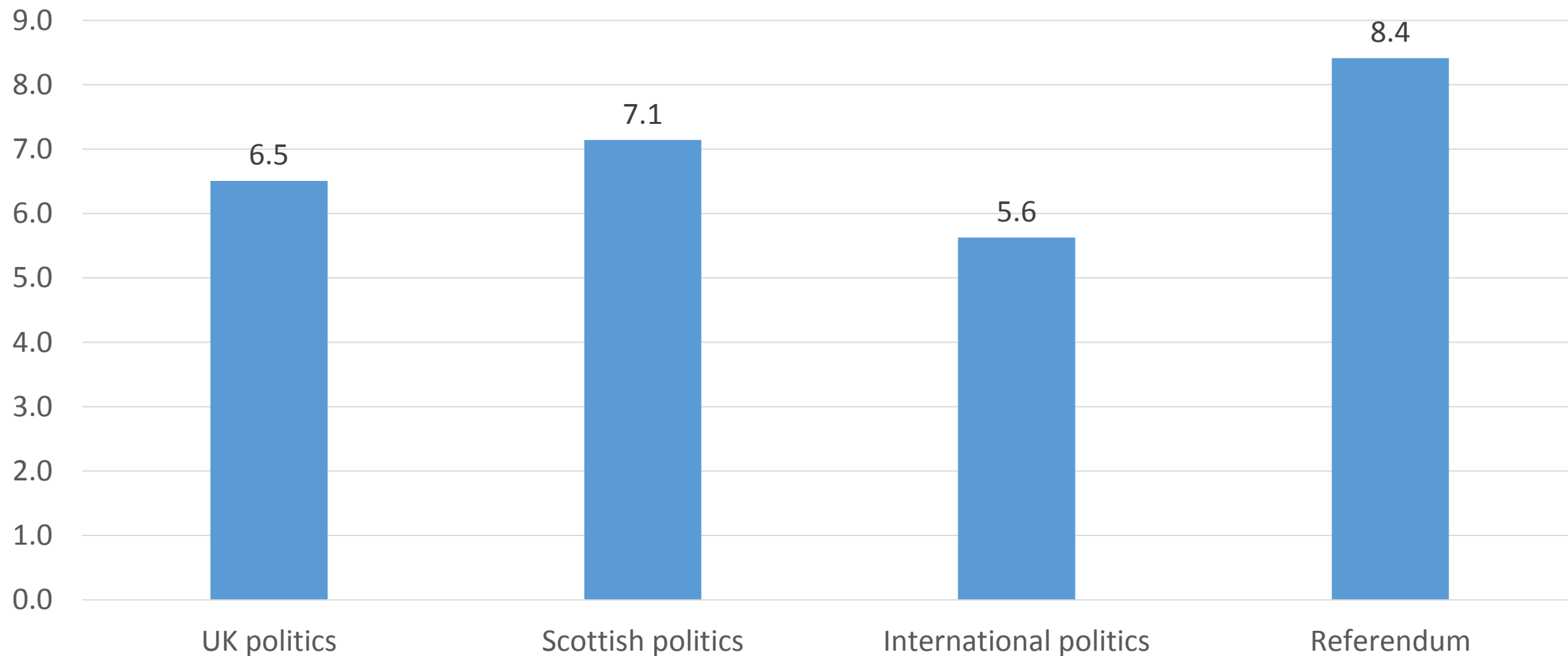
# Losers' consent (II)



# Losers' consent vs winners' consent

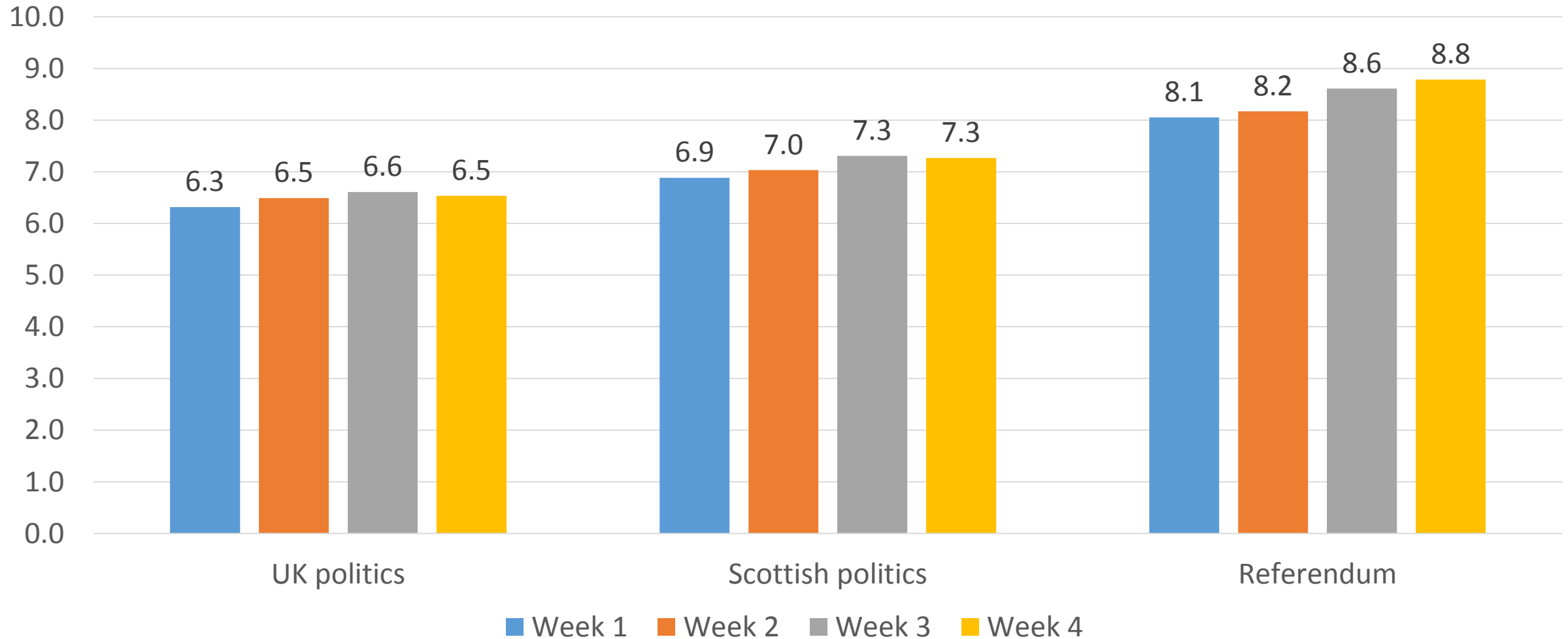


# Political interest (pre referendum)

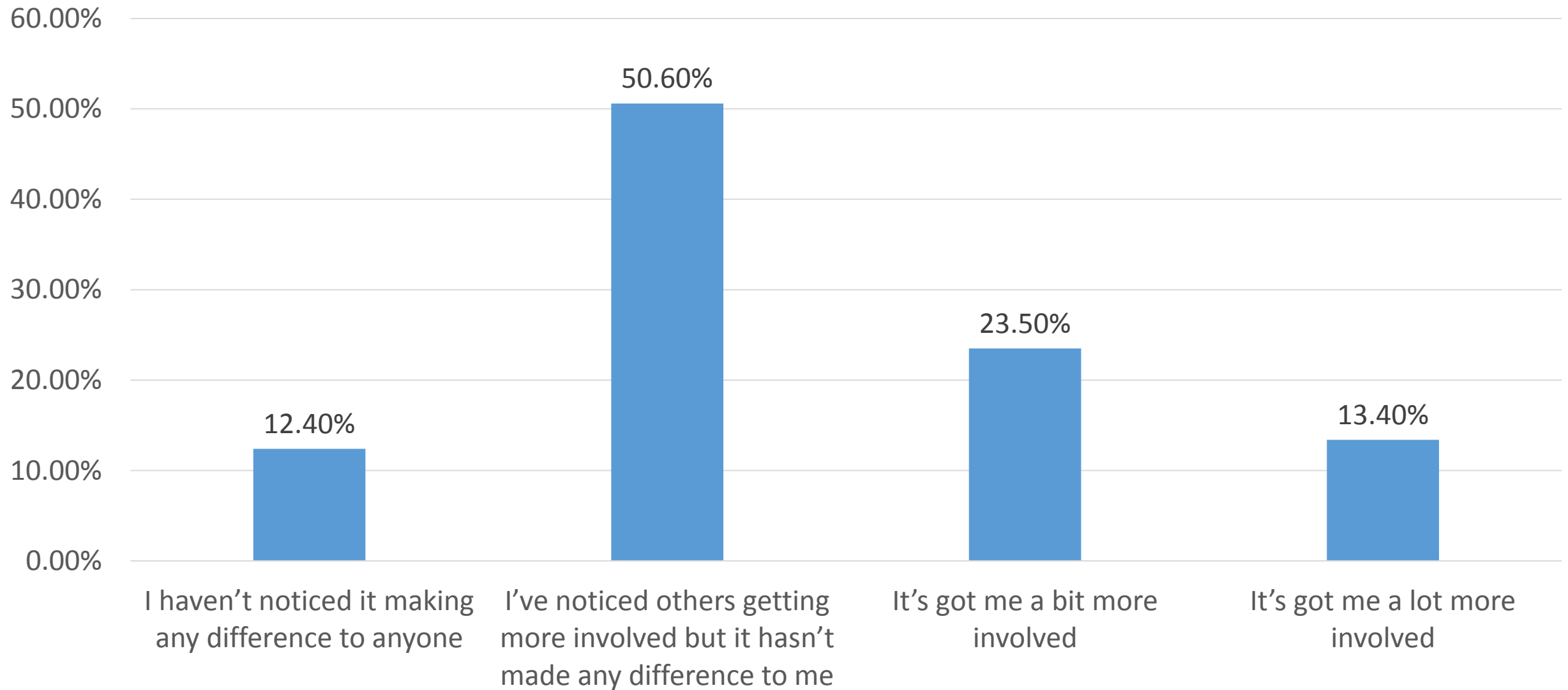




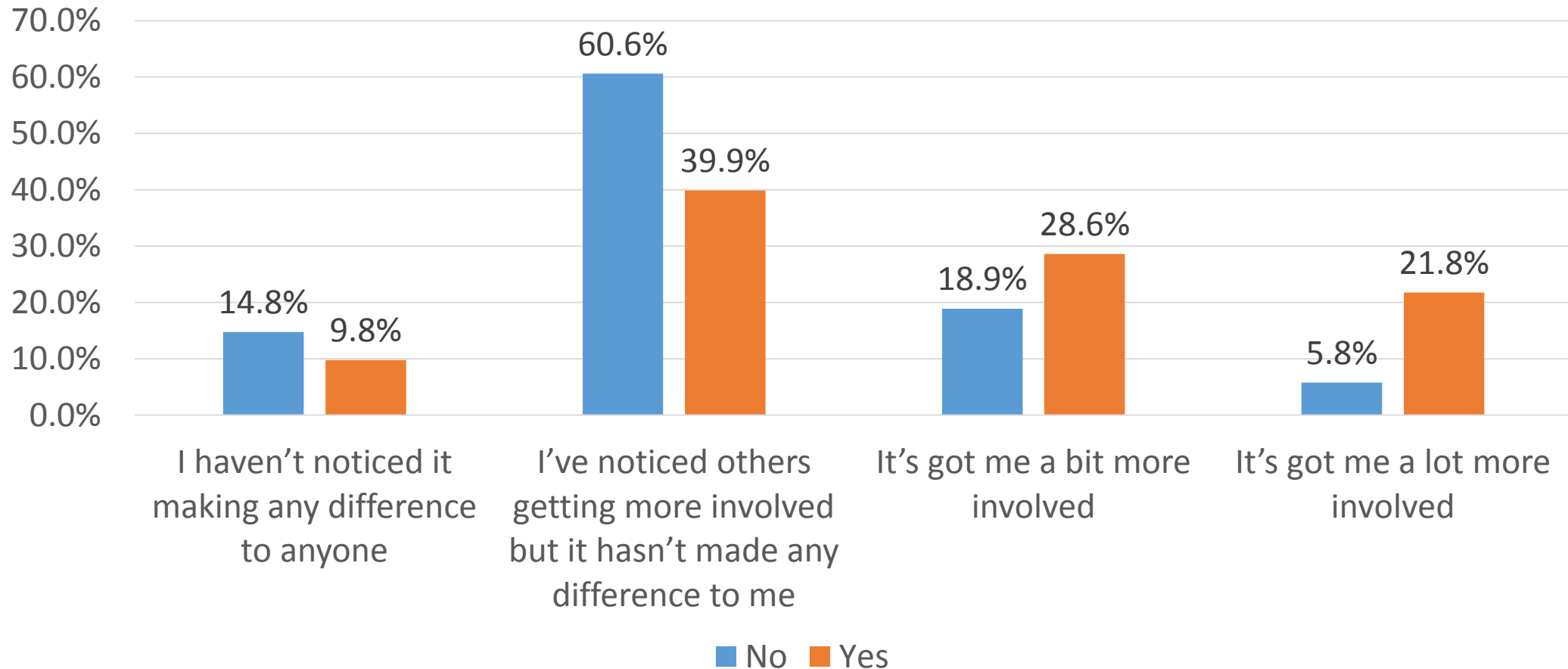
# Levels of political interest over the course of the campaign



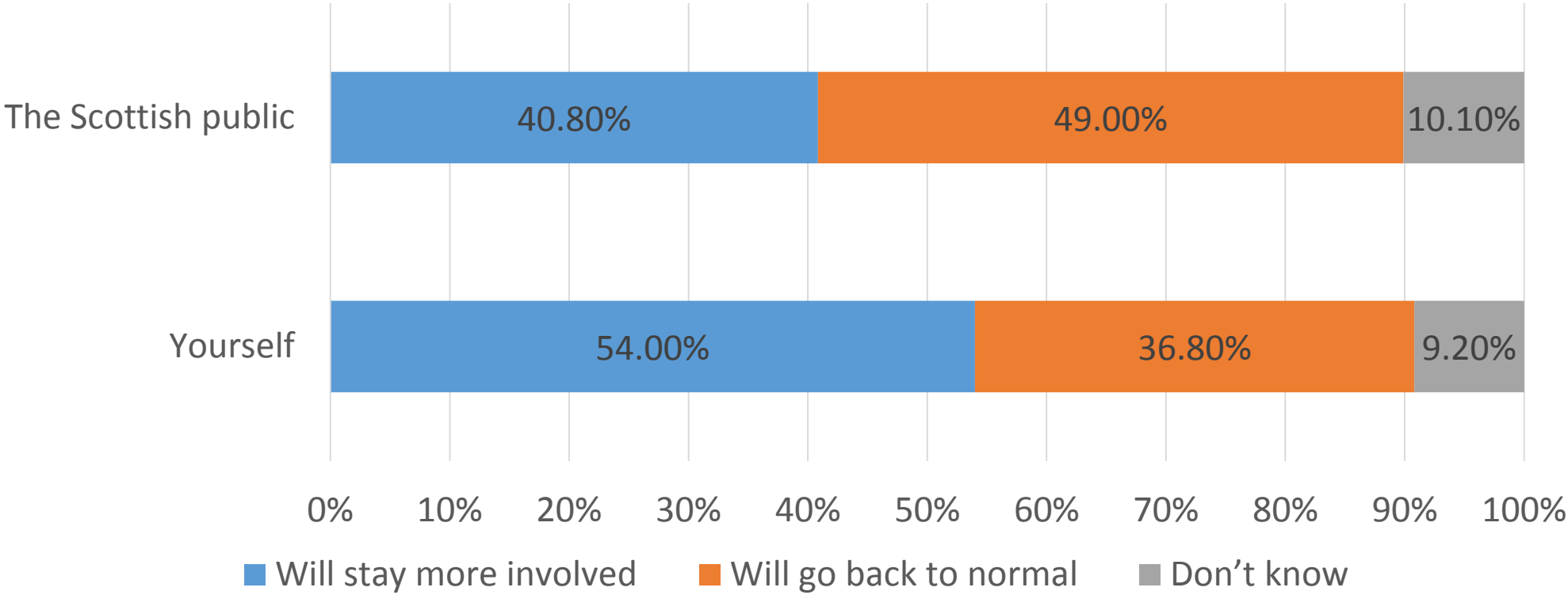
This question is about the effect of the referendum campaign on the Scottish public's involvement and interest in politics. Which of these statements best describes your own situation?



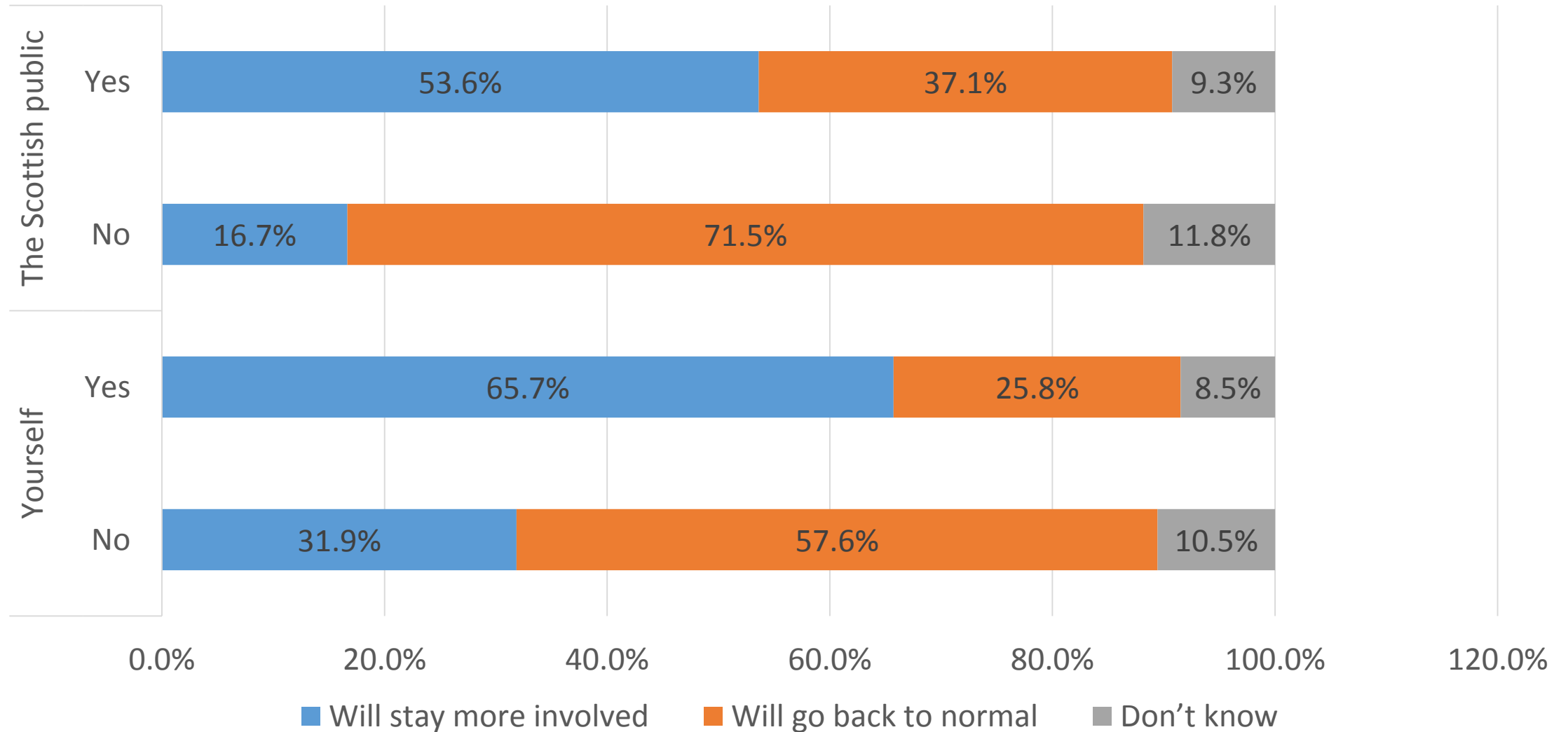
This question is about the effect of the referendum campaign on the Scottish public's involvement and interest in politics. Which of these statements best describes your own situation?



What do you think will happen to levels of political involvement – both your own and in the Scottish public as a whole – once the referendum is over?

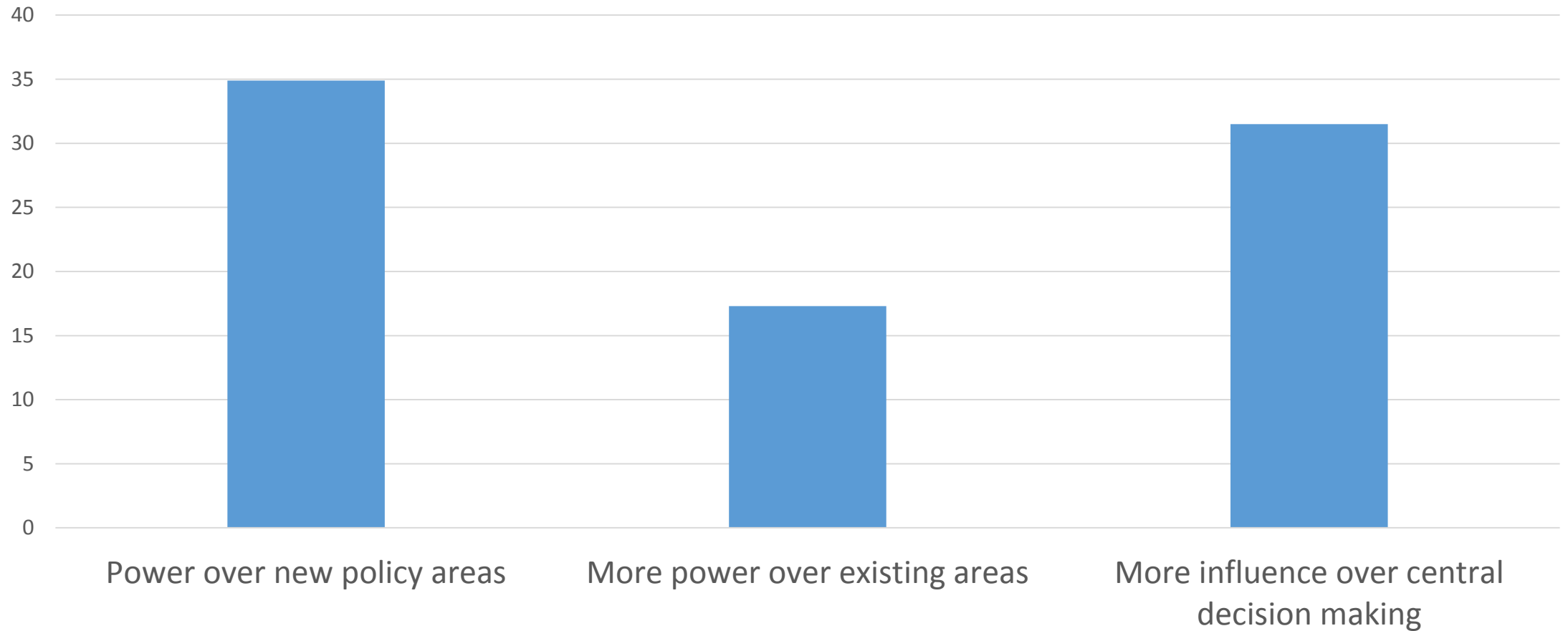


What do you think will happen to levels of political involvement – both your own and in the Scottish public as a whole – once the referendum is over?



Extra data

# What do Scots want?



# SNP membership

