

25 Years of Scottish Devolution: Public Attitudes and Reactions

Sophie Birtwistle and John Curtice Scottish Centre for Social Research

@ScotCen @whatscotsthink natcen.ac.uk/ScotCen whatscotlandthinks.org

Scottish Social Attitudes survey

- High quality (near) annual survey since 1999. Designed to (i) study policy relevant topics in depth (ii) chart attitude change over time.
- Cousin of annual British Social Attitudes survey, which has performed a similar role across GB since 1983. Some questions on the 2 surveys in common affording crossborder comparison.
- 1999-2019: Conducted face-to-face (with self-completion supplement) with random sample of respondents
- 2021: Parallel online panel and phone surveys
- 2023 -: Push to web design

Devolution debates

Strengthen the Union?

 Devolution would show that Scotland's distinctive needs and aspirations could be satisfactorily addressed within the framework of the UK

Or Weaken the Union?

- Establishment of a political symbol of Scotland's distinctiveness would weaken British identity and make independence look feasible
- Creating a policy space distinct from Westminster could result in a divergence of attitudes between Scotland and England.

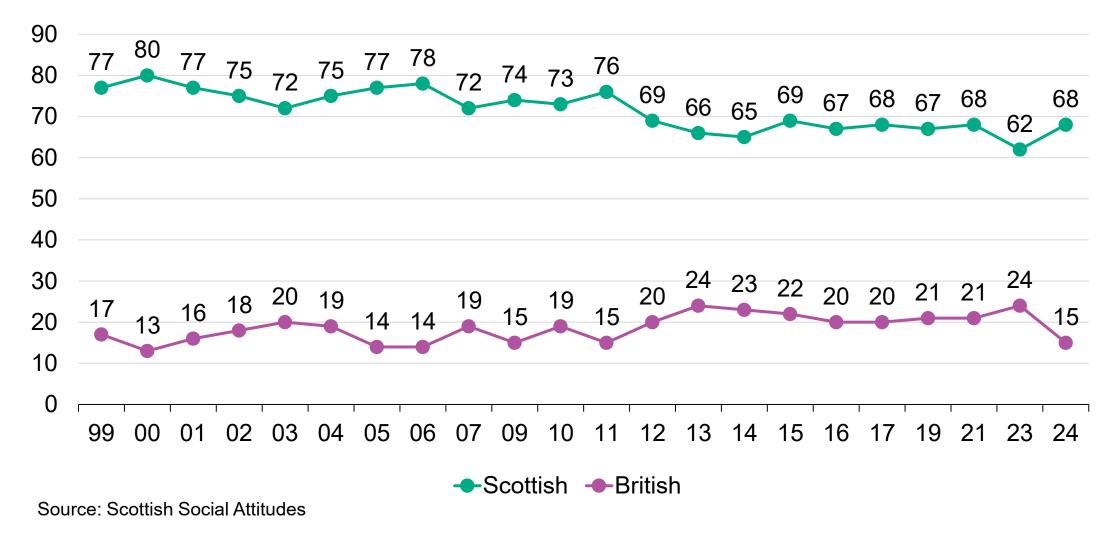
Three parts

Have identities and attitudes diverged?

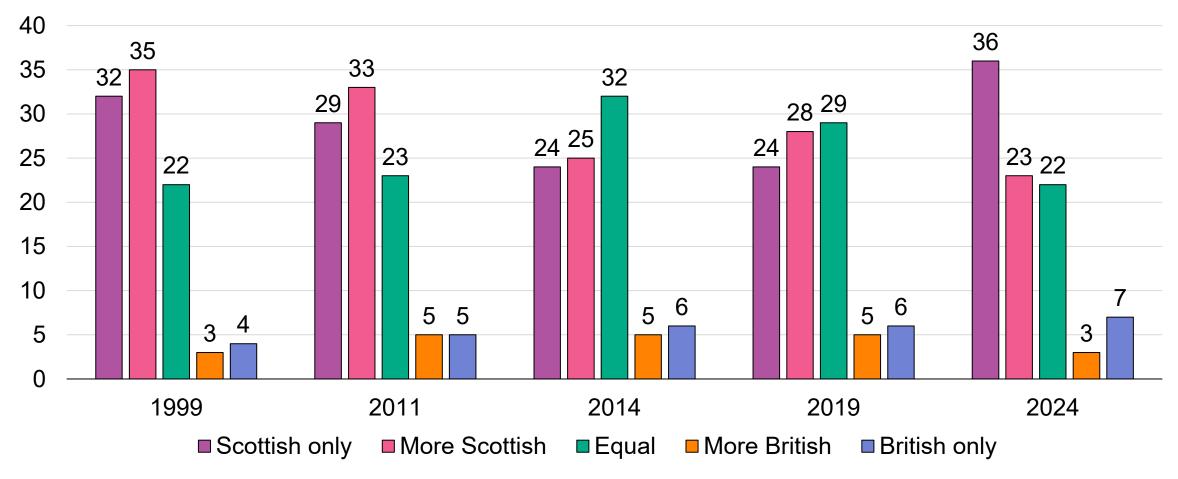
How well is devolution thought to have worked?

What has happened to constitutional preferences?

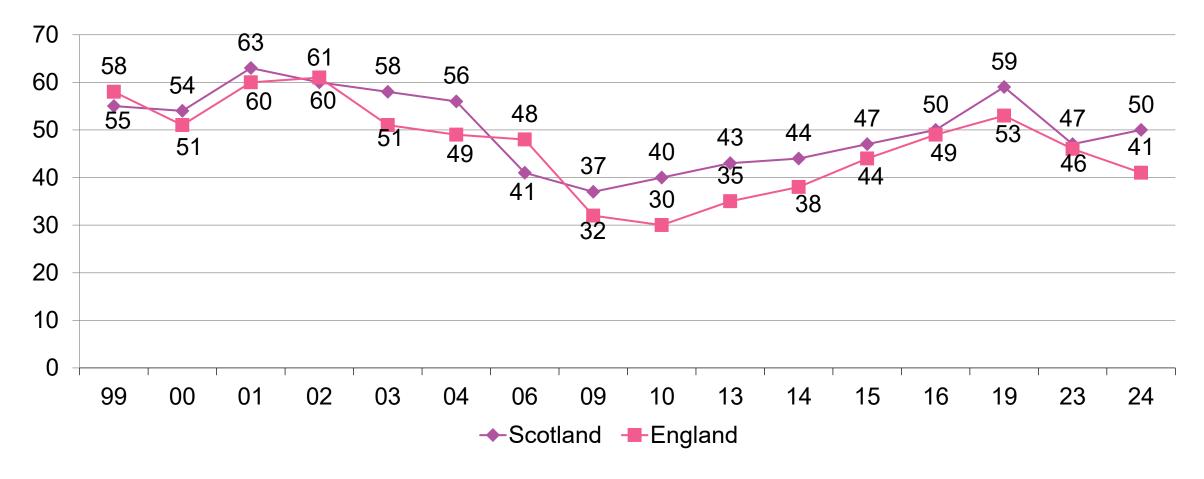
'Forced Choice' National Identity, 1999-2024 (%)



Moreno National Identity (selected years) (%)

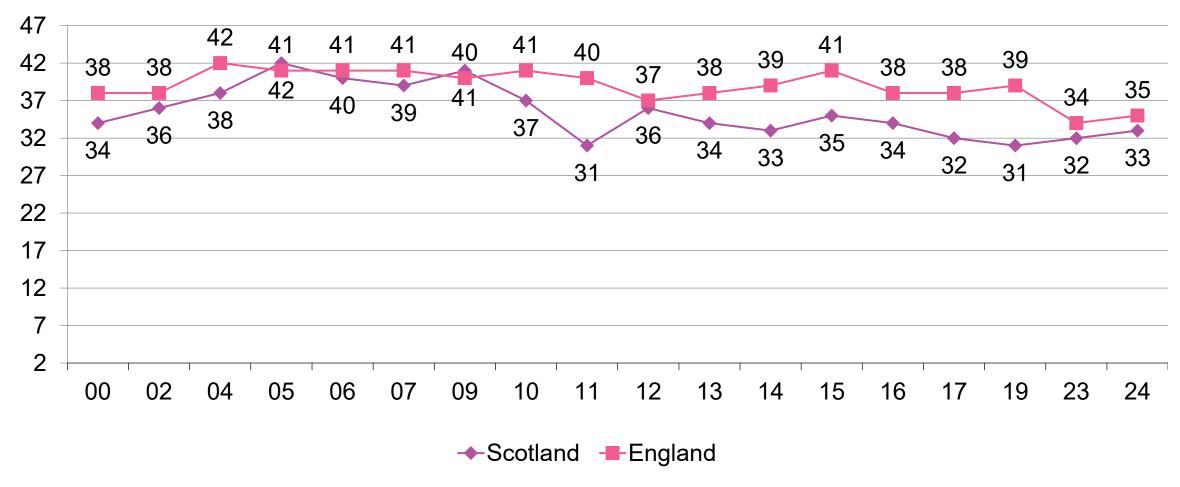


More tax and spend? (%)



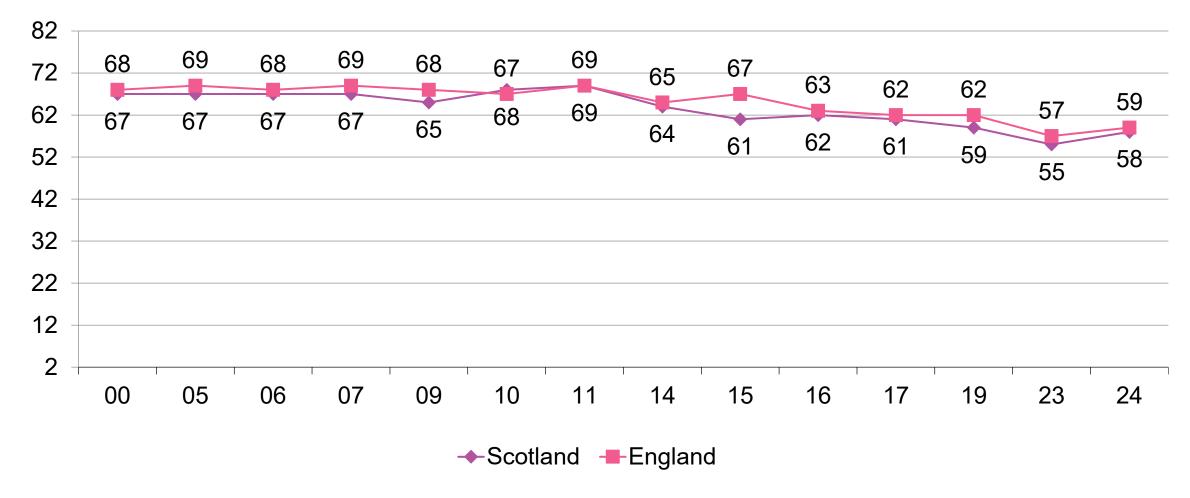
Source: Scottish and British Social Attitudes

Trend in Left-Right scale measure (%)



Source: British and Scottish Social Attitudes. Higher score = more right-wing

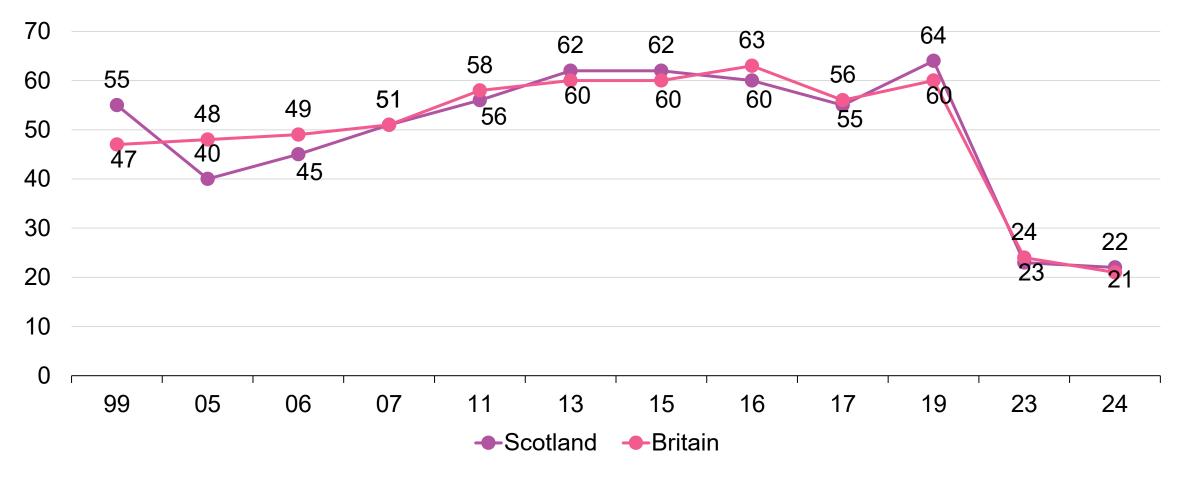
Trend on Libertarian-Authoritarian scale measure (%)



Source: British and Scottish Social Attitudes. Higher score = more authoritarian

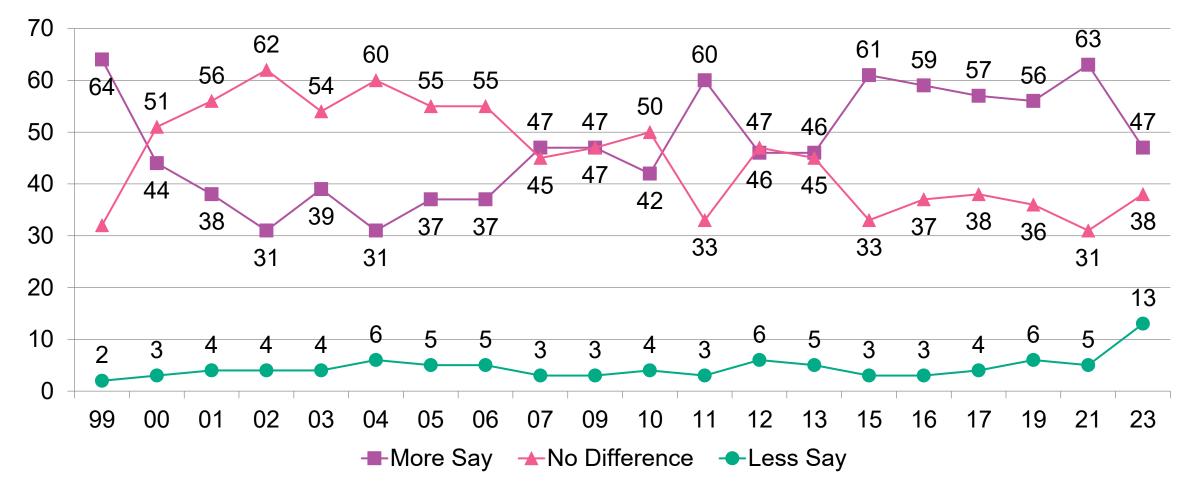
Satisfaction with NHS (%)

% satisfied with the NHS



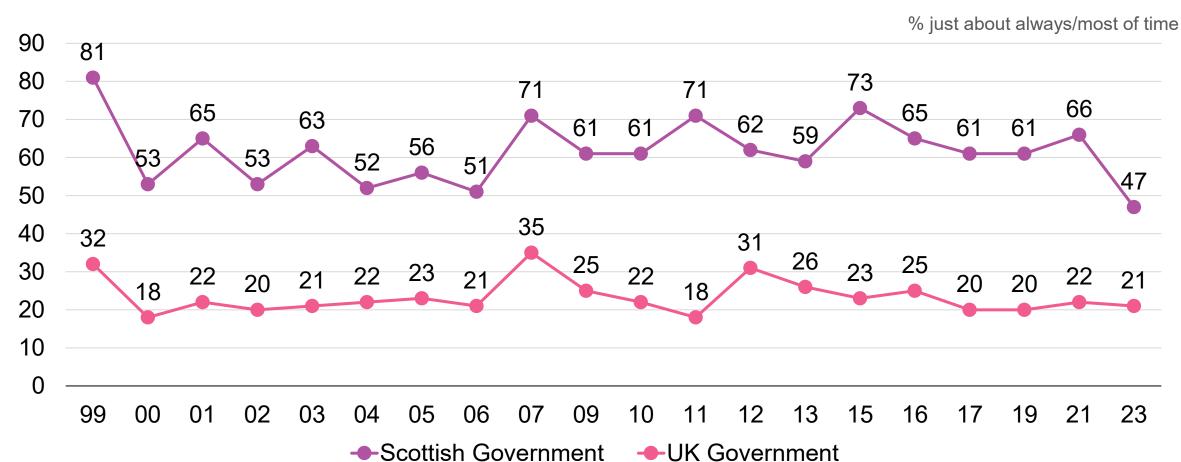
Source: Scottish and British Social Attitudes

Holyrood giving ordinary people more say? (%)



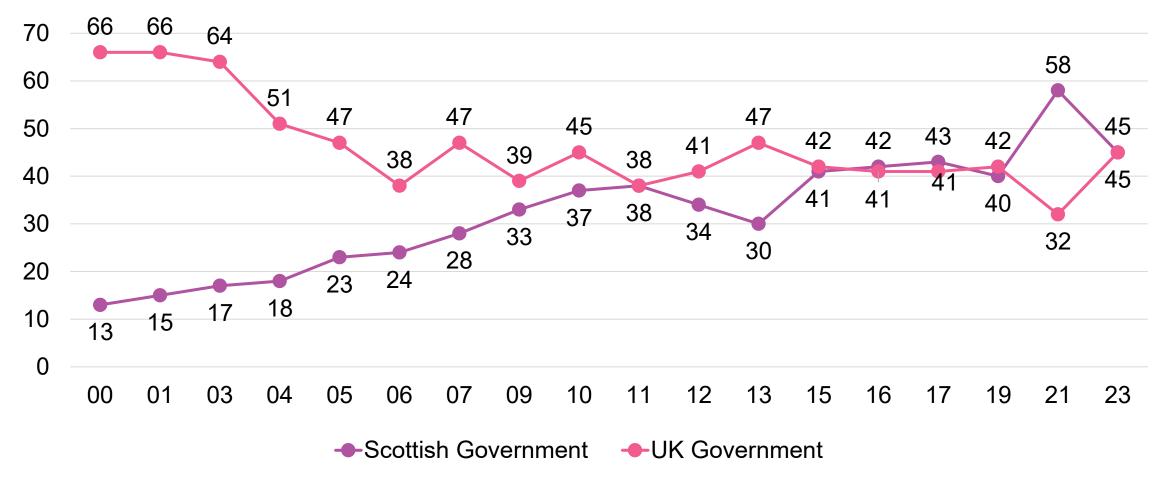
Source: Scottish Social Attitudes. In 1999 question asked whether having a SP will...

Trust to work in Scotland's best interests (%)



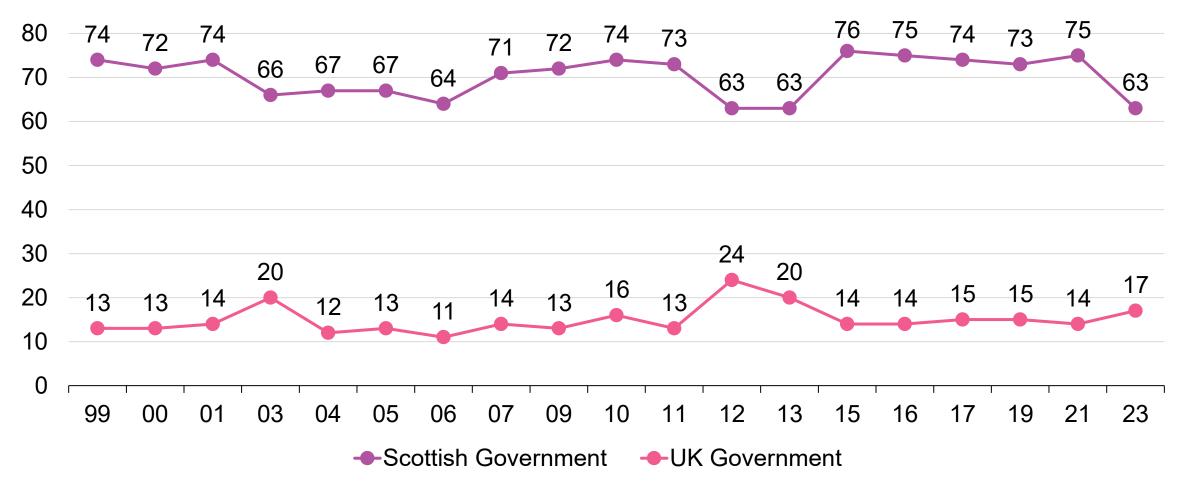
Source: Scottish Social Attitudes. 1999-2003: question asked of Scottish Parliament. 2004: half SP, half Scottish Government. 2005-23: question asked of Scottish Government

Who has most influence in Scotland? (%)



Source: Scottish Social Attitudes. 1999-2003: question asked of Scottish Parliament. 2004: half SP, half Scottish Government. 2005-23: question asked of Scottish Government

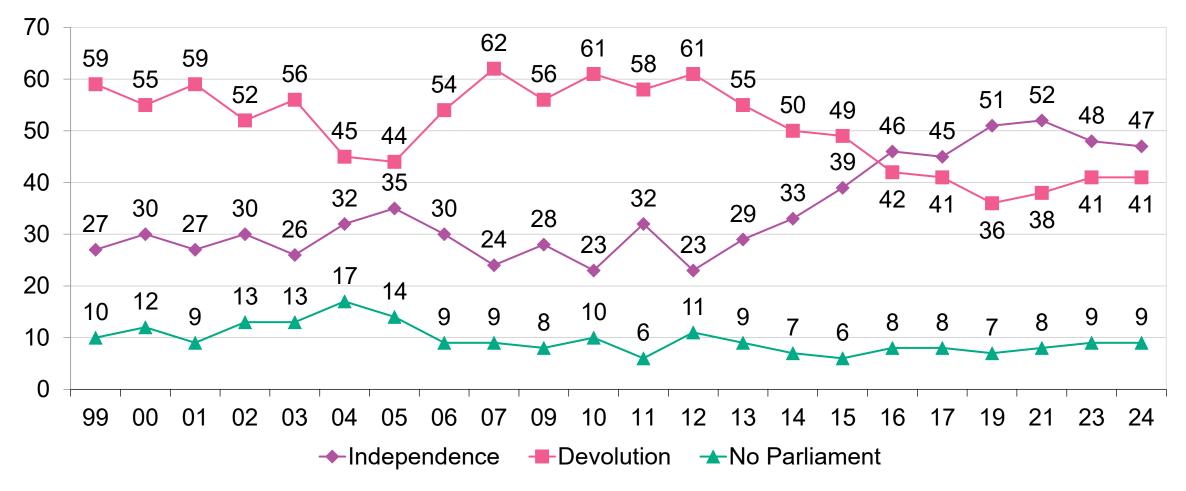
Who ought to have most influence in Scotland? (%)



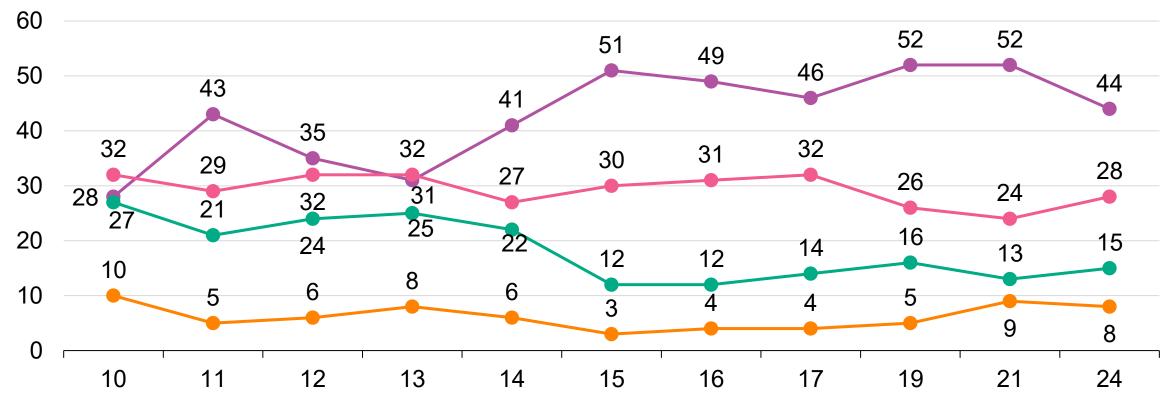
SSA's long standing constitutional preference question

- Which of these statements comes closest to your view?
- Scotland should become independent, separate from the UK and the European Union
- Scotland should become independent, separate from the UK but part of the European Union
- Scotland should remain part of the UK, with its own elected parliament which has some taxation powers
- Scotland should remain part of the UK, with its own elected parliament which has no taxation powers
- Scotland should remain part of the UK without an elected parliament

How Scotland would like to be governed (%)



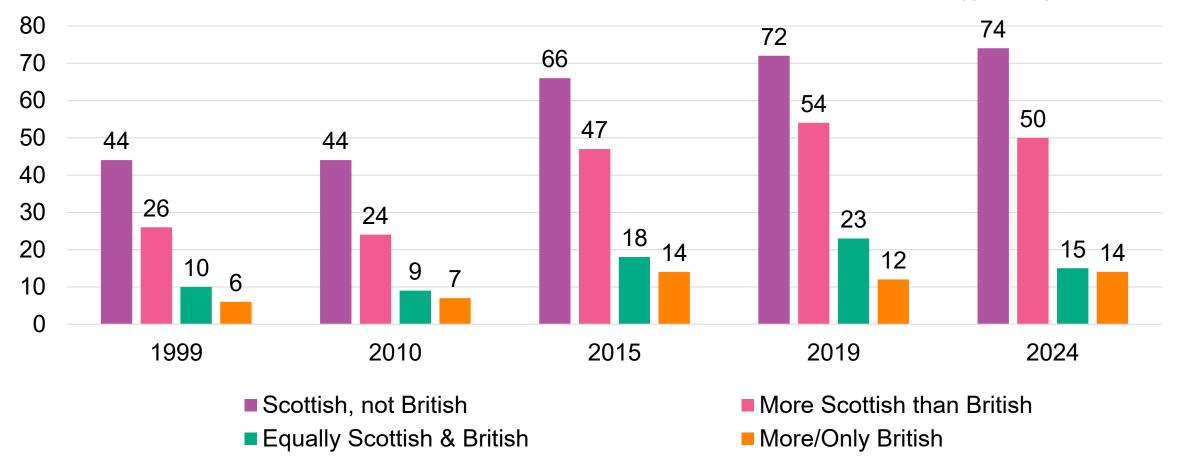
Who should make which decisions? (%)



- Scottish Parliament should make all the decisions
- All decisions except Foreign Affairs and Defence
- → All except Foreign Affairs, Defence, Tax and Welfare
- UK Government should make all decisions

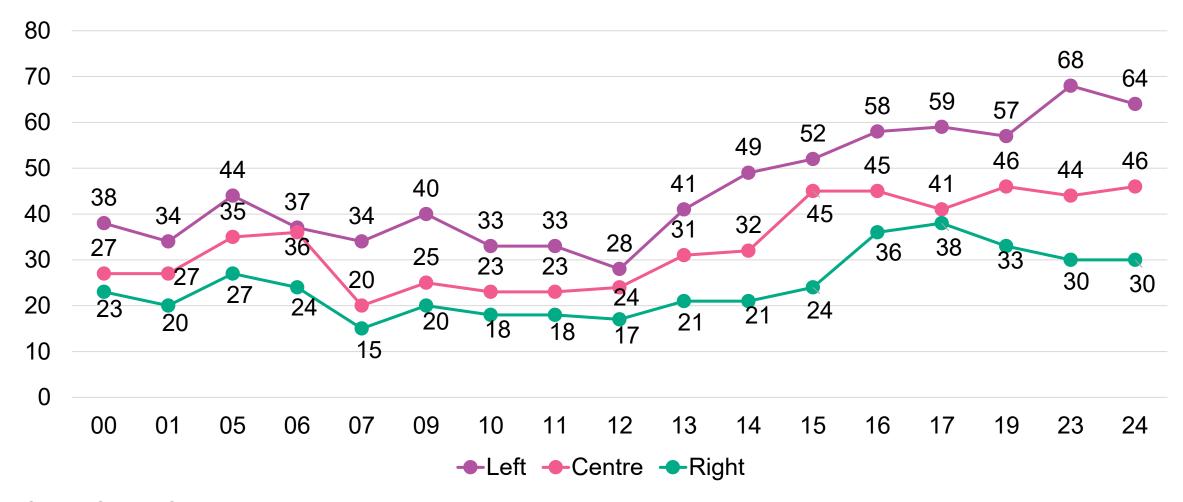
A strengthened link with Scottish Identity

% support independence

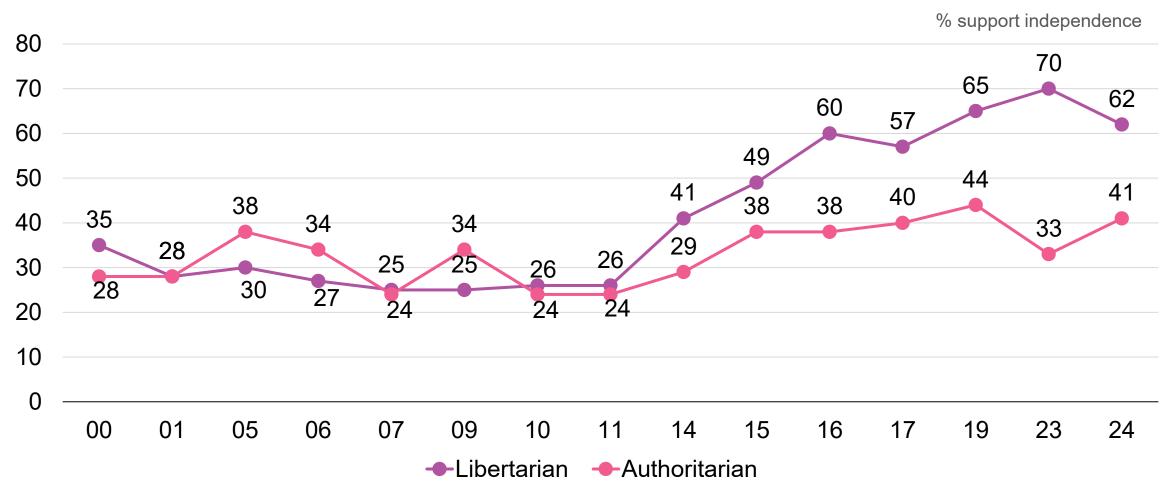


A widened gap between Left and Right

% support independence

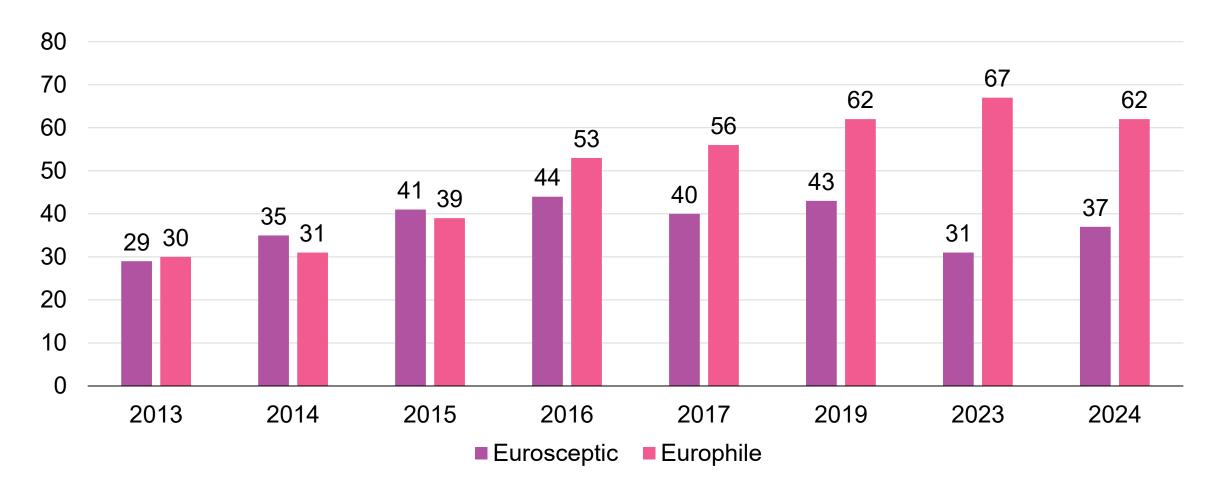


And a new one between Libertarians and Authoritarians



In the wake of Brexit

% support independence



Conclusion

- Scotland's identity and values have not diverged (further) from the rest of Britain
- Public perceptions of devolution have largely improved over then last 25 years
- But there has been a persistent gap between desired and perceived level of influence
- Support for independence is consistently higher now than in the early days of devolution – a legacy largely of the 2014 referendum
- Identity and values are now more significantly related to attitudes towards independence, making it a more polarising issue