



The Scottish
Government

Scottish Social Attitudes Survey 2011:
Core Module - Attitudes to Government, The
Economy and Public Services In Scotland

Public Services and Government



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SCOTTISH SOCIAL ATTITUDES SURVEY 2011
CORE MODULE:
**ATTITUDES TO GOVERNMENT, THE ECONOMY
AND PUBLIC SERVICES IN SCOTLAND**

Rachel Ormston & Susan Reid
ScotCen Social Research

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Responsibility for the opinions expressed in this report, and for all interpretation of the data, lies solely with the authors.

Rachel Ormston & Susan Reid

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

1. This report presents findings from the *Scottish Social Attitudes (SSA)* survey on three key questions:
 - How have attitudes to government, public services, the economy and living standards changed over time?
 - Who held more positive views on these issues in 2011 (and how did this compare with 2010)?
 - Who do people think should be responsible for providing and funding particular public services?
2. It uses SSA data from 1999 onwards to explore changing attitudes to government, the economy and public services. The latest data included in this report were collected between June and September 2011 (i.e. in the months after the 2011 Scottish Parliament elections).

Changing attitudes to government

3. Attitudes towards the Scottish Government and Scottish Parliament were significantly more positive in 2011 compared with 2010 across a wide range of measures:
 - More people said they trusted the Scottish Government ‘just about always’ or ‘most of the time’ to act in Scotland’s best interests (61% in 2010, 71% in 2011)
 - More trusted the Scottish Government ‘a great deal’ or ‘quite a lot’ to make fair decisions (35% in 2010, 46% in 2011)
 - People were more likely to say the Scottish Government was ‘very’ or ‘quite good’ at listening to people’s views before taking decisions (45% in 2010, 56% in 2011)
 - The proportion who felt having a Scottish Parliament gives ordinary people more say in how Scotland is governed increased from 42% in 2010 to 60% in 2011
 - Similarly, people were more likely to feel the Scottish Parliament strengthened Scotland’s voice in the UK (49% in 2010, 69% in 2011).
4. People were also comparatively more aware of the activities of the Scottish Government – 49% said they had heard ‘a great deal’ or ‘quite a lot’ about these in the last 12 months, compared with 38% who said the same in 2010.
5. Attitudes to the UK Government remained more negative than views of the Scottish Government. For example, while 71% trusted the Scottish Government to act in Scotland’s interests ‘just about always’ or most of the time, just 18% said the same of the UK Government.
6. Previous evidence from both the Scottish and British Social Attitudes surveys have shown that public views of government are often more positive in election years – an ‘election bounce’. However, the size of some of the increases in positive attitudes between 2010 and 2011 was particularly marked. Perceptions

of the Parliament in particular for the first time almost matched the (very high) expectations for the Parliament recorded in the 1999 survey.

How do attitudes vary?

7. Those most likely to express positive views about the Scottish Government and Parliament in 2011 included: men; graduates; readers of broadsheet newspapers; people with 'a great deal' or 'quite a lot' of interest in politics; those who identify with the SNP; and those who favour more powers for the Scottish Parliament.
8. In contrast with the Scottish population as a whole, only a minority of those who did not identify with any political party or who had 'not very much' or no interest in politics expressed positive views about the Scottish Government and Parliament. Moreover, these groups were less likely than party identifiers and the politically interested to have become more positive since 2010, suggesting that those who are least engaged with politics are less likely to be included in any 'election bounce' in public opinion.
9. Groups whose views shifted most between 2010 and 2011 included men, the politically interested and tabloid readers. In terms of party political identification, although SNP identifiers were significantly more positive in 2011 compared with 2010, the views of Labour and Conservative supporters also shifted. An 'election bounce' in perceptions of government in Scotland was thus apparent across the political spectrum.

Changing views of the economy and living standards

10. The 2011 SSA survey took place against a backdrop of ongoing economic austerity and public sector budget restraint. This was reflected in people's priorities for government and their views of the economy and standard of living. 'Helping the economy to grow faster' remained the most commonly chosen priority for the Scottish Government for the third occasion in a row (chosen by 36%, in comparison to 17% who chose the next most popular option, 'cut crime'). Views of the economy were slightly more positive than they were in 2010. However, the balance of opinion remained very negative, with 57% saying they felt Scotland's economy had got weaker in the 12 months prior to the survey. Meanwhile, perceptions of the general standard of living in Scotland were even more negative in 2011 compared with 2010 – 67% felt that the standard of living had fallen in the last year, compared with 54% who said the same in 2010.
11. However, the SSA survey again indicates that these negative perceptions of the economy and the general standard of living have not been associated with a significant decrease in people's assessments of their own standard of living or their satisfaction with their lives as a whole. In 2011, the mean score for people's satisfaction with their own standard of living was 7.75 (out of a possible 10) – little different from the mean score of 7.79 recorded in 2007. While this may seem paradoxical, it links with existing research which suggests that subjective assessments of our own lives are primarily affected by *relative* rather than absolute living standards. In other words, if people believe living standards have fallen across Scotland they may still be relatively satisfied with their own.

Nevertheless, there remain significant differences in people's perceptions of their own standard of living by employment status, income and self-rated hardship. Those who are unemployed, permanently sick or disabled, on low incomes, or who feel they are struggling on their current income were all less satisfied with their standard of living in comparison with other groups.

Changing views of standards in public services

12. In 2011, the most common view of standards in the health service, education and public transport in Scotland was that they had stayed the same in the last 12 months. A minority (31% for health, 26% for education and 21% for transport) felt standards had fallen, while around 1 in 5 in each case felt standards were increasing.
13. Over half (56%) were 'very or 'quite' satisfied with the way the NHS was run. In contrast, just 22% felt standards in the health service had improved over the last 12 months. Even among those who felt standards had fallen in the last year, a quarter (27%) were nonetheless satisfied with NHS performance overall. Satisfaction with the NHS in Scotland has been gradually increasing since 2005 (from 40% in 2005 to 56% in 2011). This may suggest that people are basing their responses to these two questions on rather different considerations. For example, perhaps people are more likely to draw on personal experience of specific services in assessing their overall satisfaction, while perceptions of standards may be more influenced by other factors, like media coverage.

Changing views of responsibility and influence

14. The proportion of people in Scotland who think the Scottish Government is the body with most influence over how Scotland is run continues to lag behind the proportion that think it *ought* to have most influence (38% compared with 73%). However, there has been a steady increase in the proportion saying the Scottish Government has most influence, from 13% in 2000 to 38% in 2011.
15. In terms of where people attribute responsibility for the performance of specific public services, the public remains divided over whether the performance of the health service reflects UK Government policies (31%) or Scottish Government policies (31%). In contrast, since 2004/2005 more people have attributed standards in education and public transport in Scotland to the Scottish Government than believe these reflect UK Government policies.
16. Perhaps surprisingly, perceptions of who has most influence overall over how Scotland is run and beliefs about who is responsible for the performance of particular public services, the economy and the standard of living do not appear to be particularly closely related. Rather, beliefs about who has most influence over Scotland as a whole appear to be more closely associated with general political beliefs and impressions of the efficacy of the Scottish political institutions in promoting Scotland's interests.
17. The 2011 survey confirms a long-standing pattern showing that the Scottish public tend to 'blame' the UK Government when they believe standards are falling but 'credit' the Scottish Government when they think standards are increasing. In

relation to the economy, this uneven pattern of credit and blame was even more marked in 2011 compared with 2010. 69% of the minority who felt that the economy had improved in the last year attributed this to Scottish Government policies, while 54% of the majority who felt the economy had got weaker felt this was the result of UK Government policy.

Attitudes to providing and funding particular services

18. The need to restructure and maximise value from limited public sector budgets has led to increasing debate across the UK about (a) the potential role of the private and voluntary sector in delivering some public services and (b) areas in which service users might reasonably be expected to make a contribution to the costs of the services they receive (co-payment).
19. The 2011 SSA survey asked people to compare private companies and charities with government providers of care for older people in terms of both cost effectiveness and quality (assuming that such services were free to those who used them either way). The findings show that in comparison with the private sector a majority feel that government would provide both a more cost effective (56%) and a better quality service (60%) for older people who need regular help. In contrast, the public appears to rate third sector service providers more highly than government on both measures – 56% felt charities would provide more cost effective services than government, and 54% that they would provide better quality services.
20. Younger people appear more positively disposed than older people to the relative merits of both private companies and charities as service providers for older people, while those with no educational qualifications were less positive about both. Public sector employees and those who are more politically left-wing in general were more negative about private companies, but not about charities. Graduates and those on higher incomes appear to draw distinctions between the ability of the private sector to deliver more cost effective services and its ability to deliver better quality services for older people, but did not make similar distinctions with respect to charities.
21. The public appears divided on whether personal care for older people ought to be provided free of charge on a universal basis, or whether it should be means tested – 51% thought the government should pay for such care, no matter how much money a person has, but almost as many (46%) felt that who pays should depend on how much money the person has. Those aged 30 and older were more likely than those under 30 to support universal free care, while support for free personal care decreases as people's level of education increases.
22. SSA 2011 also asked people whether they were in favour or against charging people for the cost of meals while in hospital, the cost of school-based musical instrument lessons and the cost of school trips. A majority (76%) were opposed to charging patients for meals. However, opinion on charging parents for school-based activities was more divided – 41% were in favour of charging for individual school-based instrument lessons, while 51% favoured charging parents for the cost of a school trip to a local museum. Views have moved very slightly in favour of charging since these questions were first asked (in 2007).

1 INTRODUCTION

Background and context

- 1.1 2011 was an eventful year in Scottish politics. The Scottish Parliament elections in May saw the SNP form the first majority government in the Parliament's 12 year history, securing 45% of the constituency and 44% of the list vote. The Scottish elections followed the first full year of Conservative/Liberal Democrat coalition government in Westminster, a year in which Scotland's relations with the rest of the UK received increasing attention. The Scotland Bill was published by the UK Government in November 2010, with the aim of devolving further powers to the Scottish Parliament, including additional powers to vary the rate of income tax and powers over stamp duty and landfill taxes. Meanwhile, within the term of the current parliament the SNP will hold a referendum on whether or not people in Scotland would like the Scottish Government to negotiate for Scotland to become an independent country. Thus while it remains unclear exactly how Scotland's relationship to the rest of the UK will develop over the next four years, it was clear by mid-2011 that this relationship would change.
- 1.2 These political developments took place against a background of ongoing economic austerity, uncertainty and public sector budget constraint. Scotland and the rest of the UK officially exited recession in late 2009,¹ but the recovery was muted, with low economic growth between 2010 and 2011². The UK economy returned to recession in April 2012 (at the time of writing, figures for Scotland for the first quarter of 2012 were not yet available).³ While growth has been low, the price of basic goods has continued to rise placing increasing strain on household budgets and businesses (ONS, 2011). 2010 and 2011 also saw significant cuts to public sector budgets in the UK. The Scottish Government's total budget for 2011-12 was reduced as a result of UK Government cuts to public spending. In the Scottish Government budgets that followed (Scottish Government, November 2010 and Scottish Government, September 2011), although some areas were protected (for example, the NHS), budgets in other areas were cut. Meanwhile, a pay freeze for Scottish public sector workers (with exceptions for workers earning under £21,000 per year) was announced in November 2010, and extended for another year in September 2011 in order to prevent compulsory redundancies (Scottish Government, September 2011). At the same time, Scottish Government funding for local government was frozen at the same amount as it had been in the previous year.

¹ Following five quarters of economic contraction, UK Gross Domestic Product (GDP) began to grow again in the fourth quarter of 2009 (ONS, 2010). Scotland exited recession at the same time as the UK, in Q4 2009 (Scottish Government National Statistics, April 2010).

² GDP between 2010 and 2011 rose by 0.79% in the UK (inflation-adjusted figure) – Guardian 'UK GDP since 1948' accessed at <http://www.guardian.co.uk/news/datablog/2009/nov/25/gdp-uk-1948-growth-economy>

³ Survey data for the start of 2012 has been more positive than the end of 2011 and the labour market has also shown signs of improvement at the start of this year. However, it will not be known if Scotland has escaped a second quarter of negative growth and thus avoided a return to recession until data for the first quarter of 2012 is released on 18 July.

- 1.3 The 2011 Scottish Social Attitudes survey (SSA) took place against this backdrop of political change and economic austerity, with fieldwork from June to October 2011. SSA is an annual survey of social and political attitudes in Scotland. Run by ScotCen Social Research since 1999, it provides a reliable and robust picture of changing public opinion over time. This report presents findings from the Scottish Government 'core module' of questions on public attitudes to government, the economy and public services. It reflects on how opinion on each of these areas may have been shaped by the changing political and economic context. The core module has been funded by the Scottish Government Office of the Chief Researcher since 2004 and in many cases continues time series begun in 1999. The 2011 module also included a new section on attitudes to who should fund and provide different public services.

Why monitor public attitudes to government, the economy and public services?

- 1.4 In their paper on trust in government, Christensen and Laegreid (2005) argue that 'public opinion about governmental institutions is quite inconsistent and ambivalent and is characterized more by cognitive complexity than by consistency'. Given the inherent challenges in capturing such complexities of opinion, why is it nonetheless important to try and understand attitudes to government and how these have changed over time? And why might it be important to measure perceptions of the economy and public services, alongside more objective performance measures like Gross Domestic Product or hospital waiting times?
- 1.5 From the perspective of politicians, the most obvious answer to these questions is that public opinion on these issues matters insofar as it affects voting. If the public is satisfied with the performance of the government, it is less likely to vote them out at the next election. But in a modern democracy, governments are not only interested in engaging the public at election times. The recent emphasis on co-production of public services (as discussed in the Christie Commission report, 2011) emphasises the role of the public in shaping the future of public services in Scotland. Meanwhile, the Scottish Government has been keen to engage all sections of Scottish society in a 'national conversation' about Scotland's constitutional future. And the UK Government, too, is increasingly interested in mechanisms for more 'direct democracy' – for example, the right to initiate a referendum ballot on any local issue or veto council tax increases where these are deemed excessive. Yet all of these initiatives rely on the public being interested and willing to engage with government outside of the ballot box. This willingness is likely to depend in large part on their views of government – for example, whether they trust it to act in their interests and make fair decisions, whether they believe it will listen to their views, and whether they think it has the power to do anything about those views. Thus understanding who holds positive and negative views of government can help government understand their likelihood of engaging with such developments and debates and plan strategies for engaging those whose voices may otherwise go unheard.

1.6 In relation to public services, the Scottish Government's national indicators, which set out key targets against which their progress in meeting strategic objectives can be assessed, include a commitment to 'improve people's *perceptions* of the quality of public services'.⁴ As noted in the 2010 core module report (Ormston and Reid, 2011), the distinction between satisfaction and service quality is important here – services may be improving on various objective indicators (for example NHS waiting times, and the proportion of trains or buses running to time), but this may not always be reflected in public opinion. However, subjective perceptions of services *do* matter – both because voters will hold governments to account on the basis of these subjective perceptions, and because objective measures of quality may overlook key elements of service design and delivery that particularly matter to the public and to services users. Meanwhile, measuring perceptions of how public services should be funded and who should provide them can help those tasked with planning services to understand how far the public may be prepared to tolerate some of the changes suggested as potential ways of delivering efficiencies in a context of budgetary constraint.

Report structure

1.7 The remainder of the report is structured as follows:

- Chapter two discusses changing attitudes to the Scottish Government and Parliament and UK Government across a range of key areas (trust in government, awareness of government activities, perceptions of responsiveness to the public, and perceptions of efficacy)
- Chapter three changing views of the economy and living standards in Scotland
- Chapter four summarises views on changing standards in public services with respect to the health service, education and public transport
- Chapter five focuses on perceptions of influence over how Scotland is run and responsibility for standards in key policy areas
- Chapter six discusses attitudes towards who should provide and fund particular public services (focusing particularly on care for older people)
- Chapter seven summarises the key findings and conclusions.

Research questions

1.8 This report presents findings on three key questions:

- How have attitudes to government, public services, the economy and living standards changed over time?
- Who held more or less positive views on these issues in 2011 (and how did this compare with 2010)?
- Who do people think should be responsible for providing and funding particular public services?

⁴ See <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/About/scotPerforms/indicators>

About the data

- 1.9 The *Scottish Social Attitudes* survey (SSA) is based on interviews with representative probability samples of the Scottish population. In 2011, the sample size was 1,197.⁵ Interviews are conducted in respondents' homes, using computer assisted personal interviewing technology. Most of the interview is conducted face-to-face by a ScotGen interviewer, but some questions each year are asked in a self-completion section. The survey has achieved a response rate of between 54% and 65% in each year since 1999 (in 2011, the response rate was 55%). The data is weighted to correct for over-sampling, non-response bias and to ensure it reflects the sex-age profile of the Scottish population. Further technical details about the survey are included in Annex B.
- 1.10 While the analysis in this report focuses particularly on 2011 data, extensive use is made of earlier years of SSA. It also builds on the findings presented in previous SSA reports on attitudes to government and public services (particularly Bromley and Given, 2005, Curtice, 2007, Given and Ormston, 2007a and b, Ormston and Sharp, 2007a and b, Ormston, 2008, Ormston, 2010, and Ormston and Reid, 2011).

Analysis and reporting conventions

- 1.11 All percentages cited in this report are based on the weighted data (see Annex B for details) and are rounded to the nearest whole number. All differences described in the text (between years, or between different groups of people) are statistically significant at the 95% level or above, unless otherwise specified. This means that the probability of having found a difference of at least this size if there was no actual difference in the population is 5% or less.⁶ The term 'significant' is used in this report to refer to statistical significance, and is not intended to imply substantive importance. Further details of significance testing and multivariate analysis conducted for this report is included in Annex B.

Use of 'Scottish Government' and 'Scottish Executive' in this report

- 1.12 On 3rd September 2007, the ruling administration took the decision to change the name 'Scottish Executive' to 'Scottish Government'. Questions in SSA 2009 therefore referred to the 'Scottish Government' rather than the 'Scottish Executive'. However, the term 'Scottish Executive' is used in this report when referring to findings from 2007 and earlier.⁷ Footnotes and endnotes to tables and charts provide further details on any changes to question wording over time.

⁵ The sample size was reduced in 2011, from around 1,500.

⁶ Thus significance tests on differences reported in the text produced p-values of ≤ 0.05 . Cases where differences were on the margins of being statistically significant at this level (where p is >0.05 but <0.10) are identified in the text or in footnotes.

⁷ 87% of 2007 fieldwork was completed *before* the September name change.

2 CHANGING ATTITUDES TO GOVERNMENT IN SCOTLAND

Introduction

2.1 This chapter summarises trends in:

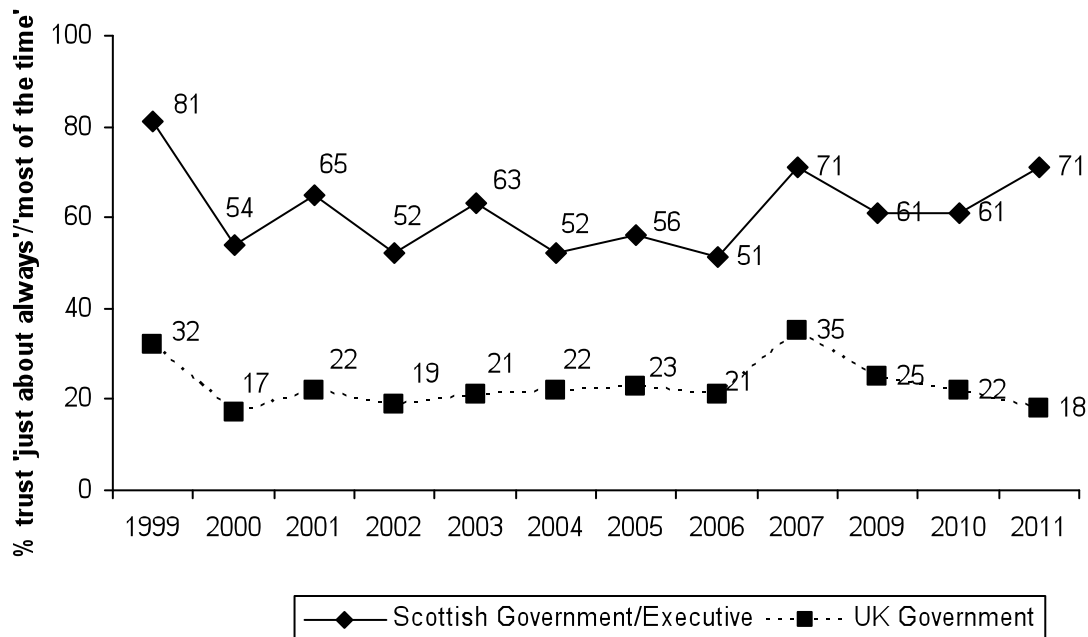
- **Trust** in government (to act in Scotland’s interests and to make fair decisions)
- General levels of **awareness of** government activities
- Perceptions of **responsiveness** of government
- Views of the impact of having a Scottish Parliament on **Scotland’s voice within the UK.**

2.2 The findings in this chapter show trends in attitudes of people in Scotland towards both the Scottish and UK governments.

Trust in government

2.3 SSA includes questions on two aspects of political trust, measuring, first, trust in governments (UK and Scottish) to work in Scotland’s best long-term interest, and second, trust to make fair decisions. The proportion of people who trust the Scottish Government ‘just about always’ or ‘most of the time’ to act in Scotland’s best interests has increased by 10 percentage points since 2010, from 61% to 71% – a return to the high level recorded in the year of the previous Scottish election in 2007 (Figure 2.1).

Figure 2.1: Trust in the UK and Scottish Government to act in Scotland’s interests? (1999-2007, 2009-2010, % trust ‘just about always’/‘most of the time’)



Base: All respondents

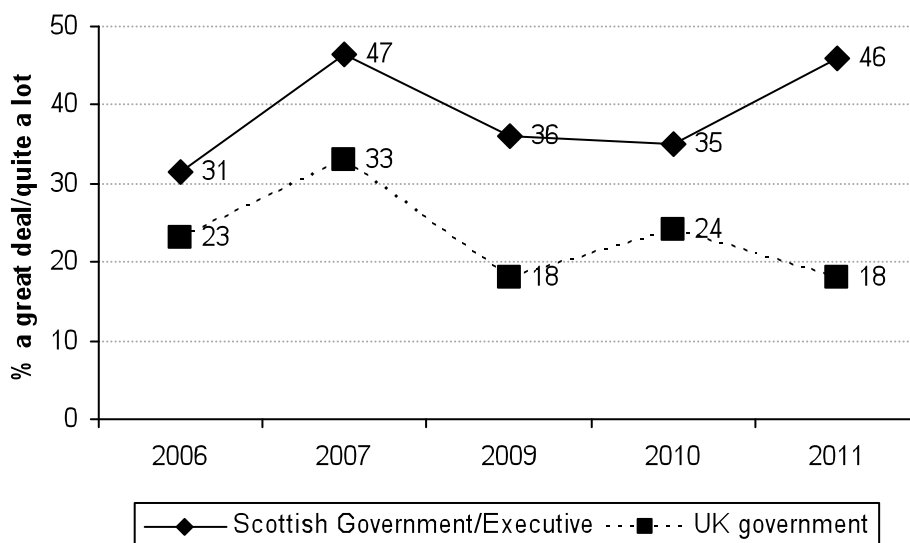
Sample size: see Annex B, Table 2

- 2.4 Previous evidence from both the Scottish and British Social Attitudes surveys (Ormston & Reid, 2011, Ormston, 2010, Curtice, 2012), have shown that public attitudes towards government tend to be more positive in election years – a phenomenon sometimes called an ‘election bounce’. Comparing SSA data over time peaks in levels of trust are apparent in 2003, 2007 and 2011 (all Scottish Parliament election years). However, while in comparison with surrounding years an ‘election bounce’ is clearly apparent in 2007 and 2011, it is also important to note that levels of trust in the Scottish Government have been consistently high between 2007 and 2011. In 2009 and 2010, 61% trusted the Scottish Government to act in Scotland’s best interests – a significantly higher figure than in all previous non-election years since 2002.
- 2.5 In comparison with 71% who said they trusted the Scottish Government ‘just about always’ or ‘most of the time’ to act in Scotland’s interests, just 18% expressed a similar level of trust in the UK Government. Levels of trust in the UK Government to act in Scotland’s best interests have always been much lower than the level of trust in the Scottish institutions. While trust in the UK Government has been in steady decline since 2007, when 35% said they trusted them ‘just about always’ or ‘most of the time’ the 18% figure recorded in 2011 was within the range recorded between 2000 and 2006.⁸
- 2.6 A second pair of questions on trust in the UK and Scottish governments, first asked in 2006, focus on trust in government to make fair decisions. Fair decisions are defined as ‘decisions that are fair to different groups of people in the UK/Scotland’. Although comparisons of findings from the two sets of trust questions must be treated with caution as the questions use different answer scales⁹, levels of trust in the Scottish Government to make fair decisions have always been somewhat lower than levels of trust to act in Scotland’s best interests. This perhaps reflects the inherent difficulty government’s face in reaching decisions that are perceived as being equally fair to all groups in society. However, the pattern of change over time is similar for both dimensions of trust in the Scottish Government. In 2011 46% of people in Scotland trusted the Scottish Government ‘a great deal’ or ‘quite a lot’ to make fair decisions – an increase from 35% in 2010 (Figure 2.2). Again, an ‘election bounce’ effect is apparent, with similarly high levels of trust to make fair decisions recorded in 2007 and 2011 but lower levels in non-election years.

⁸ The decline in trust in the UK government between 2010 and 2011 was marginally statistically significant ($p = 0.077$).

⁹ Trust to act in Scotland’s best interest is measured on a 4-point frequency scale ranging from ‘just about always’ to ‘never’. Trust to make fair decisions relates to the strength of trust, and the answers are on a 5-point scale ranging from ‘a great deal’ to ‘not at all’.

Figure 2.2: Trust in the UK and Scottish Government to make fair decisions? (2006-2007, 2009-2011, % trust 'a great deal'/'quite a lot')



Base: All respondents

Sample size: see Annex B, Table 2

2.7 Levels of trust in the UK Government to make fair decisions have followed a somewhat different pattern. In 2007, relatively higher levels of trust to make fair decisions were recorded for both the UK Government and the Scottish Government. However, trust in the UK Government fell back from 33% in 2007 to 18% two years later (2009, the year in which the MPs expenses scandal was widely reported in the British media), before recovering slightly to 24% in 2010. In 2011, trust in the UK Government to make fair decisions had again fallen back to 18%.

Public engagement and awareness of government

2.8 Encouraging active public participation has been one of the key principles of the Scottish Parliament since its establishment in 1999 (Consultative Steering Group, 1999). As discussed in Chapter One, one aspect of public engagement with the political system is voter turnout. However, between elections, the government is keen to engage the public more directly, through responding to consultations, writing to their MPs, engaging in public debate about political issues and public services, protesting, or signing a petition, for example.

2.9 Awareness of government is arguably a necessary, if not a sufficient, condition for engagement – if people know nothing about what government is doing, they are unlikely to voice an opinion about this or otherwise engage in the political process. SSA asks people how much they have seen or heard about the activities of the Scottish and UK governments in the last 12 months. In 2011 the level of awareness in Scottish Government activities had increased to the highest level ever recorded by the survey, with nearly half of people (49%) saying they had seen or heard 'a great deal' or 'quite a lot' about their activities (Table 2.1). This was also the first time that awareness of the Scottish Government has been higher (albeit only slightly) than awareness of the UK Government (49% compared with 46%, Table 2.2). In terms of longer-term

trends, the proportion of the Scottish population claiming to have seen or heard either a great deal or quite a lot about both the Scottish Government and the UK Government has consistently been higher in the three years from 2009 to 2011 compared with the three years from 2004 to 2006 (Tables 2.1 and 2.2).

Table 2.1: How much have people seen or heard about the activities of the Scottish Government/Scottish Executive¹ in the last 12 months? (2004-2006, 2009² - 2011, column %)

	2004	2005	2006	2009	2010	2011
	%	%	%	%	%	%
A great deal/quite a lot	29	30	35	46	38	49
Some	30	28	31	29	31	27
Not very much/nothing at all	40	40	33	24	31	24
Don't know	1	1	1	1	1	*
<i>Sample size</i>	1637	1549	1594	1482	1495	1197

1 - Prior to 2009, the question asked about the 'Scottish Executive'.

2 - This question was not asked in SSA 2007

Table 2.2: How much have people seen or heard about the activities of the UK Government in the last 12 months? (2004-2006, 2009¹ - 2011, column %)

	2004	2005	2006	2009	2010	2011
	%	%	%	%	%	%
A great deal/quite a lot	34	39	41	52	48	46
Some	29	26	26	23	26	26
Not very much/nothing at all	36	34	32	24	26	28
Don't know	1	2	1	1	1	1
<i>Sample size</i>	1637	1549	1594	1482	1495	1197

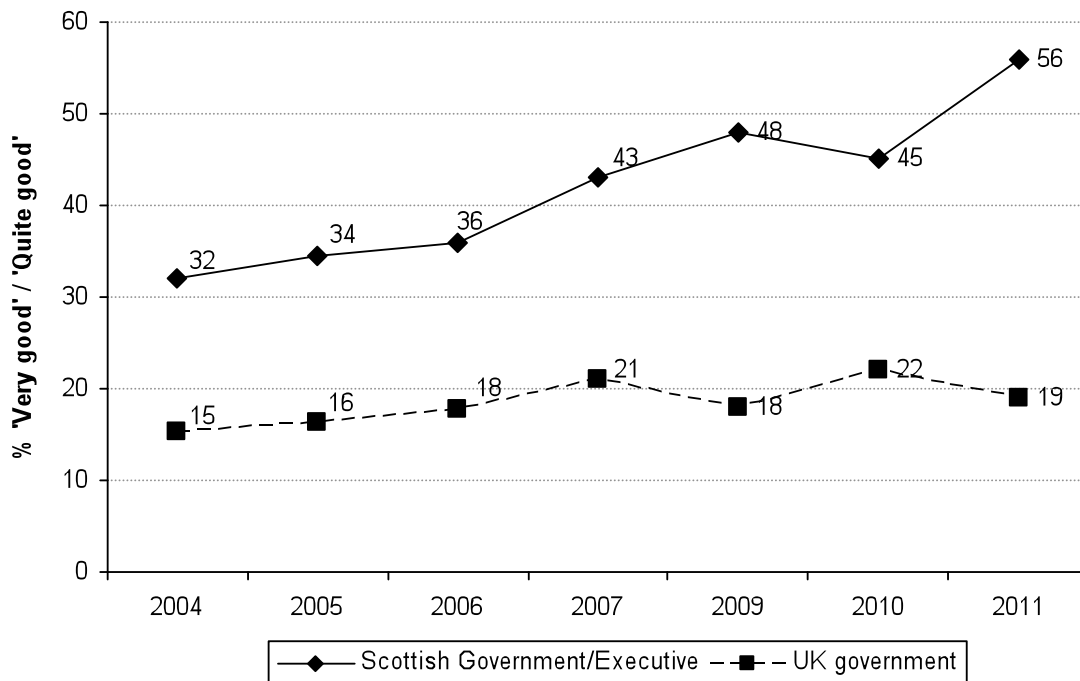
1 - This question was not asked in SSA 2007

Perceptions of government responsiveness

2.10 In addition to being aware of what government does, public engagement also arguably requires that people feel that government is willing and able to respond to their wishes – a process referred to as 'system efficacy' (Bromley & Curtice, 2002). If people believe that governments are either unwilling to listen to their views or unable to act upon them, they may feel there is little point in getting involved. For example, McLaverty et al (2004) show that a key barrier to people participating in consultations is a belief that government will not do anything in response.

2.11 Since 2004, SSA has included questions on how good the Scottish Government and the UK Governments are at listening to people's views before taking decisions. In 2011, 56% felt the Scottish Government was 'very' or 'quite' good at listening to people's views before taking decisions – an increase of 11 percentage points on 2010 (45%) and 20 points since 2006 (36%).

Figure 2.3: How good are the Scottish Executive/Government and the UK Government at listening to people’s views before taking decisions? (2004-2007, 2009-2011, % ‘very good’/‘quite good’)



Base: All respondents

Sample size: see Annex B, Table 2

Note that from 2004-2007 the question asked about the ‘Scottish Executive’. In 2009 and 2010, it asked about the ‘Scottish Government’.

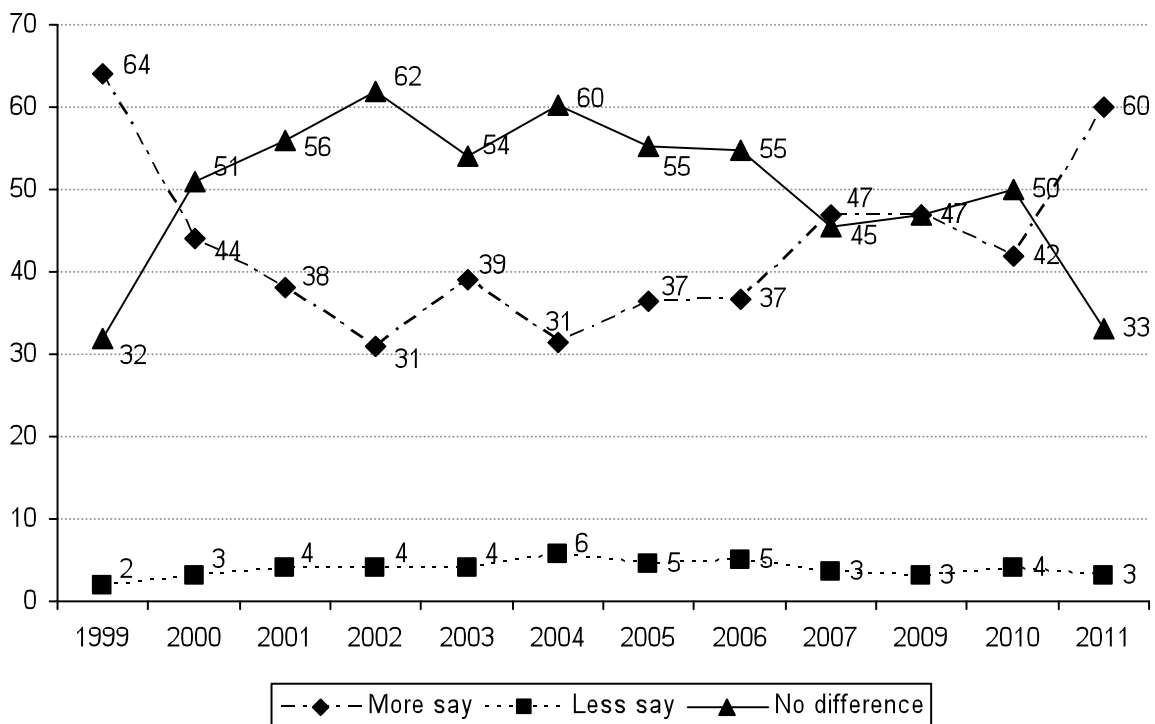
2.12 Perceptions in Scotland of how good the UK Government is at listening to people’s views before taking decisions have consistently been more negative since these questions were first asked in 2004. Typically, only around half as many as say the Scottish Government is good at listening as have said the same about the UK Government. In 2011, the gap in attitudes was even more pronounced – almost three times as many people said the Scottish Government was good at listening as said the same of the UK Government (56% compared with 19%). If the slight increase in positive perceptions of the UK Government’s listening skills in 2010 reflected increased optimism following the 2010 General election, this optimism does not appear to have been sustained.

2.13 Another way of measuring government responsiveness is to ask whether people think that having a Scottish Parliament gives ordinary people more say in how their country is run. Since 1999, SSA has asked people whether they think having a Scottish Parliament gives people in Scotland more say in how Scotland is governed, less say or whether it is making no difference. Between 2010 and 2011, there was a dramatic rise in the proportion of people in Scotland saying that they think the Scottish Parliament gives ordinary people more say, from 42% to 60%. This figure was the highest recorded since 1999, when the question was framed prospectively (‘Will a Scottish Parliament give ordinary people more say ... etc.?’) and findings were generally interpreted as reflecting people’s expectations of the new Scottish Parliament rather than

actual evaluations of its operation. So in 2011 for the first time, perceptions of the impact of having a Scottish Parliament on ordinary people’s say in government appear to be living up to the high expectations the public had for the parliament at its inception.

2.14 Previous Scottish Parliament election years (2003 and 2007) have also been marked by an increase in the proportion of people saying that having the Scottish Parliament gives ordinary people more say. However, the size of the increase in positive attitudes between 2010 and 2011 goes far beyond that recorded in those previous Scottish election years.

Figure 2.4: Does having a Scottish Parliament give ordinary people more say in how Scotland is governed, less say, or is it making no difference?¹⁰ (1999-2007, 2009-2011, %)



Base: All respondents
Sample size: see Annex B, Table 2

Voice

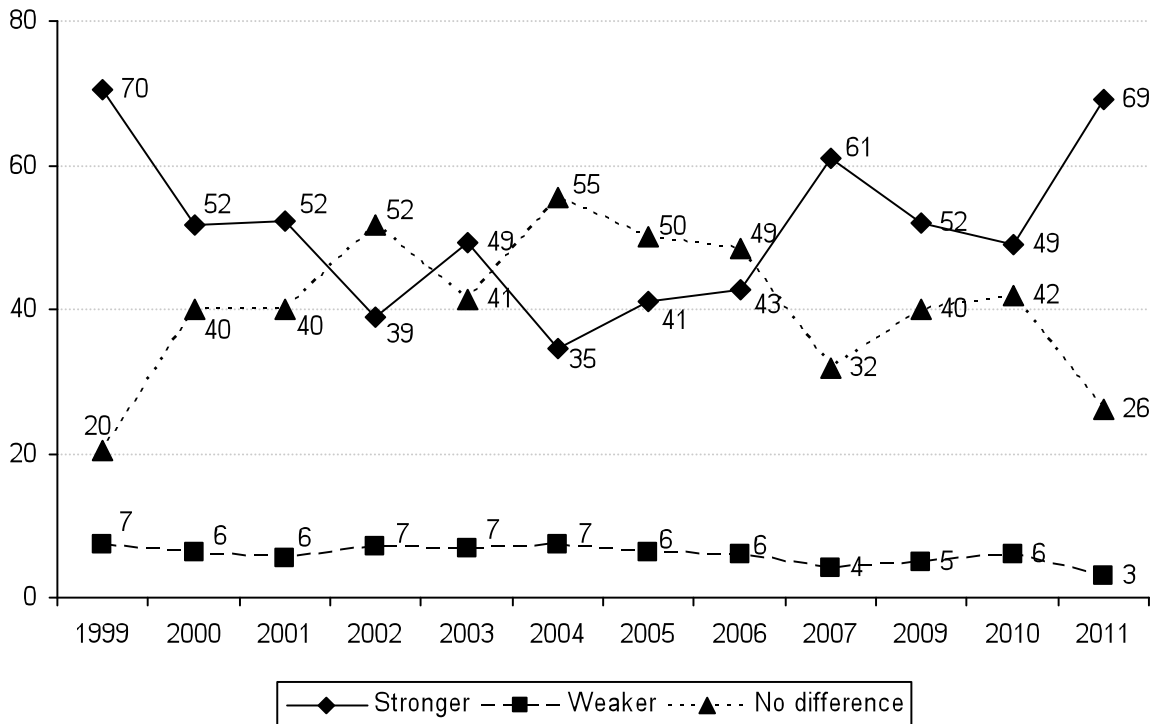
2.15 Finally, SSA also ask people whether they think that having a Scottish Parliament is giving Scotland a stronger voice in the UK, a weaker voice, or is making no difference. A sharp increase in the proportion giving a positive response is again apparent. Sixty nine per cent of people in Scotland in 2011 thought that having a Scottish Parliament gave Scotland a stronger voice in the UK – a 20 percentage point increase on 2010 (49%). This figure is (almost) as

¹⁰ The question wording altered slightly between years, as follows:
1999 “Will a Scottish Parliament...”
2000 “Do you think that having a Scottish parliament is going to...”
2001-2009 “Do you think that having a Scottish Parliament is giving...”

high as that recorded in 1999 – suggesting that in 2011, for the first time, public perceptions of the Parliament almost matched their early expectations.

2.16 Between 2006 and 2007 a similarly sharp increase was recorded (from 43% to 61%), suggesting that Scottish Parliament elections may have a particular effect on people’s perceptions of how much impact the Scottish Parliament has on Scotland’s voice within the UK. However, it is also worth noting that the increases recorded in 2007 and 2011 were sharper in comparison with the more modest ‘election bounce’ of 10 percentage points in 2003. This may reflect the fact that the 2007 and 2011 elections resulted in a different political party (the SNP) in power in Holyrood compared with Westminster. Perhaps when the party with the most votes in a Holyrood election holds different views from the Westminster government, this particularly strengthens people’s perception that having a Scottish Parliament is giving Scotland a stronger voice in the UK.

Figure 2.5: Perceptions of the impact of having a Scottish Parliament on Scotland’s voice in the UK (1999-2007, 2009-2011, %)



Base: All respondents
 Sample size: see Annex B, Table 2

How do attitudes to government vary?

2.17 So far this chapter has shown that positive attitudes towards the Scottish Government and Parliament increased between 2010 and 2011. But were all groups in Scottish society equally positive? And can any particular differences between sub-groups help explain the marked increase in positive attitudes towards the Scottish Government in 2011?

2.18 Previous SSA reports (Ormston, 2010, Ormston & Sharp, 2007) have identified various factors associated with differing attitudes to government, including:

- Gender
- Education
- Newspaper readership
- Party identification
- Interest in politics
- Constitutional preference

2.19 This section assesses whether such differences are still apparent in 2011, and examines changes between 2010 and 2011 in relation to the four questions on attitudes towards government in Scotland on which there has been most change:

- Trust in the Scottish Government to act in Scotland's best interests
- Whether the Scottish Government is good at listening to people's views before making decisions
- Whether the Scottish Parliament gives ordinary people more say in how Scotland is governed
- Whether having a Scottish Parliament gives Scotland a stronger voice in the UK.

Who is more positive about government in Scotland in 2011?

2.20 In 2011, those most likely to express positive views about the Scottish Government and Scottish Parliament included:¹¹

- **Men** – men were more likely than women to trust the Scottish Government and feel it is good at listening to people's views. They were also more likely to feel the Scottish Parliament gives ordinary people more say and gives Scotland a stronger voice in the UK. For example, 77% of men compared with 66% of women said they trust the Scottish Government 'just about always' or 'most of the time'. These findings are in line with previous SSA reports, which have tended to find that men are more trusting in government than are women (e.g. Ormston, 2010).
- **Graduates** – those with degrees were more likely to give positive responses to all four questions compared with those with no educational qualifications.
- **Broadsheet readers** – people who read broadsheet newspapers were more likely than those who read a tabloid to trust the Scottish Government to act in Scotland's best interests (79% compared with 67%).¹²

2.21 However, demographic differences in attitudes to government were far less pronounced than differences by political attitudes (reflecting similar findings in Christensen and Laegreid, 2005):

¹¹ See Annex A, tables A.12 to A.15 for full figures.

¹² Differences in response by newspaper readership on the other three questions were not significant.

- **People who are interested in politics** – people who said they had ‘a great deal’ or ‘quite a lot’ of interest in politics in general were much more likely than the less politically interested to express positive views about government in Scotland on all four measures. For example, 74% of those with a ‘great deal’ or ‘quite a lot’ of interest in politics thought that having a Scottish Parliament gives ordinary people more say in how Scotland is run, compared with 48% of those with not very much or no interest.
- **SNP identifiers** – people who identify with the SNP rather than any other political party were more likely to give positive responses to all four questions.¹³ For example, 83% of SNP identifiers felt having a Scottish Parliament a stronger voice in the UK, compared with between 65% and 67% of those who identified with other political parties, and 45% of those with no party-political affiliation.
- **People who favour more powers for the Scottish Parliament** – SSA 2011 asked people to say what organisation they thought should make decisions for Scotland.¹⁴ In general, those who favoured the Scottish Parliament having more powers tended to express more positive views about the Scottish Government and Parliament. For example, just 33% of those who felt the UK Government should make all decisions for Scotland trusted the Scottish Government ‘just about always’ or ‘most of the time’, compared with 75-76% of those who felt the Scottish Parliament should either make all decisions for Scotland, or all decisions except defence and foreign affairs.

2.22 Perhaps unsurprisingly, those who are not interested in politics and do not feel any affinity with the main political parties in Scotland tend to be among the least positive in their appraisals of government. In contrast with the Scottish population as a whole, only a minority of those who did not identify with a particular political party felt the Scottish Government was good at listening (26%), felt having a Scottish Parliament gives ordinary people more say (35%), or felt that it gives Scotland a stronger voice in the UK (45%). Similarly, among those who said they had ‘not very much’ or no interest in politics under half (42%) felt that the Scottish Government was good at listening or that having a Scottish Parliament gives ordinary people more say (48%).

Whose views have changed since 2010?

2.23 Did changes in attitudes to the Scottish Government and Parliament become more positive across the board between 2010 and 2011, or did some groups

¹³ Party political identification is identified through a series of questions. Respondents are asked if they support any particular party. Those who say no are asked if they feel closer to one party than another. Those who still answer no are asked which party they would support if there was a general election tomorrow.

¹⁴ Participants were asked to choose between 4 options: The UK Government should make all decisions; the Scottish Parliament should make all the decisions for Scotland; the UK government should make decisions about defence and foreign affairs, the Scottish Parliament should decide everything else; the UK government should make decisions about taxes, benefits and defence and foreign affairs, the Scottish Parliament should decide the rest; and the UK government should make all decisions for Scotland.

shift their opinion more than others? As indicated in Tables A.11 to A.14 in Annex A, significant increases in positive attitudes were seen across nearly all of the sub-groups examined for all four measures of attitudes towards the Scottish Government. Men and women, those with and without degrees, tabloid and broadsheet readers, supporters of most political parties, and those with higher and lower levels of interest in politics were all more likely to express positive views about the Scottish Government and Scottish Parliament in 2011 compared with 2010.

2.24 However, although positive attitudes increased across many groups in Scottish society, there were some variations in the degree of change. For example:

- The views of the least politically interested appeared to change less between 2010 and 2011 than did those of people who had at least some interest in politics. For example, among those who had some interest in politics, there was a 26 percentage point increase between 2010 and 2011 in the proportion of those who felt having a Scottish Parliament gives Scotland a stronger voice in the world. Among those with not very much or no interest, the equivalent increase was just 13 percentage points.
- Men's views appeared to change more than women's. In particular, the proportion of men who felt that having a Scottish Parliament gives ordinary people more say in how Scotland is run increased from 44% to 67% - a 23 percentage point increase, compared with a 14 point increase among women.
- The views of tabloid readers appear to have shifted more than those of broadsheet readers. For example, in 2010 just 40% of tabloid readers felt that having a Scottish Parliament gave Scotland a stronger voice in the UK. By 2011, this had increased 26 percentage points, to 66%. In contrast, the 9 point increase in broadsheet readers expressing this view (from 63% to 74%) was more modest.¹⁵ One possible explanation for this increase in positive responses among tabloid readers is the change in political affiliation of the Scottish Sun to the SNP during the 2011 Scottish election campaign (Hassan, 2011).

Party political identification

2.25 One obvious factor which might explain the scale of the increase in positive attitudes towards the Scottish Government between 2010 and 2011 is the increase in the proportion of people in Scotland who voted for the party that formed the Scottish Government. In 2007 the SNP secured 33% of the constituency vote. This increased to 45% in the 2011 Scottish elections.

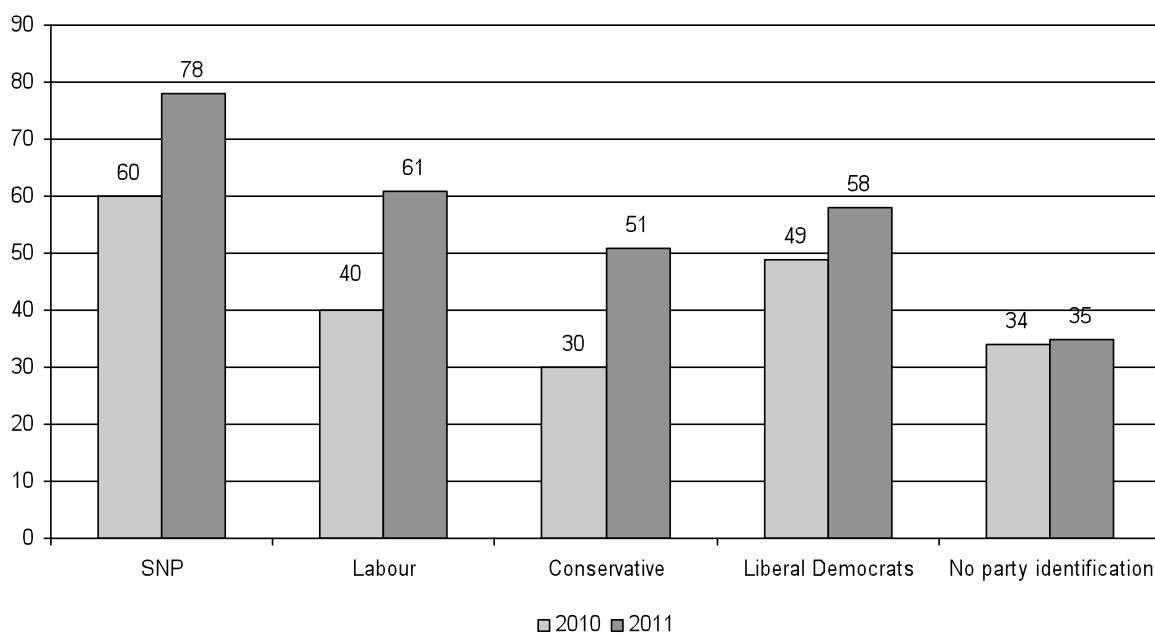
2.26 Unsurprisingly, people who either vote for or identify with the current government tend to be more positive about that government, perhaps as a result of feeling that their views are being represented by it. And as discussed

¹⁵ As a result, the gap in attitudes between tabloid and broadsheet readers on this measure was no longer significant in 2011. NB similar trends were also apparent in relation to believing the Scottish Government is good at listening and feeling the Scottish Parliament gives ordinary people more say (see Annex A, Tables A.12 and A.13).

above, in 2011 SNP identifiers did indeed express the most positive views about government in Scotland.

2.27 However, as illustrated in Figure 2.6, the attitudes of Labour and Conservative identifiers also became significantly more positive between 2010 and 2011. Similar patterns were apparent across other measures. So while part of the reason for the large increase in positive attitudes between 2010 and 2011 is the fact that the number of SNP voters and identifiers has increased in this period, it is not the only explanation.

Figure 2.6: Having a Scottish Parliament gives ordinary people more say in how Scotland is run by party identification (2010-2011, %)



Base: All respondents

See Annex A, Table A.13 for sample sizes and full results.

2.28 The pattern in Figure 2.6 is similar to findings from 2007 (see Ormston, 2008). Perhaps Scottish elections are simply an effective means of increasing engagement and support for Scottish political institutions, whatever party you support. However, in 2011 (in contrast with 2007), this increased support was not always apparent among those who do not identify with any political party. Thus while the 2011 election year seems to have been associated with an increase in positive views of government in Scotland among SNP, Labour and Conservative identifiers, the impact of the elections on non-partisans is therefore less clear. The change in attitudes between 2010 and 2011 among Liberal Democrat supporters was also less clear cut.¹⁶

¹⁶ For example, in 2011, 69% of Liberal Democrat identifiers said they trusted the Scottish Government 'just about always' or 'most of the time' – similar to the 72% of Liberal Democrats who said the same in 2010.

3 CHANGING VIEWS OF THE ECONOMY AND LIVING STANDARDS

Introduction

3.1 This chapter summarises trends in:

- **Public priorities for Scottish Government action**
- Perceptions of the strength of the **economy** and the **general standard of living** in Scotland over the last year
- People's satisfaction with their **own living standards, job, family and personal lives** and
- Whether there are particular groups in Scotland who feel less satisfied with their own living standards compared with the national average.

3.2 As discussed in Chapter One, the 2011 SSA survey took place against a backdrop of ongoing economic austerity and public sector budget restraint. This chapter explores how public opinion has responded to ongoing economic austerity. Do they share the Scottish Government's view that securing economic growth should be its top priority? Have views of the economy and standard of living improved since the recession officially ended? And has people's satisfaction with their own lives – including their standard of living – been affected by the ongoing impacts of recession and public sector public cuts?

Priorities for Scottish Government action

3.3 Since the recession of 2008-2009, people in Scotland have consistently stated that the top Scottish Government priority should be to 'Help the economy to grow faster' (Table 3.1). The proportion stating this should be the government's highest priority in 2011 (36%) was very similar to that in 2010 (37%). Cutting crime has been the next most commonly chosen priority in every year since 2009 (chosen by 17% in 2011), followed by health (16% in 2011) and education (15% in 2011).

Table 3.1: What should be the Scottish Government's* highest priority? (2004-2007, 2009-2011, column %)

	2004	2005	2006	2007	2009	2010	2011
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Help the economy to grow faster	16	18	14	16	33	37	36
Cut crime	22	23	24	27	17	18	17
Improve people's health	27	26	24	17	13	15	16
Improve standards of education	17	15	16	12	15	12	15
Improve housing	12	10	12	16	13	9	11
Improve the environment	4	4	6	5	3	3	2
Improve public transport	1	1	2	1	1	1	*
<i>Bases</i>	1637	1549	1594	1508	1482	1495	1197

Base = all respondents

* Prior to 2009, this question asked about the 'Scottish Executive'

Note: not all columns add to exactly 100% due either to rounding or because of small proportions saying either 'don't know' (0.5% in 2011) or giving some other top priority (1.5% in 2011).

Views on Scotland's economy and standards of living: 2007 to 2011

3.4 Since 2009, the balance of public opinion on the recent performance of both Scotland's economy and living standards in general has been negative. This pattern continued in 2011. When asked whether Scotland's economy had got stronger or weaker in the 12 months prior to the survey, a majority (57%) thought it had got weaker. However, this was significantly lower than the 64% who said the same in 2010. The proportion that thought the economy had got stronger correspondingly increased slightly but significantly, from 12% in 2010 to 18% in 2011.

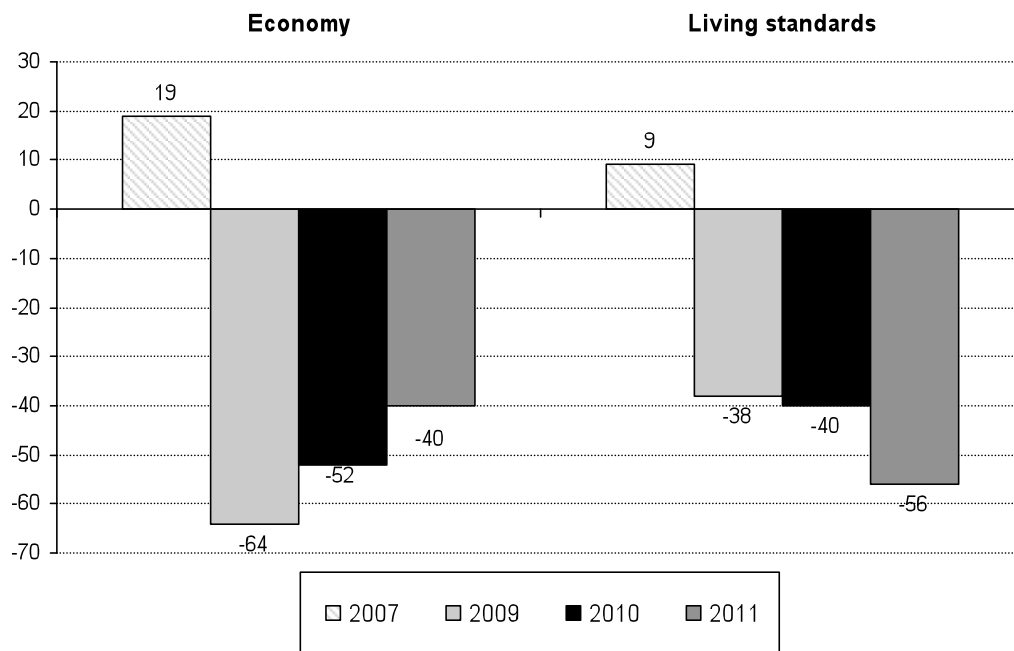
3.5 Figure 3.1 shows the 'net balance' scores for views of both Scotland's economy and general standards of living in the last 12 months¹⁷. These are calculated by subtracting the proportion who felt the economy or general standard of living had got weaker or fallen in the last 12 months, from the proportion who said they had got stronger or increased. For example, the 'net balance' score for perceptions of the economy in 2011 is -40 (subtracting the 57.4% of those who thought the economy had got weaker from the 17.9% who thought the economy had got stronger).¹⁸ Figure 3.1 again indicates that, while the balance of opinion on the recent performance of Scotland's economy remains very negative, views have improved somewhat since 2009, when the UK officially left recession¹⁹ – the 'net-balance' reduced from -64 in 2009, to -52 in 2010 and -40 in 2011.

¹⁷ For full results for these questions, see Annex A, tables A.16 and A.17. Note that the net balance scores are based on the proportions saying standards had increased 'a little' or 'a lot', minus the proportion saying they had fallen 'a little' or 'a lot'. The proportions saying standards have increased/fallen 'a little' or 'a lot' were combined in PASW 18, to avoid rounding errors. As such, they may vary by a percentage point from the sum of the (rounded) individual figures.

¹⁸ NB net scores are calculated using the exact figures, rather than the rounded figures – hence they may differ by a percentage point from the value obtained by subtracting the rounded 'fallen'/'weaker' from the rounded 'increase'/'stronger' figures.

¹⁹ As noted in Chapter 1, the UK economy returned to recession in April 2012. However, fieldwork for SSA 2011 took place from June to October 2011, prior to this announcement.

Figure 3.1: ‘Net balance’ scores for views of Scotland’s economy and the general standard of living in the last 12 months (2004-2007, 2009-2011)



Base: All respondents

Sample sizes: see Annex B, Table 2

- 3.6 In contrast, views on the general standard of living in Scotland have moved in the opposite direction: the ‘net balance’ score fell from -40 in 2010 to -56 in 2011. This reflects a significant increase in the proportion who felt living standards had fallen in the last 12 months, up from 54% in 2010 to 67% in 2011.²⁰ It is also striking that most of this increase was in those who felt living standards had fallen ‘a lot’ – up from 16% in 2010 to 29% in 2011.
- 3.7 This diversion in the direction of public opinion on the economy and standards of living perhaps reflects the fact that prices were continuing to rise at the time of the 2011 survey, while the economy was growing (albeit very slowly). By September 2011 the Retail Prices Index²¹ had risen to its highest annual rate since 1991, with increases in the price of basics such as food and fuel likely to have a disproportionate impact on those with low incomes. Perhaps views of the economy improved once it was no longer officially in recession, while perceptions of the standard of living continued to be impacted by rising inflation. Public service budget cuts might also be a factor. Perceptions of the general living standard of both those working in the public sector, and those reliant upon it, may have been adversely affected by the reduction, or elimination, of public sector pay rises. At the same time, any reductions or changes to public services may also impact on living standards more widely.

²⁰ This was accompanied by a fall in the proportion who felt that standards of living had stayed the same (down from 28% in 2010 to 19% in 2011). For full figures, see Annex A, Table A.17.

²¹ The Retail Prices Index includes mortgage interest payments. <http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/guide-method/user-guidance/prices/cpi-and-rpi/differences-between-the-rpi-and-cpi-measures-of-inflation.pdf>

Perceptions of the standard of living in Scotland may also be affected by media coverage of unemployment rates²² and job losses in both Scotland and the rest of the UK.

People's satisfaction with their own lives

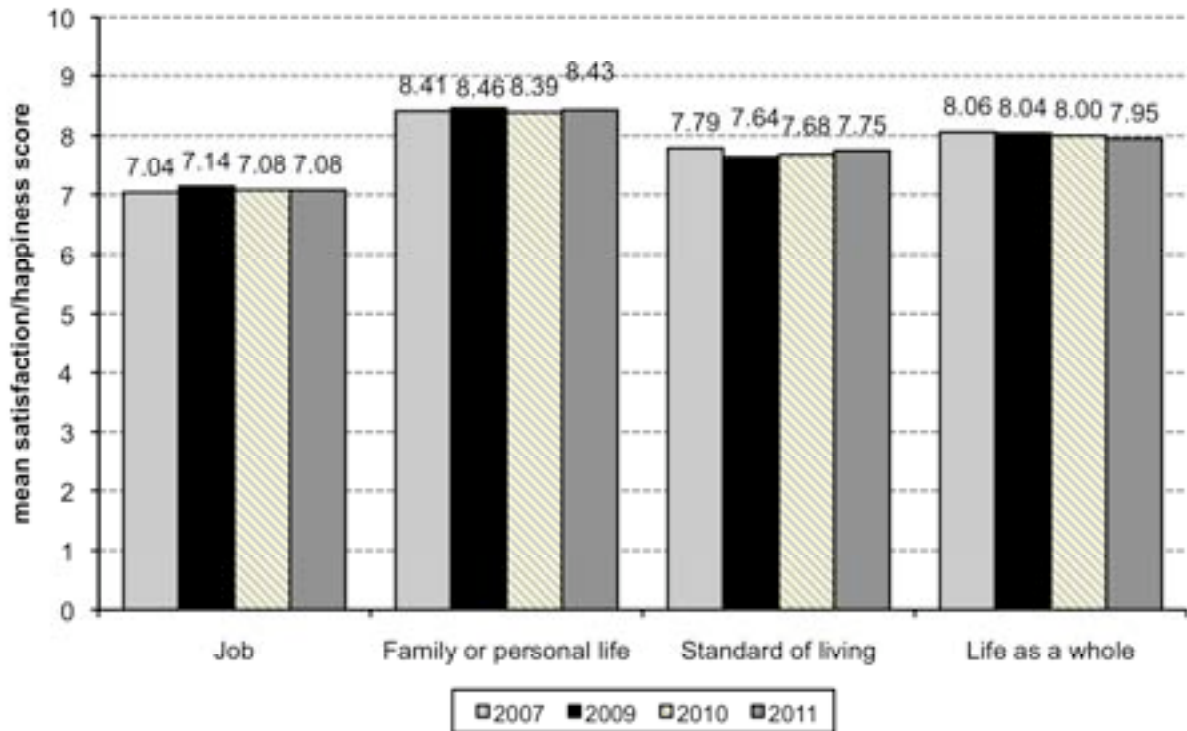
- 3.8 As the balance of opinion on the recent performance of the economy and living standards in Scotland has been negative since the UK recession of 2008-2009, we might reasonably expect that people's views of their *own* standard of living would also be negative. Since 2007, SSA has asked people how satisfied they are with their own standard of living on a scale from 0 (extremely dissatisfied) to 10 (extremely satisfied). Perhaps surprisingly, mean satisfaction scores have remained broadly consistent between 2007 and 2011: in 2007 the mean score was 7.79 and in 2011 the mean score was 7.75 (Figure 3.2). This finding is also reflected in the proportion of people who felt they were living comfortably on their present income²³ which again has not changed over time: 53% in 2007 and 54% in 2011.
- 3.9 These findings may seem paradoxical given that, as discussed above, people clearly feel that living standards across Scotland are falling. However, they arguably reflect evidence from elsewhere that beyond a minimum threshold, subjective life satisfaction is primarily affected by *relative* rather than *absolute* living standards. For example, Layard has argued that once per capita incomes have increased to a comfortable level it is not *absolute* wealth but *relative* wealth that affects subjective well-being (Layard, 2006). In other words, once individuals achieve a minimum level of income or standard of living, it is the comparison with what others have that most affects subjective satisfaction and happiness. If it is true that people assess their own standard of living relative to those of others, then even if they believe that living standards have fallen in general across Scotland, they may still be satisfied with their living standards as long as their position in relation to others has not changed. In fact, some people may even feel *more* satisfied with their own living standards, because they are aware that they have been relatively more fortunate than others in their experience of the economic downturn.
- 3.10 SSA also includes three further measures of life satisfaction on the same scale of 0 (extremely dissatisfied) to 10 (extremely satisfied): satisfaction with family and personal life, job satisfaction (if employed) and satisfaction with life as a whole. The mean scores for each from 2011 show no significant changes on those for 2010. Similarly, last year's Core module report (Ormston & Reid,

²² Scotland's unemployment rate was 8% at the start of 2011 (down from 8.3% in the last quarter of 2010), then fell to 7.6% in quarter 2 of 2011 before increasing again to 7.9% and then 8.6% by the end of the year – see <http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/search/index.html?newquery=scotland+unemployment> for detailed figures.

²³ Respondents were asked to say whether they were: living really comfortably on present income; living comfortably on present income; neither comfortable nor struggling; struggling on present income; and really struggling on present income. Note that the wording of the answer options were changed slightly in 2010. Prior to 2010, people were asked if they were living: very comfortably on present income; comfortably on present income; coping on present income; finding it difficult on present income or finding it very difficult on present income.

2011) found no significant changes between 2007 and 2010 in any of the four life satisfaction measures.

Figure 3.2: Mean scores for satisfaction with different aspects of life (2007, 2009, 2010 & 2011)



Base: All except those who answered 'don't know' (for job satisfaction, base = all respondents in paid employment, except those who answered 'don't know'). See Annex A, Table A.17 for sample sizes and full results.

Variations in people's views of their own living standards

3.11 The key factors associated with higher or lower levels of subjective wellbeing have been found to be remarkably consistent across different countries (Blanchflower, 2011, Dolan, 2008). Both older and younger people and those educated to degree level consistently record relatively higher levels of satisfaction than those in middle-aged groups and those with low or no educational qualifications. People with disabilities and those who are unemployed show relatively lower levels of life satisfaction. In relation to income, the picture is more complicated: people on the highest incomes in any particular country tend to be the happiest, and yet overall levels of subjective well-being do not increase over time as countries become wealthier (Dolan, P, 2008). This reflects observations above about the greater importance of relative, rather, than absolute wealth in determining subjective wellbeing. Previous SSA reports have identified similar patterns. (Given and Webster, 2008, Ormston, 2010, Ormston & Reid, 2011). Similar factors were again significant in 2011 (Table 3.2).

- Those who were retired were the socio-economic group most satisfied with their standard of living, with a mean score of 8.33. The lowest levels of

satisfaction were seen amongst the unemployed (6.65) and those who were permanently sick or disabled (6.48).²⁴

- There were significant differences between those in different income brackets. Those in the top quartile had a mean satisfaction score of 8.28, compared with only 7.06 for those in the bottom income quartile.
- Perhaps unsurprisingly, the most striking differences related to self-rated hardship. Those who felt they were struggling or really struggling on their present income had the lowest mean score of all the groups explored, at 5.82. This compared with a mean score of 8.54 for those who were living really comfortably or comfortably.
- There was much less differentiation in mean scores by employment sector, although those who worked in the private sector were a little less satisfied than those in either the public or voluntary sectors or those who were self-employed.

3.12 This picture is consistent with previous years. Based on SSA data, particular groups have not become significantly more or less satisfied on average with their standard of living between 2010 and 2011.²⁵ The one exception to this was that the mean satisfaction was significantly higher among retired people in 2011 compared with 2010: 8.33 compared with 7.94. This finding is perhaps particularly interesting in the light of recent debates about intergenerational equity, in which some writers have suggested that older age groups may have been less affected by the recent recessions than their younger counterparts.²⁶

²⁴ Given this finding, it is unsurprising that those aged 65 and older were the age group with the highest level of reported satisfaction with their general standard of living – 8.36, compared with 7.82 among those aged 18-29 and 7.53/7.51 among those aged 30-39 and 40-64.

²⁵ It is worth noting, however, that this may in part be due to the relatively small sample sizes of some sub-groups meaning that a large increase in the mean score would be required to show a significant difference. For example because retired people make up c.30% of the total sample the increase of 0.39 between 2010 and 2011 was significant but as the unemployed only make up 7% of the sample the increase of 0.50 between 2010 and 2011 was not significant.

²⁶ See for example Wilby 'This sentimentality over old people is hitting our young' in the Guardian - <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2012/apr/19/sentimentality-old-people-hitting-young>. Wider issues around intergenerational equity were discussed in a recent book by David Willetts (2011) *The pinch: how the baby boomers took their children's future - and why they should give it back*, London: Atlantic

Table 3.2: Satisfaction with own standard of living – mean scores by objective and subjective economic factors (2007, 2009-2011)

	2007	2009	2010	2011
ALL	7.79	7.64	7.68	7.75
Employment status				
In work/ waiting to take up paid work	7.80	7.70	7.84	7.75
Education/ training scheme	8.20	8.15	7.96	7.67
Unemployed	6.52	6.32	6.15	6.65
Retired	8.20	8.10	7.94	8.33
Permanently sick or disabled	6.53	6.10	6.20	6.48
Looking after the home	7.71	7.82	7.30	7.85
Employment sector				
Private	7.73	7.46	7.55	7.55
Public & voluntary sector	7.88	7.80	7.77	7.94
Self-employed	7.73	8.14	7.88	7.96
Household Income				
Bottom quartile	7.02	6.75	6.91	7.06
2	7.53	7.27	7.62	7.80
3	7.80	7.75	7.91	7.79
Top quartile	8.37	8.28	8.27	8.28
Self-rated hardship¹				
Living comfortably	8.51	8.53	8.45	8.54
Neither/Coping	7.37	7.32	7.23	7.38

1 – NB the wording of this question was changed in 2010, from asking people whether they were living comfortably, coping or finding it difficult on their income, to asking whether they were living comfortably, struggling, or neither. From 2010 onwards the middle category represents those who were neither comfortable nor struggling on present income.

For sample sizes, see Annex A, Table A.18.

4 CHANGING VIEWS: STANDARDS IN PUBLIC SERVICES IN SCOTLAND

Introduction

4.1 This chapter summarises:

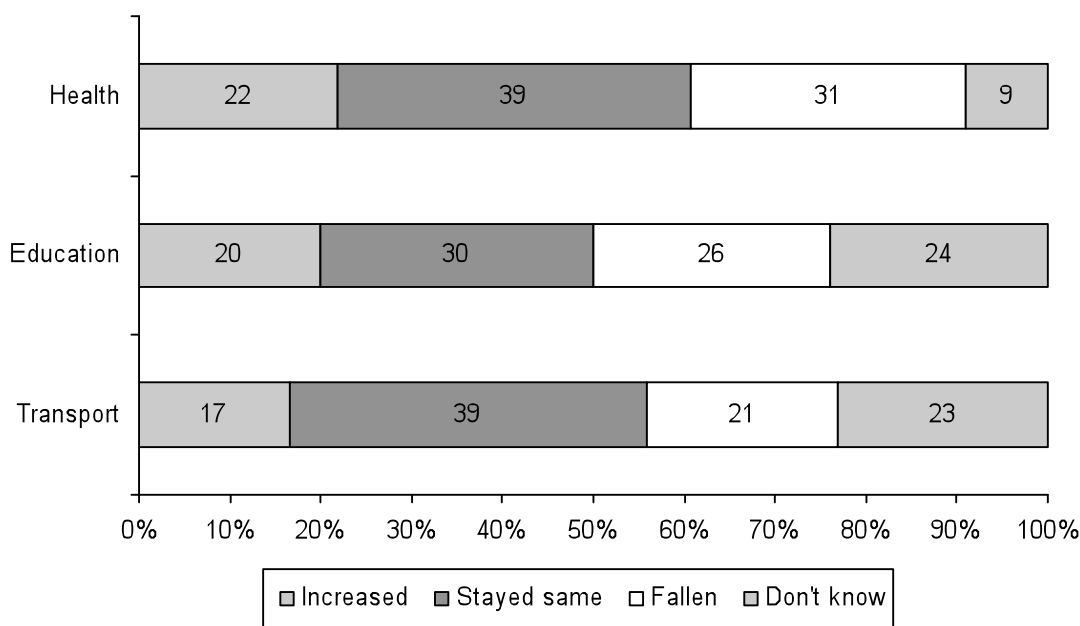
- Views on standards in the **health service, education and public transport** in Scotland in the past twelve months
- How views on the **health service, education and public transport** have changed over time
- How views on the performance of the health service compare with levels of **satisfaction with the health service**.

4.2 As discussed in Chapter One, the Scottish Government's national indicators include a commitment to improving perceptions of the quality of public services. The main data for this indicator is provided by questions in the Scottish Household Survey which ask people how satisfied they are overall with health services, public transport and schools. SSA takes a somewhat different approach to examining perceptions of public services. Rather than asking how satisfied people are, it asks whether they think that standards in key services (health, education and public transport) are *falling, increasing* or have *stayed the same* in the last year. Understanding perceptions of changing standards can help policy makers assess whether or not recent attempts to improve services (as well as any challenges they may have faced) are reflected in public opinion.

4.3 As discussed in previous chapters, the 2011 SSA survey took place in a context of intense debate about the impact of budget cuts on public services. Overall the Scottish budget in 2011 reduced by 5% in real terms (after adjusting for expected inflation of 1.9%). The health service budget was protected in 2011, but still reduced in real terms by 1.1%. In comparison, the education budget reduced by 10.3% in real terms. Furthermore, although certain parts of the transport budget increased (e.g. spending on motorways and trunk roads, and ferry services), overall the transport budget also decreased considerably.

4.4 However, in spite of these budget reductions, only a minority of between around 1 in 5 to 3 in 10 felt that standards in the health service, education and public transport in Scotland had *fallen* in the 12 months prior to the 2011 survey. The most common response in 2011 in relation to all three services was that standards had stayed the same (Figure 4.1 – 39% for each of health and public transport and 30% for education). Around 1 in 5 in each case felt that standards were increasing (22% for health, 20% for education and 17% for transport).

Figure 4.1: Perceptions of public service performance over the last 12 months²⁷



Base: All respondents.

Sample size: 1,197

4.5 More people felt that standards in the health service had fallen (31%) than said the same of standards in education (26%) or transport (21%). People were also more likely to have an opinion about standards in the NHS than about education and public transport. Around a quarter in each case (24% and 23%) felt they did not know whether standards in education or transport had increased, compared with around 1 in 10 for health (9%).

Perceptions of changing standards over time

4.6 Reviewing trends in standards in public services over the last five years shows that:

- The proportion that felt standards in the NHS had fallen in the past 12 months reduced marginally from 34% in 2010 to 31% in 2011.²⁸ The 2011 figure was still significantly higher than that for 2009 (25%), however.
- A slightly different pattern is apparent in relation to education, with a steady rise since 2007 in the proportion thinking that standards in education have fallen from 12% to 26% in 2011.
- At the same time, the proportion saying standards in education have stayed the same has reduced by 15 percentage points since 2007, from 45% to 30%.
- For public transport there has been a steady decline in the proportion saying standards have increased. In 2007, 27% thought that standards in

²⁷ See Annex A, Tables A.20 to A.22, for full breakdown of findings for these questions.

²⁸ This decrease was only marginally statistically significant ($p=0.096$).

transport had increased, but this had reduced by ten percentage points to 17% by 2011.

- The proportions of people saying standards in public transport have stayed the same or fallen were similar in 2007 and 2011 (38%/39% and 18%/21%).

Table 4.1: Recent trends in perceptions of standards in public services in Scotland

	2004	2005	2006	2007	2009	2010	2011
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Health service							
Increased	18	17	20	19	26	19	22
Same	31	38	31	45	41	35	39
Fallen	46	36	42	26	25	34	31
Don't know/not answered	5	10	8	10	8	11	9
Education							
Increased	26	25	30	20	22	19	20
Same	37	39	32	45	38	35	30
Fallen	21	16	18	12	19	23	26
Don't know/not answered	16	20	20	23	22	23	24
Public transport							
Increased	25	21	29	27	23	18	17
Same	41	36	34	38	41	45	39
Fallen	21	22	19	18	19	18	21
Don't know/not answered	13	21	18	17	18	19	23
<i>Sample size</i>	1637	1549	1594	1508	1482	1495	1197

Satisfaction with the health service

4.7 As discussed above, perceptions of changing standards in the NHS in 2010 and 2011 were somewhat more negative than they had been in 2007 and 2009. The questions reported above ask about perceptions of change, however, and not about overall satisfaction with a particular service at a particular point in time. Views on these two issues may differ. For example, people may think that service standards have stayed the same but still be satisfied with the standard provided. Equally, people may feel standards are improving, but still consider them to be unsatisfactory overall.

4.8 In 2011, SSA also included a question on overall satisfaction with the way the NHS runs nowadays.²⁹ In 2011, 56% of people in Scotland were 'very' or 'quite satisfied' with the way the NHS runs. This is considerably higher than the 22% who felt that standards in the NHS had improved in the 12 months prior to the

²⁹ This question was included in the Scottish Government core module for the first time in 2011, though it had been asked in SSA on a number of other occasions in the past (funded by the ESRC or self-funded by ScotCen Social Research).

2011 survey. Thus some of those who do not feel that standards are improving must nonetheless be satisfied with the NHS in Scotland overall.

4.9 This is confirmed by Table 4.2. Unsurprisingly, over four-fifths (83%) of people who said that standards in the NHS had increased were also either 'very' or 'quite satisfied' with how the NHS runs nowadays. But satisfaction levels were also high among those who thought standards had stayed the same - around two thirds (64%) were 'very' or 'quite satisfied'. And even among those who thought that standards had *fallen* in the last 12 months, over a quarter (27%) were 'very' or 'quite satisfied'. So although people were far less likely to be satisfied with the NHS if they thought standards had fallen, the majority of those who thought standards had either stayed the same or increased were satisfied with how the NHS runs nowadays. This explains why, although only 22% of people think that standards in the health service have increased in the last year, over half (56%) are satisfied with the NHS, as this group also includes the majority of those who think that standards have stayed the same in the past 12 months (as well as most of those who think that standards have increased and even some of those who think standards have fallen).

Table 4.2: Satisfaction with NHS by changes in NHS standards (2011)

	Increased	Stayed the same	Fallen	All
	%	%	%	%
Very/quite satisfied	83	64	27	56
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	12	22	21	19
Very/quite dissatisfied	6	12	52	24
Bases (weighted)	260	462	365	1087
Bases (Unweighted)	236	462	388	1086

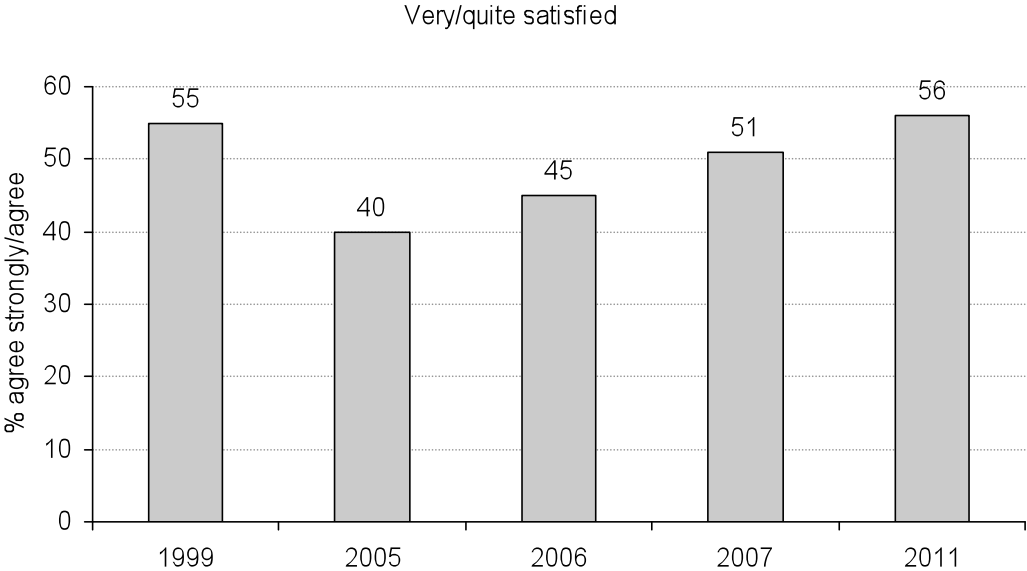
Base= All except those who said 'don't know' to changes in NHS standards question.

4.10 In terms of trends over time, satisfaction with the NHS in Scotland fell between 1999 and 2005, but has steadily been increasing since (Figure 4.2). In 2005, 40% of people were either 'very satisfied' or 'quite satisfied' with the way the NHS runs nowadays compared with 56% in 2011. A similar upward trend has been apparent in satisfaction with the NHS in Britain as a whole.³⁰ From the mid-2000s up to 2011, overall satisfaction with the NHS in Scotland thus appears to have been improving. Yet over the same period, perceptions of whether or not standards in the NHS are improving or falling have been more changeable, with recent years seeing an increase in the proportion who said standards were falling (rising 26% to 31% between 2007 and 2011). While the reasons for this difference in levels of satisfaction vis a vis perceptions of recent NHS performance are not clear, they may, perhaps, suggest that people are basing their responses to these two questions on rather different

³⁰ Evidence from the British Social Attitudes survey shows that from 2004 to 2010 the proportion of people saying they were either 'very' or 'quite satisfied' with the NHS increased from 43% to 70%, before falling back to 58% in 2011. For further details see Clery, E (2012) 'NHS: Taking the pulse: attitudes to the health service' in Park et al (eds.) (2012) and Appleby, J (2012) *Public satisfaction with the NHS and its services: Headline results from the British Social Attitudes Survey*, NatCen Social Research.

considerations. For example, perhaps people are more likely to draw on personal experience of specific services in assessing their overall satisfaction, while perceptions of standards may be more influenced by other factors, like media coverage around budget cuts to particular areas of the NHS, waiting times, particular cases where patients have had negative experiences of treatment, etc.

Figure 4.2: Proportion ‘very satisfied’ or ‘quite satisfied’ with the health service (1999 - 2011)



Sample size: See Annex B, Table 2

5 CHANGING VIEWS: RESPONSIBILITY AND INFLUENCE

Introduction

5.1 This chapter reports findings on:

- Who has most **influence** over how Scotland is run and who ought to have most influence over how Scotland is run
- Perceptions of who is **responsible** for the performance of the economy, standard of living, health service, education and transport
- Who is given the **credit** for good economic performance, standards in public services and standard of living and who is **blamed** for poor performance.

Influence over how Scotland is run

5.2 The majority of people in Scotland, around three-quarters, have long believed that the Scottish Government *ought* to have most influence over the way Scotland is run – 73% said this in 2011, compared with just 13% who felt it ought to be the UK Government (see Annex A, Table A.24).³¹ However, up until 2010, more people in Scotland believed that it was the UK Government who actually *had* most influence (Figure 5.1).

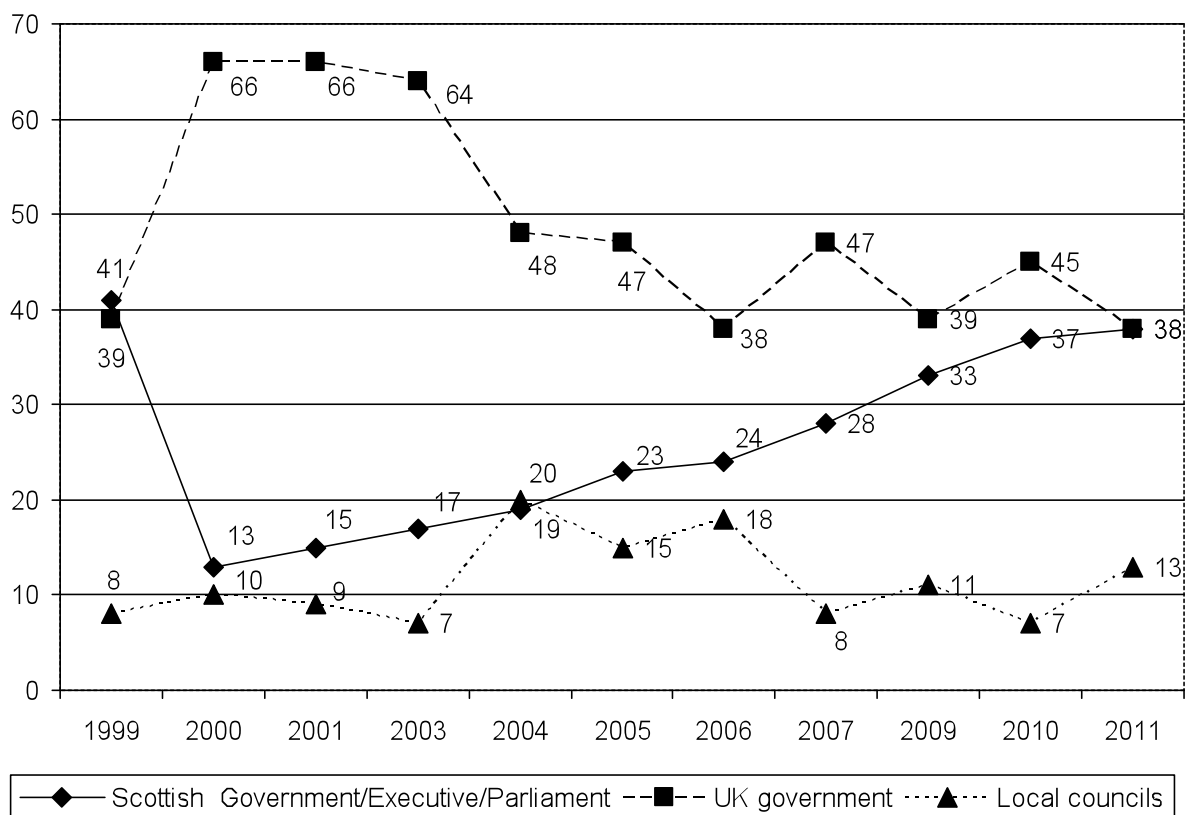
5.3 Since 2000 there has, nonetheless, been a steady rise in the proportion saying that the Scottish Government has most influence, from 13% in 2000 to 38% in 2011.³² Moreover, between 2010 and 2011 there was a 7 percentage point decrease, from 45% to 38%, in the proportion believing that the UK Government has most influence. This means that in 2011, for the first time, the proportion who said the Scottish Government had the most influence over how Scotland is run was the same as the proportion who said it was the UK Government (38%). The reduction in the proportion thinking that the UK Government has most influence was matched by a 6 percentage point increase in the proportion that believed local councils have most influence.³³

³¹ There was no statistically significant change in the proportion who said the SG ought to have most influence in 2011 compared with 2010. The change in the proportion who said the UK government ought to have most influence over the same period was only marginally statistically significant ($p = 0.084$).

³² The increase between 2010 and 2011 was not significant, however.

³³ In 2004 and 2006 a similar pattern was apparent - a rise on the previous year in the proportion believing local councils had most influence was accompanied by a reduction in the proportion of those saying it was the UK Government. The reasons for this fluctuating trend in the proportion attributing most influence to councils are unclear.

Figure 5.1: Who has most influence over the way Scotland is run? (1999-2007, 2009-2011, %)



Who do people hold responsible for changing standards?

5.4 In addition to asking whether people think standards in the economy, the standard of living, health, education and transport are increasing, falling or static (reported in Chapter Four), SSA also asks people what they attribute these standards to - Scottish Government policies, UK government policies or something else altogether. Health, education and transport are all devolved issues. The Scottish Parliament can make separate policy decisions from the rest of the UK and decide what proportion of Scotland's 'block grant' from Westminster to allocate to each of these areas. But perceptions about which institutions have the most influence over specific services may not necessarily reflect actual divisions of political responsibility. First, people's knowledge of who is responsible for particular policy areas may be limited. Christensen and Laegreid (2005) question whether people really know who is responsible for different public services 'in a complex public sector in which responsibility for different services is shared between the central, regional, and local levels and changes over time'. Second, the public may believe that whoever makes policy decisions, the size of the overall budget available to spend across all Scotland's public services is the factor that makes the biggest difference to standards. And the overall size of the Scottish budget is currently determined by Westminster.

- 5.5 Table 5.1 shows that from 2001 to 2007 more people thought that standards in the health service were mainly the result of UK Government policies than attributed them to the Scottish Government. In 2009 for the first time this was reversed. Thirty per cent of people thought the Scottish Government was responsible for standards in the health service compared with 23% of people believing it was the UK Government. This pattern switched back again in 2010, while in 2011, exactly the same proportion of people thought that the UK Government was responsible for health service standards as thought it was the Scottish Government (31%).
- 5.6 With respect to education, more people have viewed the Scottish Government as responsible from an earlier stage (since 2005). Over the last three years, around a third of people have said standards in education are mainly the result of Scottish Government policies (33% in 2011), while between 15% and 20% have attributed them to the UK Government.
- 5.7 Meanwhile, since the question was first asked in 2004, consistently more people have attributed public transport standards to the Scottish Government than felt they reflected UK Government policies. In 2011, 34% said that standards in public transport were the result of Scottish Government policies compared with only 12% who said they were due to UK Government policies.

Table 5.1: Trends in what people think standards in public services, the economy and standard of living are mainly a result of (2001, 2003-2007, 2009-2011)¹

	2001	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2009	2010	2011
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Health service									
Scottish Government	11	21	20	23	25	23	30	28	31
UK Government	53	38	42	39	32	34	23	32	31
Some other reason	16	17	18	14	18	17	21	18	17
Education									
Scottish Government	19	25	28	30	33	28	35	33	33
UK Government	40	30	29	28	20	22	15	20	20
Some other reason	14	12	15	12	15	15	18	15	14
Public transport²									
Scottish Government	NA	NA	28	28	31	31	31	36	34
UK Government	NA	NA	17	20	13	17	11	10	12
Some other reason	NA	NA	29	21	25	22	26	24	21
Standard of living									
Scottish Government	12	18	18	17	21	19	15	16	13
UK Government	53	43	38	42	33	37	31	39	47
Some other reason	18	16	24	19	22	22	34	30	25
Economy²									
Scottish Government	NA	NA	28	27	28	28	14	18	24
UK Government	NA	NA	28	30	21	24	31	35	38
Some other reason	NA	NA	17	13	18	15	36	30	19
<i>Sample size</i>	1605	1508	1637	1549	1594	1508	1482	1495	1197

1 – See also Annex A, Tables A.25 to A.29 for full figures including don't know and not answered.

2 – Public transport and economy was included in this set of questions for the first time in 2004.

5.8 In comparison with health, education and transport, where responsibility for policy is clearly devolved, the economy and general standard of living are more obviously influenced by both UK and Scottish government policies. They are also much more susceptible to external factors, such as the global recession and currency fluctuations.

5.9 Focusing on views since the start of the recession, Table 5.1 shows that in 2009 there was a shift away from believing that *either* the Scottish or the UK Government was responsible for the performance of the economy towards attributing this to 'some other reason'. As discussed in Ormston (2010), it seems likely that media coverage of the global recession and the banking crisis in 2009 meant that the public were temporarily less likely to blame the state of the economy on government. This perception was apparently short-lived, however. In 2010 and 2011, standards in the economy were again most commonly attributed to the UK Government. In 2011, 38% attributed economic performance to the UK Government, compared with 24% who said it reflected Scottish Government policies and 19% who thought it was the result of something other than government policy. The proportion attributing the standard of Scotland's economy to the Scottish Government did, however, increase slightly but significantly between 2010 and 2011, from 18% to 24%.

5.10 The Scottish Government has consistently been less likely than the UK Government to be seen as the institution with the most influence over the standard of living (Table 5.1). Moreover, between 2010 and 2011, there was a further significant increase in the proportion attributing standards to the UK Government, from 39% to 47%.

Who gets the 'credit' and who gets the 'blame'?

5.11 So far this chapter has shown that both the Scottish Government and the UK Government have been viewed as responsible for different policy areas in Scotland at different times. But the figures reported so far do not reveal whether people are holding each institution responsible for perceived improvements or for perceived declining standards. In other words, who is getting the 'credit' when things are seen to be going well, and who is getting the 'blame' from those who think standards have fallen? Table 5.2 shows what proportion of those who think standards have increased or fallen view these changes as mainly the result of Scottish Government policies, UK Government policies or 'some other reason'.

5.12 Overall in 2011, as in previous years, the Scottish Government was far more likely to be credited with increases in standards than to be blamed for falling standards. So, for example, among those who thought that standards had increased in the health service, 58% thought this was due to Scottish Government policies compared with only 15% crediting increasing standards to the UK Government. In contrast, it is the UK Government who is most likely to be blamed by those who think that standards are falling. For example, among those who thought that living standards had fallen, 58% blamed the UK Government compared with only 6% who blamed the Scottish Government. The one exception to this general pattern was among those who think standards in transport have fallen. More people, 38%, felt this was due to 'some other reason', compared with 31% who blamed the Scottish Government and 22% who blamed the UK Government.

Table 5.2: ‘Credit’ and ‘Blame’ for standards in public services, the economy and standard of living in the last 12 months (2011)

% of those who say standards have...	... Increased (credit)		... Fallen (blame)	
	2010	2011	2010	2011
	%	%	%	%
Standards in the Health Service are mainly the result of...				
Scottish Government policies	49	58	18	12
UK Government policies	30	15	49	54
Some other reason	16	20	21	21
Standards in education are mainly the result of ...				
Scottish Government policies	56	65	30	23
UK Government policies	23	12	40	46
Some other reason	14	14	22	22
Standards in public transport are mainly the result of ...				
Scottish Government policies	57	60	37	31
UK Government policies	11	13	12	22
Some other reason	24	19	41	38
Strength of the economy is mainly the result of...				
Scottish Government policies	39	69	14	11
UK Government policies	21	15	44	54
Some other reason	32	10	35	26
General standards of living are mainly the result of...				
Scottish Government policies	37	44	8	6
UK Government policies	33	31	49	58
Some other reason	22	12	36	27

See Annex A, Table A.30 for sample sizes.

5.13 The credit given to the Scottish Government for perceived improvements may be a reflection of people’s more positive attitudes towards the Scottish Government compared with the UK Government. As reported in Chapter Two, attitudes overall towards the Scottish Government also became more positive in 2011. So it is perhaps not surprising that between 2010 and 2011 the proportion crediting the Scottish Government with improving standards increased. This is particularly marked in relation to the economy, where the proportion of the minority who were positive about recent economic performance who credited this to the Scottish Government increased by 30 percentage points between 2010 and 2011 (from 39% to 69%). Conversely, more people blamed the UK Government for a weaker economy, 44% in 2010 compared with 54% in 2011.

Perceptions of general influence vs. attributions of specific responsibilities

5.14 The findings above beg the question of what the relationship is between attitudes towards who has most influence over the way Scotland is run in general, and who is perceived as responsible for standards in specific areas,

like education or the economy. As discussed, the perceived influence of the Scottish Government over how Scotland is run nowadays has risen steadily since 2000. However, the proportions who think the Scottish Government is responsible for changing standards in public services, the economy and the standard of living have either fluctuated or remained relatively stable. In 2011 the proportion who thought the Scottish Government had most influence was 38%, higher than the proportion who thought the Scottish Government was responsible for changing standards in any of the five specific policy areas explored.

5.15 The figures discussed in this section are informed by logistic regression analysis, which looked at what factors were significantly and independently associated with thinking the Scottish Government has the most influence over the way Scotland is run.³⁴ The following factors were explored:

- party identification
- who should make decisions for Scotland
- believing that the Scottish Parliament gives Scotland a stronger voice in the UK
- believing that the Scottish Government has most influence over standards in the health service, education, transport, the economy and standards of living.

5.16 The analysis showed that perceptions of overall influence over the way Scotland is run are not associated with who people see as responsible for specific policy areas. However, people's views on whether having a Scottish Parliament affects Scotland's voice in the UK and party political identification were strongly associated with believing the Scottish Government has most influence over the way Scotland is run.

- Forty five per cent of those who said having a Scottish Parliament gives Scotland a stronger voice in the UK believed that the Scottish Government has most influence, compared with only 20% of those who believed that having a Scottish Parliament makes no difference.
- In relation to party identification it matters less which party people identify with and more whether they identify with any political party. Those who do not identify with any political party are much less likely to believe the Scottish Government has the most influence over the way Scotland is run compared with those who identify with any of the four main parties. For example, 48% of SNP identifiers believed the Scottish Government has most influence compared with only 15% of those with no party identification. These findings are further evidence that being a party

³⁴ Logistic regression is a statistical technique that allows you to examine the relationship between a dependent variable (in this case, believing the Scottish Government has the most influence over how Scotland is run), and various independent variables (like party identification, strength of voice in the UK and who is responsible for standards in public services, etc.). The analysis identifies which of these independent variables are significantly and independently related to the dependent variable, after controlling for the inter-relationships between variables. For more detail and regression output, see Annex B.

identifier is associated with having more positive attitudes towards government (see also Chapter Two).

5.17 Taken together, these findings perhaps suggest that people's perceptions of who has most influence over Scotland as a whole are less a reflection of their understanding or perceptions of influence in specific policy areas, and more a reflection of general political beliefs and impressions of the efficacy of the Scottish political institutions in promoting Scotland's interests.

Figure 5.2: Proportion who think the Scottish Government has most influence over the way Scotland is run by impact of having a Scottish Parliament on Scotland's voice in the UK & party identification (2011, %)

	Scottish Government	Bases
Having a Scottish Parliament is giving Scotland...	%	
...a stronger voice in the UK	45	804
...a weaker voice in the UK	37	40
...makes no difference	20	331
Party identification		
Conservative	41	124
Labour	40	353
Lib Dem	30	68
SNP	48	397
None	15	147

6 ATTITUDES TO PROVIDING AND FUNDING PARTICULAR SERVICES

Introduction

6.1 This chapter summarises:

- The level of public support or opposition for (a) charities and (b) private companies providing care for older people
- Views on whether individuals should be charged for some services – specifically personal care for older people, meals while in hospital, individual music lessons in school and school trips.

6.2 The difficult economic context in which the 2011 SSA survey took place has been noted repeatedly in this report. The Christie Commission set out the scale of the challenge posed for the future delivery of public services in its final report, published in June 2011:

“The pressure on budgets is intense and public spending is not expected to return to 2010 levels in real terms for 16 years. In addition, new demographic and social pressures will entail a huge increase in the demand for public services. The economic downturn will also intensify and prolong demand.

Unless Scotland embraces a radical, new, collaborative culture throughout our public services, both budgets and provision will buckle under the strain.”

(Christie Commission, 2011)

6.3 The need to restructure and maximise value from limited public sector budgets has led to increasing debate across the UK about (a) the potential role of the private and voluntary sector in delivering some public services and (b) areas in which service users might reasonably be expected to make a contribution to the costs of the services they receive (co-payment).

6.4 In relation to the former debate, supporters of diversity of provision have long argued that by creating a ‘quasi-market environment’ in the provision of public services, providers will have an incentive to meet users preferences while keeping costs down (see discussion in Le Grand, 2003, 2007). In response, critics have argued that the private sector is insufficiently committed to a public service ethos, and that they may cut costs at the expense of service quality (see discussion in Curtice and Heath, 2009). More negative arguments about public service ethos are perhaps less frequently applied to third sector organisations. However, more generally it has been argued that the public may not be sufficiently well informed to choose between different providers, and that therefore the supposed benefits from provider diversity (whether involving the private or voluntary sectors) are unlikely to occur (see discussion in Curtice and Heath, 2009).

- 6.5 Introducing co-payment for some public services is one possible reaction to budget constraint and to the increasing demands users place on services. However, moves towards charging for services that were previously free inevitably attract extensive debate around fairness and equality of access. For example, the issue of charging university students tuition fees attracts heated debate in the UK. On the one hand, supporters argue that asking students to pay towards the costs of an education which, on average, is likely to lead to higher lifetime earnings is fairer than paying for this solely out of general taxation. On the other, it is argued that tuition fees restrict access to university, particularly for children in 'middle income' groups, and may undermine social mobility.
- 6.6 This chapter discusses attitudes to diversity of provision in the area of care for older people in particular. It then discusses attitudes to users paying for different elements of public services – specifically, personal care for older people, meals in hospital, individual music lessons in school, and school trips.

Who should provide services for older people?

- 6.7 The Christie Commission has identified 'Maximising scarce resources by utilising all available resources from the public, private and third sectors, individuals, groups and communities' as a priority. An obvious way of utilising resources in the private and voluntary sector is to involve them in delivering some public services. In fact, the private and third sectors have long been involved in delivering elements of public services - for example, both private companies and charities have been involved in providing care for older people across Scotland. However, previous public opinion research evidence has suggested that the involvement of private companies in particular in providing public services can be controversial, even in areas where they are already involved. For example, the 2007 Scottish Social Attitudes survey found that 51% of people in Scotland (compared with 43% in England and 50% in Wales) were opposed to private companies providing care. Across Britain as a whole, only 31% of people supported private companies providing government funded personal care for older people, while 43% were opposed (Curtice and Heath, 2009). In comparison, support in Britain for charities providing such services was higher, at 53%.
- 6.8 The 2010 Scottish Social Attitudes survey repeated these questions for a second time. As described in Ormston and Reid (2011), support in Scotland for organisations other than the state providing care for older people had increased significantly since 2007. Support for charities delivering such services in particular increased very substantially, from under half (44%) in 2007 to three quarters (74%) in 2011. Meanwhile, although still a minority position, support for private companies providing care also increased significantly, from 28% to 35%. The report concluded that "while private sector involvement in public services clearly remains a controversial issue, with respect to personal care services for older people there now appears to be a consensus that the voluntary sector is well placed to provide these services, whether alongside or instead of the state."

6.9 Rather than repeat these questions again, the 2011 survey attempted to explore in more detail public perceptions of the relative merits of voluntary sector and private sector providers vis-à-vis the public sector on two key dimensions – cost effectiveness and service quality. Focusing again on views about services for older people who need regular help, the survey asked people four questions, covering:

- Whether private companies or government would be better at running services for older people more cost effectively
- Whether charities/other 'not for profit organisations' or government would be better at running services for older people more cost effectively
- Whether private companies or government would provide the best quality service for older people who need regular help, and
- Whether charities/other 'not for profit organisations' or government would provide the best quality service for older people who need regular help.

6.10 In each case, the question asked people to answer on the basis that the service would be free to the people who use them, to focus responses on questions of provision rather than funding. Half the sample was asked questions about private companies first, and half was asked about charities first.

Perceptions of private sector and not-for-profit providers of care

6.11 The findings show that it is not the case that people view the private sector as more cost effective but reject private involvement in public services because of concerns about quality. In fact, people appear to prefer the government over the private sector on *both* grounds. Fifty-six per cent felt that government would definitely or probably provide the most cost effective services, compared with 39% who thought the private sector would do so (Table 6.1). Similarly, 60% felt government would provide better quality services, compared with 33% who thought the private sector would deliver higher quality. So while the public is slightly more likely to believe the private sector is best placed to deliver cost effective services than they are to think it will deliver best quality, in fact a majority think that the government would provide better services for older people than the private sector on both criteria.

6.12 In contrast, the public appear to rate third sector service providers more highly than government on both measures. Fifty six per cent said charities would provide more cost effective services, while 54% felt they would provide better quality services for older people who need regular help.

Table 6.1: Attitudes to who provides most cost effective and best quality services for older people who need regular help (2011)

	Private companies vs. government		Charities vs. government	
	Most cost effective	Best quality	Most cost effective	Best quality
	%	%	%	%
Definitely government	18	21	11	11
Probably government	38	39	26	28
Probably private companies /charities	30	26	46	42
Definitely private companies /charities	9	7	10	13
Neither/same/don't know	6	8	7	7
<i>Sample size</i>	1197	1197	1197	1197

Who is most likely to favour private care providers over government?

6.13 Further analysis looked at which groups of people were most likely to favour private companies and/or charities or 'not for profit' providers on each of these measures. Those who were most likely to feel that private companies could provide a more cost effective service for older people included: younger people, those on higher incomes, those with higher levels of educational qualification, private sector employees and the self-employed, and those who are more right wing in their general political beliefs (Table 6.2).³⁵ In more detail:

- Younger people were more positive than older people about the relative ability of private companies to deliver cost effective services for older people. Over half (52%) of 18-29 year-olds felt private companies were more likely than government to provide the most cost effective services, compared with just 30% of those aged 65 and older. The fact that older people – who are most likely to use such services either at the moment or in the near future – were more negative about the relative merits of private sector involvement reflects findings from earlier years of SSA and BSA (see Ormston and Reid, 2011 and Curtice and Heath, 2009).
- Those on higher incomes were more likely than those on lower incomes to believe that private companies would provide the most cost effective services – 48% of those with household incomes over £44,200 felt this, compared with 35% of those with annual incomes of £14,300 or less.
- Those with higher levels of educational qualification were also more likely to think this – 43% of those with degrees and 43% of those with Higher level qualifications felt the private sector would provide the most cost effective services, compared with just 26% of those with no qualifications.
- Those who work for the private sector or are self-employed were, perhaps unsurprisingly, more likely than public or third sector employees to feel that

³⁵ As measured by a set of questions examining views on the distribution of resources in society, whether government should redistribute income and attitudes to 'big business'. Responses to each question in this set were combined to give an average 'score' on a left-right scale. Respondents were then divided into three groups – left, centre and right – based on their total scores on this scale.

the private sector would provide the most cost effective service (43%/44%, compared with 32%).

- Those who are generally more left-wing in their political beliefs were less likely to feel the private sector would provide a more cost effective service for older people than would government (27%, compared with 45% of those on the right).

6.14 Variations in attitudes towards whether or not the private sector or government would provide the best quality service for older people generally followed similar patterns to those described above. However, variations by income were not significant. The pattern of responses by education was somewhat different – it was those qualified to Higher level who were most positive about the private sector on this measure (42%), while both graduates (30%) and those with no qualifications (26%) were less likely to feel private companies would provide better quality services than government.

6.15 In combination, these findings indicate that some groups – for example, older people and those who are more politically left wing – may simply have a preference for government rather than private companies providing services for older people. In contrast, others – including graduates and those on high incomes – appear to draw distinctions between the perceived ability of private companies to provide more cost effective services and their ability to provide better quality services.

Who is most likely to favour not-for-profit care providers over government?

6.16 There were fewer significant variations in attitudes to the relative cost effectiveness of charitable service providers compared with government. In particular, there was little variation by how left or right wing people were or by occupational sector. This suggests that where the involvement of private companies in delivering services may divide people depending on their political beliefs, the involvement of voluntary sector organisations may be less politically contentious. Meanwhile, while patterns by age and income followed a similar pattern to those noted above, differences were less pronounced and were not statistically significant.

6.17 Education was, however, significantly related to thinking both that charities could provide a relatively more cost effective service and that they would provide the best quality service. The difference here was primarily between those with no qualifications – who were less likely to feel charities could provide more cost effective or better quality services than government – and those with any level of educational qualification. Meanwhile, younger people and those on higher incomes were again significantly more likely than older people and those on lower incomes to feel that charities would provide better quality services than government. Sixty-five per cent of those aged 18-29 felt this compared with 45% of those aged 65 or older. Similarly 65% of those with incomes over £44,200 a year said this, compared with 50-54% of those on lower incomes.

Table 6.2: Attitudes to who provides most cost effective and best quality services for older people who need regular help, by demographic factors and political attitudes (2011)

	Private companies vs. government		Charities / 'not for profit' vs. government		Sample size
	Most cost effective	Best quality	Most cost effective	Best quality	
	%	%	%	%	
All	39	33	56	54	1,197
Gender³⁶					
Men	39	29	53	51	528
Women	39	36	59	58	669
Age					
18-29	52	54	63	65	143
30-39	43	37	55	57	182
40-64	34	25	57	53	531
65+	30	26	51	45	337
Annual household income					
Up to £14,300	35	38	51	50	322
Over £14,300 to £26,000	38	32	54	53	208
Over £26,000 to £44,200	43	31	60	54	233
Over £44,200	48	32	62	65	205
Highest educational qualification					
Degree/Higher Education	43	30	60	57	403
Highers/A-levels	43	42	61	57	216
Standard Grades/GCSEs	39	34	55	58	290
No recognised qualification	26	26	47	43	284
Occupational sector					
Private sector	43	36	57	55	573
Public sector / Charity	32	27	57	54	391
Self-employed	44	25	51	53	135
Position on political left-right scale					
Left	27	25	54	51	390
Centre	44	37	59	57	341
Right	45	36	58	56	423

6.18 In summary, younger people appear more positively disposed than older people to the relative merits of both private companies and charities as service providers for older people, while those with no educational qualifications were less positive about both. Public sector employees and those who are more politically left-wing in general were more negative than private sector employees and those who are more right-wing about private companies, but

³⁶ Women were no more likely than men to feel that private companies and charities would provide the more cost effective services. Gender differences in viewing charities and private companies as more likely to provide the best quality services were only marginally statistically significant.

not about charities. Graduates and those on higher incomes appear to draw distinctions between the ability of the private sector to deliver more cost effective services and its ability to deliver better quality services for older people. However, they did not appear to make similar distinctions with respect to charities.

Who should pay for services?

6.19 As discussed above, the issue of involving users in paying for public services is almost inevitably a contentious one. Yet against a back drop of limited public sector budgets, the question of whether there are some services people might reasonably be expected to make a direct contribution towards is unlikely to disappear. Public attitudes towards co-payment may be affected by a range of considerations, including:

- the likely level of payment required
- how 'essential' the service is perceived to be
- which groups of users are affected – people may perhaps be more supportive of charging for services they themselves do not currently use; equally, there may be some groups of users who are viewed more sympathetically than others
- understanding of current policy – people may be more willing to continue to pay for areas where charges already exist than to start paying in new areas.

6.20 SSA 2011 included questions about funding in four areas:

- Personal care for older people.
- The cost of meals while in hospital
- The cost of individual music lessons in schools, and
- The cost of school trips to local museums.

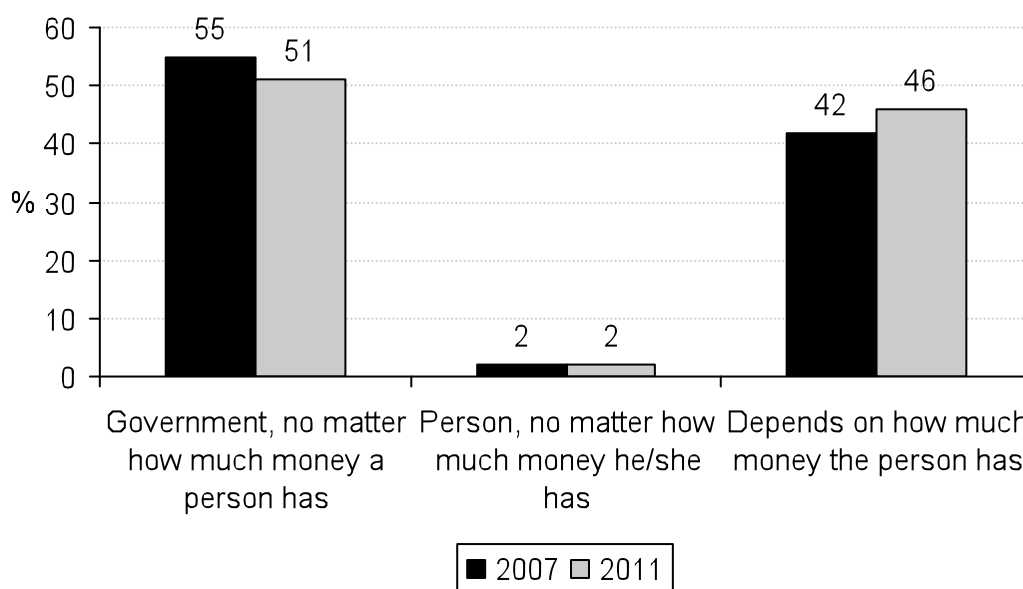
6.21 The latter three questions were prefaced by statements that 'one way of helping to fund the NHS is to charge people for certain things', and that 'one way of helping to fund state schools is to charge parents for certain things'.

6.22 Free personal care is an area where the current position in Scotland is both different from that in England and different from policy in Scotland just over a decade ago. Personal care - such as help with washing and eating – was made free for everyone over 65 in Scotland in 2002. Meanwhile, in England such care continues to be means-tested. While hospital meals are free for all NHS in-patients, policy on who pays for individual music lessons and school trips (where these are not part of the curriculum) can vary between local authorities. The issue of charging for school musical instrument lessons hit the headlines in mid-2011, when a survey by teaching union EIS suggested that 25 of 32 local authorities in Scotland would be charging pupils up to £400 per term for lessons and instrument hire – reported as an increase of nine authorities on the previous year (Scotsman, 4 June 2011).

Who do people think should pay for personal care for older people?

6.23 Respondents were asked who they thought should pay for regular help for older people who need help looking after themselves. Figure 6.1 shows responses to this question in 2011 and in 2007, when it was included in SSA as part of a module of questions on public services funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC). The findings suggest that the issue of whether personal care should be provided free of charge on a universal basis or whether it should be means tested divides the Scottish public. In 2011, 51% felt that the government should pay for such care, no matter how much money a person has. However, almost as many (46%) thought it should depend on how much money the person has – in other words, that it should be means tested. The slight decline between 2007 and 2011 in the proportion saying that personal care should be provided freely on a universal basis was not quite statistically significant.³⁷ However, it is clear that it would only take a small further shift for the balance of public opinion to be reversed in favour of means testing rather than universal free personal care.

Figure 6.1: Views on who should pay for care for older people who need regular help looking after themselves, 2007 and 2011



Base: All respondents.

Sample size: 2007 = 1,508; 2011 = 1,197

Differences in attitudes to who should pay for care

6.24 Table 6.3 shows how views on who should pay for personal care for older people vary between different groups in Scottish society. In interpreting this table, it is important to note that where views on an issue divide roughly down the middle, differences need to be bigger before they are statistically

³⁷ At the 95% level ($p = 0.077$).

significant.³⁸ Thus while it may appear that women are more supportive than men of universal free personal care and that support for this policy increases with household income, in fact these differences are not statistically significant. Differences by age, education and how politically left or right wing people are were significant, however. Those aged 30 or older were more likely than those aged under 30 to believe the government should pay for personal care for older people, no matter how much money a person has (52-56% of those aged 30 or older thought this, compared with 41% of those under 30). Support for universal free personal care decreased with level of education, while support for means testing increased. For example, 68% of those with no qualifications felt the government should pay for care for all older people who need regular help looking after themselves, no matter how much money the person has. This figure falls to 39% among graduates. Finally, those who are more politically left-wing were more supportive of personal care being funded on a universal basis – 59% of those on the left said this, compared with 42% of those with more right-wing beliefs about the role of government.

³⁸ This is because the confidence interval for a survey finding of around 50% is bigger than the confidence intervals for a finding of, say, 10% or 90%. Confidence intervals recognise the fact that, because findings are based on a survey of a sample of the population rather than on a census, there is always a margin of error attached to the results. Confidence intervals are typically expressed as a range – for example, a 95% confidence interval of 50% +/-5% indicates that we are confident that if we repeated the survey with different random samples from the same population, 95 times out of a 100 the finding would fall between 45% and 55%. The fact that confidence intervals are wider for survey findings around 50% than for bigger or smaller percentages reflects the fact that, where a view evenly divides a population, it is easier for a random sample of that population to include many more or less people who hold that view just by chance. In contrast, if most people in a population hold a particular view, it is less likely that a random sample will, by chance, include many fewer people who do so. Similarly, if few people hold a view, it is less likely that a random sample will, by chance, include many more people who hold this view.

Table 6.3: Attitudes to who should pay for care for older people, by demographic factors and political attitudes (2011)

	Government, no matter how much money person has	Person, no matter how much money he/she has	Who pays should depend on how much money person has	Don't know	Sample size
	%	%	%	%	N
All	51	2	46	1	1,197
Gender³⁹					
Men	47	3	48	1	528
Women	54	2	44	1	669
Age					
18-29	41	1	58	-	143
30-39	54	3	43	-	182
40-64	52	3	44	1	531
65+	56	3	41	1	337
Annual household					
Up to £14,300	55	2	44	*	322
Over £14,300 to £26,000	51	2	46	1	208
Over £26,000 to £44,200	49	3	48	*	233
Over £44,200	45	3	50	2	205
Highest educational qualification					
Degree/Higher Education	39	3	57	1	403
Highers/A-levels	50	2	47	1	216
Standard Grades/GCSEs	54	2	42	2	290
No recognised qualification	68	2	29	*	284
Position on political left-right scale					
Left	59	*	40	*	390
Centre	50	2	47	1	341
Right	42	5	52	1	423

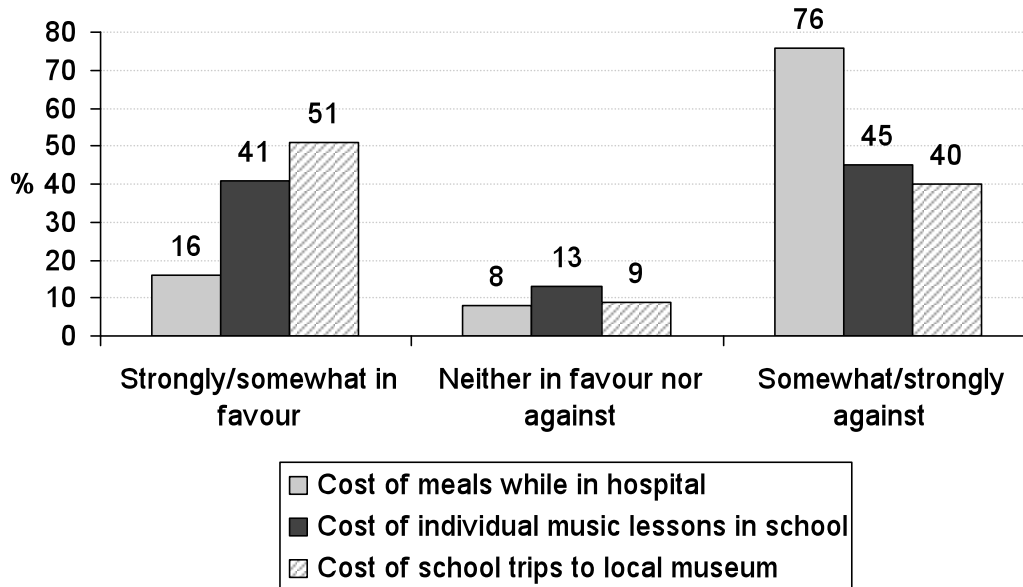
Attitudes to charging for hospital meals, school trips, and musical instrument lessons

6.25 Figure 6.2 shows attitudes to charging for meals in hospital and for school-based individual musical instrument lessons and school trips. There was strong opposition to charging patients for their meals while in hospital – 76% were either somewhat against or strongly against this idea. However, opinion on charging parents for school-based activities was more divided. While 45% were against charging for individual musical instrument lessons, 41% were in favour of this. Meanwhile, a narrow majority (51%) favoured charging parents for the cost of a school trip to a local museum. These differences perhaps reflect a greater tendency to view these school-based activities as ‘additional’ to the

³⁹ Difference by gender were not significant (p = 0.113).

'core' service schools deliver. In contrast, the fact that opposition to charging for hospital meals was so strong may suggest that meals are viewed as an essential part of the service provided by hospitals. Alternatively, perhaps, as suggested in paragraph 6.19, people are simply less willing to pay for services that are currently free (like hospital meals) and more supportive of paying for services that are already more commonly charged for (like school trips).

Figure 6.2: Attitudes to charging for different services (2011)



Base: All respondents.

Sample size: 2007 = 1,508; 2011 = 1,197

See also Annex A, Table A.31 to A.33 for full figures.

6.26 These questions were also included in a 2007 module on attitudes to public services, funded by the ESRC. There has been relatively little change in views on these issues in the last four years (Table 6.4). To the extent that views have shifted, they have moved very slightly in favour of charging for hospital meals (from 10% in favour in 2007 to 16% in favour in 2011) and charging parents for the cost of school trips (from 45% in favour in 2007 to 51% in 2011).⁴⁰ However, the amount of change over time is perhaps less than might be expected given the dramatic changes in the economy and the widely reported impacts on public sector budgets that occurred between 2007 and 2011. The economic downturn does not, therefore, appear to have resulted in many more people in Scotland feeling that charging for public services is an appropriate way of dealing with the budget deficit.

⁴⁰ Changes in the proportions in favour or against charging for individual music lessons were not statistically significant.

Table 6.4: Attitudes to charging for different services, 2007 and 2011

	2007	2011
	%	%
Hospital meals		
In favour	10	16
Neither in favour nor against	7	8
Against	82	76
Individual music lessons in school		
In favour	38	41
Neither in favour nor against	14	13
Against	46	45
School trips to a local museum		
In favour	45	51
Neither in favour nor against	13	9
Against	41	40

See Annex A, Table A.31 to A.33 for full figures.

Differences in attitudes to charging for hospital meals, school trips, and musical instrument lessons

6.27 There were relatively few significant differences in support for charging for each of these services between different groups in Scottish society (Table 6.5). Views did not vary significantly by age or income, while those with and without school aged children were equally likely to favour charging for the two school activities. However, there were a few significant differences of opinion, primarily in relation to charging for in-school musical instrument lessons:

- Women were slightly more likely than men to favour charging parents for the costs of school-based individual musical instrument lessons (45% compared with 37%)
- Those with no recognised educational qualifications were less likely to favour charging for musical instrument lessons (34%, compared with 42-44% of those with some form of qualification)
- Those who were more politically left-wing in terms of their general beliefs about the role of the state were less likely to favour charging for hospital meals (12%, compared with 20% of those with more right wing views) or school-based musical instrument lessons (35%, compared with 48% of those on the right).

Table 6.5: Support for charging for services, by demographic factors and political attitudes (2011)

% strongly support/somewhat support charging	Meals while in hospital	Individual music lessons in school	School trips to a local museum	Sample size
	%	%	%	<i>N</i>
All	16	41	51	1197
Gender⁴¹				
Men	15	37	50	528
Women	16	45	51	669
Age				
18-29	13	38	55	143
30-39	15	40	46	182
40-64	16	40	50	531
65+	17	46	51	337
Annual household income				
Up to £14,300	11	38	46	322
Over £14,300 to £26,000	18	41	53	208
Over £26,000 to £44,200	15	40	59	233
Over £44,200	17	46	48	205
Highest educational qualification				
Degree/Higher Education	16	43	48	403
Highers/A-levels	17	42	57	216
Standard Grades/GCSEs	14	44	53	290
No recognised qualification	16	34	46	284
Position on political left-right scale				
Left	12	35	47	390
Centre	15	40	52	341
Right	20	48	54	423
School-aged children in the household				
No	N/A	41	50	948
Yes	N/A	41	53	248

⁴¹ Difference by gender were not significant ($p = 0.113$).

7 CONCLUSIONS

- 7.1 The outcome of the Scottish Parliament elections that took place shortly before SSA 2011 fieldwork was unprecedented, delivering a majority government for the first time in the new Parliament's history. At the same time, the impacts of the 2009 recession continued to be felt, with slow growth and rising prices. And major cuts to public sector budgets, first announced by the UK Government in 2010, significantly reduced the Scottish budget for 2011-12. Against this context of political change and ongoing economic uncertainty, this concluding chapter summarises key changes in public attitudes to government, the economy and public services in Scotland.
- 7.2 In 2011 people in Scotland held particularly positive attitudes towards the Scottish Government, with responses returning to, or surpassing, the high levels recorded in 2007. Levels of trust in the Scottish Government increased, back to the levels recorded in 2007. People were more likely to say that the Scottish Government is good at listening before making decisions, with levels at their highest since the question was first asked in 2004. Perceptions of the Scottish Parliament also improved. There were sharp rises in the proportions who thought that having a Scottish Parliament gave ordinary people more say in how Scotland is governed and thought that having a Scottish Parliament gave Scotland a stronger voice in the UK. Attitudes to government often become more positive in an election year: a phenomenon sometimes known as an 'election bounce'. However, the size of the improvement in attitudes between 2010 and 2011 was particularly marked. On some measures (particularly those relating to the Parliament), positive attitudes almost matched the very high levels recorded in 1999 – suggesting that, for the first time, public perceptions of the devolved institutions are living up to their early expectations.
- 7.3 People who identify with the winning party in an election are more likely to be positive about the government overall. Between 2010 and 2011 the proportion of SSA respondents who identified with the SNP doubled, from 17% to 33%. And perceptions of the Scottish Government and Parliament were indeed more positive among SNP identifiers. However, those who identified with Labour and the Conservatives also became more positive about the Scottish Government than they had been in 2010. There was considerably less change though among those who did not identify with any political party – which may suggest that elections are more effective in improving perceptions among those with an interest in party politics.
- 7.4 The difficult economic situation continued to be reflected in negative public assessments of the recent performance of Scotland's economy and the general standard of living. However, whilst views of the economy became slightly more positive between 2010 and 2011, perceptions of the standard of living became still more negative. This may reflect the perceived impact of public sector cuts, job insecurity and price rises in food and fuel in 2011. However, across four different measures of life satisfaction, levels of subjective wellbeing have been remarkably constant since 2007 in spite of negative perceptions of the general standard of living in Scotland. This may reflect findings from previous studies, which have shown that subjective wellbeing is more strongly related to

perceptions of relative wealth, rather than objective income. Perhaps many people believe that, compared to others, they are still relatively fortunate. However, SSA 2011 again showed lower subjective wellbeing scores for the unemployed, people with disabilities, those in the lowest income quartile and those struggling or really struggling on their present income.

- 7.5 In spite of significant public sector budget reductions, only a minority felt that standards in the health service, education and public transport in Scotland had fallen in the past year. More people believed standards had fallen in the health service than in education or transport. But at the same time, the proportion satisfied with the way the NHS runs nowadays has increased from 40% in 2005 to 56% in 2011. The majority of those who thought either that standards in the health service had improved or that they had stayed the same were very or quite satisfied with the NHS.
- 7.6 The proportion saying the Scottish Government has most influence over how Scotland is run has increased from 13% in 2000 to 38% in 2011. However, perceptions of which institution has most influence over Scotland as a whole do not always appear to neatly match perceptions of responsibility for specific areas, like transport and education. Further analysis suggests that perceptions of which institution has most overall influence over how Scotland is run are more strongly associated with political attitudes (e.g. party political identification and beliefs about whether having a Scottish Parliament is giving Scotland a stronger voice in the UK) than with perceptions of who is responsible for performance in specific policy areas.
- 7.7 In 2011, the Scottish Government was far more likely to be credited with perceived increases in standards than blamed for falling standards in health, education, transport, the economy and standard of living. At the same time, the UK Government was more likely to be 'blamed' by those who felt standards were falling in each of these areas. This uneven pattern of 'credit' and 'blame' has been apparent in responses to SSA since the questions were first asked in 2001, but is particularly pronounced in 2011.
- 7.8 Findings on attitudes towards the relative cost effectiveness and quality of different potential providers of services for older people continue to suggest a public preference for government rather than private sector providers. However, more people thought charities rather than government would provide the most cost effective and best quality service, suggesting that greater third sector involvement in service delivery may meet less opposition.
- 7.9 The question of whether personal care for older people ought to be means tested or free to all divides public opinion. Meanwhile, public sector budget restrictions do not appear to have impacted on views about the acceptability of charging for hospital meals, individual school music lessons or school trips. Differences in views across these questions may suggest that introducing charges in areas where services are currently free to all may attract more public disapproval than extending charges in areas where some already pay.

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ANNEX A – DETAILED TABLES

Notes on tables

- ‘*’ indicates less than 0.5 percent but greater than zero
- ‘-’ indicates no respondents gave this answer
- All figures are rounded to the nearest whole number (from 2 decimal places, such that 0.49 rounds down and 0.51 up)

Chapter 2 detailed tables

Table A.1: How much do you trust the UK government to work in Scotland’s best long-term interest? (column %)

	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Just about always	3	1	2	2	2	2
Most of the time	29	16	20	17	19	20
Only some of the time	52	54	55	51	58	50
Almost never	14	26	22	26	20	26
(Don’t know)	-	-	-	-	-	2
(Not answered)	-	-	-	-	-	*
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>1482</i>	<i>1663</i>	<i>1605</i>	<i>1665</i>	<i>1508</i>	<i>1637</i>
	2005	2006	2007	2009	2010	2011
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Just about always	2	2	3	2	3	3
Most of the time	21	19	32	23	19	15
Only some of the time	53	52	44	48	51	49
Almost never	21	24	18	24	23	31
(Don’t know)	3	3	3	3	3	2
(Not answered)	*	-	*	-	-	-
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>1549</i>	<i>1594</i>	<i>1508</i>	<i>1482</i>	<i>1495</i>	<i>1197</i>

Table A.2: How much do you trust the Scottish Government/Executive /Parliament* to work in Scotland's best interests?

	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Just about always	26	9	13	9	10	9
Most of the time	55	45	52	43	52	43
Only some of the time	14	34	29	34	31	37
Almost never	2	9	5	11	4	10
(Don't know)	-	-	-	-	-	2
(Not answered)	-	-	-	-	-	*
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>1482</i>	<i>1663</i>	<i>1605</i>	<i>1665</i>	<i>1508</i>	<i>1637</i>
	2005	2006	2007	2009	2010	2011
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Just about always	10	8	14	14	13	20
Most of the time	46	43	57	47	47	51
Only some of the time	33	37	22	31	31	23
Almost never	7	8	4	5	6	5
(Don't know)	3	3	4	3	2	1
(Not answered)	*	-	*	*	*	-
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>1549</i>	<i>1594</i>	<i>1508</i>	<i>1482</i>	<i>1495</i>	<i>1197</i>

*Prior to 2004, the question asked about the Parliament. In 2004 an experiment was run whereby half the sample was asked about the Scottish Parliament and half was asked about the Scottish Executive. The change of wording made negligible difference to the responses given therefore the combined results are shown here. In 2009, the wording was changed again to ask about the Scottish Government, following the September 2007 name change.

Table A.3: How much do you trust the UK government to make fair decisions? (column %)

	2006	2007	2009	2010	2011
	%	%	%	%	%
A great deal	2	3	2	3	3
Quite a lot	21	30	17	21	15
Some	46	43	48	44	42
Not very much	23	17	24	23	27
Not at all	6	4	7	7	11
(Don't know)	3	3	2	2	1
(Not answered)	-	*	*	-	-
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>1594</i>	<i>1508</i>	<i>1482</i>	<i>1495</i>	<i>1197</i>

Table A.4: How much do you trust the Scottish Government to make fair decisions? (column %)

	2006	2007	2009	2010	2011
	%	%	%	%	%
A great deal	3	4	4	4	8
Quite a lot	29	42	32	32	38
Some	46	39	46	46	39
Not very much	15	8	13	13	11
Not at all	5	2	3	3	3
(Don't know)	3	4	3	2	1
(Not answered)	*	*	*	-	-
<i>Sample size</i>	1594	1508	1482	1495	1197

Table A.5: How much would you say you've seen or heard about the work of the UK government over the last twelve months?

	2004	2005	2006	2009	2010	2011
	%	%	%	%	%	%
A great deal	11	12	14	23	21	13
Quite a lot	23	27	27	29	27	32
Some	29	26	26	23	26	26
Not very much	31	29	26	19	21	22
Nothing at all	5	5	6	4	4	6
(Don't know)	1	2	1	1	1	1
(Not answered)	-	*	-	-	-	-
<i>Sample size</i>	1637	1549	1594	1482	1495	1197

Note: this question was not asked on SSA 2007

Table A.6: And how much would you say you've seen or heard about the work of the Scottish Government/Executive* over the last twelve months?

	2004	2005	2006	2009	2010	2011
	%	%	%	%	%	%
A great deal	9	7	8	14	11	13
Quite a lot	21	24	27	32	27	36
Some	30	28	31	29	31	27
Not very much	33	34	26	20	26	20
Nothing at all	7	7	7	4	4	3
(Don't know)	1	1	1	1	1	*
(Not answered)	-	*	-	-	-	-
<i>Sample size</i>	1637	1549	1594	1482	1495	1197

Note: this question was not asked on SSA 2007

* Prior to 2009, the question asked about the 'Scottish Executive'.

Table A.7: In general how good would you say the Scottish Executive/Government* is at listening to people's views before it takes decisions?

	2004	2005	2006	2007	2009	2010	2011
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Very good	1	3	2	2	4	3	6
Quite good	31	32	34	41	44	41	50
Not very good	41	38	39	35	33	37	26
Not at all good	17	16	14	9	8	11	8
(Don't know)	10	12	11	13	11	8	9
(Not answered)	*	*	-	*	-	-	-
<i>Sample size</i>	1637	1549	1594	1508	1482	1495	1197

*From 2004-2007, the question asked about the Scottish Executive. In 2009, the question was amended to ask about the Scottish Government.

Table A.8: And how good would you say the UK government is at listening to people's views before it takes decisions?

	2004	2005	2006	2007	2009	2010	2011
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Very good	1	1	1	*	1	1	1
Quite good	14	15	17	21	17	21	18
Not very good	50	52	49	50	51	51	48
Not at all good	30	25	27	21	23	20	27
(Don't know)	6	7	7	8	7	7	6
(Not answered)	*	*	*	*	-	-	-
<i>Sample size</i>	1637	1549	1594	1508	1482	1495	1197

Table A.9: From what you have seen and heard so far do you think that having a Scottish parliament is giving ordinary people...

	1997*	1999**	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
...more say in how Scotland is	79	64	44	38	31	39	31
...less say	2	2	3	4	4	4	6
...or, is it making no difference	17	32	51	56	62	54	60
(Don't know)	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
(Not answered)	-	-	-	-	-	-	*
<i>Sample size</i>	882	1482	1663	1605	1665	1508	1637
	2005	2006	2007	2009	2010	2011	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	
...more say in how Scotland is	37	37	47	47	42	60	
...less say	5	5	3	3	4	3	
...or, is it making no difference	55	55	45	47	50	33	
(Don't know)	4	4	4	3	4	4	
(Not answered)	*	-	*	*	-	-	
<i>Sample size</i>	1549	1594	1508	1482	1495	1197	

*1997 data source = Referendum study

**1999-2009 data source = Scottish Social Attitudes survey

Note: The question wording in each year was:

1999 "Will a Scottish Parliament..."

2000 "Do you think that having a Scottish parliament is going to..."

2001 onwards "Do you think that having a Scottish Parliament is giving..."

Table A.10: From what you have seen and heard so far do you think that having a Scottish parliament is giving Scotland.....

	1997 Ref	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
...a stronger voice in the United Kingdom	70	70	52	52	39	49	35
...a weaker voice in the United Kingdom	9	7	6	6	7	7	7
...or, is it making no difference?	17	20	40	40	52	41	55
(Don't know)	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
(Not answered)	-	-	-	-	-	-	*
<i>Sample size</i>	882	1482	1663	1605	1665	1508	1637
	2005	2006	2007	2009	2010	2011	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	
...a stronger voice in the United Kingdom	41	43	61	52	49	69	
...a weaker voice in the United Kingdom	6	6	4	5	6	3	
...or, is it making no difference?	50	49	32	40	42	26	
(Don't know)	3	3	3	3	3	2	
(Not answered)	*	-	*	*	-	-	
<i>Sample size</i>	1549	1594	1508	1482	1495	1197	

Note:

The question wording in each year was:

1999 "Will a Scottish Parliament..."

2000 "Do you think that having a Scottish parliament is going to..."

2001 onwards "Do you think that having a Scottish Parliament is giving..."

Table A.11: Trust Scottish Government/Executive 'just about always'/'most of the time' to act in Scotland's best interests, by demographic factors, newspaper readership and political attitudes, 2010 and 2011 (cell %)

	2010	Sample size	2011	Sample size	Change 10 to 11
ALL	61	1495	71	1197	+10
Gender					
Men	66	662	77	528	+11
Women	56	833	66	669	+10
Education					
None	46	337	61	284	+15
Degree/HE	67	498	79	403	+12
Newspaper readership					
Tabloid	58	480	67	398	+9
Broadsheet	66	285	79	211	+13
No paper	61	703	73	563	+12
Party identification					
Conservative	59	215	70	124	+11
Labour	60	485	70	353	+10
Lib Dem	72	185	69	68	-3
SNP	75	256	84	397	+9
None	44	205	56	147	+12
Other	53	149	54	108	+1
Interest in politics					
A great deal/quite a lot	67	491	83	398	+16
Some	63	510	73	351	+10
Not very much/none	52	494	60	448	+8
Constitutional preference					
UK govt should make all decisions	30	142	33	64	+3
UK govt tax, benefits, defence and foreign affairs, Scottish Parliament	63	418	67	273	+4
UK govt defence and foreign affairs, Scottish Parliament everything else	66	468	75	357	+9
Scottish Parliament should make all decisions	66	424	76	473	+10

Table A.12: Belief that Scottish Government is 'very/quite good' at listening, by demographic factors, newspaper readership and political attitudes, 2010 and 2011 (cell %)

	2010	Sample size	2011	Sample size	Change 10 to 11
ALL	45	1495	56	1197	+11
Gender					
Men	46	662	60	528	+14
Women	43	833	53	669	+10
Education					
None	37	337	54	284	+17
Degree/HE	48	498	62	403	+14
Newspaper readership					
Tabloid	37	480	55	398	+18
Broadsheet	51	285	63	211	+12
No paper	48	703	56	563	+8
Party identification					
Conservative	37	215	49	124	+12
Labour	43	485	59	353	+16
Lib Dem	55	185	53	68	-2
SNP	58	256	75	397	+17
None	28	205	26	147	-2
Other	48	149	38	108	-10
Interest in politics					
A great deal/quite a lot	51	491	71	398	+20
Some	47	510	60	351	+13
Not very much/none	36	494	42	448	+6
Constitutional preference					
UK govt should make all decisions	20	142	20	64	0
UK govt tax, benefits, defence and foreign affairs, Scottish Parliament	40	418	49	273	+9
UK govt defence and foreign affairs, Scottish Parliament everything else	52	468	61	357	+9
Scottish Parliament should make all decisions	52	424	64	473	+12

Table A.13: Belief having a Scottish Parliament gives ordinary people more say in how Scotland is run, by demographic factors, newspaper readership and political attitudes, 2010 and 2011 (cell %)

	2010	Sample size	2011	Sample size	Change 10 to 11
ALL	42	1495	60	1197	+18
Gender					
Men	44	662	67	528	+23
Women	40	833	54	669	+14
Education					
None	31	337	54	284	+23
Degree/HE	50	498	67	403	+17
Newspaper readership					
Tabloid	33	480	57	398	+24
Broadsheet	52	285	68	211	+16
No paper	45	703	61	563	+16
Party identification					
Conservative	30	215	51	124	+21
Labour	40	485	61	353	+21
Lib Dem	49	185	58	68	+9
SNP	60	256	78	397	+18
None	34	205	35	147	+1
Other	34	149	41	108	+7
Interest in politics					
A great deal/quite a lot	51	491	74	398	+23
Some	41	510	61	351	+20
Not very much/none	34	494	48	448	+14
Constitutional preference					
UK govt should make all decisions	8	142	21	64	+13
UK govt tax, benefits, defence and foreign affairs, Scottish Parliament	40	418	53	273	+13
UK govt defence and foreign affairs, Scottish Parliament everything else	50	468	63	357	+13
Scottish Parliament should make all decisions	47	424	68	473	+21

Table A.14: Belief having a Scottish Parliament gives Scotland a stronger voice in the UK, by demographic factors, newspaper readership and political attitudes, 2010 and 2011 (cell %)

	2010	Sample size	2011	Sample size	Change 10 to 11
ALL	49	1495	69	1197	+20
Gender					
Men	51	662	72	528	+21
Women	47	833	65	669	+18
Education					
None	37	337	59	284	+22
Degree/HE	60	498	76	403	+16
Newspaper readership					
Tabloid	40	480	66	398	+26
Broadsheet	63	285	74	211	+9
No paper	51	703	69	563	+18
Party identification					
Conservative	47	215	65	124	+18
Labour	43	485	67	353	+24
Lib Dem	63	185	65	68	+2
SNP	68	256	83	397	+15
None	38	205	45	147	+7
Other	39	149	66	108	+27
Interest in politics					
A great deal/quite a lot	59	491	81	398	+22
Some	48	510	74	351	+26
Not very much/none	41	494	54	448	+13
Constitutional preference					
UK govt should make all decisions	13	142	26	64	+13
UK govt tax, benefits, defence and foreign affairs, Scottish Parliament	52	418	66	273	+14
UK govt defence and foreign affairs, Scottish Parliament everything else	56	468	70	357	+14
Scottish Parliament should make all decisions	54	424	75	473	+21

Chapter 3 detailed tables

Table A.15: What about the Scotland's economy? Has it got stronger or weaker since (month of interview) 2009?

	2004	2005	2006	2007	2009	2010	2011
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
A lot stronger	3	2	2	2	1	*	2
A little stronger	25	21	28	28	7	11	16
Stayed the same	29	34	28	36	11	15	16
A little weaker	22	19	18	10	43	41	39
A lot weaker	5	3	2	1	29	23	18
(Don't know)	17	22	21	22	8	9	9
Sample size	1637	1549	1594	1508	1482	1495	1197

Table A.16: What about the general standard of living in Scotland? Has it increased or fallen since (month of interview) 2009?

	1999	2001	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2009	2010	2011
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Increased a lot	2	3	4	4	3	4	2	3	2	2
Increased a little	27	27	30	27	25	30	27	13	11	9
Stayed the same	43	45	36	40	45	37	41	25	28	19
Fallen a little	18	15	17	18	17	17	16	38	38	39
Fallen a lot	6	4	7	6	4	5	4	16	16	29
(Don't know)	5	6	7	5	7	6	9	4	4	2
Sample size	1482	1605	1508	1637	1549	1594	1508	1482	1495	1197

Note:

The question wording in each year was:

1999 and 2001 "Thinking back to the UK general election in 1997"

2003 "Thinking back to the last Scottish election in 1999"

2004 onwards "since (month of interview) (previous year)".

Table A.17a: Satisfaction with different aspects of life (2007, 2009, 2010, 2011)

	Job?				Family/personal life?				Standard of living?			
	2007	2009	2010	2011	2007	2009	2010	2011	2007	2009	2010	2011
	%	%	%		%	%	%		%	%	%	
0 (extremely dissatisfied/ unhappy)	1	1	2	3	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	1
1	1	3	3	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	1	*
2	3	1	3	2	*	*	*	*	1	1	*	1
3	3	5	3	4	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	2
4	4	3	4	4	2	1	2	2	3	3	3	2
5	10	10	7	9	3	5	5	4	5	7	7	6
6	9	7	6	8	4	4	4	3	7	8	9	7
7	18	18	23	17	11	9	10	10	17	16	18	16
8	28	28	24	28	23	22	20	22	30	27	27	27
9	15	10	13	11	23	22	23	22	19	18	18	18
10 (extremely satisfied/ happy)	9	15	13	13	31	36	34	35	16	17	16	19
Don't know	*	*	*	*	1	*	*	*	*	*	*	-
Not answered	-	-	-	-	*	*	*	-	*	-	-	-
<i>MEAN1</i>	<i>7.04</i>	<i>7.14</i>	<i>7.08</i>	<i>7.08</i>	<i>8.41</i>	<i>8.46</i>	<i>8.39</i>	<i>8.43</i>	<i>7.79</i>	<i>7.64</i>	<i>7.68</i>	<i>7.77</i>
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>827</i>	<i>765</i>	<i>756</i>	<i>674</i>	<i>1508</i>	<i>1482</i>	<i>1495</i>	<i>1197</i>	<i>1508</i>	<i>1482</i>	<i>1495</i>	<i>1197</i>
<i>Sample size excluding DK/not answered</i>	<i>825</i>	<i>764</i>	<i>755</i>	<i>671</i>	<i>1492</i>	<i>1475</i>	<i>1488</i>	<i>1193</i>	<i>1498</i>	<i>1480</i>	<i>1493</i>	<i>1197</i>

Table A.17b: Satisfaction with life as a whole (2007, 2009, 2010, 2011)

	2007	2009	2010	2011
	%	%	%	
0 (extremely dissatisfied/ unhappy)	*	*	1	1
1	*	*	*	*
2	*	*	*	1
3	1	1	1	1
4	1	2	1	1
5	5	5	6	5
6	7	5	6	7
7	14	14	14	16
8	30	29	27	26
9	23	23	22	21
10 (extremely satisfied/ happy)	19	21	21	22
Don't know	*	-	*	*
Not answered	*	*	*	-
<i>MEAN1</i>	8.06	8.04	8.00	8.04
<i>Sample size</i>	1508	1482	1495	1197
<i>Sample size excluding DK/not answered</i>	1495	1479	1487	1196

Table A.18: Sample sizes for Table 3.2

	2007	2009	2010	2011
ALL	1498	1480	1493	1197
Employment status				
In work/ waiting to take up	828	767	760	611
Education/ training scheme	37	35	44	33
Unemployed	62	75	80	58
Retired	378	416	447	355
Permanently sick or disabled	69	82	63	66
Looking after the home	107	87	85	68
Employment sector				
Private	752	608	743	572
Public & voluntary sector	466	467	466	391
Self-employed	148	146	170	135
Household Income				
Bottom quartile	268	321	409	322
2	375	288	310	208
3	263	259	263	233
Top quartile	323	331	259	205
Self-rated hardship¹				
Living very/fairly comfortably	794	699	796	653
Coping	563	590	445	332
Finding it difficult/very difficult	148	183	238	205

1 – NB the wording of this question was changed in 2010, from asking people whether they were living comfortably, coping or finding it difficult on their income, to asking whether they were living comfortably, struggling, or neither.

Chapter 4 detailed tables

Table A.19: Thinking back over the last twelve months*, that is since (*month of interview*) 2010, would you say that since then the standard of the health service in Scotland has increased or fallen? (1999, 2001, 2003-2007, 2009-11)

	1999	2001	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2009	2010	2011
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Increased a lot	2	2	2	3	2	4	2	4	3	4
Increased a little	21	21	18	15	15	16	17	22	16	18
Stayed the same	35	29	25	31	38	31	45	41	35	39
Fallen a little	20	26	26	23	24	23	20	17	21	19
Fallen a lot	14	15	20	23	12	18	6	8	14	12
(Don't know)	8	7	8	5	10	8	10	8	11	9
(Not answered)	-	-	-	-	*	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Sample size</i>	1482	1605	1508	1637	1549	1594	1508	1482	1495	1197

*The question wording in each year was:

1999 and 2001 "Thinking back to the UK general election in 1997"

2003 "Thinking back to the last Scottish election in 1999"

2004 onwards "Thinking back over the last 12 months".

Table A.20: And what about the quality of education in Scotland? Has it increased or fallen since (*month of interview*) 2010? (1999, 2001, 2003-2007, 2009-11)

	1999	2001	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2009	2010	2011
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Increased a lot	3	3	3	3	2	4	1	2	3	4
Increased a little	23	24	22	23	23	26	18	20	16	16
Stayed the same	32	33	27	37	39	32	45	38	35	30
Fallen a little	17	16	18	15	12	13	10	15	17	18
Fallen a lot	7	5	11	7	5	5	2	4	6	8
(Don't know)	19	19	19	16	20	20	23	22	23	24
<i>Sample size</i>	1482	1605	1508	1637	1549	1594	1508	1482	1495	1197

*The question wording in each year was:

1999 and 2001 "Thinking back to the UK general election in 1997"

2003 "Thinking back to the last Scottish election in 1999"

2004 onwards "since the (month of interview) (previous year)".

Table A.21: And what about the standard of public transport in Scotland? Has it increased or fallen since (*month of interview*) 2010? (1999, 2001, 2003-2007, 2009-11)

	2004	2005	2006	2007	2009	2010	2011
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Increased a lot	5	2	7	4	4	4	3
Increased a little	20	19	22	23	19	14	13
Stayed the same	41	36	34	38	41	45	39
Fallen a little	14	16	12	12	15	12	14
Fallen a lot	8	6	7	6	4	6	7
(Don't know)	13	21	18	17	18	19	23
(Not answered)	-	*	-	*	-	-	-
<i>Sample size</i>	1637	1549	1594	1508	1482	1495	1197

Table A.22: Satisfaction with they way the NHS runs nowadays (1999, 2005-2007, 2011)

	1999	2005	2006	2007	2011
	%	%	%	%	%
Very satisfied	9	7	6	10	12
Quite satisfied	46	33	39	41	44
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	17	16	18	14	20
Quite dissatisfied	19	27	29	22	17
Very dissatisfied	7	16	8	11	6
Don't know	1	*	1	1	1
Not answered	*	-	*	*	-
<i>Sample Size</i>	1482	1549	1594	1508	1197

Chapter 5 detailed tables

Table A.23: Who has most influence over the way Scotland is run? (1999-2007, 2009-2011, %)

	1999*	2000	2001	2003	2004	2005
	%	%	%	%	%	%
The Scottish Government/Executive/Parliament	41	13	15	17	19	23
The UK government at Westminster	39	66	66	64	48	47
Local councils in Scotland	8	10	9	7	20	15
The European Union	5	4	7	5	6	8
(Don't know)	8	8	-	6	7	7
(Not answered)	-	-	-	-	*	*
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>1482</i>	<i>1663</i>	<i>1605</i>	<i>1508</i>	<i>1637</i>	<i>1549</i>
	2006	2007	2009	2010	2011	
	%	%	%	%	%	
The Scottish Government/Executive/Parliament	24	28	33	37	38	
The UK government at Westminster	38	47	39	45	38	
Local councils in Scotland	18	8	11	7	13	
The European Union	11	9	10	7	7	
(Don't know)	9	7	7	5	4	
(Not answered)	*	*	-	-	-	
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>1594</i>	<i>1508</i>	<i>1482</i>	<i>1495</i>	<i>1197</i>	

*In 1999 the question wording was: "When the new parliament starts work, which of the following do you think will have most influence over the way Scotland is run"

Table A.24: Which do you think *ought* to have most influence over the way Scotland is run?

	1999	2000	2001	2003	2004	2005
	%	%	%	%	%	%
The Scottish Government/Executive/Parliament*	74	72	74	66	67	67
The UK government at Westminster	13	13	14	20	12	13
Local councils in Scotland	8	10	8	9	17	15
The European Union	1	1	1	1	1	1
(Don't know)	-	5	-	-	3	4
(Not answered)	-	-	-	-	*	*
<i>Sample size</i>	1482	1663	1605	1508	1637	1549
	2006	2007	2009	2010	2011	
	%	%	%	%	%	
The Scottish Government/Executive/Parliament *	64	71	72	74	73	
The UK government at Westminster	11	14	13	16	13	
Local councils in Scotland	19	9	11	6	11	
The European Union	1	1	*	1	1	
(Don't know)	4	4	3	3	2	
(Not answered)	*	*	-	-	-	
<i>Sample size</i>	1594	1508	1482	1495	1197	

*In 2004 an experiment was run whereby half the sample was asked about the Scottish Parliament and half was asked about the Scottish Executive. The change of wording made negligible difference to the responses given, therefore the combined results are shown here. In subsequent years (2005-2007), the question asked solely about the Scottish Executive.

Table A.25: Views on what standards in the health service in last 12 months are mainly the result of...

	2001	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2009	2010	2011
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Mainly the result of the UK government's policies at Westminster	53	38	42	39	32	34	23	32	31
Mainly the result of the Scottish Government/Executive's ² policies	11	21	20	23	25	23	30	28	31
For some other reason	16	17	18	14	18	17	21	18	17
(Both Westminster and Scottish Executive)	4	7	7	5	7	4	9	4	4
(Don't know)	8	8	9	9	10	13	9	7	7
(Not answered) ¹	7	8	5	10	8	10	8	11	9
<i>Sample size</i>	1605	1508	1637	1549	1594	1508	1482	1495	1197

Note:

In 1999 the follow-up question simply asked whether any differences were the result of the policies of the Labour government at Westminster therefore they are not reported here.

1 NB 'Not answered' includes those routed past this follow-up question because they answered 'don't know' when asked whether standards had increased or fallen in the last 12 months. However, they are included in the base here so that the figures are representative of the views of the population as a whole as to who is responsible for public service standards in the last 12 months.

2 NB the question wording changed in 2009 to ask about the 'Scottish Government', following the change of name from 'Scottish Executive' to 'Scottish Government' in September 2007.

Table A.26: Views on what standards in education in last 12 months are mainly the result of...

	2001	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2009	2010	2011
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Mainly the result of the UK government's policies at Westminster	40	30	29	28	20	22	15	20	20
Mainly the result of the Scottish Government/Executive's ² policies	19	25	28	30	33	28	35	33	33
For some other reason	14	12	15	12	15	15	18	15	14
(Both Westminster and Scottish Executive)	3	7	5	4	5	3	6	3	4
(Don't know)	5	7	7	7	6	9	5	6	4
(Not answered) ¹	19	19	16	20	20	23	22	23	24
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>1605</i>	<i>1508</i>	<i>1637</i>	<i>1549</i>	<i>1594</i>	<i>1508</i>	<i>1482</i>	<i>1495</i>	<i>1197</i>

Note:

In 1999 the follow-up question simply asked whether any differences were the result of the policies of the Labour government at Westminster therefore they are not reported here.

1 See note re. 'Not answered' below Table A.38.

2 NB the question wording changed in 2009 to ask about the 'Scottish Government', following the change of name from 'Scottish Executive' to 'Scottish Government' in September 2007.

Table A.27: Views on what standards in public transport in last 12 months are mainly the result of...

	2004	2005	2006	2007	2009	2010	2011
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Mainly the result of the UK government's policies at Westminster	17	20	13	17	11	10	12
Mainly the result of the Scottish Government/Executive's ² policies	28	28	31	31	31	36	34
For some other reason	29	21	25	22	26	24	21
(Both Westminster and Scottish Executive)	5	4	4	3	6	3	3
(Don't know)	8	6	9	9	8	8	6
(Not answered) ¹	13	21	18	18	18	19	23
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>1637</i>	<i>1549</i>	<i>1594</i>	<i>1508</i>	<i>1482</i>	<i>1495</i>	<i>1197</i>

1 See note re. 'Not answered' below Table A.35.

2 NB the question wording changed in 2009 to ask about the 'Scottish Government', following the change of name from 'Scottish Executive' to 'Scottish Government' in September 2007.

Table A.28: Views on what strength/weakness of Scotland's economy in last 12 months is mainly the result of...

	2004	2005	2006	2007	2009	2010	2011
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Mainly the result of the UK government's policies at Westminster	28	30	21	24	31	35	38
Mainly the result of the Scottish Government/Executive's ² policies	28	27	28	28	14	18	24
For some other reason	17	13	18	15	36	30	19
(Both Westminster and Scottish Executive)	6	5	7	4	8	6	6
(Don't know)	5	5	4	7	3	3	2
(Not answered) ¹	17	22	21	22	8	9	9
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>1637</i>	<i>1549</i>	<i>1594</i>	<i>1508</i>	<i>1482</i>	<i>1495</i>	<i>1197</i>

1 NB 'Not answered' includes those routed past this follow-up question because they answered 'don't know' when asked whether standards had increased or fallen in the last 12 months. However, they are included in the base here so that the figures are representative of the views of the population as a whole as to who is responsible for economic performance in the last 12 months.

2 NB the question wording changed in 2009 to ask about the 'Scottish Government', following the change of name from 'Scottish Executive' to 'Scottish Government' in September 2007.

Table A.29: Views on what general standard of living in last 12 months is mainly the result of...

	2001	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2009	2010	2011
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Mainly the result of the UK government's policies at Westminster	53	43	38	42	33	37	31	39	47
Mainly the result of the Scottish Government/Executive's ² policies	12	18	18	17	21	19	15	16	13
For some other reason	18	16	24	19	22	22	34	30	25
(Both Westminster and Scottish Executive)	6	10	7	6	8	4	8	5	8
(Don't know)	7	8	9	10	9	10	6	5	4
(Not answered) ¹	6	7	5	7	6	9	5	4	2
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>1605</i>	<i>1508</i>	<i>1637</i>	<i>1549</i>	<i>1594</i>	<i>1508</i>	<i>1482</i>	<i>1495</i>	<i>1197</i>

Note:

In 1999 the follow-up question simply asked whether any differences were the result of the policies of the Labour government at Westminster therefore they are not reported here.

1 See note re. 'Not answered' below Table A.23

2 NB the question wording changed in 2009 to ask about the 'Scottish Government', following the change of name from 'Scottish Executive' to 'Scottish Government' in September 2007.

Table A.30: Sample sizes for Table 5.2 (2010 & 2011)

	Those who say standards have ...			
	<i>... Increased/stronger (credit)</i>		<i>... Fallen/weaker (blame)</i>	
	<i>2010</i>	<i>2011</i>	<i>2010</i>	<i>2011</i>
Health Service	286	236	524	388
Education	266	210	340	316
Public transport	260	182	277	243
Economy	177	193	941	683
Standard of living	211	121	798	803

Chapter 6 detailed tables

Table A.31: How much are you in favour or against charging people for ... the cost of their meals while in hospital?

	2007	2011
	%	%
Strongly in favour	1	3
Somewhat in favour	9	13
Neither in favour nor against	7	8
Somewhat against	26	21
Strongly against	56	55
(Don't know)	*	*
(Refused)	-	-
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>1508</i>	<i>1197</i>

Table A.32: How much are you in favour or against charging parents for ... the cost of individual music lessons for their child?

	2007	2011
	%	%
Strongly in favour	6	13
Somewhat in favour	32	28
Neither in favour nor against	14	13
Somewhat against	24	21
Strongly against	22	24
(Don't know)	2	1
(Refused)	-	-
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>1508</i>	<i>1197</i>

Table A.33: How much are you in favour or against charging parents for ... the cost of a school trip to a local museum?

	2007	2011
	%	%
Strongly in favour	6	11
Somewhat in favour	38	39
Neither in favour nor against	13	9
Somewhat against	24	20
Strongly against	17	21
(Don't know)	2	*
(Refused)	-	-
<i>Sample size</i>	<i>1508</i>	<i>1197</i>

ANNEX B – TECHNICAL DETAILS OF THE SURVEY

The Scottish Social Attitudes series

1. The Scottish Social Attitudes (SSA) survey was launched by ScotCen Social Research in 1999, following the advent of devolution. Based on annual rounds of interviews of between 1,200 to 1,500 people drawn using probability sampling (based on a stratified, clustered sample)⁴², it aims to facilitate the study of public opinion and inform the development of public policy in Scotland. In this it has similar objectives to the British Social Attitudes (BSA) survey, which was launched by ScotCen's parent organisation, NatCen Social Research in 1983. While BSA interviews people in Scotland, these are usually too few in any one year to permit separate analysis of public opinion in Scotland (see Park, et al, 2012 for more details of the BSA survey).
2. SSA has been conducted annually each year since 1999, with the exception of 2008. The survey has a modular structure. In any one year it typically contains three to five modules, each containing 40 questions. Funding for its first two years came from the Economic and Social Research Council, while from 2001 onwards different bodies have funded individual modules each year. These bodies have included the Economic and Social Research Council, the Scottish Government and various charitable and grant awarding bodies, such as the Nuffield Foundation and Leverhulme Trust. 2011 funders were the Scottish Government, the Leverhulme Trust and the Nuffield Foundation.

Analysis techniques

Significance testing

3. Where this report discusses differences between two percentages (either across time, or between two different groups of people within a single year), this difference is significant at the 95% level or above, unless otherwise stated. Differences between two years were tested using standard z-tests, taking account of complex standard errors arising from the sample design. Differences between groups within a given year were tested using logistic regression analysis, which shows the factors and categories that are significantly (and independently) related to the dependent variable (see below for further detail). This analysis was done in PASW 18, using the CS logistic function to take account of the sample design in calculations.

⁴² Like many national surveys of households or individuals, in order to attain the optimum balance between sample efficiency and fieldwork efficiency the sample was clustered. The first stage of sampling involved randomly selecting postcode sectors. The sample frame of postcode sectors was also stratified (by urban-rural, region and the percentage of people in non-manual occupations) to improve the match between the sample profile and that of the Scottish population. For further details of the sample design, see para 6 below.

The 2011 survey

4. The 2011 survey contained modules of questions on:
 - Government and public services in Scotland (funded by the Scottish Government Office of the Chief Researcher from 2004-2007 and again in 2009 - 2011)
 - Constitutional change (funded by the Nuffield Foundation)
 - National identity and the 2011 Scottish Elections (funded by the Leverhulme Trust and undertaken in collaboration with Frank Bechhofer and David McCrone at the University of Edinburgh).
5. In addition, it included a small number of questions on the Scottish Election, funded by the University of Manchester. Separate programmes of dissemination are planned for each of the other modules. This technical annex covers the methodological details of the survey as well as further discussion of the analysis techniques used in this report.

Sample design

6. The survey is designed to yield a representative sample of adults aged 18 or over, living in Scotland. The sample frame is the Postcode Address File (PAF), a list of postal delivery points compiled by the Post Office. The detailed procedure for selecting the 2011 sample was as follows:
 - I. 81 postcode sectors were selected from a list of all postal sectors in Scotland, with probability proportional to the number of addresses in each sector for addresses in urban areas and a probability of twice the address count for sectors in rural areas (i.e. the last 3 categories in the Scottish Government's 6 fold urban-rural classification). Prior to selection the sectors were stratified by Scottish Government urban-rural classification⁴³, region and percentage of household heads recorded as being in non-manual occupations (SEG 1-6 and 13, taken from the 2001 Census).
 - II. 30 addresses were selected at random from each of these 81 postcode sectors
 - III. Interviewers called at each selected address and identified its eligibility for the survey. Where more than one dwelling unit was present at an address, all dwelling units were listed systematically and one was selected at random using a computer generated random selection table. In all eligible dwelling units with more than one adult aged 18 or over, interviewers had to carry out a random selection of one adult using a similar procedure.

Response rates

7. The Scottish Social Attitudes survey involves a face-to-face interview with respondents and a self-completion section (completed using Computer Assisted Personal Interviewing in 2011). The numbers completing each stage in 2011 are

⁴³ See <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2008/07/29152642/7> for details.

shown in Table 1. See Bromley, Curtice and Given (2005) for technical details of the 1999-2004 surveys, Given and Ormston (2006) for details of the 2005 survey, Cleghorn, Ormston and Sharp (2007) for the 2006 survey, Ormston (2008) for the 2007 survey, Ormston (2010) for the 2009 survey and Ormston and Reid (2011) for the 2010 survey.

Table 1: 2011 Scottish Social Attitudes survey response

	No.	%
Addresses issued	2430	
Vacant, derelict and other out of scope ¹	266	10.9
Achievable or 'in scope'	2164	
Unknown eligibility ²	30	1.2
Interview achieved	1197	55.3
Self-completion completed	1156	47.6
Interview not achieved		
<i>Refused</i> ³	687	28.3
<i>Non-contacted</i> ⁴	139	5.7
<i>Other non-response</i> ⁵	140	5.8

Notes to table

1 This includes empty / derelict addresses, holiday homes, businesses and institutions, and addresses that had been demolished.

2 'Unknown eligibility' includes cases where the address could not be located, where it could not be determined if an address was residential and where it could not be determined if an address was occupied or not.

3 Refusals include: refusals prior to selection of an individual; refusals to the office; refusal by the selected person; 'proxy' refusals made by someone on behalf of the respondent; and broken appointments after which a respondent could not be re-contacted.

4 Non-contacts comprise households where no one was contacted after at least 6 calls and those where the selected person could not be contacted.

5 'Other non-response' includes people who were ill at home or in hospital during the survey period, people who were physically or mentally unable to participate and people with insufficient English to participate.

Sample size for previous years

8. The table below shows the achieved sample size for the full SSA sample (all respondents) for all previous years.

Table 2: Scottish Social Attitudes survey sample size by year

Survey year	Achieved sample size
1999	1482
2000	1663
2001	1605
2002	1665
2003	1508
2004	1637
2005	1549
2006	1594
2007	1508
2009	1482
2010	1495
2011	1197

Weighting

9. All percentages cited in this report are based on weighted data. The weights applied to the SSA 2011 data are intended to correct for three potential sources of bias in the sample:
- Differential selection probabilities
 - Deliberate over-sampling of rural areas
 - Non-response.
10. Data were weighted to take account of the fact that not all households or individuals have the same probability of selection for the survey. For example, adults living in large households have a lower selection probability than adults who live alone. Weighting was also used to correct the over-sampling of rural addresses. Differences between responding and non-responding households were taken into account using information from the census about the area of the address as well as interviewer observations about participating and non-participating addresses. Finally, the weights were adjusted to ensure that the weighted data matched the age-sex profile of the Scottish population (based on 2010 mid-year estimates from the General Register Office for Scotland).

Fieldwork

11. Fieldwork for the 2011 survey ran between early June and September 2011, with 80% of interviews completed by the end of July and 96% by the end of August. An advance letter was sent to all addresses and was followed up by a personal visit from a ScotCen interviewer. Interviewers were required to make a minimum of 6 calls at different times of the day (including at least one evening and one weekend call) in order to try and contact respondents. All interviewers attended a one day briefing conference prior to starting work on the study.
12. Interviews were conducted using face-to-face computer-assisted interviewing (a process which involves the use of a laptop computer, with questions appearing on screen and interviewers directly entering respondents' answers into the computer). All respondents were asked to fill in a self-completion questionnaire which was either collected by the interviewer or returned by post. Table 1 (above) summarises the response rate and the numbers completing the self-completion section in 2011.

Analysis variables

13. Most of the analysis variables are taken directly from the questionnaire and are self-explanatory. These include age, sex, household income, and highest educational qualification obtained.

Analysis techniques

Significance testing

14. Where this report discusses differences between two percentages (either across time, or between two different groups of people within a single year), this difference is significant at the 95% level or above, unless otherwise stated.

Differences between two years were tested using standard z-tests, taking account of complex standard errors arising from the sample design. Differences between groups within a given year were tested using logistic regression analysis, which shows the factors and categories that are significantly (and independently) related to the dependent variable (see below for further detail). This analysis was done in PASW 18, using the CS logistic function to take account of the sample design in calculations.

Regression analysis

15. Regression analysis aims to summarise the relationship between a 'dependent' variable and one or more 'independent' explanatory variables. It shows how well we can estimate a respondent's score on the dependent variable from knowledge of their scores on the independent variables. This technique takes into account relationships between the different independent variables (for example, between education and income, or social class and housing tenure). Regression is often undertaken to support a claim that the phenomena measured by the independent variables cause the phenomenon measured by the dependent variable. However, the causal ordering, if any, between the variables cannot be verified or falsified by the technique. Causality can only be inferred through special experimental designs or through assumptions made by the analyst.
16. All regression analysis assumes that the relationship between the dependent and each of the independent variables takes a particular form. This report was informed by logistic regression analysis – a method that summarises the relationship between a binary 'dependent' variable (one that takes the values '0' or '1') and one or more 'independent' explanatory variables. The tables in this annex show how the odds ratios for each category in significant explanatory variables compares to the odds ratio for the reference category (always taken to be 1.00).
17. Taking Model 1 (below), the dependent variable is thinking the Scottish Government has most influence over how Scotland is run. If the respondent said the Scottish Government did have most influence, the dependent variable takes a value of 1. If not, it takes a value of 0. An odds ratio of above 1 means that, compared with respondents in the reference category, respondents in that category have higher odds of saying the Scottish Government has most influence. Conversely, an odds ratio of below 1 means they have lower odds of saying this than respondents in the reference category. The 95% confidence intervals for these odds ratios are also important. Where the confidence interval does not include 1, this category is significantly different from the reference category. If we look at party identification in Model 1, we can see that those who do not identify with any political party have an odds ratio of 0.21, indicating that they have lower odds compared with SNP identifiers (who were the reference category) of saying standards the Scottish Government has most influence. The 95% confidence interval (0.10 – 0.43) does *not* include 1, indicating this difference is significant.
18. The significance of each independent variable is indicated by 'P'. A p-value of 0.05 or less indicates that there is less than a 5% chance we would have found these differences between the categories just by chance if in fact no such

difference exists, while a p-value of 0.01 or less indicates that there is a less than 1% chance. P-values of 0.05 or less are generally considered to indicate that the difference is highly statistically significant, while a p-value of 0.06 to 0.10 may be considered marginally significant.

19. Regression analyses were conducted using the Complex Survey command (CS Logistic) in PASW 18. CS Logistic models can account for complex sample designs (in particular, the effects of clustering and associated weighting) when calculating odds ratios and determining significance. The table below includes only those variables found to be significant after the regression models were run using CS logistic.

Regression model

Model 1: Factors associated with thinking the Scottish Government has most influence over the way Scotland is run (2011)

Dependent variable encoding 1 = Scottish Government 0 = NOT Scottish Government	Odds ratio	95% confidence interval
Party identification (p = 0.001)		
SNP (reference)	1.00	
Conservative	0.88	0.49-1.59
Labour	0.93	0.61-1.43
Liberal Democrat	0.52	0.26-1.06
None	0.21	0.10-0.43
Other/Don't Know/Refused/Not applicable	0.41	0.22-0.76
Affect of Scottish Parliament on voice in UK (p = 0.000)		
Stronger (reference)	1.00	
Weaker	0.71	0.33-1.52
Makes no difference	0.37	0.25-0.55

Nagelkerke R2 = 19.3%

Other factors included in model but which were not significant after other factors were accounted for were: who should make decisions about Scotland, who is responsible for changes in economy, who is responsible for changes in standard of living, who is responsible for standards in health service, education and public transport.

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