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# My Election

A Voters' Eye View of the  
2007 Scottish Elections

Emily Robinson and Patrick Casey  
June 2007



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# About the Authors

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# Acknowledgements

We are very grateful to the 251 Scottish Election Monitors for devoting so much time to supplying us with the data for this study and to Audrey Borowski, Anna Bull, Charlotte King, Simon Maine and Christopher Ward for their help in processing that data.

Chris Baker and Przemyslaw Milewicz's assistance with analysing the results and preparing many of the charts used in this study has been invaluable.

Finally, we would like to thank the Electoral Commission for their generous support of this project and Peter Facey for his help and guidance.

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# Introduction

This project was designed to measure the level of contact voters had with political parties and with the state in the run up to the 2007 Scottish elections. From 2 April until 3 May, 251 volunteers in seventy-one Scottish constituencies recorded each time they were contacted about the election. This included both direct contact, such as letters, leaflets, canvassing and face-to-face campaigning activity; and indirect contact, by which we mean more impersonal forms of advertising, such as Party Political Broadcasts (PPBs), posters and newspaper adverts.

It should be noted that these figures are entirely dependent on the information supplied by the monitors. It is clear from looking through the data that some forms of contact – in particular billboards and posters – were not always recorded in detail. Therefore, our results can only be taken as indicative.

From our results, it seems that the political parties contesting the Scottish elections delivered a great deal of election literature – 130% more than the parties in the 2005 General Election.<sup>1</sup> However, there was no increase in the rate of personal contacts either on the doorstep or by telephone: just over one in three of our monitors recorded being contacted in this way.

Our monitors found that the SNP delivered the fewest letters and leaflets of all the four main parties and made less direct contact overall than either Scottish Labour or the Scottish Liberal Democrats.

1. Based on data from 313 monitors in 223 UK constituencies. Results are available in Robinson, E. & Fisher, J. *General Election 2005: What the Voters Saw* (New Politics Network, 2005)

However, they were by far the most active when it came to less direct forms of advertising and undertook more of this activity than the Scottish Liberal Democrats and Scottish Conservatives put together.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps most memorably, they were the only party to use aeroplane banners!

Despite the SNP's electoral success however, our qualitative data suggests that indirect methods of campaigning are not popular with voters. When asked to comment on election as a whole, just under a quarter of our monitors complained at a lack of personal contact with the parties. They wanted to be canvassed on the doorstep, to see street campaigns and to attend public meetings. They did not feel that leaflets and PPBs were an acceptable substitute.

We also asked the monitors to fill in a survey on polling day, which included questions about the electoral system, the polling place itself and the information that they had received from all sources prior to polling day. The answers reveal that 22% and 26% (respectively) of the monitors were not entirely confident that they had understood the parliamentary and council electoral systems. They were however, generally positive about the information provided at the polling place, even though many monitors did not see the information board or the poster in the polling booth.

It seems that the public information campaign did not reach all of our monitors. In total, 291 contacts with the State were recorded. Although this suggests that each of our monitors saw at least one piece of information from the Electoral Commission, their local council or the Scottish Executive, in reality ninety-one

2. Hereafter, the Scottish Labour, Liberal Democrat, Conservative and Green parties will be referred to without the prefix 'Scottish'.

of our 251 monitors did not record any contact from the State at all. However, the time-frame of the study meant that the first round of Vote Scotland leaflets, which were delivered before 2 April, were not included in the data. There are also indications that monitors tended to under-report TV adverts, posters and billboards.

Appendix A examines six constituencies in greater depth. These constituencies were chosen because they were ultra-marginal and were thus expected to see very tightly fought campaigns. In each of these areas we recruited more monitors than would naturally have been the case. The data from these constituencies allows us to compare the ways in which individual monitors experienced the same campaigns. This means that we can get behind the data and start to tease out both the variations in campaigning within constituencies and the inconsistencies and ambiguities in individual monitors' records.

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# 1. Political Parties

Tables 1 and 2 show the number of times each of our monitors was contacted by a political party during the election campaign. A range of different campaigning methods were used, some of which focussed disproportionately on a small number of monitors. For instance, of the thirty-two emails sent by the Liberal Democrats, just three monitors received twelve, ten and eight, respectively. Similarly, the figures for watching PPBs tend to be clustered around certain monitors who were more likely to pick up this type of advertising than others. The mean figures are therefore only indicative.

We have divided the contacts into two sections: 'direct' and 'indirect', with 'direct' including any form of campaigning which was either targeted individually at the monitor (such as an email or leaflet) or which offered the opportunity for interaction between the monitor and the campaigner (such as a telephone call or a street campaign).

By far the most common form of campaigning was delivering letters and leaflets, with monitors receiving an average of twenty-three pieces of literature each. This is high and compares very favourably with our research on the 2005 General Election in which the average numbers of letters and leaflets was just eleven.<sup>3</sup> However, our qualitative data shows that many monitors did not perceive letters and leaflets to be either personal or

3. Robinson, E. & Fisher, J. *General Election 2005: What the Voters Saw* (New Politics Network, 2005)

direct and expressed a desire to speak to party representatives, either on the doorstep or by telephone. Just over one in three of our monitors were contacted in this way – the same as in the General Election.

**Table 1: Monitors' direct contact with political parties**

	Letters & Leaflets	Mani- festos	Telephone Contact	Doorstep Contact	Text/ Email	Public Meeting	Street Campaign	Total
SNP	837	2	12	10	9	7	48	924
Labour	934	1	6	14	9	6	28	998
Lib Dem	889	2	16	8	32	5	10	962
Conservative	858	0	1	10	0	5	6	880
Green	302	1	1	2	1	1	41	322
SSP	246	0	0	1	0	1	25	253
Solidarity	221	0	0	0	1	4	18	230
BNP	202	0	0	0	0	0	0	194
SSCUP	205	0	0	0	1	0	1	195
Other Parties	1,157	1	3	21	0	4	15	1,112
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>5,851</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>66</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>192</b>	<b>6,240</b>
<b>Mean direct contact</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>0.02</b>	<b>0.16</b>	<b>0.26</b>	<b>0.22</b>	<b>0.13</b>	<b>0.76</b>	<b>24.76</b>

1. Includes offers of manifestos

2. We have tried to restrict this to canvassing activity and so have excluded occasions when monitors spoke casually to leaflet deliverers. However, if monitors have not been specific about this then it is possible that some of these types of meetings have been included in the figures. In addition, one monitor met an Independent candidate in the street.

3. Only one text message was recorded by our monitors - it was sent by Labour.

4. We have tried to exclude hustings events but if a monitor has not specified the type of event then it may not have been possible to do this.

5. This was a message received by a Green Party member via facebook.com

Judging by our data, the SNP delivered the fewest letters and leaflets of all the four main parties and made less direct contact overall than either Labour or the Liberal Democrats. However, they were by far the most active when it came to less direct forms of advertising and undertook more of this activity than the Liberal Democrats and Conservatives put together. Perhaps most memorably, they were the only party to use aeroplane banners!

**Table 2: Indirect advertising by political parties**

	PPB (TV)	PPB (Radio)	News- Paper Advert	Bill- board	Poster	Camp- aign Car/Van	Aero- Plane banner	Other	Total
SNP	63	2	66	57	131	11	5	1 (Bookmark) 10 (unspecified)	346
Labour	49	3	29	29	137	3	0	1 (DVD) 1 (unspecified)	252
Lib Dem	50	5	10	9	61	1	0	5 (unspecified)	141
Conservative	53	2	16	29	63	0	0	1 (sticker) 3 (unspecified)	167
Green	46	1	9	8	67	0	0	1 (sticker) 1 (unspecified)	133
SSP	35	1	1	0	20	1	0	2 (unspecified)	60
Solidarity	19	0	1	1	35	4	0	1 (unspecified)	61
BNP	19	0	2	0	11	0	0	0	32
SSCUP	17	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	20
Other Parties	33	1	9	8	84	1	0	0	136
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>384</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>144</b>	<b>142</b>	<b>610</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>1,348</b>
Mean indirect contact	1.52	0.06	0.57	0.56	2.42	0.08	0.02	0.11	5.35

1. It has not always been possible to accurately distinguish posters from billboards. Multiple posters and billboards seen on one day or in one location have often been recorded in only one entry. Some monitors noted that they had seen "many" posters and billboards but did not specify the party. Therefore It has not been possible to include these in our results.

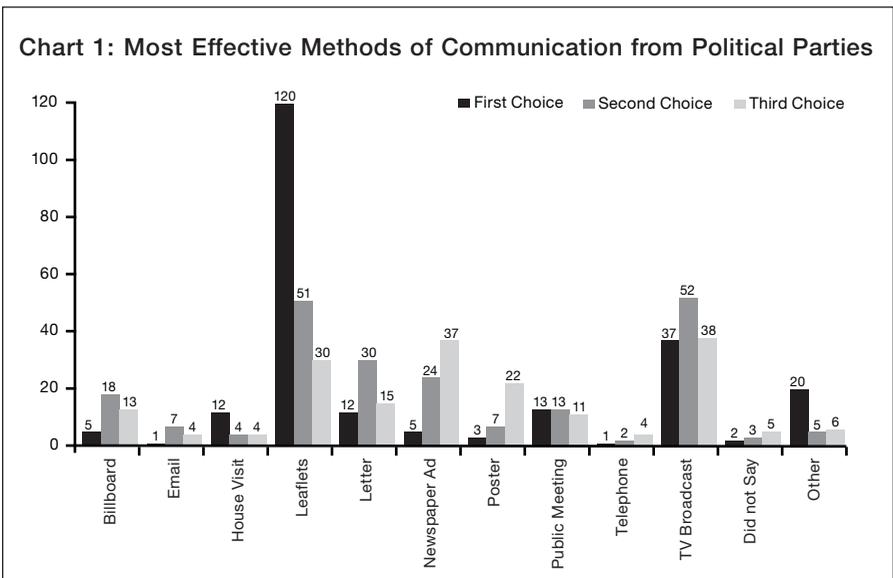
## Smaller parties

In addition to numerous Independent candidates, a great many small parties campaigned in these elections. Several of our monitors commented that they had received more literature from small parties than they had in previous elections. These parties can be roughly divided into three categories:

<b>Campaigned in Most Seats</b>	UKIP, Scottish Christian Party, Christian People's Alliance, Scottish Voice
<b>Campaigned in Many Seats</b>	NHS First, Socialist Equality, Scottish Unionist Party
<b>Campaigned in Few Seats</b>	Socialist Labour Party, Independent Green Voice, Free Scotland Party, Communist Party, Peace Party, Adam Lyal's Witchery Tour Party, Equal Parenting Alliance Party, East Kilbride Alliance, Christian List, Had Enough Party, 9% Growth Party, Pensioners' Party, Action to Save St John's Hospital

## Most effective methods of communication

We asked the monitors to select the three most effective ways in which political parties had communicated with them during the election campaign. Their answers are shown in Chart 1. The overwhelming preference for letters and leaflets is indicative of the fact that this was all that many of our monitors experienced. In fact, some annotated their surveys to let us know that they would have preferred to have been contacted in other, more personal, ways but were not.



The other results are slightly more ambiguous. A number of monitors selected options which they had not recorded in their Logs. This was particularly true of indirect methods of contact, such as posters, billboards and PPBs. This could be because they had misunderstood the question. However, it also suggests that there could have been significant levels of under-reporting of indirect communication. This theory is supported by some monitors' comments that they had found it impossible to log all the posters and billboards they had seen.

## Marginality

As Charts 2 and 3 show, there is a clear correlation between marginality and campaigning.<sup>4</sup>

4. It is possible that the higher numbers of monitors in the ultra-marginal case study constituencies may have affected these figures.

Chart 2: Direct Contact by 2003 Marginality

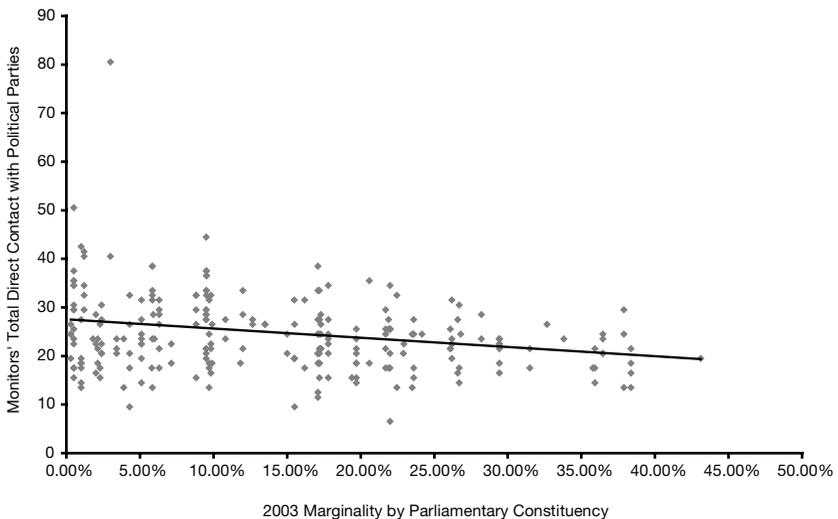


Chart 3: Indirect Advertising by 2003 Marginality

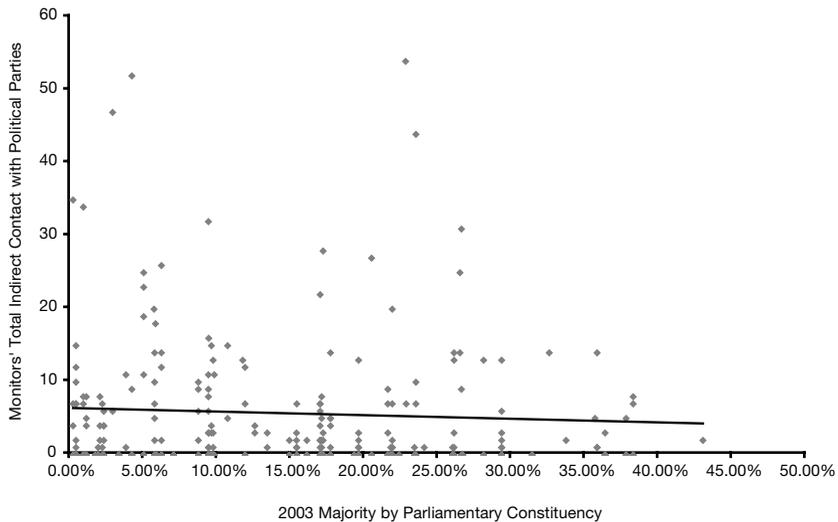
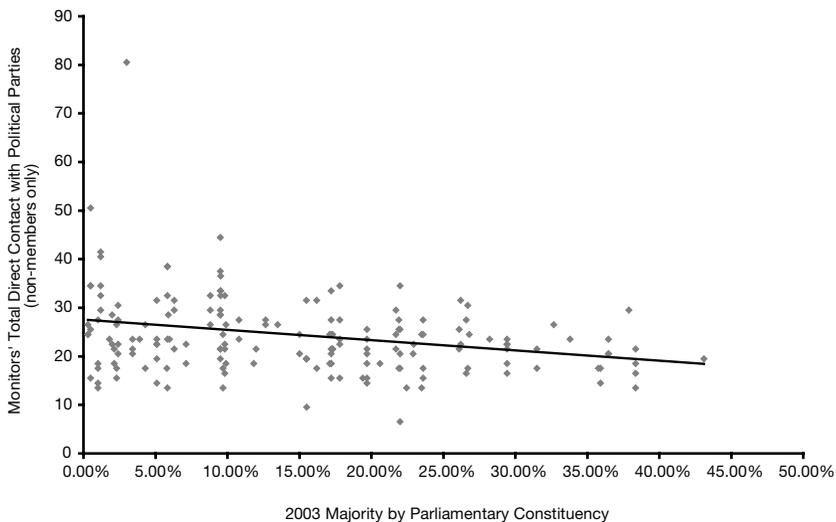


Chart 4: Direct Contact by 2003 Marginality (Non-members)



So as to eliminate any distortions caused by monitors' personal involvement with political parties, Chart 4 excludes the data from households containing any current or former party members. Non-members received an average of twenty-two direct contacts in the safest seats, compared with twenty-seven in the most marginal. The average number of personal contacts received by non-members in the safest seats was 30% lower than the average in the most marginal seats.<sup>5</sup> Although this disparity was particularly marked for direct campaigning, it was still visible for indirect advertising.

Some degree of correlation between marginality and direct campaigning is to be expected, as the AMS system has a strong First Past the Post element. However, the fact that the difference between the safest and most marginal seats was not as dramatic as in the General Election can perhaps be attributed to the proportional nature of the Scottish electoral systems. In a system where every vote counts towards a regional list, we expect to see the parties campaigning much more evenly across the electoral map.

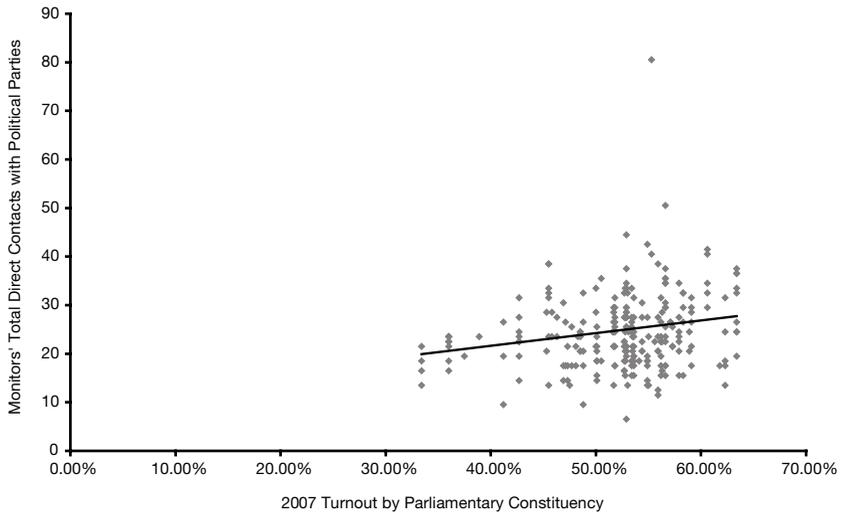
## Turnout

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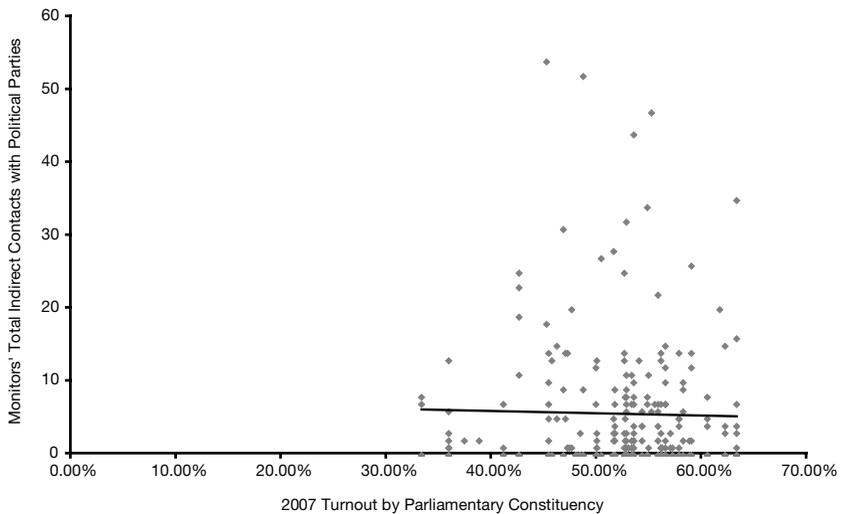
Charts 5 and 6 show a marked difference between the effects that direct campaigning and indirect advertising had on turnout. It seems that direct campaigning did have a positive influence on turnout but that indirect advertising did not. In fact, if anything, our results show a slight negative correlation between indirect advertising and turnout.

5. We have taken 'personal contact' to mean anything which involved face-to-face or telephone contact with party campaigners. Therefore, this category includes telephone and doorstep canvassing, public meetings and street campaigning.

**Chart 5: 2007 Turnout by Direct Contact with Political Parties**



**Chart 6: 2007 Turnout by Indirect Advertising by Political Parties**



It is often difficult to unpick the relationship between turnout, marginality and campaigning. Seats that experience active election campaigns usually have high turnouts, but as they also tend to be more marginal it is impossible to say which was the strongest contributing factor. However, the difference between Chart 3 on marginality and Chart 6 on turnout, enables us to start to examine this in greater depth.

Chart 3 showed that the monitors who recorded slightly higher levels of indirect advertising tended to live in more marginal seats, but Chart 6 shows that this did not make people in those areas more likely to vote. This then suggests that the impact of direct campaigning on turnout, shown in Chart 5 is – at least in part – independent of the effects of marginality. These results are tentative but they support our previous supposition that campaigning is likely to be the strongest factor because the majority of voters would not know whether they live in a marginal seat unless told by campaigners.<sup>6</sup>

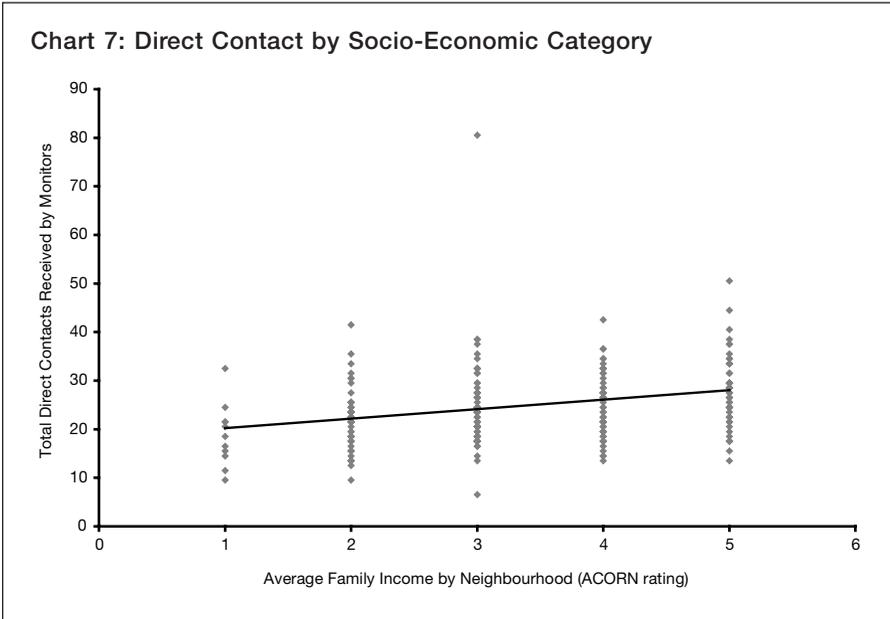
## Socio-economic status

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We often come across anecdotal evidence that political parties tend to concentrate their direct campaigning on more affluent neighbourhoods. To test this, we measured the direct contacts recorded by monitors against the average family income of their neighbourhood. This was calculated by postcode, using the ACORN system and we ranked the neighbourhoods on a scale of one (very low

6. Robinson, E. & Fisher, J. *General Election 2005: What the Voters Saw* (New Politics Network, 2005), p.7

income) to five (very high income). As can be seen in Chart 7, there is a marked correlation between affluence and direct campaigning.



## Qualitative data on political campaigning

The survey included a blank section where we asked monitors to describe their experiences of the election campaign and of polling day itself. Many of the comments related to the electoral process and the administration of the election. These are discussed in Chapter Two, below. However, by far the most common complaint was about the lack of personal contact from the political parties. This was noted by fifty-six monitors.

Even though they seemed to be receiving more leaflets than in other election years, particularly from

smaller parties, quite a number of our monitors commented that the campaign was “low key”, “quiet and lacklustre” and “dull”. One monitor thought that “the politicians seem not to have bothered this time” and another felt it was an “invisible election”, which was “most weird”. Six monitors mentioned a lack of public meetings and four felt that they experienced lower contact because they lived in rural areas - two of these said they felt “ignored” by the political parties. Seven people commented that the level of campaigning for the council elections had been low.

The monitors clearly felt that leaflets and media campaigns were no substitute for personal canvassing, street campaigning or public meetings. One monitor was disappointed that leaflets were not delivered by party activists themselves and a small number commented on feeling inundated by leaflets and media coverage. One said that the almost daily TV and radio broadcasts reached a point of “total saturation” and another said, “By 18/4/07 things were getting quite confusing, with names and party information coming at me from all directions”.

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## 2. The State

As well as looking at how political parties communicated with monitors during the election campaign, we were also interested in how the institutions of the State managed to get their message across. Given that this election saw the introduction of the Single Transferable Vote system for council elections, it was particularly important that voters received adequate information about how to vote. The campaign also sought to explain how to vote under the Additional Member System, especially as this was the first time a joint ballot paper for the Additional Member System had been used.

It seems that the public information campaign did not reach all our monitors. In total, 291 contacts with the State were recorded. Although this suggests that each of our monitors saw at least one piece of information from the Electoral Commission, their local council or the Scottish Executive, in reality ninety-one of our 251 monitors did not record any contact from the State at all.

Again though, there are some caveats to this. First, the monitoring data only refers to contacts received between 2 April and 3 May, therefore it excludes the first round of Vote Scotland leaflets. Second, as with the data on political parties, there are indications that the records of TV adverts, posters and billboards are not as complete as they could be. It is therefore likely that rather more monitors saw these types of adverts

than recorded them. The section below on the most effective methods of communication, explores this further.

**Table 3: Monitors' direct contact with the State**

	Letters/ Leaflets	Telephone Contact	Doorstep Contact	Email	Street Campaign/ Roadshow/ Public Event	Total
Electoral Commission	153	0	0	1	7 <sup>1</sup>	161
Local Council	23	0	1	0	1	25
Scottish Executive	1	1	0	0	0	2
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>177</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>188</b>

1. This includes an event recorded as 'West Mainland Vote Scotland' and a public event consisting mainly of party political speeches at Glasgow University

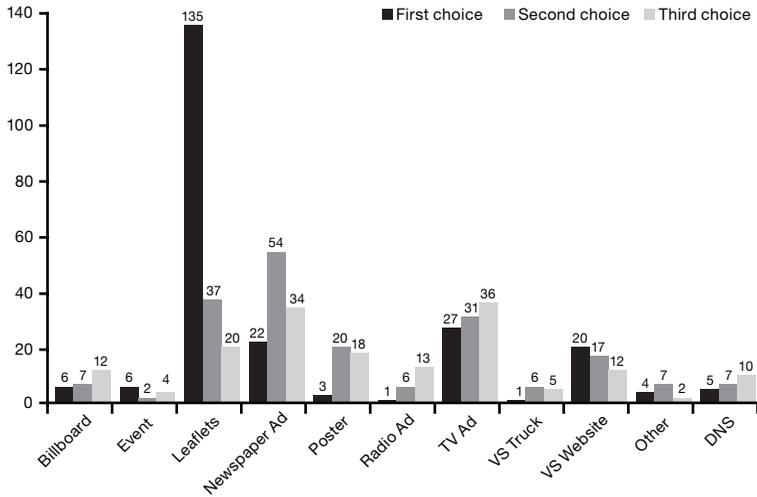
**Table 4: Indirect advertising by the State**

	TV Advert	News- paper Advert	Radio Advert	Online Advert	Bill- board <sup>1</sup>	Poster	Other	Total
Electoral Commission	32	32	3	2	9	10	2 (Milk cartons) 2 (Website) 1 (leaflet from public place) 2 (Unspecified)	95
Local Council	0	3	0	0	1	0	1 (stand in local council foyer)	5
Scottish Executive	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>103</b>

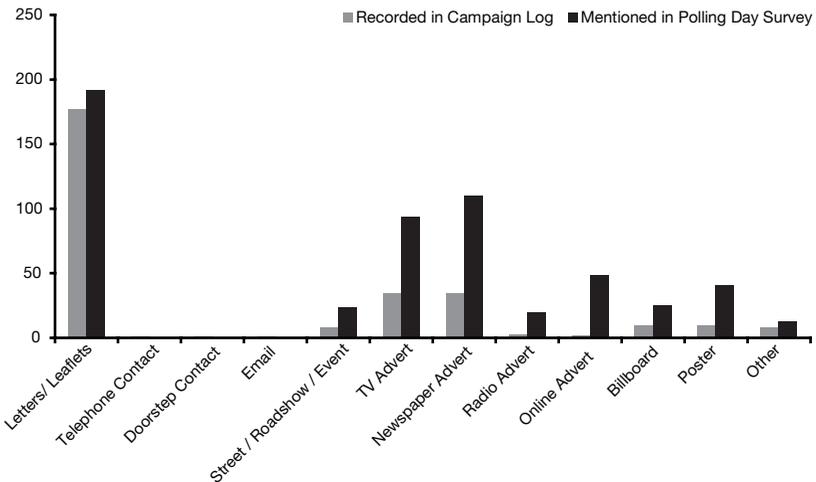
1. It has not always been possible to accurately distinguish posters from billboards. Multiple posters and billboards seen on one day or in one location have often been recorded in only one entry.

In addition, several monitors also noted that they had seen articles on the electoral process in the local and national media. Three attended local hustings events and one went to a 'Question Time' event organised by *The Scotsman*.

**Chart 8: Most Effective Methods of Communication from the Electoral Commission**



**Chart 9: Discrepancy Between Campaign Log Records and Survey Responses**



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## Most effective methods of communication

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We asked the monitors to select the three most effective ways in which the Electoral Commission had communicated with them during the election campaign. Their answers are shown in Chart 8. It is immediately noticeable that many more people claimed that the Electoral Commission had communicated with them by each of these methods than had recorded those contacts in their Campaign Logs. Chart 9 illustrates the discrepancy.

It seems likely that the smaller sample size of people recording contacts from the Electoral Commission has shown up the same trend for under-recording that we suspected in relation to political parties. The actual extent of under-reporting is likely to be larger than this, as we have only been able to compare the numbers who recorded contacts in their Logs, with those who expressed a preference for each type of contact. It does not include people who received additional contacts but did not find them to be effective. But the restriction of the Log to the official campaign period may also have affected the figures.

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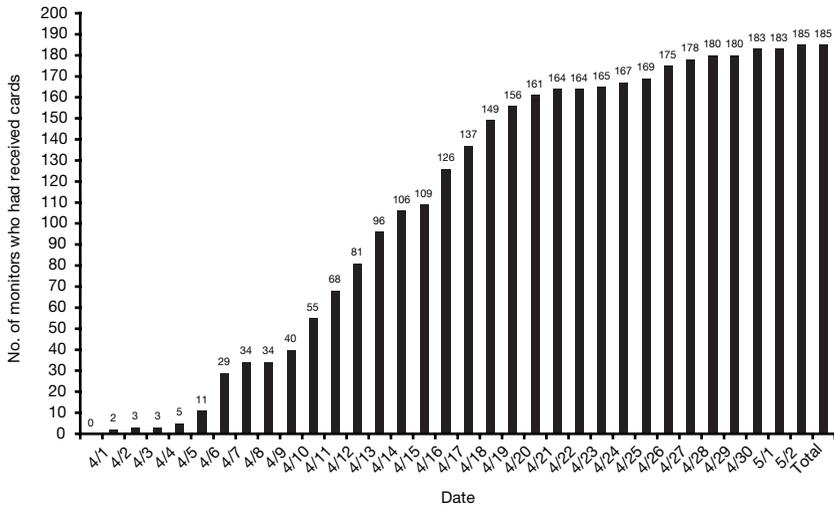
## Polling Cards

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Chart 10 shows the date on which monitors received their polling cards. One monitor said that she did not receive her polling card at all. A further sixty-six did not answer the question and it is unclear whether or not they received a polling card in time for the election. Of the monitors who did respond to this

question, 84% had received their cards by 19 April, two weeks before the election and 95% had received them by 26 April, one week before the election.

**Chart 10: Total Polling Cards Received by Date**



## Information Available at the Polling Place

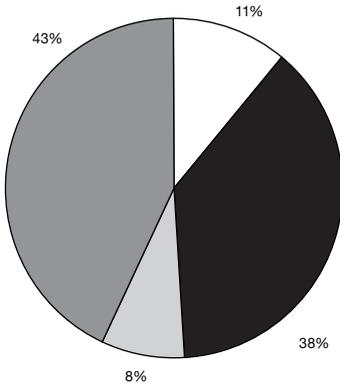
We asked monitors to rate the usefulness of the information provided at the polling place. This data excludes postal- and non-voters. Chart 11 shows that the information officer was by far the most useful form of information. 64% of our monitors found the officer useful or very useful compared to 49% for the information board and 50% for the poster in the polling booth.

It is worth noting that only a small percentage of monitors did not find these sources of information useful. However, somewhat larger numbers did not

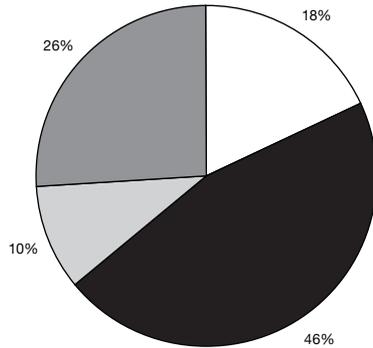
remember seeing them at all. Only the information officer was seen by at least 74% of monitors.

**Usefulness of information at the polling booth.**

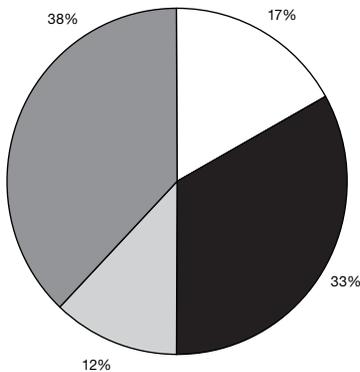
**Chart 11: Information Board**



**Chart 12: Information Officer**



**Chart 13: Poster in polling booth**



- Found very useful
- Found useful
- ▒ Did not find useful
- Did not see

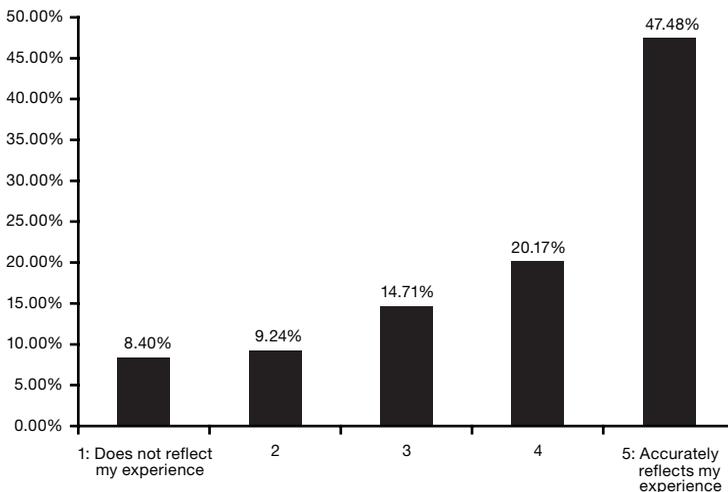
**The Electoral Process**

We asked monitors to respond to a series of statements on the electoral process, rating them from one to five depending on how accurately they reflected

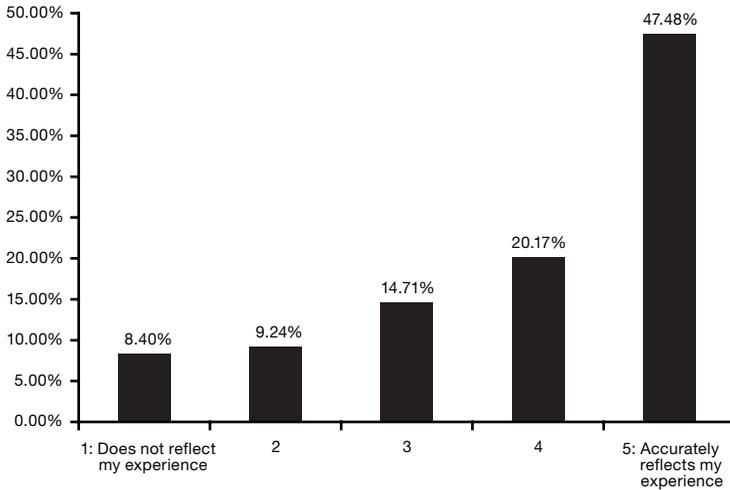
their own experiences. Their answers are shown in Charts 14 to 18. From these results, it is clear that the vast majority of monitors felt that they understood the different voting systems for the parliamentary and council elections, but that this was not necessarily related to the information they had received either before polling day or at the polling station.

In total 5.8% and 6.6% of our monitors said that they had not understood the parliamentary and council voting systems, respectively. This is roughly commensurate with the percentages of spoiled ballots – although in reality the council system was better understood than the parliamentary one. However, it is worth noting that 22.4% and 25.7% (respectively) of the monitors were not entirely confident that they had understood the two systems. When we are dealing with electoral systems, ‘just about’ understanding is not good enough.

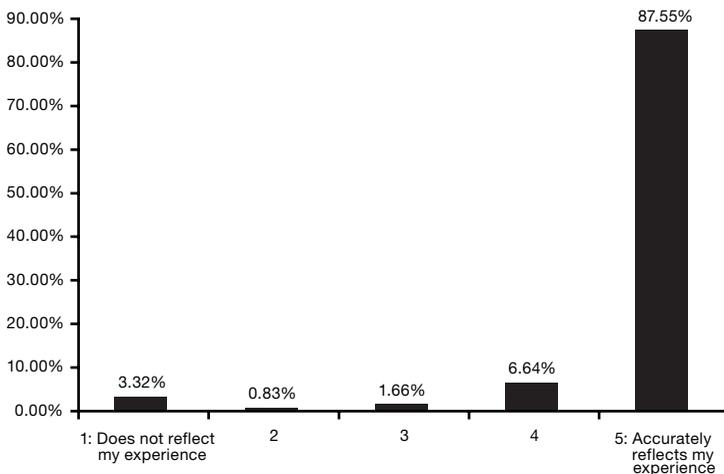
**Chart 14: 'The voting process was adequately explained to me before polling day'**



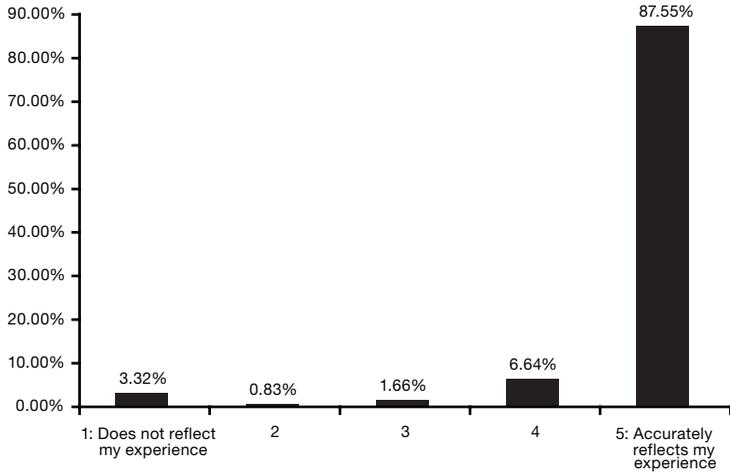
**Chart 15: 'The voting process was adequately explained to me at the polling place'**



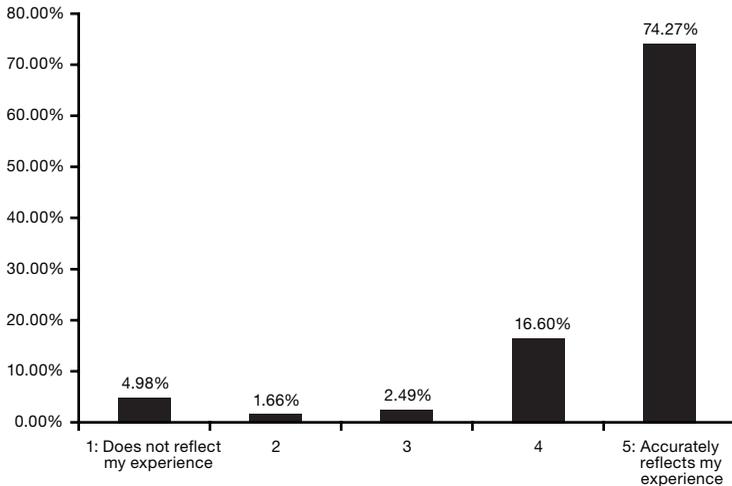
**Chart 16: 'I was aware that there were different voting systems for the council and'**



**Chart 17: 'I understood the voting procedure for the Scottish Parliament elections'**



**Chart 18: 'I understood the voting procedure for the Council elections'**



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## Qualitative data on the electoral process

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In addition to their answers to the direct questions about the voting systems, many of the monitors used the Further Notes section at the end of the survey to give a more detailed analysis of their thoughts on the systems used and on the way in which the election was handled.

Thirty-nine of the monitors said that the voting system and/or the ballot papers were confusing. Many of them had themselves had trouble in voting, while others said that they were aware that friends and neighbours had had difficulties. In addition, a number of monitors said that they had found the necessary information but that they had worked hard to find it, mainly using the media. These comments are typical:

The election process was extremely confusing, especially the ballot papers... There should have been a) an education/media campaign explaining the system to voters b) there should not have been a combination of using 'x' and 'numbers'...

Information about the voting systems could be improved – the parties' leaflets, when they mentioned it, tended simply to illustrate how to vote for their candidates without explaining the system, and independent information was available, but generally only where one made a positive step to look for it.

No attempt by officials to make sure voters were fully aware of procedures at the polling station. The voting

methods were very confusing due to the Scottish Parliament slip asking for a cross for each part of the form and the local authority form asking for numbers 1-7 against various candidates. I almost put a cross instead of a number on the latter form.

While I had no problems with the ballot – this was due to prior research. I knew in advance what it would require. I feel the layout was deliberately designed to confuse voters.

I wanted to find out how the Additional Member System and the Single Transferable Vote system were worked out – after several phone calls to different people, I was finally directed to the Internet and told that there was no other way of getting this information. I do not think that is very democratic...

On the other hand, thirteen monitors said that they had found the public information clear and useful. One in particular said that the Vote Scotland information had been “understandable, informative and prolific”. Another said she “really liked the postcards in shops and at tills”.

Nine monitors stated that the parliamentary and council elections should not have been held on the same day. Their answers varied between those who thought that the electoral process itself had suffered and those whose main concern was with the political campaign and felt that local issues had been subsumed into the national campaigns. However, two monitors said that it was good that the elections had been held on the same day as it boosted turnout for the council elections.

We also received four comments on the secrecy of the ballot, which included concerns about the polling booths being too open and about not folding the ballot paper. One monitor also noted that the instructions were not printed in Braille and that there were no wheelchair-accessible polling booths.

### 3. Media Coverage of the Election

Monitors were asked to rate media coverage of the election on a scale of one to five. We separated print, broadcast and internet media and asked monitors to rate each according to its frequency, the information it included and the usefulness of that information in informing them about the election. We were interested in coverage about the campaigns and about the process of the election itself. Chart 19 gives an overview of our monitors' impressions and Chart 20 shows the total scores they gave to each form of media.

**Chart 19: Monitors' Views on Media Coverage of the Election**

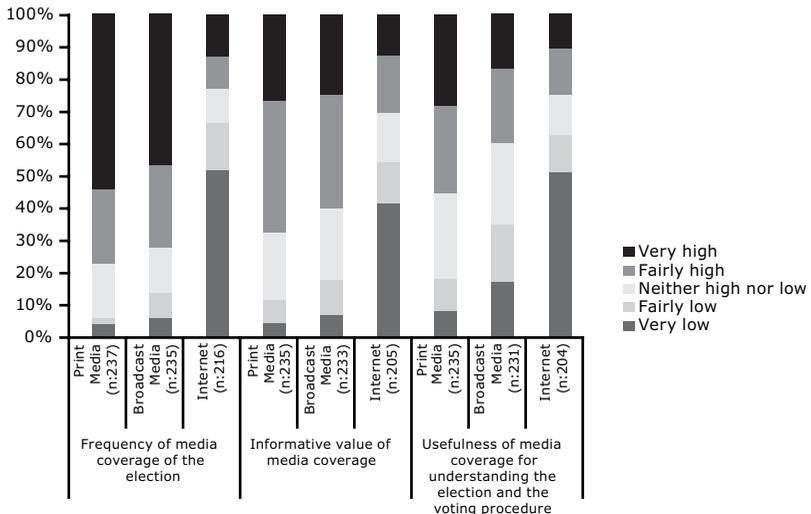
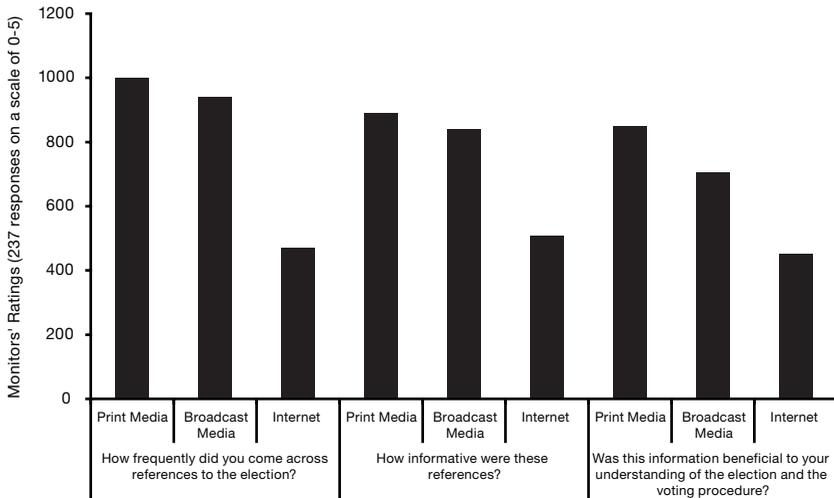


Chart 20: Aggregate of Monitors' Views on Media Coverage of the Election



Print media came out of our survey slightly better than broadcast media but both were found to be more frequent than they were informative or useful. The most striking result is that the internet did not fare very well at all. Our monitors found online coverage to be neither particularly frequent, informative nor useful. When it is borne in mind that far fewer of the monitors even answered the questions relating to the internet than to either of the other two forms of media, it becomes clear that online political coverage still has a long way to go before it catches up with more traditional forms of communication.<sup>7</sup>

7. Sample sizes are given at the bottom of Chart 19.

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## 4. Third Party Campaigning

Third parties are organisations which run campaigns designed to influence the election result but which are not themselves political parties. This type of activity is becoming more and more prevalent in British elections.

In order to measure the extent of this activity, we asked our monitors to record all the information they received about the election, whether it was from political parties, from the State or from other organisations. The 'other organisations' they recorded range from large international NGOs to small local groups. Their activities also vary widely. Some ran very political campaigns, while others were more concerned with public information around the elections themselves and the voting system.

From the information we have, it is impossible to be sure whether all of the activity recorded in this section should really be classed as third party campaigning. For instance, an email sent by a student union, which included sections from the different parties' manifestos, could have been part of a campaign around political issues or it could have been a simple public information exercise, encouraging students to vote. Likewise, despite the campaigning nature of the organisation itself, the material distributed in this election by the Electoral Reform Society was



designed primarily to explain the electoral system. Despite these caveats, we have included in this section the activities of all organisations which are not political parties or institutions of the state. It is clear that civic activity of all types was very high at this election.

Most of the third party campaigns seem to have consisted of occasional leaflets, emails and public meetings and it is likely that many of them were directed at their own members. We know, for instance, that at least one of the monitors who received information from Friends of the Earth is a FoE member. Other organisations advertised their campaigns more widely, using newspaper adverts, billboards, posters and (to a lesser extent) street campaigning.

By far the most active campaign was run by the Educational Institute of Scotland, which used at least a great many newspaper adverts, billboards and posters as well as leaflets and a public meeting.

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## 5. Election Literature

In addition to monitoring the volume of election literature delivered to our monitors, we were also interested in analysing its content. Whilst this is only one part of the campaign and must be set in the wider context of posters, billboards, television adverts and personal contact, it does provide an important insight into the way in which the parties chose to communicate with the electorate.

We analysed the contents of the letters and leaflets delivered to seventy monitors in twenty parliamentary constituencies, which were chosen to represent as broad a range as possible in terms of geography, prosperity, marginality and political history. The results show that the main parties all ran very different campaigns. There was considerable divergence even on the extent to which they dealt with the core issues of health, education and law and order; on Scottish independence and environmental matters, the gap was even wider. The parties also ran very different styles of campaign, with some indulging in personal attacks on other candidates and others focussing only on their own policy proposals.

### **Principal Policy Issues**

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Tables Six and Seven illustrate the frequency with which each of the major parties dealt with certain key

policy areas in the literature we analysed. Table Six analyses the issues which were a major focus of each party, i.e. issues which occupied either a whole letter or leaflet or a significant section of one. Table Seven records each time the parties referred to each policy area in their literature. The characteristics of each party's campaign are discussed in detail below.

**Table 6: Major policy issues, by party**

(Percentage of each party's leaflets in which significant space was given to certain policy areas)

	Scottish Indep.	Health	Education	Law & order	Tax	Economy	Transport	Environment	Youth Opportunities	Electoral system	Local issues	Iraq
SNP	2.2	0	1.9	0.9	6.9	0.9	0	0	0	0.9	0.9	1.3
Lab	6.5	1.5	1.1	2.3	11.5	0.8	0.8	2.3	0	1.5	0	0
Lib Dem	0.0	11.3	3.6	10.0	1.4	0	4.1	15.4	3.2	1.4	5.0	0
Con	1.6	0	1.6	6.4	5.2	0.4	2.0	1.6	0	2.8	2.0	0
Green	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	63.5	0	4.1	0	0
Total	2.5	2.6	1.9	4.2	6.0	0.5	1.4	7.9	0.6	1.8	1.7	0.4

**Table 7: Smaller policy issues, by party**

(Percentage of each party's leaflets in which certain policy areas were mentioned)

	Scottish Indep.	Health	Education	Law & order	Tax	Economy	Transport	Environment	Youth Opportunities	Electoral system	Local issues	Iraq
SNP	50.5	53.0	37.9	56.8	59.9	28.7	10.7	19.2	9.5	41.0	24.6	19.6
Lab	15.7	34.9	59.8	46.0	24.1	36.0	20.7	16.1	5.7	21.5	46.4	0.4
Lib Dem	0.5	64.3	65.2	67.4	16.3	19.0	37.1	71.9	43.4	14.9	46.2	21.7
Con	29.5	27.1	28.7	64.9	30.7	11.2	19.5	15.1	1.2	31.1	34.3	0
Green	1.4	47.3	33.8	2.7	0	59.5	89.2	85.1	75.7	36.5	31.1	0
Total	24.6	44.8	46.0	54.6	32.6	26.6	25.4	32.3	17.8	28.8	36.0	9.9

## Other Policy Issues

The majority of leaflets we analysed also mentioned other issues than those in Tables Six and Seven. The

most popular ‘other’ issues, by party are shown in Table Eight, below.

**Table 8: Other policy issues, by party**

Most popular ‘other’ issues	
SNP	Nuclear weapons, Housing, Pensioners
Lab	Pensioners, Anti-Social Behaviour, Smoking Ban, Housing
Lib Dem	Global Poverty, Decline of Political Discourse, Postal Service, Pensioners, Housing
Con	Housing, Families, Pensioners, Road Tax
Green	Housing, Privatisation of Public Services, Nuclear Energy, Protection of Local Shops

## Local Issues

Although 36% of the leaflets we analysed mentioned local matters, under 2% used them as major campaigning issues. These issues came up most frequently in Labour and Liberal Democrat leaflets and least frequently in those delivered by the SNP (See Tables Six and Seven above). Table Nine shows the most popular local issues, by party.

**Table 9: Other Issues**

Most popular local issues	
SNP	Improvement of specific rail links, protection and development of local parks
Lab	Building and upgrading specific local schools, regeneration of town centre, airport expansion in Dundee
Lib Dem	Improvement of specific local schools, green spaces, local traffic issues
Con	Town centre regeneration, local transport links
Green	Local traffic, highway expansion, airport expansion in Dundee

## Negative Campaigning

As well as looking at how they handled key policy issues, we were also interested in the way in which the parties campaigned. One of the ways of examining the occurrence of negative campaigning is to look at

how often leaflets mentioned other parties. Table Ten shows that Labour focussed fairly heavily on this, A higher percentage of their leaflets featured major articles on other parties than they did on any other policy area. These articles often focussed on the economics of independence, trying to show that Scots would lose out if the SNP got its way.

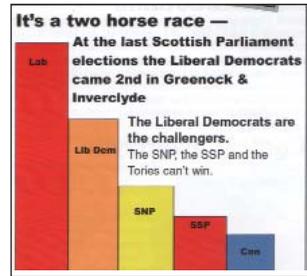
**Table 10: Literature mentioning other parties**

	Major Issue				Smaller Issue			
	Policy Attack (%)	Party Mentioned	Voting Tactics (%)	Party Mentioned	Policy Attack (%)	Party Mentioned	Other mentions (%)	Party Mentioned
SNP	4.4	Lab (78.6%) Lib Dem (14.3%) Con (7.1%)	9.8	Lab (77.4%) Lib Dem (0%) Con (22.6%)	11.4	Lab (80.6%) Lib Dem (8.3%) Con (11.1%)	33.4	Lab (50.9%) Lib Dem (31.1%) Con (17.9%)
Lab	21.5	SNP (78.6%) Lib Dem (21.4%) Con (0%)	13.0	SNP (0%) Lib Dem (70.6%) Con (29.4%)	8.3	SNP (72.7%) Lib Dem (27.3%) Con (0%)	19.5	SNP (70.6%) Lib Dem (19.6%) Con (9.8%)
Lib Dem	1.4	Con (100%)	30.3	Lab (58.2%) SNP (14.9%) Con (26.9%)	30.3	Lab (91.0%) SNP (3.0%) Con (6.0%)	68.8	Lab (42.1%) SNP (26.3%) Con (31.6%)
Con	4.8	Lab (8.3%) Lib Dem (33.3%) SNP (58.3%)	11.6	Lab (75.9%) Lib Dem (3.4%) SNP (20.7%)	12.4	Lab (35.5%) Lib Dem (54.8%) SNP (9.7%)	148.6 <sup>1</sup>	Lab (40.5%) Lib Dem (32.2%) SNP (27.3%)
Green	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-

1. This figure is over 100% because each mention of another party was counted separately. This means that an average Conservative leaflet mentioned more than one other political party.

The Conservatives also mentioned other parties in a great many of the leaflets we looked at, usually mentioning at least two, if not three of the other main parties. Their attacks tended to focus on the workings

of the Lib/Lab pact at Holyrood, rather than on specific policies. The Liberal Democrats' practice of highlighting their credibility through references to the other parties' positions in the electoral contest was counted in this category (see 'Voting Tactics' in Table Ten, above). However, around 30% of the Lib Dem leaflets we looked at also made political attacks on other parties. Often this was in relation to the war in Iraq. Apart from the Green Party, the SNP made the least use of this type of negative campaigning; many of their standard leaflets did not mention the other parties at all.



## Personal Attacks

Only three of the leaflets we looked at used personal attacks as their central issue; all three of which were delivered by the SNP in ultra marginal constituencies (Gordon and Dundee West). These leaflets featured photographs of George Bush and Tony Blair with the slogan 'There are still only two weapons of mass destruction in Iraq'.

Overall though, personal attacks played a fairly small part in the campaign overall, as Table Eleven shows.

It is worth noting that the majority of the personal attacks we came across occurred in ultra marginal constituencies. In Gordon (which subsequently changed hands from Labour to the SNP) all five of our monitors received material containing personal attacks on other candidates: three from the Liberal Democrats, two from the SNP and two from the

**Table 11: Personal attacks**

	Leaflets using personal attacks	Target	%
SNP	19 (4.1%)	Tony Blair	42.1
		Gordon Brown	30.8
		George Bush	31.6
		Jack McConnell	7.7
Lab	0		
Lib Dem	23 (10.4%)	Tony Blair	52.2
		Alex Salmond	17.4
		Gordon Brown	13.0
		David Cameron	8.7
		George Bush	8.7
Con	7 (2.8%)	Gordon Brown	57.1
		Alex Salmond	42.9
Green	0		

Conservatives. In West Renfrewshire (which was held by Labour) all five monitors received SNP material attacking Tony Blair and George Bush over their role in Iraq. One monitor in ultra-marginal Perth also received an SNP leaflet attacking Gordon Brown.

Other literature of this kind was sent by the SNP to monitors in Edinburgh Pentlands and Paisley South (both fairly marginal seats) and Central Fife, which was previously a fairly safe Labour constituency but was taken by the SNP in 2007. The Liberal Democrats also sent material containing personal attacks to our two monitors in Caithness, Sutherland & Easter Ross, a fairly marginal constituency held by the Liberal Democrats and to two monitors in Argyll and Bute, which was previously a safe Liberal Democrat seat but was captured by the SNP in 2007.

The SNP and Liberal Democrat attacks on Gordon Brown were very separate from those on Tony Blair, which focussed on Trident and Iraq and, in the case of the SNP, often linked him with George Bush. The Liberal Democrats used the stock phrase “Blair’s war in Iraq” interchangeably with “Labour’s war in Iraq”; those referring to Blair personally are included in this section, those referring to the Labour Party more widely are counted in Table Ten above. The Conservatives were unable to make similar attacks, due to their support for the war in Iraq. The attacks on Gordon Brown, on the other hand, were far more concerned with domestic policy and, in particular, high taxes. The Liberal Democrat and Conservative attacks on Alex Salmond tended to focus on his split portfolio in Westminster and Edinburgh.

It is worth noting that neither the Labour nor Green Parties seem to have used personal attacks in their campaigns.

## Literature Analysis by Party

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### ***Scottish National Party***

The SNP’s leaflets seem to have concentrated on four key areas: tax, law and order, health and Scottish independence. These issues each appeared in more than half of the leaflets we looked at. Yet, somewhat surprisingly, Scottish independence was used least frequently of the four: it appeared in just over 50% of the leaflets, whilst the SNP’s promise to scrap Council Tax appeared in just under 60%.

The SNP is committed to freezing Council Tax until a fairer system can be put into place, where ability to pay is a determining fact. [East Kilbride]



However, the articles on independence did use powerful, emotive language.

But independence is about more than political powers. Independence is a philosophy, a way of life. It is as relevant to how people live their lives as it is to how a country is governed... National independence and personal aspiration are two sides of the same coin. [Edinburgh East and Musselburgh]

I know we can be more successful...I know Scotland can take her rightful place in the world...equal with every other nation...a voice for peace,...a nation of justice and prosperity. [Perth]

Independence also underpinned many of the other policy areas, from crime and health to the environment.

And, if 300 years of union have left Scotland in a weakened state with high rates of poverty and ill-health and low rate

of business growth, isn't it daft to suggest just more of the same? [Edinburgh East and Musselburgh]

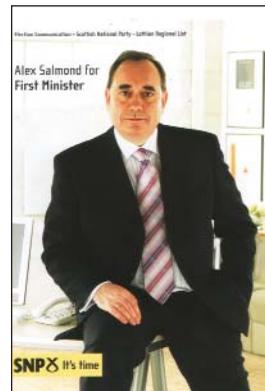
We have learnt lessons from our successful neighbours – Ireland, Norway and Iceland, each in the top six richest nations in the world. We believe that Scotland can join them at the top of world wealth tables, but we need to be free to prosper. [Galloway and Upper Nithsdale]



The other key areas of the SNP's campaign were their opposition to the war in Iraq and to nuclear weapons.

Scottish people did not say yes to the war in Iraq and yet we are increasingly caught up in this increasingly bloody conflict...an SNP led Scottish government will become a voice for peace. [Dundee West]

The SNP ran a very centralised campaign. Local issues and the council elections appeared far less in their literature than in that of the other parties. As was noted by commentators, many of the SNP leaflets focussed on promoting Alex Salmond as a



potential First Minister rather than on the individual parliamentary candidates.

The SNP were around twice as likely as Labour or the Lib Dems to explain the electoral systems in their leaflets.

### ***Scottish Labour Party***

Predictably, many of Labour's leaflets focused on defending their record in power. Education was a particularly prominent issue in the constituencies we looked at, appearing in almost two thirds of Labour's leaflets. The tone was a mixture of pride in the achievements already made and the promise of more.

Labour's support for children and young people's education is the biggest investment that we have made [Edinburgh East and Musselburgh]



We will strengthen the excellent education provided by our local schools in order to equip our children with the best opportunities for the future. [Motherwell & Wishaw]

Economic prosperity was the third most popular issue and appeared in more than a third of the Labour leaflets we saw.

Glasgow's economy is booming and we are enjoying the opportunities this brings – new schools, better housing, more jobs and training are just a few examples. [Glasgow Shettleston]

The party also presented itself as “tough on crime and anti-social behaviour” and some leaflets portrayed the Liberal Democrats as being particularly “soft on crime”.

They are more concerned with the rights of the criminals than those of the victims [East Kilbride]

Most of Labour's attacks, however, were on the other parties' financial policies. The SNP and Liberal Democrats were criticized for planning to abolish Council Tax.



£913 means a lot to hardworking families in Scotland. Maybe a holiday or a new family computer. But not if the SNP and Lib Dems get their way. [Livingston]

Labour also distributed graphic leaflets attacking the SNP's plans for Scottish independence and claimed that they would cost taxpayers £11 billion.

Overall, Scottish independence seems to have been a fairly minor issue in the Labour campaign, when compared with the Conservatives and the SNP. But references did crop up.



The cost to set up a new pensions system or a new army, navy and air force and all the SNP's tax hikes, will mean only one thing. Your hardworking family would have to pay more- £5000 more. [Glasgow Pollok]

Finally, we should note the relative emphasis on the parliamentary and council elections. The Labour campaign include a higher proportion of council election leaflets than any other party, but many council candidates focused on national issues, such as economic prosperity and Scottish independence, while a number of parliamentary candidates addressed what can be seen as council problems, such as council housing. In total, 46% of the Labour leaflets we analysed addressed local problems, a far higher proportion than the SNP or Conservatives.

### ***Scottish Liberal Democrats***

The Liberal Democrats seem to have focused their campaign on four key issues: the environment, law and

order, education and health. Each of these appeared in more than 64% of their leaflets, with environmental matters appearing in 72%. This made it the most popular issue for any party in the entire campaign.

Liberal Democrats want to make 100% of Scotland's electricity from clean, green sources with major new investment in wave and tidal power. [Greenock & Inverclyde]

The Highlands and islands can lead a green revolution. Our seas can become the powerhouse of Europe. [Shetland]

This also tied in with their tax policy.

Liberal Democrats want a different tax system, not to raise more tax, but to tax environmental pollution, tackle climate change and benefit the less well off. [Central Fife]

The Lib Dems also seemed to be making a conscious appeal to young voters. Over 43% of the leaflets we looked at mentioned their plans to improve opportunities for Scotland's youth. This compares with 9% for the SNP, 6% for Labour and 1% for the Conservatives.

We think young people are our future... We will extend new funding to support projects and activities for young people, run by young people, in our area. We will invest in housing to rent and buy so young people can afford to live and work here. [Argyll and Bute]

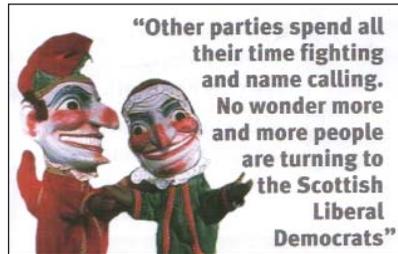
Lib Dem leaflets were far more likely to focus on a single issue: 60% of leaflets did this, compared to 29% of both Labour's and the Conservatives'. Their

campaign also struck a balance between addressing large national and trans-national problems and representing local concerns.

We are committed to taking action on the big global issues - fighting climate change and tackling poverty [Dundee West]

We support reducing the cost of motoring in Shetland where the car is a necessity not a luxury [Shetland]

While issues like the war in Iraq and the Lib Dem record in fighting global poverty were mentioned in around one fifth of the leaflets, local issues appeared in over half – more than any other major party. They also made a point of contrasting their political culture with that of the other parties.



### Scottish Conservative Party

The Conservative leaflets we analysed focussed overwhelmingly on law and order: 6% featured it as a major issue and a further 65% mentioned it. This came up over twice as frequently as any other issue.

**3 Strikes and You're Out**

**C**hristine Wright, the local Conservative candidate here in Edinburgh East and Musselburgh, has said that it's time to get tough on persistent offenders. Outlining the Scottish Conservatives' proposal to give criminals sentenced to a third jail term extra time on their sentence, Christine said:

"Too often, the rights victim of crime, and needs of the victim are ignored in favour of the supposed rights of the criminal. Law abiding people here in Edinburgh and Musselburgh have had enough. They deserve to be able to walk their streets at night without fear of becoming another victim of crime."

[www.yourvoiceinparliament.com](http://www.yourvoiceinparliament.com)

will be required to serve an additional term in jail proportionate to the three previous sentences.

"We want to send a message to persistent offenders that their behaviour will not be tolerated. And we want to say to victims of crime 'We are your Voice in Parliament.'"

Labour's record is one of being soft on the drug barons. [Central Fife]

Local issues, particularly relating to town centre regeneration and local transport links

appeared in over a third of their leaflets. Whilst this was some way behind the SNP and Labour, local issues were still the second biggest policy area for the Conservatives. They also emphasised their pledge to cut council tax in half for pensioners.

The Conservatives will cut council tax for pensioner households in half when they are over 65. This is on top of any single person discount already received and will not be means tested. [Paisley South]

The Conservatives fought a resolutely pro-Union campaign.

A vote for SNP = a vote for divorce from the United Kingdom, high tax and a marginalised Scotland. [Caithness, Sutherland and Easter Ross]

I am Scottish and British and proud to be both... We should be working together in partnership as we have done for the last 300 years. It's what has made us one of the greatest countries in the world and enabled Scots to flourish in all walks of life. [Edinburgh Pentlands]

Much of their negative campaigning focussed on the record of Labour and the Lib Dems in Holyrood.

People are sick and tired of the Lib-Lab pact – sick and tired of them failing Scotland and giving devolution a bad name. [Greenock & Inverclyde]

Nobody takes the parliament seriously and that is down to Labour and their Lib Dem chums. [East Kilbride]



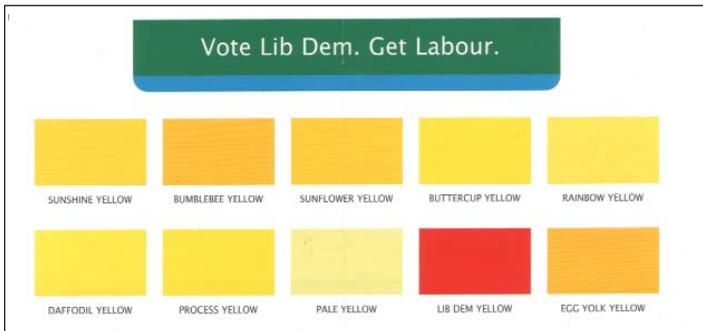
In particular, the Lib-Lab policy on road-pricing was singled out for criticism.

Labour and the Lib Dems have not learned the lesson of the Edinburgh road tolls referendum in 2005. The Lib-Lab pact at Holyrood again wants to charge people even more to drive on the roads they've already paid for. [Edinburgh Pentlands]

They also attacked the Liberal Democrats as being too similar to Labour.

Just over a third of the Conservative leaflets we looked at mentioned the electoral systems. Having explained that there would be both a constituency and a regional ballot for the parliamentary elections, they went on to explain that:

Voting Scottish Conservative with your 'regional' vote really can make a difference [Glasgow Shettleston]

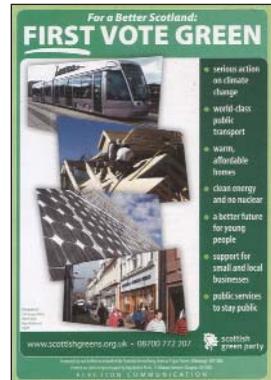


### ***Scottish Green Party***

The Green Party tended to use a small number of standard leaflets. As well as environmental issues they also placed a great deal of emphasis on transport.

The other staple issues of the Green campaign were: opportunities for young people, public ownership of public services, affordable housing, support for small local businesses and the economy.

We are the only party that sticks to its principles to protect people, the environment and the economy from climate change – the biggest threat we all face.  
[North Tayside]



Unsurprisingly for a small party, the Green Party also mentioned the electoral system in well over a third of their leaflets.

The council elections are being held under a fair voting system for the first time. All Green votes count. [Edinburgh East & Musselburgh]

It is interesting to note that the Green Party seem to have run an entirely positive campaign. We did not come across any instances of negative campaigning or personal attacks in their leaflets.

### ***Election Literature Smaller Parties***

We did not complete a full statistical analysis of the literature delivered by smaller parties in this election. However, we are able to summarise the main aspects of their campaigns. Except for the Scottish Christian Party, the smaller parties tended to deliver just one or possibly two styles of leaflet, with minor alterations made for individual constituencies.

### *Scottish Socialist Party*

The SSP tried to appeal to voters disillusioned with current politics by stressing their integrity and honesty. They also campaigned strongly on a social justice agenda: “Scotland’s top two banks last years piled up record profits totalling £15 million...If the basic pension has risen at the same rate, it would now be worth £600.”

Their main socialist pledges were universal free school meals, an increase in the minimum wage and public ownership of transport with free fares to everyone. They also committed themselves to fighting sex-discrimination in the workplace.

In addition, they campaigned on more mainstream issues: council tax, student grants, affordable housing and relief for pensioners. The SSP also mentioned their opposition to the war in Iraq and to Trident.

### *Solidarity Scotland’s Socialist Movement*

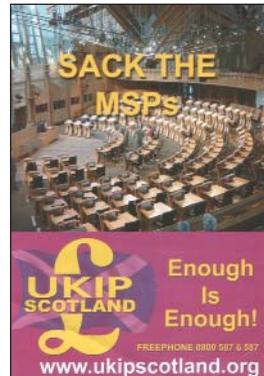
Solidarity’s leaflets all featured a photograph of their controversial leader, Tommy Sheridan. The party made a direct appeal to “the working class peoples and their families”, pledging free school meals, an increase in the minimum wage, public ownership of public services, workers’ protection and promising to “rid Scotland of the scourge of airguns”. Solidarity argued in favour of independence in order to create a socialist republic but this was not one of their major themes. The cornerstone of their campaign seems to have been abolishing council tax.

Finally, Solidarity appealed to anti-war sentiments, frequently using strong rhetoric: “New Labour is dripping in the blood of hundreds of thousands of Muslims

murdered in Afghanistan and Iraq”. After Abu Ghraib, “no one with the sense of justice can vote for New Labour”.

### *UK Independence Party*

UKIP focussed on streamlining Scotland’s political system. Under the slogan “Enough is enough”, they pledged to scrap MSPs and replace them with Scottish MPs, sitting “in Holyrood on Scottish affairs and Westminster on British business”. In addition to their standard calls for withdrawal from the EU and regaining Scottish fishing waters, they also promised to bring back student grants, halt the closure of post offices and abolish inheritance tax.



### *British National Party*

The British National Party called for “a protest vote to give Labour kick up the backside to get tough on asylum and immigration and law and order”. They also stressed law and order, with phrases like “get tough on the neds” and promised to “get tough” on crime by getting police “back where they belong – on the beat”. They claimed that the NHS was being undermined by taking on cheap staff from the Third World rather than paying proper wages to Scottish nurses. They also attacked “unfair foreign imports” and immigrants from the EU who ship their earnings home. The BNP also pledged to speed up the provision of good quality social and affordable housing.

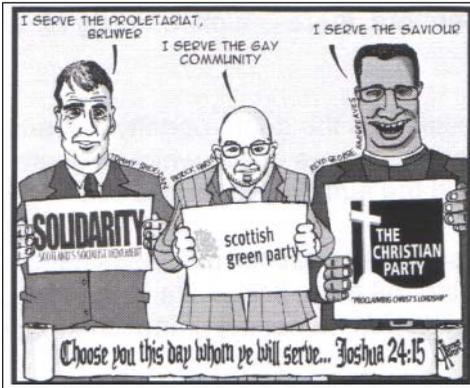
### *Scottish Christian Party*

The SCP was unusual among the smaller parties as they sent a variety of leaflets and even letters to our

monitors. Of these twenty constituencies, the SCP seem to have focussed mainly on Edinburgh and

Glasgow constituencies; their leaflets were not recorded by monitors in such places as Central Fife, East Kilbride and Argyll and Bute.

The party used strong religious language and focused on moral issues. They stated that “our country’s anti-Biblical legislation should cause us to humble ourselves before God”.



Much of this focussed on homosexuality and claimed that Biblical teaching in schools is censored but a green light is given to “homosexual education for Primary School kids”. Furthermore, the party attacked abortion, saying that an early abortion increases the risk of breast cancer by 800%.

The SCP also campaigned on law and order, on the grounds that it is one of the major threats to society. For the SCP, alcohol is the root of crime.

In Glasgow Pollok, one candidate who was an ordained minister, promised to serve the entire community to the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ, who “never ever committed a single sin in his life. Amazing but true.”

### *Scottish Voice*

Scottish Voice was essentially an anti-establishment campaign. It promised to “break the mould of ‘machine politics’” and to engage experts, such as doctors, teachers and pensioner “to find practical

solutions”. It also considered the mainstream politicians as the problem, saying they were unwilling “to listen to front line people who really know”. Additionally, Scottish Voice tried to present itself as being above the tribalism of British politics by claiming that it was not interested whether an idea is right wing or left wing, but instead in whether it worked. Specifically, they pledged to cut bureaucracy and invest the savings in health, education and law and order.

In some constituencies Scottish Voice campaigned jointly with NHS First, for instance, in East Kilbride, where their leaflets centred on the potential closure of one local hospital and the alleged overstretching of two others. They accused Labour and Lib Dems of ignoring the wishes of the 50,000 signatories to a petition against the closure.

### *Christian Peoples Alliance*

The main aim of the Christian Peoples Alliance was to contrast its position with those of the major parties on a range of issues, from abortion and homosexual adoption to poverty and nuclear energy.

	Lab	SNP	Tories	Lib Dems	SSP	Greens
1. Voted for Homosexual and unmarried Adoption	All	Most	Most	All	All	All
2. Voted for Contraception For 12-15yrs old	All	All	None	All	All	All
3. Voted for Homosexual Partnerships	All	None	Most	All	All	All
4. Voted for Quickie Divorces	All	Most	Most	All	All	All
5. Voted for the Repeal of Section 28	All	All	None	All	All	All

### *Scottish Unionist Party*

With the slogan “Proudly Scottish, proudly British”, the SUP campaigned against devolution, claiming it to be a waste of time and money, which is leading “us down the slippery slope to independence.”

The SUP also focussed on education, pledging smaller class sizes, better school discipline and an end to “religious apartheid” in schools. In addition, they campaigned on council tax reform, zero tolerance for criminals and improvements in the health service.

### *Scottish Senior Citizens Unity Party*

The core of the SSCUP’s programme, was based on a better financial settlement for pensioners: index-linked basic pensions, an end to means testing, replacement of the council tax with a local tax, an exemption from water rates and an end to selling homes to pay for residential care. This was underlined by the slogan “No gloss... No spin... No breaking promises!” They campaigned on the health service, transport, law and order and the protection of post offices.

### *Independent candidates*

We encountered a wide range of independent council candidates and localised action groups. Many candidates stressed the need to listen to their electorate, for example, Lynn Filshie from East Kilbride promised a “constructive dialogue between the council and the people” and letting “the community know what is happening before the decision is taken”. Stuart Brown from East Kilbride

believed that the council “needs someone to listen to us” and pledged to stand up against “mindless bureaucracy coupled with arrogance” and to make every decision public.

Others focused on green issues. Portobello Park Action Group from Edinburgh East and Musselburgh defended a local park and promised to strike a balance between protecting green spaces and providing facilities.

Some candidates fought on the key mainstream issues. The incumbent MSP for Edinburgh Pentlands, Margo Macdonald, pledged to focus on health, education and transport, while Asif Nasir in Glasgow Pollok vowed to increase the police presence on the streets, end gang culture and increase the number of nurses. Len Scoullar, a serving councillor in Argyll and Bute, concentrated on local problems, such as improvements in sewage system, time-tabling of buses and street lighting.

There were also more radical voices. Alistair McConnachie, Independent Green Voice for Glasgow Pollok, called for the abolition of private-public partnerships, freedom from debt slavery and protection of civil liberties. This candidate also promised to campaign against a war with Iran.

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# Conclusion

The parliamentary election was very hard fought and the level of political campaigning reflects this. Our monitors received, on average, 130% more leaflets than monitors in the 2005 General Election. Third party campaigning and civic activity was also very high. The figures alone suggest a vibrant, engaging campaign.

However, many of our monitors commented that they felt “ignored” by the parties. In general, it seems that monitors felt that posters, party political broadcasts and leaflets were no substitute for active campaigns on the streets and on their doorsteps. They would have liked more personal contact from the candidates and campaigners. A few monitors also noted that in some areas, the level of campaigning for the council elections seemed to be fairly low.

Despite the problems of under-reporting noted in Chapter Two, it seems that the State’s voter information campaign either did not reach all voters or was not remembered by them. Only ninety-one of our 251 monitors recorded receiving information from either the Electoral Commission, their local council or the Scottish Executive. The figures for other voters are likely to be even lower.

Some of the methods of communication seem to have been more effective than others. On polling day itself, the information officer was seen by far more monitors than either the information board or the

poster inside the polling booth and was also found more useful by them. The lessons from this campaign should be borne in mind for future elections.

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# Appendix A

## Case Study Constituencies<sup>8</sup>

### Dundee West

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**Scottish Parliament:** SNP Gain

**Council:** SNP Slight Gain

**Number of Monitors:** 5

**Political Affiliations:** SNP (1 Supporter), Lib Dem (1 Ex-Member; 1 Candidate), Con (1 Ex-Member), No Affiliation (1)

**Direct Campaigning** Monitors received an average of 20.6 leaflets – significantly below the national average. The bulk of these were from the SNP, Liberal Democrats and Labour. The SNP averaged 5.2 leaflets per monitor, the Liberal Democrats 4.2 and Labour 3.6. One doorstep contact and one telephone contact were made by Labour and the SNP, respectively. No street campaigning was encountered.

The relatively high showing of the Liberal Democrats seems to be due to their council campaigning. In Coldside and the West End the Liberal Democrats matched the SNP in the number of leaflets given out. Our monitors in Lochee and Maryfield saw a lot less council campaigning and it was here that the SNP distributed more leaflets than the other parties. Even a former Liberal Democrat member in Maryfield received more SNP than Liberal Democrat leaflets.

8. This section was compiled by Patrick Casey and Chris Baker.

The differences in leaflet distribution seem to correspond slightly to income groups. The two monitors who received the most leaflets were in high income postcodes.<sup>9</sup> The monitor who received the fewest overall contacts was in a very low income postcode. There was little difference in the number of leaflets received by those living in houses and flats.

**Indirect Campaigning** Our monitors in this constituency did not record a great deal of other forms of contact from political parties. All nine PPBs and both newspaper adverts were recorded by the same monitor. One of these PPBs was by the Green Party and another by the SSP.

**Smaller Parties** Parties like Solidarity, UKIP, Scottish Voice / NHSFirst (joint party), the BNP and the Scottish Senior Citizen's Unity Party delivered leaflets but this was never more than one leaflet and never to all of our monitors. Many of the smaller parties which campaigned elsewhere do not seem to have been present here.

**Non-Party Activity** Third party campaigning included one EIS billboard and public meetings organised by *The Courier* newspaper and a Roman Catholic Church.

**General** Despite the relatively low level of campaigning, three of the four monitors who completed the Polling Day Survey said they had experienced more campaigning this year, the other monitor was uncertain.<sup>10</sup> Three of the four had received regular contact from the Liberal Democrats in the past year;

9. All income classifications are taken from ACORN

10. One monitor did not complete the Polling Day Survey, so the remaining sections only refer to four monitors.

only one of these monitors had a history of involvement with the party. However all monitors stated that the level of campaigning had increased significantly after 2 April.

Leaflets were deemed the most effective means of communication for parties, but given the limited campaigning here this is unsurprising. The only monitor who stated that her vote was influenced by this campaigning was also the only monitor with no political affiliation.

**Voting Information** Two of the four monitors received a leaflet from the Electoral Commission, and another saw a newspaper advert. Two monitors said the polling card did not give the necessary information on how to vote.

**The Polling Place** The three monitors who voted at the polling place all agreed that the information officer was useful. The information board and polling booth poster were each seen by one (different) monitor, but were felt to be useful by them.

**The Electoral Process** One monitor felt that the information they received before the election was completely adequate but two monitors disagreed or strongly disagreed with this statement. None of the monitors felt completely certain of the voting system for the parliamentary elections and only one did for the council elections. But only one monitor in each case felt that they did not understand the procedure at all. This monitor commented on the council electoral system: "Is it PR? No Idea!"

It should be pointed out that the monitor who appears to have had the most trouble voting was not

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the monitor who did not record any contact from the Electoral Commission.

## Edinburgh South

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**Scottish Parliament:** Lib Dem Hold

**Council:** Lib Dem & SNP Gains; Labour Losses

**Number of Monitors:** 15

**Political Affiliation:** Labour (1 Member, 1 Ex-Member), Lib Dem (1 Activist; 2 Ex-Members), Green (3 Activists; 1 Member), No Affiliation (6)

**Direct Campaigning** On average twenty-nine leaflets were sent to each household, which was well above the national average. Although one flat received fifty, in general flats received slightly fewer leaflets: 26.6 to an average of 29.5 in houses.

The Liberal Democrats ran the most prolific leaflet campaign, distributing between two and eleven leaflets per household. Their average was 7.3, compared to the Conservatives' 5.3, Labour's 4.6, the Greens' 2.8 and just 2.5 from the SNP. Individual monitors usually received most leaflets from the Liberal Democrats and Labour, with the Conservatives and the Greens occasionally matching them.

Personal contact was noticeably absent. There was no doorstep contact whatsoever, and only two phone calls were recorded: one Labour, one Liberal Democrat. Although two monitors noticed adverts for public meetings, neither attended them. On the streets, the Greens were the most active. Their street

campaigns were recorded three times and the SNP 's was recorded once.

**Indirect Campaigning** Two monitors reported seeing a great many posters and billboards, but most did not record any. Four monitors noted PPBs: seven Labour, five Conservative, four Liberal Democrat and one SNP. Two monitors saw one newspaper advert each: one Liberal Democrat and one SNP.

**Smaller Parties** Although in this constituency the range of smaller parties was greater than elsewhere, our monitors generally still only received one leaflet each from these parties. However, some monitors also saw smaller parties' PPBs, for example three monitors saw an SSCUP broadcast. The only smaller party to be encountered street campaigning was the SSP, which was recorded by two monitors.

**Non-Party Activity** A petition for a friendlier economic footprint was run parallel to the election by the Everyone Campaign. Members of various pressure groups – Friends of the Earth, SPOKES, the Campaign For Science & Engineering, the RSPB and the Soil Association - received information on the candidates' positions and lists of policies to consider. The Education Institute of Scotland took out an advert in *The Scotsman* encouraging people to vote on education. Public meetings were organised by Reid Memorial Church and the Learning Disability's Alliance Action Group.

**General** There was almost unanimous agreement that campaigning increased after 2 April, with only two

monitors saying that they noticed little change. Thirteen of the fifteen monitors had received regular contact from parties in the past year. The Liberal Democrats were the most active, but some contact was also noted from Labour, the Conservatives and the Greens.

Ten monitors felt that the level of campaigning in this election was higher than previous elections. Some commented on the increase in the number of leaflets, one monitor going so far as to complain about it. Only two monitors noted that they had experienced less canvassing than in previous years, but five monitors commented on the lower levels of personal contact with candidates.

The only people to state that contact with political parties during the campaign influenced the way they voted were all party members or activists.

**Voting Information** Eight of the fifteen monitors received a Vote Scotland leaflet. Seven said they received the necessary information in their polling cards. Two monitors complained that they had to go out of their way to find out how to vote. When rating the most effective form of communication from the Electoral Commission, the Vote Scotland website was the preferred choice of three monitors and newspaper and television adverts also featured, suggesting that not all contact had been logged since, apart from the leaflets, only one newspaper advert and one billboard were recorded.

**The Polling Place** All but two of the monitors felt voting was adequately explained at the polling place.

The information boards were considered the most useful source of details on voting, just ahead of the information officer. However four people said they saw neither these nor the polling booth poster. One monitor suggested that the information officers had varying success depending on the individual. Another monitor felt that problems they had at the polling place were not satisfactorily dealt with.

**The Electoral Process** Although five monitors said that they were unsatisfied with explanations of the voting system prior to the election, in general monitors had no problems with voting in the parliamentary elections. However, two found the council elections, and the ballot papers in particular, confusing.

## **Gordon**

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**Scottish Parliament:** SNP Gain

**Council:** SNP gains; Lib Dem Losses

**Number of Monitors:** 5

**Political Affiliations:** SNP (1 Former Candidate), Lib Dem (2 Supporters), No Affiliation (2)

**Direct Contact** The average number of leaflets monitors received in this constituency was 24.4, which is fractionally above the national average.

The Liberal Democrats were the most active in this area. They delivered an average of 5.8 leaflets to our monitors, compared to the Conservatives' 4, the SNP's 4, and Labour's 2. Four of our five monitors received the most or joint-most leaflets from the Liberal Democrats,

the other monitor received more from the Conservatives. This was the only monitor in the Mid-Formantine ward. The only monitor who received as many SNP as Liberal Democrat leaflets had previously expressed support for the SNP when canvassed. Leaflets specifically to do with the council elections were fairly low. It may be worth noting that one of the Lib Dem leaflets sent to every household was a Parliamentary Report sent by Malcolm Bruce MP, apparently funded out of his communications allowance as there was no explicit mention of the Liberal Democrats on it.

The Liberal Democrats were also the most active in terms of personal contact. Two monitors received doorstep visits, and three received telephone calls. However of these three, one was a current member and former candidate. The Green Party was the only other party from which a monitor received a phone call. Our monitors only recorded street campaigning by the Liberal Democrats and the SNP.

There do not appear to be any strong contrasts between the monitors from different council wards. As all monitors lived in houses in areas of similar income classification, distinctions along these lines cannot be made.

**Indirect Contact** Our monitors recorded few PPBs and, with the exception of one Labour broadcast, these were dominated by the smaller parties. Two monitors saw PPBs by both UKIP and the BNP, and one of these monitors also saw a Green Party PPB. Two monitors saw one poster each from the Liberal Democrats, the SNP and the Conservatives. One monitor recorded seeing two Liberal Democrat billboards.

**Smaller Parties Contact** from small parties was limited to a single leaflet if any was received at all.

**Non-Party Activity** No contact was received from third party organisations but two monitors attended a meeting organised by a local Environmental Forum in March.

**General Campaigning** was relatively quiet in the two months before the start of the official election campaign period. One monitor said they only received a single leaflet in this period, while another received a phone call. Only three of the five monitors said they had received regular contact from at least one political party in the past year, and one of these is a party member. Four of the monitors said there had been noticeably more campaigning this year; two of these commented on an increase in the use of leaflets in particular.

Both the monitors who had attended a public meeting selected this as the most effective method of contact but only one of those who received a doorstep visit did. Of the two monitors who said their vote had been greatly influenced by their contact with the parties, one had been to a public meeting and had a doorstep visit but the other had not. The extent to which monitors' votes were influenced by contact with parties did not correspond to levels of political affiliation.

**Voting Information** All five monitors received a leaflet from the Electoral Commission and one monitor received an additional leaflet from Aberdeenshire Council. Beyond this our monitors recorded little other

contact. One monitor saw two Vote Scotland television adverts and another recorded a newspaper advert. However, when they were asked to choose the most effective means by which the Electoral Commission communicated with them, a third monitor selected newspaper adverts and television adverts. All the monitors agreed that the polling card contained the necessary information on how to vote.

**The Polling Place** Of the four monitors who voted at the polling place, three completely agreed that the process was adequately explained there. Those who encountered problems when voting said that these were satisfactorily dealt with and described the information officer and polling booth poster as the most helpful sources of information.

**The Electoral Process** None of the monitors completely agreed with the statement: “The voting procedure was adequately explained to me in the period prior to polling day”. Two of the five said they fully understood the council electoral system and another two understood it fairly well. Three of the five felt that they completely understood the parliamentary electoral system. The monitor who seemed to have most difficulty voting was the most politically active of the group and also only one who voted by post. She did not feel that the process had been adequately explained to her before polling day and did not think she understood the different electoral systems at all.

## Govan

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**Scottish Parliament:** SNP Gain

**Council:** Labour dominate; SNP make gains.

**Number of Monitors:** 7

**Political Affiliations:** SNP (1 Member; 1 Supporter), Green (1 Supporter), No Affiliation (4)

**Direct Campaigning** Between them our monitors received an average of 26.7 leaflets, which was above the national average. Three people received most leaflets from Labour and another three received most from the SNP. The final monitor received most leaflets from the Conservatives and very little from either Labour or the SNP, particularly compared to the three other monitors in the Pollokshields ward. Interestingly, this was an SNP member.

On average, Labour distributed 6.3 leaflets to our monitors compared to the SNP's 4.8. Beyond these two parties there was little to choose between the two other large parties and some of the smaller ones. For example, the Conservatives delivered only 2 leaflets per monitor and the SSP 2.6. However, parties such as Solidarity and the SSP were delivering identical batches of leaflets on different dates. There is a clear difference between leaflets received by monitors in houses and those in flats: 30.7 for the former, 23.8 for the latter.

Only one of our monitors recorded any doorstep contact: one visit each from the SNP and Labour. This monitor lives with a former Labour member. Telephone contact was similarly scarce, only one (non-affiliated) monitor received a call from Labour.

The only monitor to be contacted by email was an SNP member who received three emails from his party.

The Greens were most active in terms of street campaigning: six instances of street campaigning were recorded between four monitors. The SNP were seen on the street four times by one monitor and the SSP were encountered on three separate occasions by three different monitors

**Indirect Campaigning** The SNP dominated the billboards with six sightings recorded between four different monitors. One monitor saw a Labour billboard. Between them, three monitors saw four SNP, three Labour, one Green and one Solidarity poster. Only four PPBs were recorded: one apiece by the Conservatives, Green Party, BNP, and SSP. No newspaper adverts were recorded.

**Smaller Parties** Campaigning by the smaller parties was, on the whole, confined to a single leaflet, although one monitor did receive three from the Christian People's Alliance. If monitors received more than one leaflet they were often duplicates. Posters for the Communist, Scottish Christian and Christian People's Alliance parties were also seen.

**Non-Party Activity** Two monitors saw three EIS billboards between them and one received a letter from the Bishops' Conference of Scotland.

**General** All but one of the monitors thought that campaigning had increased in comparison with

previous years. Three monitors had received regular contact from a party throughout the year - only one of these had previously expressed an affiliation. However once the official election campaign began monitors noted a sharp increase in campaigning.

Leaflets were generally thought to be the most effective means of contact. The other choices were a mixture of billboards and television coverage - but one monitor qualified this by saying that they meant television interviews with politicians rather than PPBs. Only one monitor stated that party contact of any form strongly influenced their vote.

**Voting Information** Only four of the seven monitors recorded receiving a leaflet from the Electoral Commission in the time period, although some had received them in March. None recorded any other form of communication from the State. However when we asked them to rate the most effective ways in which the Electoral Commission communicated with them, six of the seven listed leaflets as a first or second choice. It may be that they received leaflets before the Campaign Log began on 2 April. The second most popular choice was the Vote Scotland website. Two monitors also selected the Vote Scotland Truck as their third choice, despite not recording it in their Logs. Only one monitor said that their Poll Card did not contain sufficient voting information.

**The Polling Place** Responses to the polling place information on how to vote were mixed. The information board was considered useful or very

useful by six of the monitors and five monitors said the same of the information officer. However, the polling booth poster was not seen by three monitors and not found useful by another.

**The Electoral Process** Four of the seven monitors completely agreed that the process was adequately explained, both before the election and at the polling place. Only one monitor had concerns about how well their problems were dealt with when voting. All the monitors stated that they completely understood the electoral system for the council elections and all but one understood the parliamentary elections. However in their additional comments two monitors said that they were confused about how to vote. One monitor cited political parties' encouragement of tactical voting as a reason for their confusion, while the other said that despite the campaign about the new system they still marked an 'x' in the box.

## Ochil

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**Scottish Parliament:** SNP Hold

**Council:** Split between three different council areas

**Number of monitors:** 8

**Political Affiliation:** Lib Dem (1 Member), Labour (1 Activist),

No Affiliation (6)

**Direct Campaigning** Overall, the level of campaigning in this constituency was low, even though it was an ultra marginal seat. Leaflets appear to have formed the bulk of contact. Our monitors

received an average of 18.6 leaflets, within a range of fourteen to twenty-seven. This is well below the national average. Labour and the SNP sent out the most leaflets with an average of 4.4 each for every household. The Liberal Democrats sent an average of 2.3 and the Conservatives sent 2. Leaflet distribution was about even across both Clackmannanshire and Perth & Kinross council wards.

Our monitors recorded no direct doorstep or telephone contact, with the exception of one phone call from Labour before the period we are looking at. However, our Liberal Democrat activist received ten Lib Dem emails. Three of our monitors reported that candidates attended public meetings. Two people saw the SNP driving through town with loudspeakers, one of whom saw them on two different occasions. One person recorded four billboards and two others recorded one each. No other street campaigning was reported.

**Indirect Campaigning** Three people noted seeing four, sixteen and seventeen PPBs, respectively. The SNP broadcasts seem to have been seen slightly more times, with two people seeing them more than once. One monitor saw Liberal Democrat, Conservative and Green PPBs on four, three and two occasions, respectively. Another two monitors each saw these broadcasts once and one monitor saw two Labour PPBs. One monitor also recorded seeing seven SNP newspaper adverts and five from Labour

**Smaller Parties** Smaller parties seem to have managed to send one leaflet to most houses with the

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most prolific being the SSP, SSCUP, Solidarity and UKIP. One email was received from the SSCUP. Solidarity, SSP and SSCUP PPBs were seen by a couple of people each and one person saw a newspaper advert for Scottish Voice.

**Non-Party Activity** Three of our monitors recorded public meetings: one community council meeting attended by SNP candidates; one Scottish Wildlife Trust hustings event attended by the SNP, Labour, Liberal Democrats, Conservatives, Greens, SSP and Solidarity; and a hustings event organised by Kinross Church. One EIS advert was seen in the *Daily Record* encouraging people to consider education policies when voting.

**General** Three monitors received no contact at all before our survey period and all the others agreed that it increased significantly after 2 April. Two people reported contact from the Liberal Democrats in the previous year, although one of these was a member. A Labour Party member also recorded being contacted by his party.

Only one person thought that the level of campaigning was higher than previous years, three thought it was similar and a further three thought it was less or significantly less. Two people expressed disappointment at the lack of doorstep or personal contact. A monitor living in a rural area said that he felt “ignored” by all the parties. One monitor living in Kinross thought that campaigning there was “far less” than Argyll and pointed to a lack of posters and ineffective advertising of public meetings.

Leaflets were seen as the most effective way in

which parties communicated their messages, followed by TV and newspaper adverts. The monitors almost all ranked their answers in this order, although it is significant that the two people who attended public meetings put these as either their first or second choice. Interestingly, none of our monitors felt that their vote had been very influenced by the contact they received during the election period.

**Voting Information** Five of our nine monitors received a Vote Scotland leaflet through the post, one person saw a TV advert and another saw two newspaper adverts. Five monitors stated that their polling card contained sufficient information on how to vote, the other three did not comment on this. Leaflets were considered the most effective means of communicating election information, along with newspaper and television adverts. However, two monitors commented that preparations or explanations in advance were inadequate.

**The Polling Place** On polling day, all of our monitors found the polling place easily accessible. Everybody found the information there either useful or very useful. Only one monitor did not see the information officer; two did not see the information board; but four did not see the poster. The monitors who commented on it said that any problems they had were satisfactorily resolved.

**The Electoral Process** Every monitor was satisfied that they completely understood the system for both the Scottish Parliament and local council elections.

However one monitor did note that her seventy-seven year old mother found the system difficult to understand.

## **Paisley South**

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**Scottish Parliament:** Labour Hold

**Council:** SNP slight gains on Labour

**Number of Monitors:** 4

**Political Affiliations:** None

**Direct Campaigning** Leaflets formed the bulk of party campaigning. Our monitors received an average of 24.25 leaflets – fractionally above the national average. These fell within a range of fourteen to forty-three per household. Labour sent out the most with an average of 5.5, followed by the SNP with 3.75 and the Conservatives with 2.75. Liberal Democrat coverage was patchy: one monitor received four leaflets but another recorded nothing at all.

Only one monitor, living in a very low income area, recorded any other direct forms of campaigning. He was visited by two Labour candidates at once and encountered street campaigning eight times between Labour, the SNP, the SSP, the Socialist Equality Party and the Scottish Christian Party. This contrasts sharply with the monitor in a more affluent area, who reported a lack of doorstep contact and recorded the lowest number of leaflets.

**Indirect Campaigning** Five posters were recorded by our monitors. These were a mixture of Labour, SNP

and Green. One SNP PPB was recorded and one monitor recorded seeing SNP and Labour adverts in the *Daily Record* every day in the week before the election.

**Smaller Parties** Our monitors received little beyond the single leaflets that often came all at once from the smaller parties. PPBs were recorded from the SSP, Solidarity, the BNP and the Scottish Senior Citizens Unity Party. One incidence of street campaigning was recorded for the Socialist Equality party, and another for the Scottish Christian Party, while Solidarity campaigners were encountered using a van with a loudspeaker. One monitor also saw two Scottish Christian Party posters.

**Non-Party Activity** The monitors did not record any contact from third party organisations during the election period.

**General** All of our monitors reported some form of direct contact from political parties in the year leading up to the election, particularly from Labour. For two of them this was because of a December by-election in Elderslie. The monitor in Johnstone encountered SSP, Solidarity, and Labour representatives at local events throughout the year.

All four monitors stated that contact had increased greatly in the official election period, by as much as 100% according to one monitor. Comparing 2007 to previous campaigns, responses varied: the monitor who received the most leaflets noted a marked increase but the one who received the least said there was little

change. The monitor who received the most personal contact actually felt that there was less campaigning. Only one monitor felt that the contact they received from political parties influenced their vote.

Unlike some other constituencies, television and newspaper adverts were selected most often as preferred means of receiving communication from political parties. This suggests that the large amount of leaflets was not particularly effective.

**Voting Information** Three monitors received Vote Scotland leaflets, and three received voting information from Renfrewshire Council along with details of boundary changes. All of our monitors said they received the necessary information on how to vote with their polling cards. The monitors generally regarded the leaflets as the best way of receiving information about the election and newspaper adverts and billboards were selected as second and third choices, despite not being recorded in the Logs.

**The Polling Place** Only two of the monitors expressed their opinions on how useful they found the sources of information at the polling place. From these two responses it seems that the information board and the information officer were considered the most useful.

**The Electoral Process** Only one monitor seemed completely satisfied that the voting process had been adequately explained prior to polling day, but in general our monitors seem to have felt comfortable with the way both electoral systems work, all four saying they understood them.

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# Appendix B

## Constituencies (no. of monitors)

Aberdeen Central (1)	Glasgow Cathcart (1)
Aberdeen North (1)	Glasgow Govan (7)
Aberdeen South (2)	Glasgow Kelvin (8)
Airdrie and Shotts (1)	Glasgow Maryhill (8)
Angus (1)	Glasgow Pollok (2)
Argyll and Bute (2)	Glasgow Rutherglen (1)
Ayr (1)	Glasgow Shettleston (4)
Caithness, Sutherland & Easter Ross (2)	Glasgow Springburn (2)
Carrick, Cumnock & Doon Valley (5)	Gordon (5)
Central Fife (2)	Greenock & Inverclyde (2)
Clydebank & Milngavie (6)	Hamilton North & Belshill (1)
Clydesdale (2)	Hamilton South (1)
Coatbridge & Chryston (3)	Inverness East, Naim, & Lochaber (2)
Cumbernauld & Kilsyth (3)	Kilmarnock & Loudoun (2)
Cunninghame North (1)	Kirkcaldy (2)
Cunninghame South (3)	Linlithgow (2)
Dumbarton (1)	Livingston (3)
Dumfries (3)	Midlothian (1)
Dundee West (5)	Moray (8)
Dunfermline East (2)	Motherwell & Wishaw (4)
Dunfermline West (2)	North East Fife (5)
East Lothian (5)	North Tayside (2)
East Kilbride (3)	Ochil (8)
Eastwood (5)	Orkney (3)
Edinburgh Central (13)	Paisley North (1)
Edinburgh East & Musselburgh (5)	Paisley South (4)
Edinburgh North & Leith (9)	Perth (3)
Edinburgh Pentlands (6)	Ross, Skye and Inverness West (4)
Edinburgh South (15)	Shetland (3)
Edinburgh West (7)	Stirling (5)
Falkirk East (1)	Strathkelvin & Bearsden (5)
Falkirk West (3)	Tweeddale Ettrick & Lauderdale (3)
Galloway & Upper Nithsdale (4)	West Aberdeenshire & Kincardine (4)
Glasgow Anniesland (2)	West Renfrewshire (5)
Glasgow Bailleston (1)	Western Isles (1)

# Appendix C

## Copies of Campaign Log, Polling Day Survey and Explanatory Notes

<b>1. Name:</b>	
<b>2. Address &amp; Postcode:</b>	
<b>3. Telephone:</b>	
<b>4. Email:</b>	
<b>5. Type of Household:</b>	House / Flat / Residence of Multiple Occupancy / University Hall of Residence Other.....

6. If you support a political party, please state which one and tick any applicable boxes

Party.....

- Member     
  Former Member     
  Candidate (Year: .....)  
 Campaigned for     
  Displayed Poster     
  Expressed support when canvassed  
 Active Member (Level of Participation: .....  
 .....)  
 .....

7. Please provide details of any party affiliations of **other members of your household**. Please see the Explanatory Notes for why we need this information.

- Active Member      Party.....  
 Member      Party.....  
 Former Member      Party.....  
 Candidate      Party..... Year:.....  
 Displayed Poster      Party.....

- Expressed support when canvassed    Party.....
- Campaigned for    Party.....

**8.** Please tell us whether you will have any other official contact with the election or political process, for instance, if you work for a local authority, or if you are working for the state on polling day:

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....



### Section 3: Polling Day Survey

1. How did you cast your vote?

- At a Polling Place   
  By Post   
  By Proxy   
  Did Not Vote

b) If you **did not** vote please state why: .....

.....

**2. Even if you did not vote** please rank the statements below in terms of how they reflect your experiences of the election, 5 being for statements that most accurately reflect your experience.

	Does Not Reflect Your Experience				Accurately Reflects Your Experience
a) I understood clearly where my polling place was	1	2	3	4	5
b) My polling place was easily accessible	1	2	3	4	5
c) The voting process was adequately explained to me in the period <b>prior to polling day</b>	1	2	3	4	5
d) The voting process was adequately explained to me <b>at the polling place</b>	1	2	3	4	5
e) I was aware that there were different voting systems for the council and parliamentary elections	1	2	3	4	5
f) I understood the voting procedure for the <b>Scottish Parliament</b> elections	1	2	3	4	5
g) I understood the voting procedure for the <b>Council</b> elections	1	2	3	4	5
i) Any problems I encountered whilst voting were satisfactorily	1	2	3	4	5

dealt with

j) My vote was based on the contact I had with political parties during the election period

	1	2	3	4	5
--	---	---	---	---	---

3. At this year's election, the Electoral Commission has sought to improve the quality of information about how to vote available **at the polling place**. Please say which, if any, of the following items you found useful:

	Did Not See	Did not Find Useful	Found Useful	Found Very Useful
Information Board at entrance to polling place	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Information Officer at polling place	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Poster inside polling booth	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

4. The Electoral Commission has also been running a public awareness campaign to promote better understanding of how to vote. Please state which **THREE** methods you felt to be most effective, numbering them in order of effectiveness with 1 being your first choice:

Leaflets	.....	Poster	.....
Television Advert	.....	Billboard	.....
Radio Advert	.....	Vote Scotland Truck	.....
Newspaper Advert	.....	Vote Scotland Website	.....
Events	.....	(Please specify.....)	
Other	.....	(Please specify.....)	

**5.** What do you feel were the most effective ways in which **political parties and candidates** communicated their message to you? Please state which **THREE** methods you felt to be most effective, numbering them in order of effectiveness, with 1 being your first choice.

- |                      |       |                       |       |
|----------------------|-------|-----------------------|-------|
| Telephone            | ..... | Public Meeting        | ..... |
| House Visit          | ..... | Billboard             | ..... |
| Letter               | ..... | Poster                | ..... |
| Leaflet              | ..... | Newspaper Advert      | ..... |
| Television Broadcast | ..... | Email                 | ..... |
| Other                | ..... | (Please specify.....) |       |

**6.** As well as the direct forms of contact detailed above, we are also interested in hearing about the information you received about the election through the printed, broadcast and internet media.

Please **rank your answers** to the following questions on a scale of 1-5, with **5 being the Highest**.

a) How frequently did you come across references to the election?

	Rarely				Very Frequently
--	--------	--	--	--	-----------------

Printed Media	1	2	3	4	5
Broadcast Media	1	2	3	4	5
Internet	1	2	3	4	5

b) How informative did you feel these references were?

	Not Informative				Very Informative
--	-----------------	--	--	--	------------------

Printed Media	1	2	3	4	5
Broadcast Media	1	2	3	4	5
Internet	1	2	3	4	5

c) Did you consider the information you received beneficial to your understanding of the election and voting procedure?

	Not at all Beneficial				Very Beneficial
--	-----------------------	--	--	--	-----------------

Printed Media	1	2	3	4	5
Broadcast Media	1	2	3	4	5
Internet	1	2	3	4	5

7. For the purposes of this research, we are only monitoring the official election campaign (i.e. from 2 April until polling day). However, we are also interested to know about any contact you had with political parties and other organisations **before** this period.

a) How did the amount of contact you received between 2 April and 3 May compare with the contact you received in February and March?

.....  
.....  
.....

b) Have you received regular contact from political parties throughout the past year?

.....  
.....  
.....

c) How does the amount of contact you have received during this election campaign compare with past elections?

.....  
.....  
.....

**8. Further Notes**

In this section please tell us about any other aspects of your election experience which you feel are significant but not covered above. Examples are included in the explanatory notes. Please feel free to continue on a separate sheet if necessary.

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

## Explanatory Notes

### Section 1: Your Details

#### Question 5

A Residence of Multiple Occupancy refers to a house or flat which you share with a number of friends or flatmates. If you live with a partner or members of your family, you should tick 'House' or 'Flat' as appropriate.

#### Questions 6 & 7: why do we need to know about political affiliation?

If you or any other members are, or have been a member of a political party this is likely to influence the information you receive from the different parties and we will need to take it into account when analysing your data. This information is strictly confidential and will not be published or disclosed to any other organisations.

#### Question 8

If you hold a job in local government, are working for the state on polling day or have any other official connection with the electoral process, please let us know in the space provided.

### Section 2: The Campaign Log

#### What to Record

From April 2 please begin to fill in the campaign log.

If you are contacted directly by a political party or non-party political organisation or if you come across something during your day-to-day business which promotes a political party, candidate, or the election itself, please complete an entry in the Campaign Log.

**Non-party political organisations** may include campaigning organisations as well as bodies such as your local council or the Electoral Commission. For instance if you receive information on the location of your polling place, or how the voting system for the council or Scottish parliament elections works, we would like you to record this.

**Please Note:** The sections on Newspaper Adverts and TV Broadcasts refer only to official adverts from political parties or organisations. This does not include media reporting on the election.

#### How to Record the Information

If you are contacted by a political party and the candidate is specifically named please include the name of both the candidate and the party in the 'Party or Organisation' column.

If you are contacted by a non-party organisation, please state if it is campaigning on behalf of a particular political party.

Please then put a mark in the column that describes the kind of contact you had. If the contact is not described, please put a mark in the 'Other' column, then describe it in the 'Notes' column.

As well as any specific notes you might have, we would like to know:

If you are asked to donate money.

If you are asked whether you would like a postal vote.

For Telephone and Doorstep contact please make a brief note of what was discussed.

For a Public Meeting please say who organised it.

For Newspaper adverts please state which newspaper.

If you run out of room providing further information about a particular entry, please feel free to attach additional sheets.

### Section 3: Polling Day Survey

In this section we would like to know about your experience of the election. This includes the information you received from all organisations over the course of the month before the election, and your experience on polling day itself.

#### Question 3

- a) Did you know where to vote – either through prior knowledge or by information you received during the campaign?
- b) Did you have difficulty of any sort getting to the polling place?
- c) Did you receive sufficient information on how to vote before polling day?
- d) Did you receive sufficient information on how to vote at the polling place?
- e) to g) Did you understand the voting systems for both council and Scottish Parliament elections?
- h) & i) Did you encounter any problems? If so how well were they resolved?
- j) Was your vote influenced by campaigning from political parties ?

If you wish to expand on your answers to any of these questions, please do so in the 'Further Notes' section. (Section 3, Question 7)

#### Question 6

The news media are an important source of information about the election, however, it would be too time consuming to record each time you read or hear about the election or a political party in the news.

Instead, we would like you to give us an overview of information on the election that you came across in local and national printed media, broadcast media, and on the internet. This includes information on the individual parties and on the electoral process.

We would like you to rate:

- a) how frequently the election was discussed over the month before the election;
- b) the quality of the information on the election, parties and candidates;
- c) whether this improved your understanding of the election.

### **Further Notes**

In this section please expand upon anything you feel you have not been able to sufficiently express in earlier parts of the survey. Likewise if there is anything you would like to add that you feel was an important part of your election experience but has not been covered, please tell us about it in this section.

For instance, we would like to know whether you came across any political campaigning at your polling place, whether you received a balance of campaign material about the parliamentary and council elections, and whether you think the information about the electoral process could be improved.

### **Returning Your Survey**

**On 4 May**, please send your completed Campaign Log, Polling Day Survey and the leaflets and letters you have kept back to us in the envelope provided. As the envelope is already addressed, all you need to do is put everything in the envelope and post it off to us. It will not cost you anything.

**Thank you again for your help.**