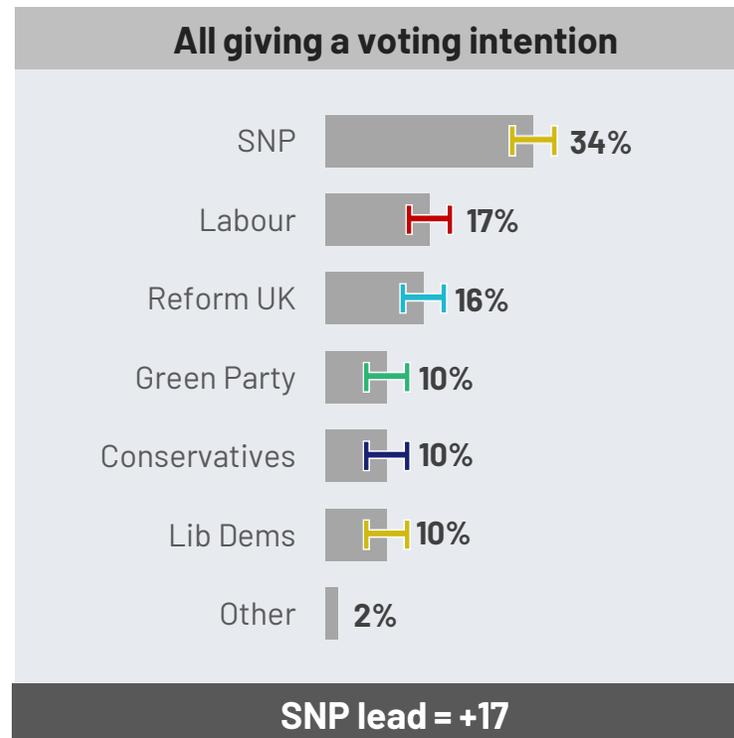
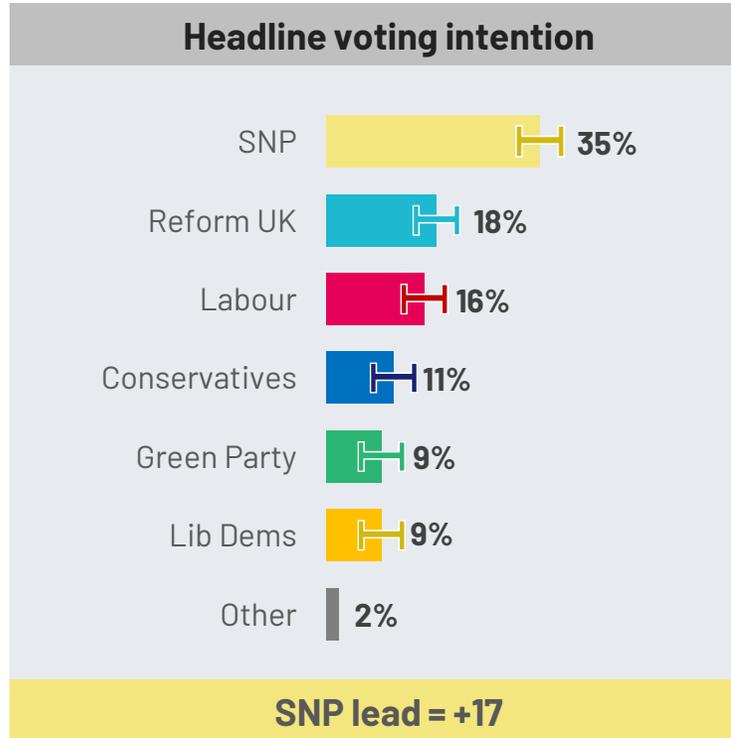


IPSOS SCOTTISH POLITICAL MONITOR

December 2025

Holyrood Voting Intention: Constituency Vote December 2025

If there were elections to the Scottish Parliament tomorrow, how would you use your constituency vote?

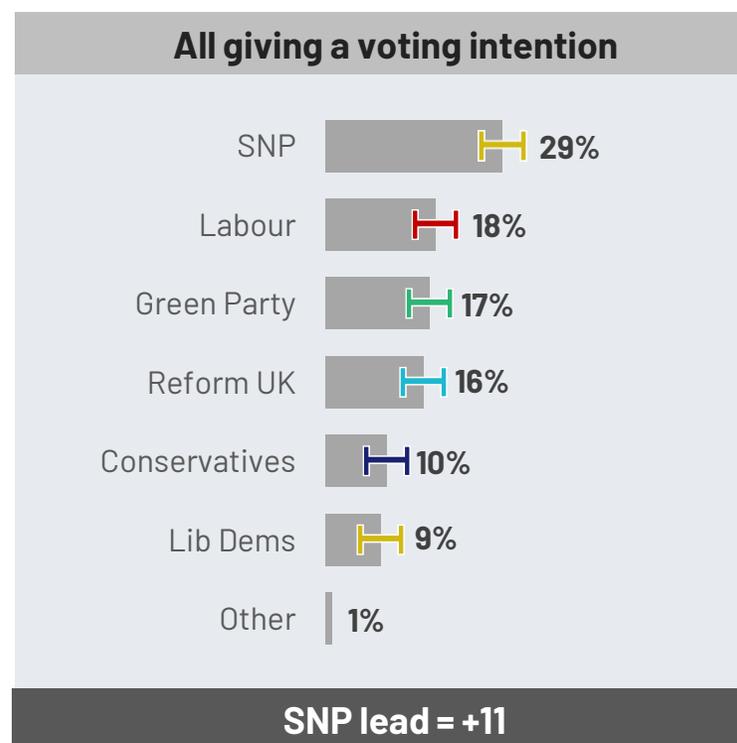
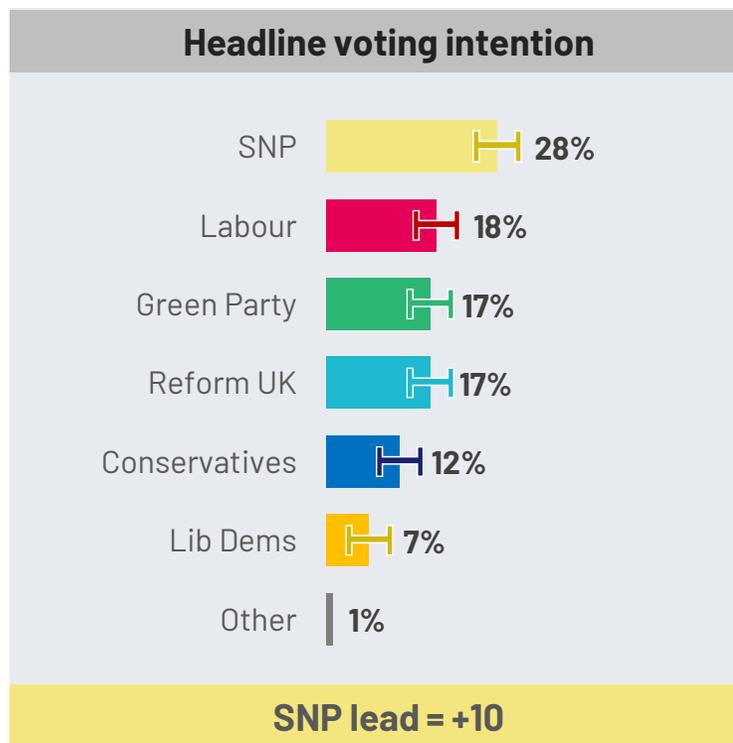


Base: 1,061 Scottish adults 16+, 27th November – 3rd December 2025; Headline voting intention: all expressing a voting intention and at least 9/10 likely to vote and usually/always vote/it depends (761); All expressing a voting intention (935). Margin of error is displayed at +/- 4%. All polls are subject to a wide range of potential sources of error. On the basis of the historical record of the polls at recent Scottish Parliament elections, there is a 9 in 10 chance that the true value of a party's support lies within 4 points of the estimates provided by this poll, and a 2 in 3 chance that they lie within 2 points. This is especially important to keep in mind when calculating party lead figures.

Source: Ipsos | Scottish Political Monitor

Holyrood Voting Intention: List Vote December 2025

If there were elections to the Scottish Parliament tomorrow, how would you use your regional list vote?

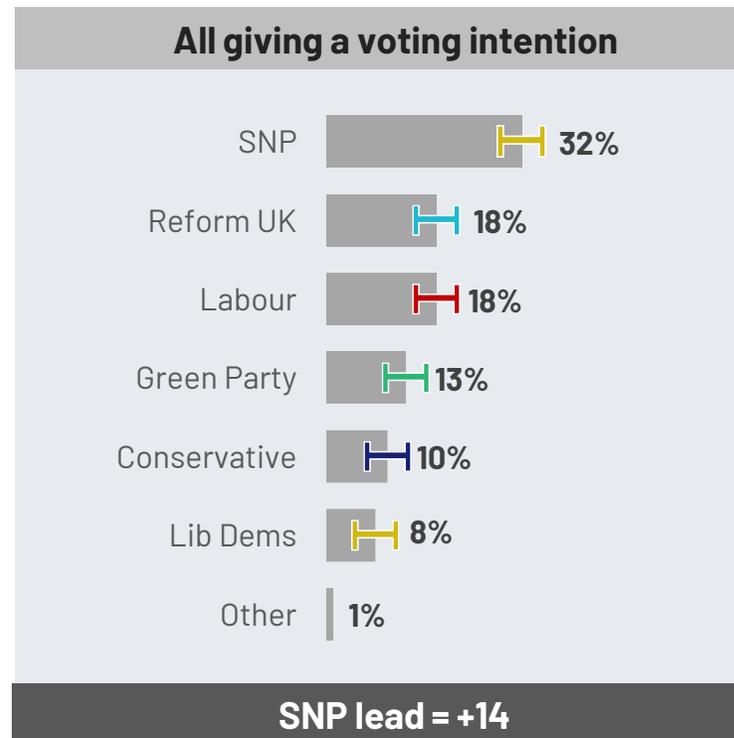
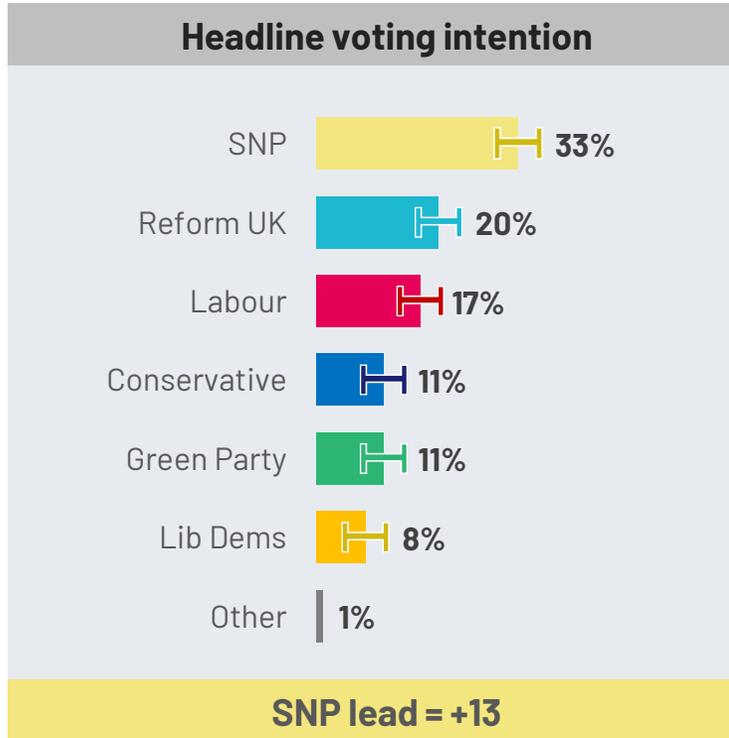


Base: 1,061 Scottish adults 16+, 27th November – 3rd December 2025; Headline voting intention: all expressing a voting intention and at least 9/10 likely to vote and usually/always vote/it depends (755); All expressing a voting intention (927). Margin of error is displayed at +/- 4%. All polls are subject to a wide range of potential sources of error. On the basis of the historical record of the polls at recent Scottish Parliament elections, there is a 9 in 10 chance that the true value of a party's support lies within 4 points of the estimates provided by this poll, and a 2 in 3 chance that they lie within 2 points. This is especially important to keep in mind when calculating party lead figures.

Source: Ipsos | Scottish Political Monitor

Westminster Voting Intention: December 2025

How would you vote if there were a General Election tomorrow?

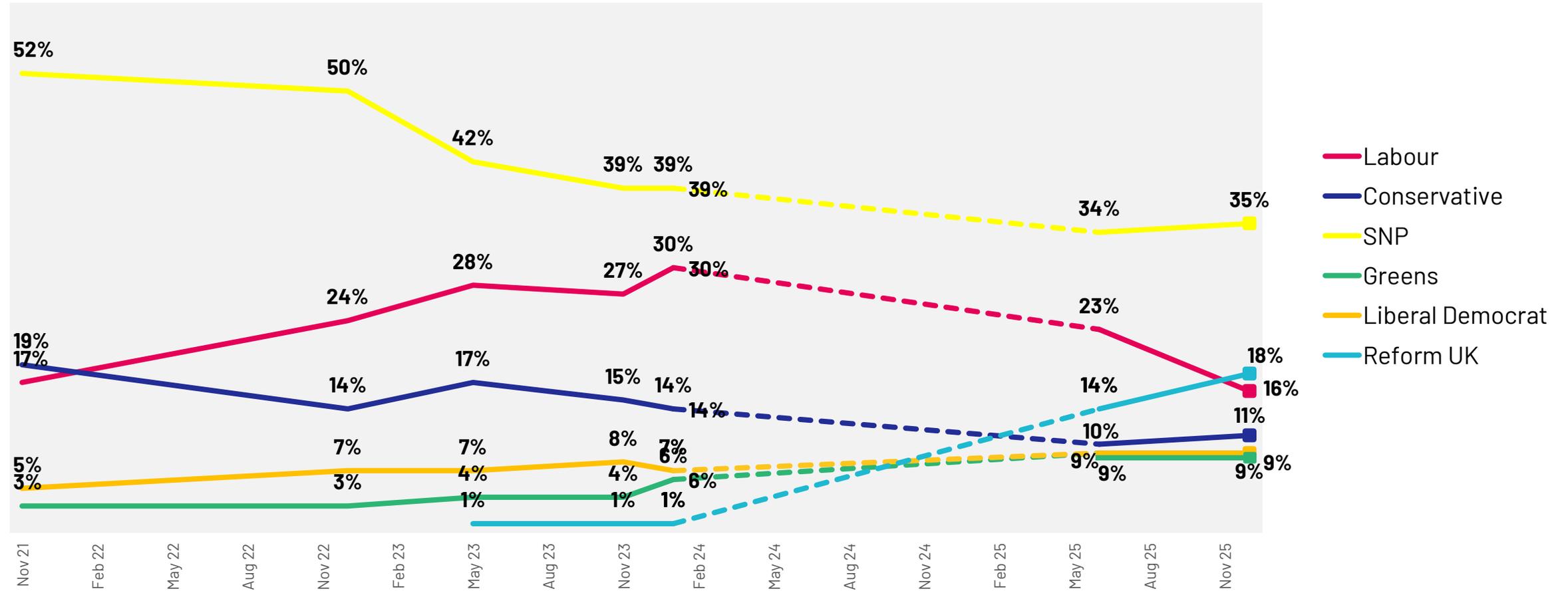


Base: 1,055 Scottish adults 18+, 27th November – 3rd December 2025; Headline voting intention: all expressing a voting intention and at least 9/10 likely to vote and usually/always vote/it depends (742); All expressing a voting intention (901). Margin of error is displayed at +/- 4%. All polls are subject to a wide range of potential sources of error. On the basis of the historical record of the polls at recent general elections, there is a 9 in 10 chance that the true value of a party's support lies within 4 points of the estimates provided by this poll, and a 2 in 3 chance that they lie within 2 points. This is especially important to keep in mind when calculating party lead figures.

Source: Ipsos | Scottish Political Monitor

Holyrood Voting Intention (Constituency Vote): Trends | November 2021 – December 2025

If there were elections to the Scottish Parliament tomorrow, how would you use your constituency vote?



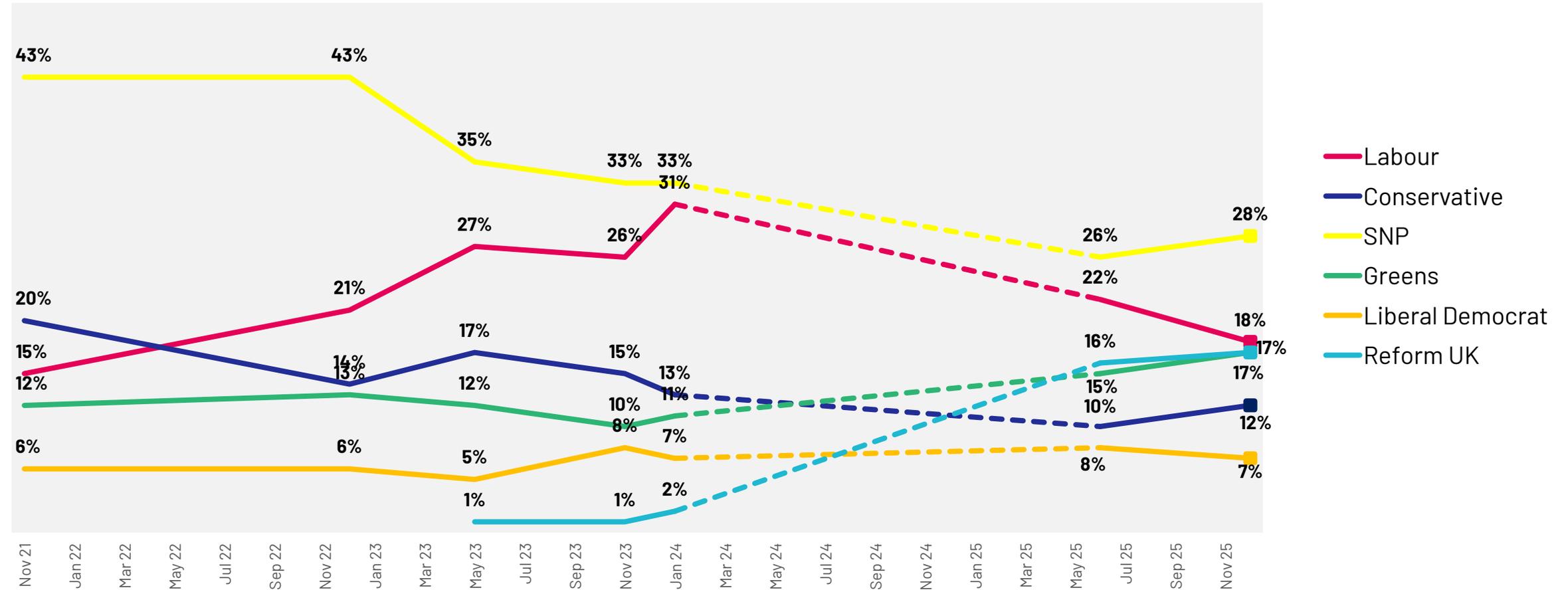
Base: c.1,000 Scottish adults 16+; Headline voting intention: all expressing a voting intention and at least 9/10 likely to vote and usually/always vote/it depends (December 2025: 761; June 2025: 877, January 2024: 858, November 2023: 700, May 2023: 762, December 2022: 780, November 2021: 807, May 2021: 1169)

Source: Ipsos | Scottish Political Monitor



Holyrood Voting Intention (List Vote): Trends | November 2021 – June 2025

If there were elections to the Scottish Parliament tomorrow, how would you use your regional list vote?



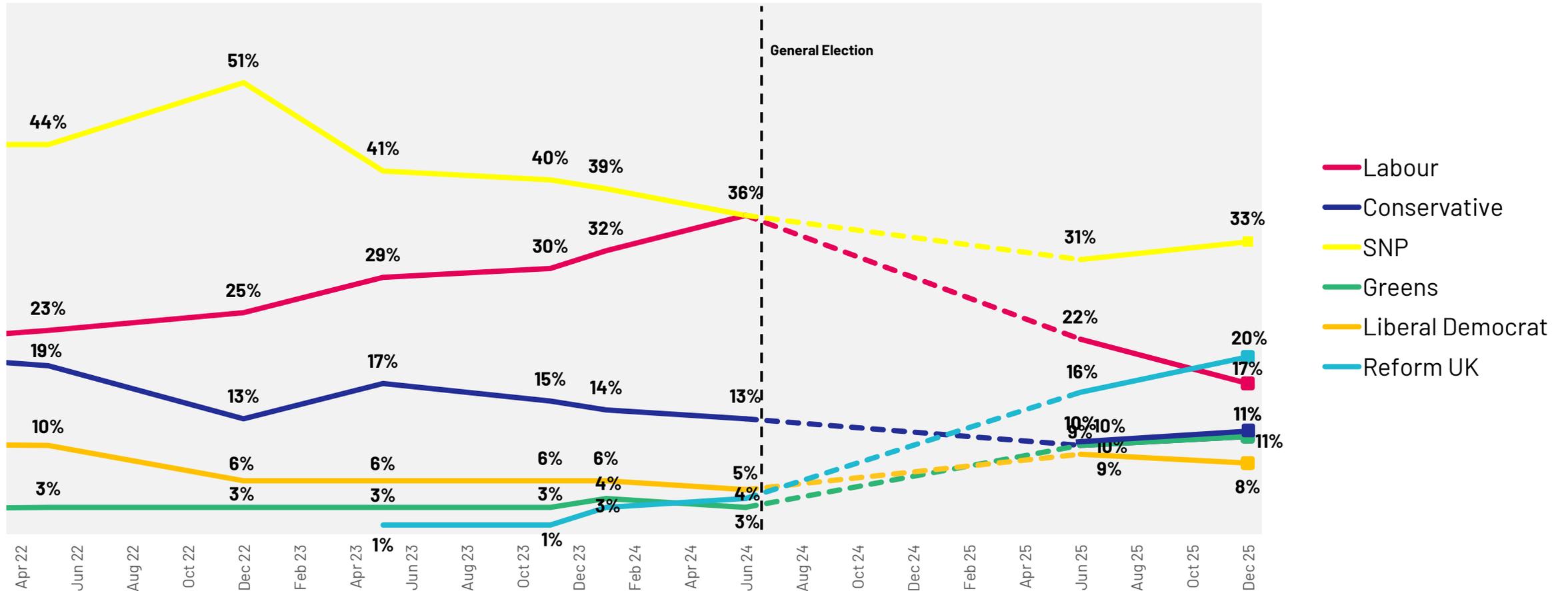
Base: c.800 Scottish adults 16+; Headline voting intention: all expressing a voting intention and at least 9/10 likely to vote and usually/always vote/it depends (December 2025: 755; June 2025: 877, January 2024: 655, November 2023: 697, May 2023: 763, December 2022: 795, November 2021: 815).

Source: Ipsos | Scottish Political Monitor



Westminster Voting Intention: Trends | May 2022 – December 2025

How would you vote if there were a General Election tomorrow?



Base: c.1,000 Scottish adults 18+; Headline voting intention: all expressing a voting intention and at least 9/10 likely to vote and usually/always vote/it depends (December 2025: 742; June 2025: 834; June 2024: 764; January 2025: 619; November 2023: 658; May 2023: 720; November/December 2022: 770; May 2022: 651)

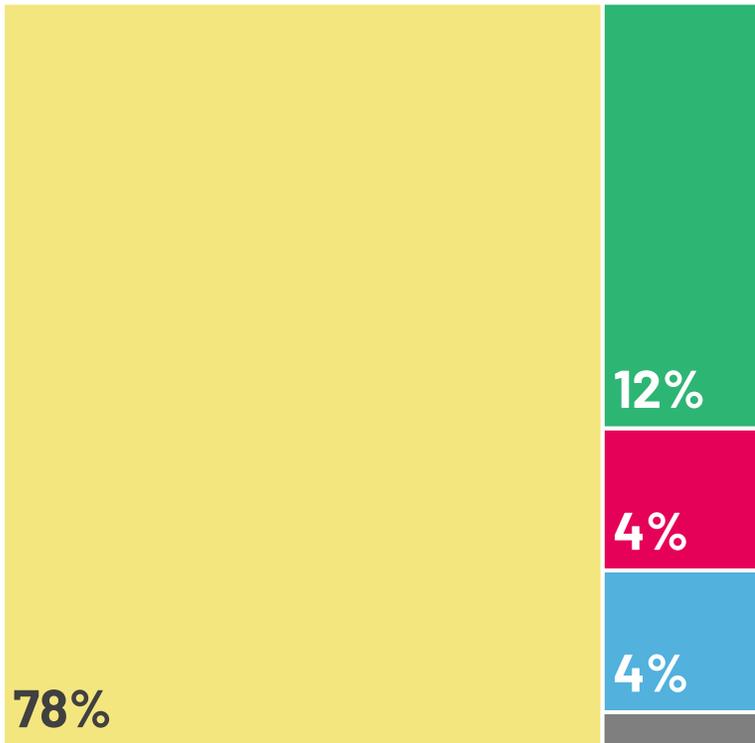
Source: Ipsos | Scottish Political Monitor



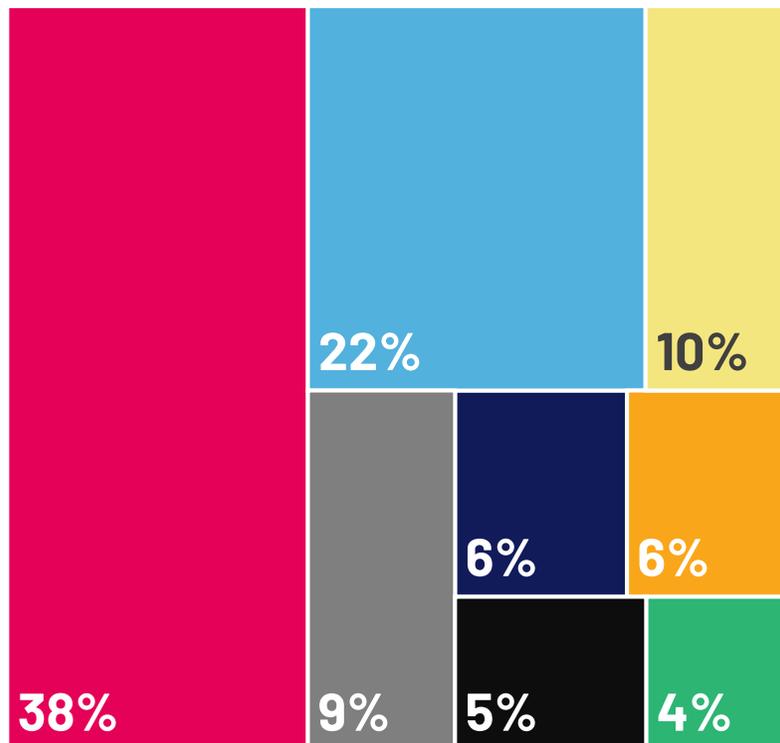
Westminster voting intention by 2024 General Election vote



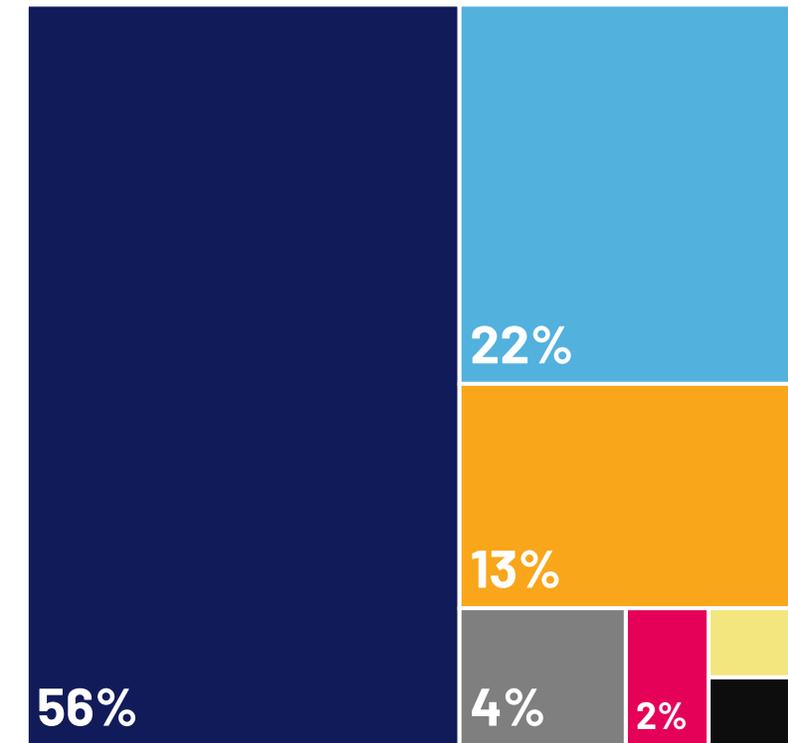
SNP 2024 voters



2024 Labour voters



2024 Conservative voters



Base: 1,055 Scottish adults 18+, 27th November – 3rd December 2025; including 2024 SNP voters (248), 2024 Labour voters (295), 2024 Conservative voters (94).

Source: Ipsos | Scottish Political Monitor

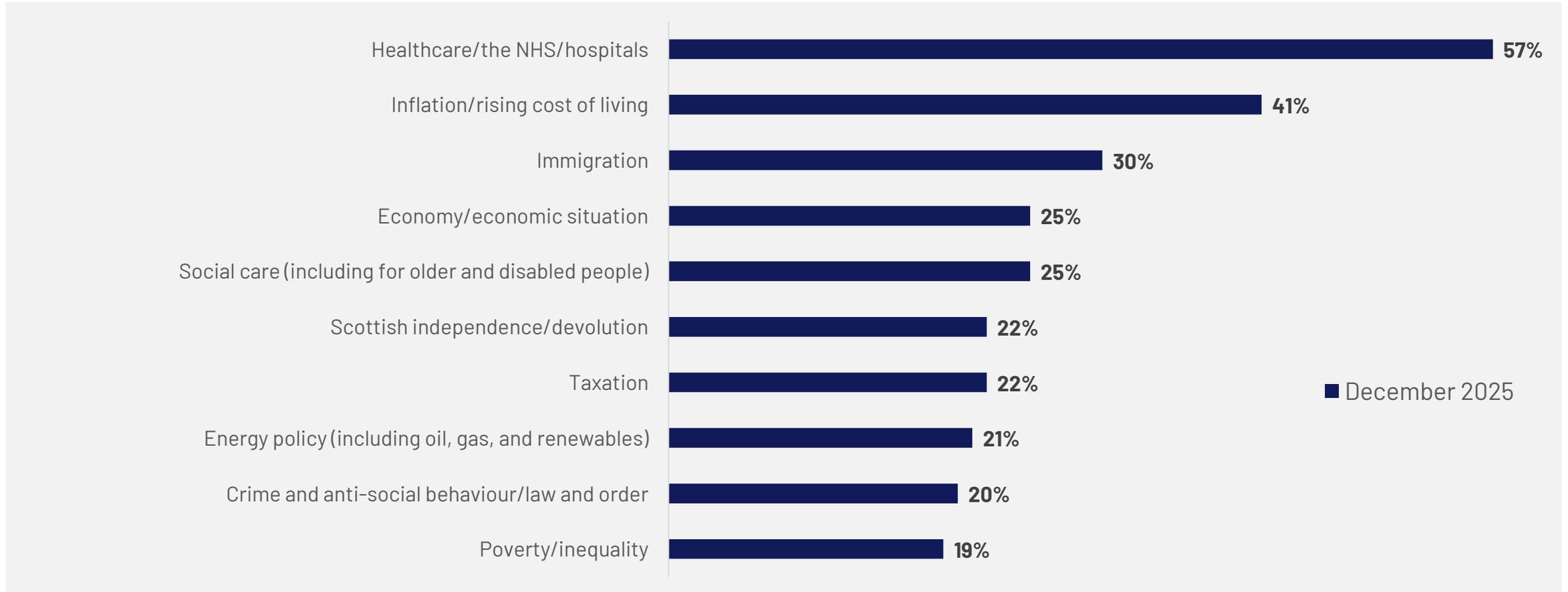
ISSUES



Top issues in deciding which party to vote for

Which of the following issues do you think will be very important to you in helping you decide which party to vote for at the next Scottish Parliament election? Please select up to five.

Only the top 10 issues are shown here. For the full list of issues, see the data tables on the Ipsos website.



Base: 1,061 Scottish adults 16+, 27th November – 3rd December 2025

Source: Ipsos | Scottish Political Monitor

Top issues in deciding which party to vote for

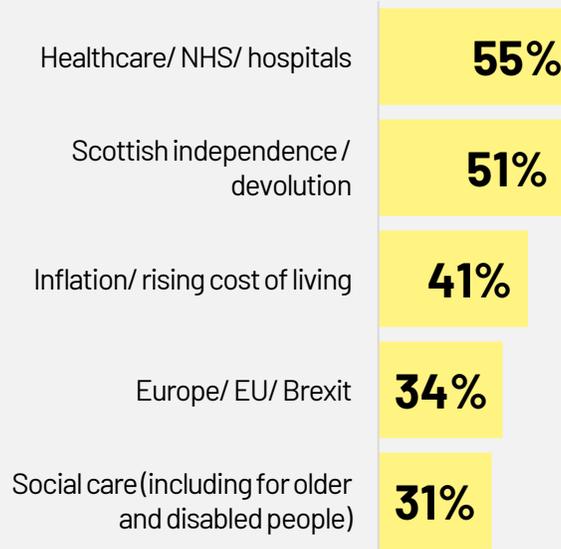
Which of the following issues do you think will be very important to you in helping you decide which party to vote for at the next Scottish Parliament election?

Please select up to five.

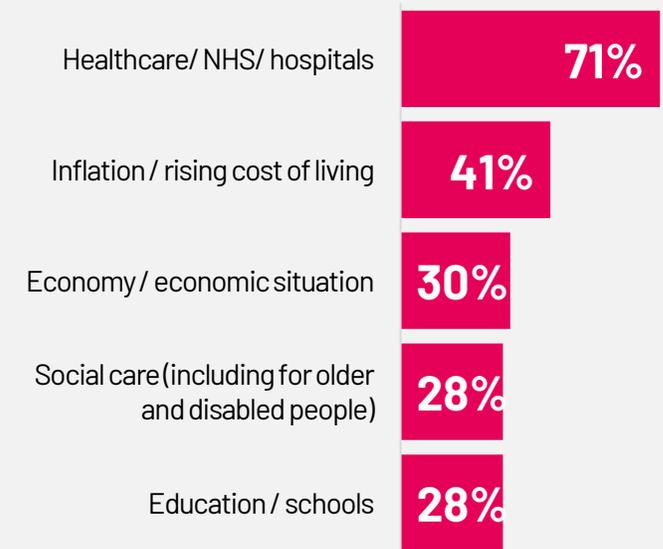
Top five issues by party vote

Base: 1,061 Scottish adults 16+, 27th November – 3rd December 2025, including those who say they would vote for / inclined to support the following parties at the Scottish Parliament elections: SNP (316), Labour (161), Reform UK (153), Conservative (95)

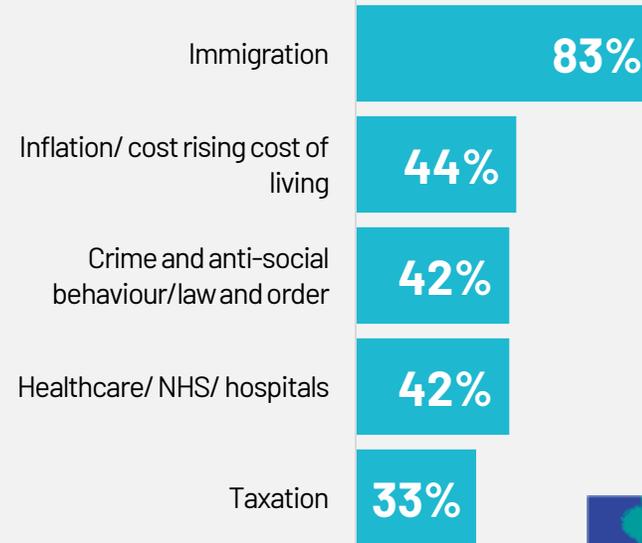
Among SNP supporters



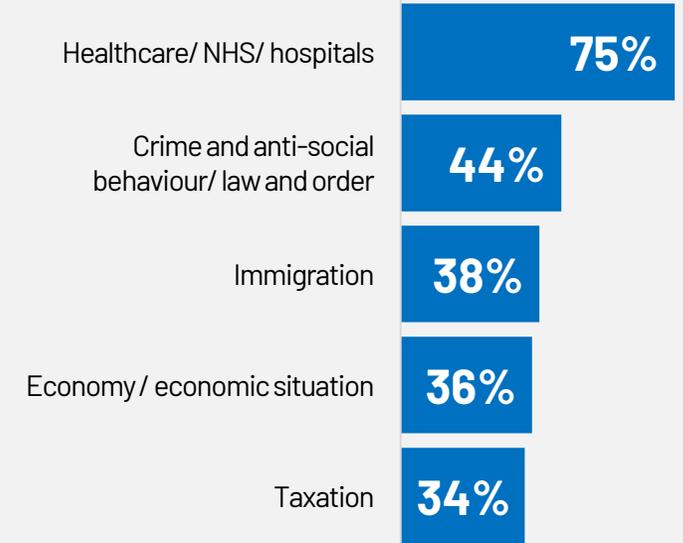
Among Labour supporters



Among Reform UK supporters



Among Conservative supporters



Views on the balance between taxation and public spending

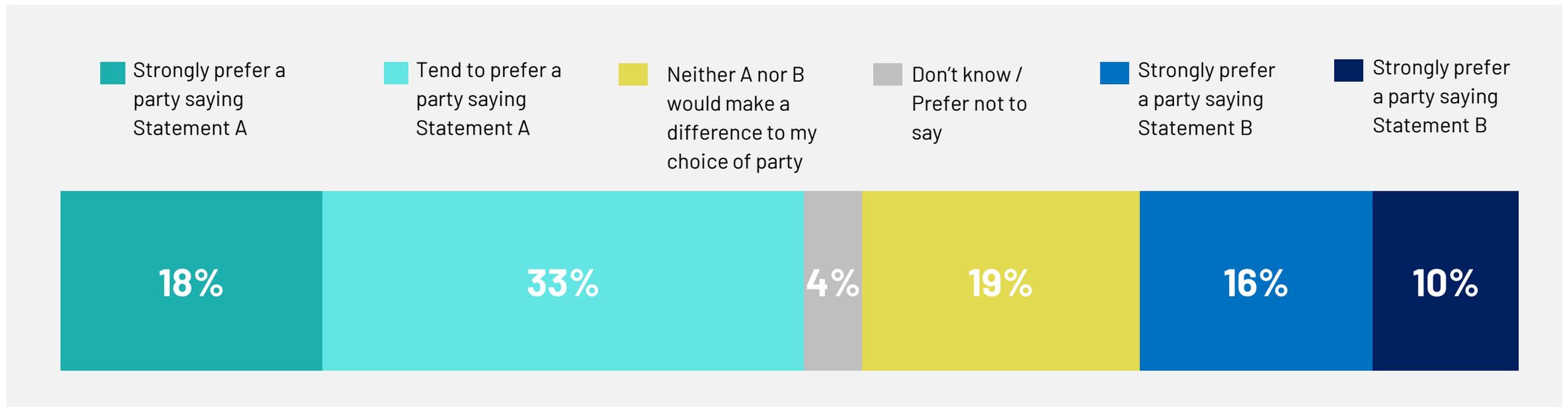
Below are two different aims a political party could have. For these statements, please choose which would make you more likely to vote for a political party, or if it would make no difference?

51% PREFER STATEMENT A:

We will increase spending on public services, even if it means that individuals personally pay more in taxes

26% PREFER STATEMENT B:

We will cut the amount of taxes that individuals pay personally, even if it means spending less on public services



Base: 1,061 Scottish adults aged 16+, 27th November – 3rd December 2025

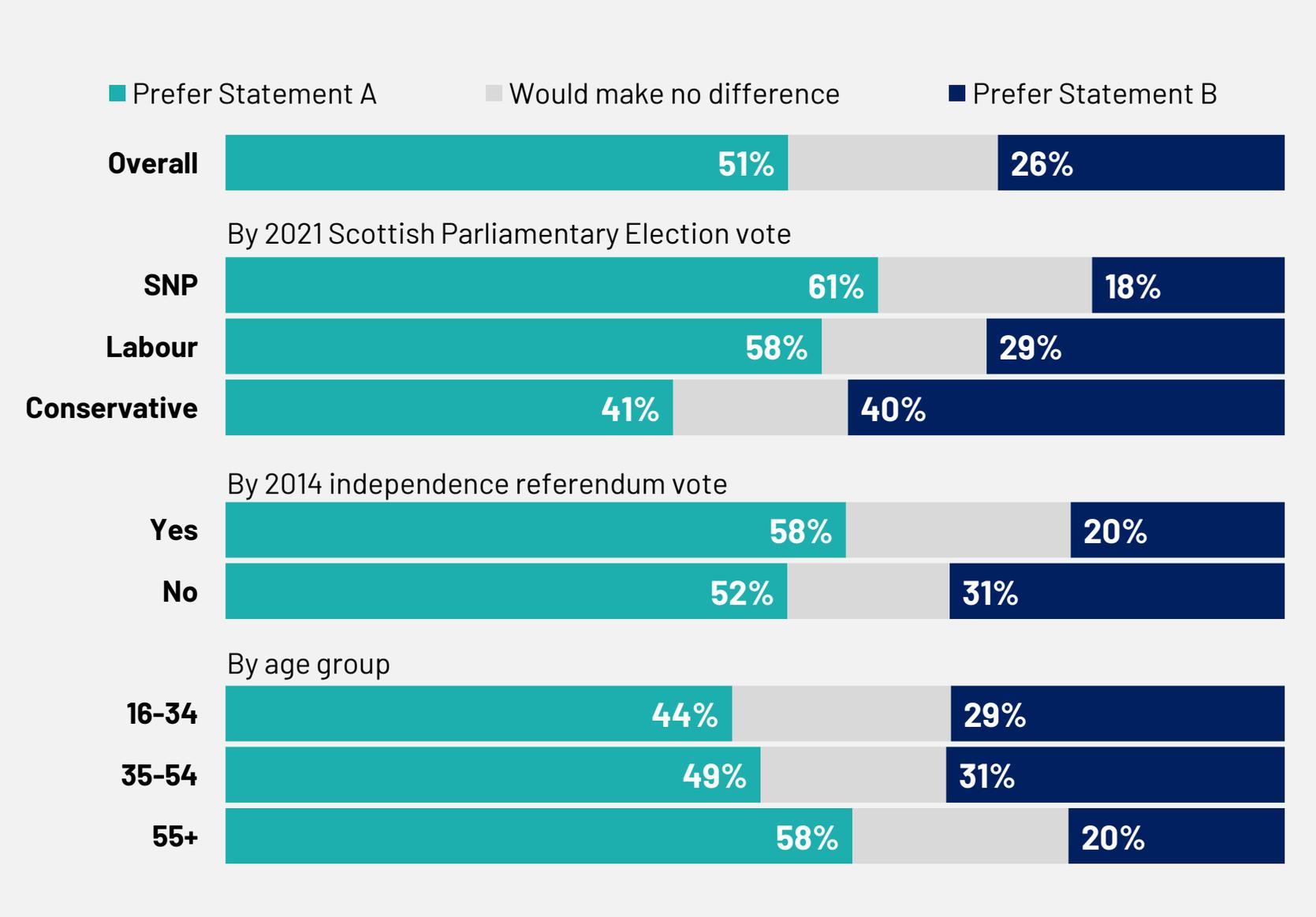
Source: Ipsos Scotland | Political Pulse

Views on taxation and public spending

Below are two different aims a political party could have. For these statements, please choose which would make you more likely to vote for a political party, or if it would make no difference?

STATEMENT A: We will increase spending on public services, even if it means that individuals personally pay more in taxes

STATEMENT B: We will cut the amount of taxes that individuals pay personally, even if it means spending less on public services



Base: 1,061 Scottish adults aged 16+, 27th November – 3rd December 2025, including 2021 Scottish Parliament Election SNP voters (341), Conservative Party voters (147), Labour Party voters (140); 2014 Independence referendum ‘Yes’ voters (348), 2014 ‘No’ voters (364); 16-34 year olds (270), 35-54 year olds (342), 55+ year olds (449).

Source: Ipsos Scotland | Political Pulse



Views on approach to climate action

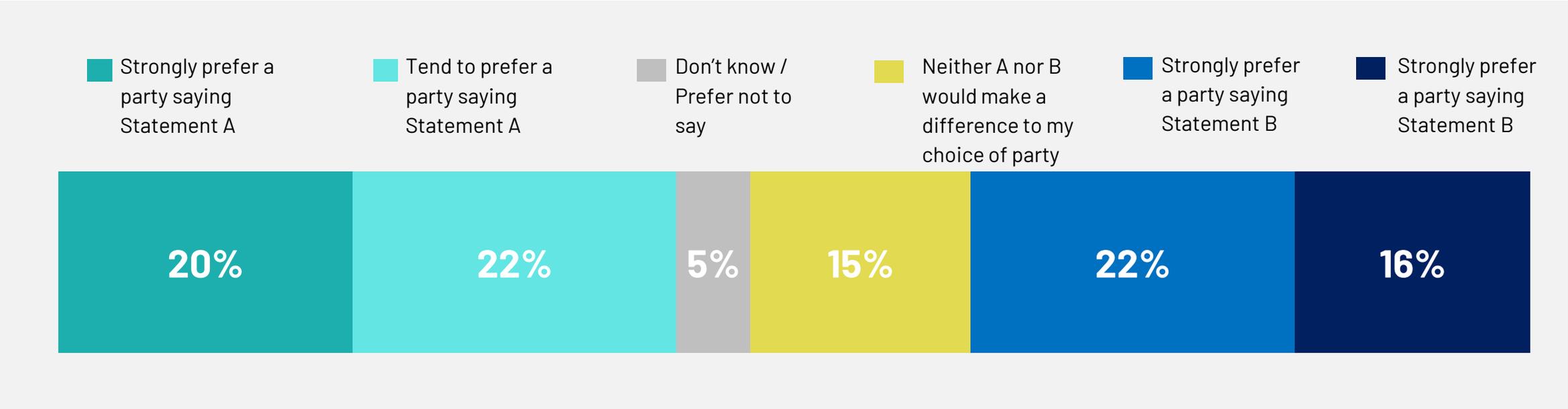
Below are two different aims a political party could have. For these statements, please choose which would make you more likely to vote for a political party, or if it would make no difference?

42% PREFER STATEMENT A:

We will take strong action against things that cause climate change, even if this increases costs of oil and gas production and requires increased investment in renewable energy supplies

38% PREFER STATEMENT B:

We will slow down actions against things that cause climate change, because it is not necessary or we can't afford the additional costs right now while there are other priorities



Base: 1,061 Scottish adults aged 16+, 27th November – 3rd December 2025

Source: Ipsos Scotland | Political Pulse

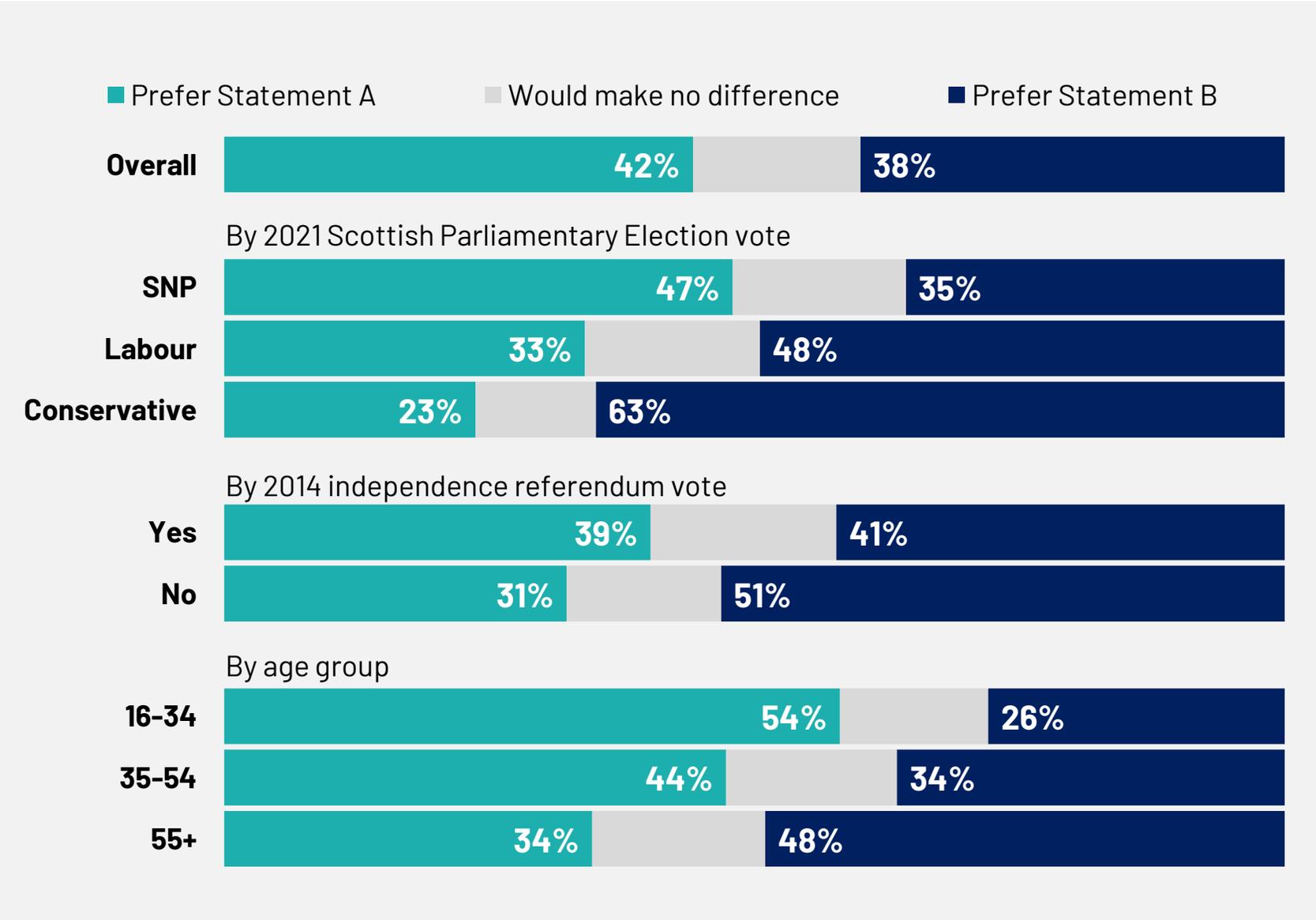


Views on approach to climate action

Below are two different aims a political party could have. For these statements, please choose which would make you more likely to vote for a political party, or if it would make no difference?

STATEMENT A: We will take strong action against things that cause climate change, even if this increases costs of oil and gas production and requires increased investment in renewable energy supplies

STATEMENT B: We will slow down actions against things that cause climate change, because it is not necessary or we can't afford the additional costs right now while there are other priorities



Base: 1,061 Scottish adults aged 16+, 27th November – 3rd December 2025, including 2021 Scottish Parliament Election SNP voters (341), Conservative Party voters (147), Labour Party voters (140); 2014 Independence referendum ‘Yes’ voters (348), 2014 ‘No’ voters (364); 16-34 year olds (270), 35-54 year olds (342), 55+ year olds (449).

Source: Ipsos Scotland | Political Pulse



TRUST IN PARTIES TO ADDRESS KEY ISSUES IN SCOTLAND



Trust in parties, by issue

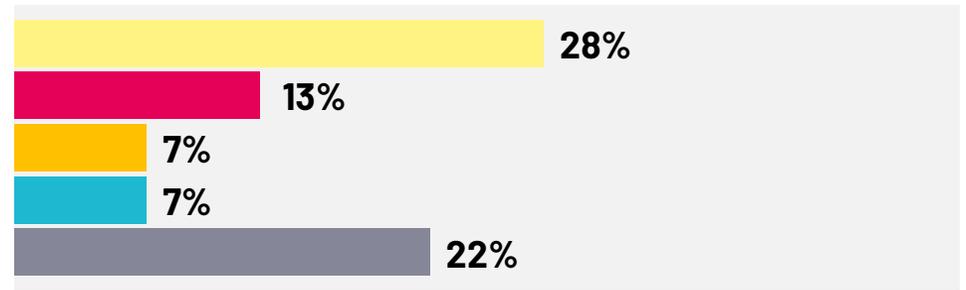
Which party, if any, do you trust most to....?



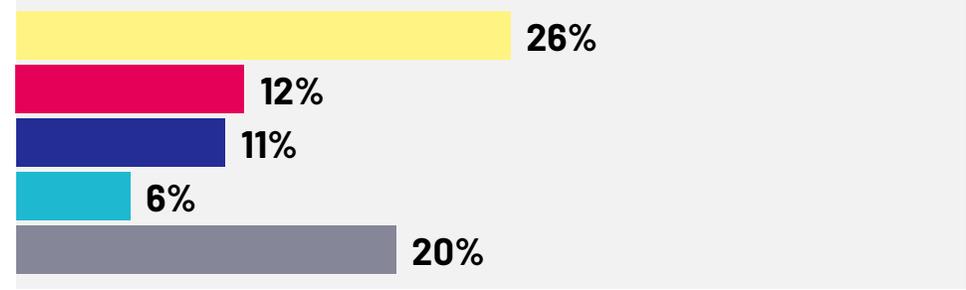
Top five responses by issue:

- SNP
- Scottish Conservatives
- Scottish Liberal Democrats
- None of these
- Scottish Labour
- Reform UK
- Scottish Greens

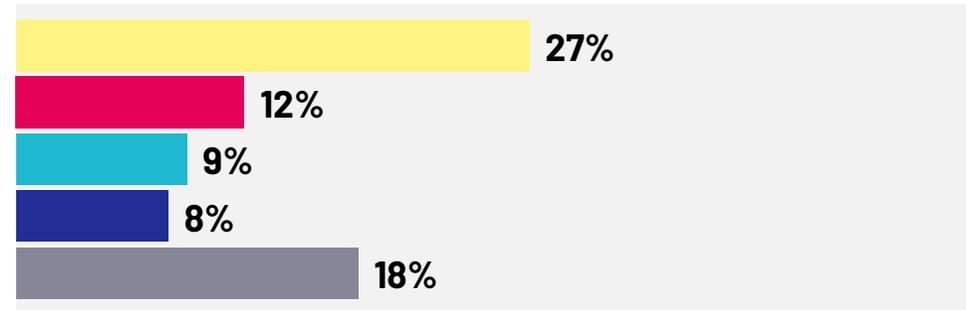
Manage the NHS in Scotland



Grow Scotland's economy



Manage education and schools in Scotland



Base: 1,061 Scottish adults 16+, 27th November – 3rd December 2025

Source: Ipsos | Scottish Political Monitor



Trust in parties, by issue

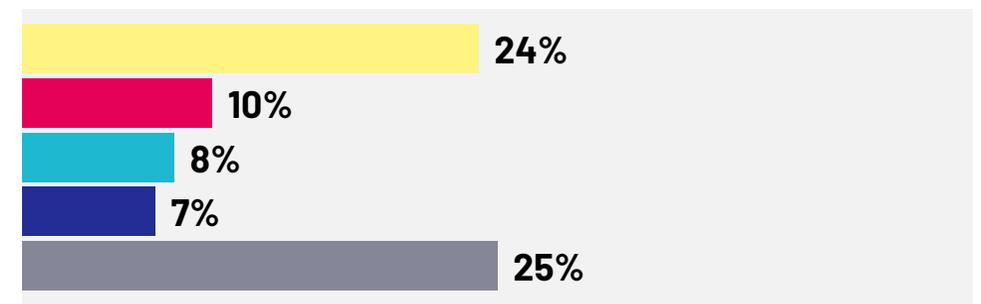
Which party, if any, do you trust most to....?



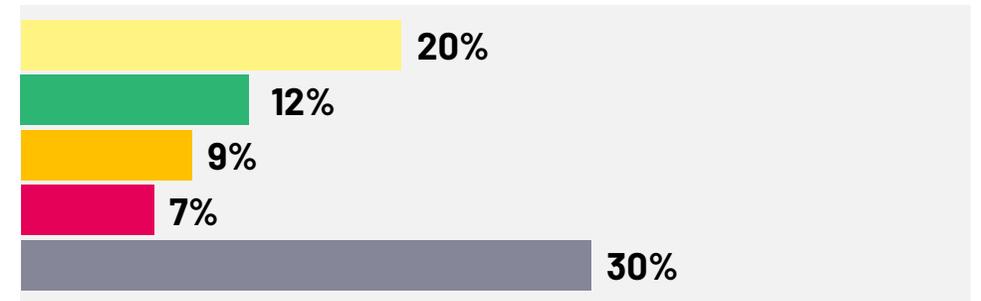
Top five responses by issue:



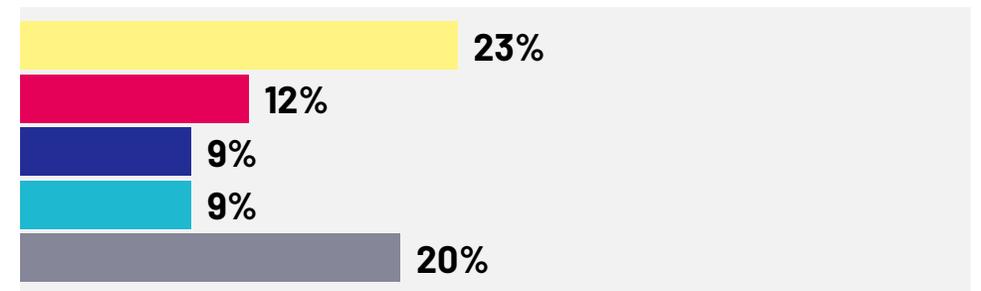
Tackle the cost of living crisis



Act with honesty and integrity



Have the right policies on taxation



Base: 1,061 Scottish adults 16+, 27th November – 3rd December 2025

Source: Ipsos | Scottish Political Monitor

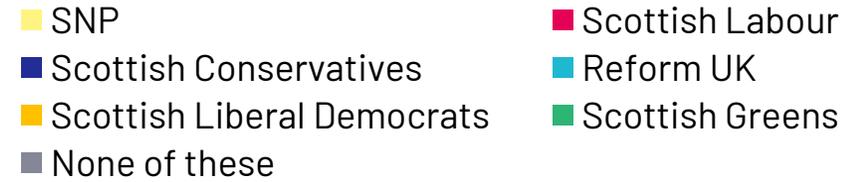


Trust in parties, by issue

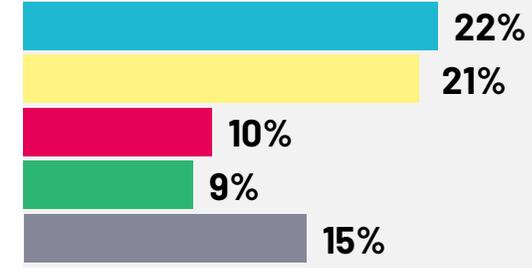
Which party, if any, do you trust most to....?



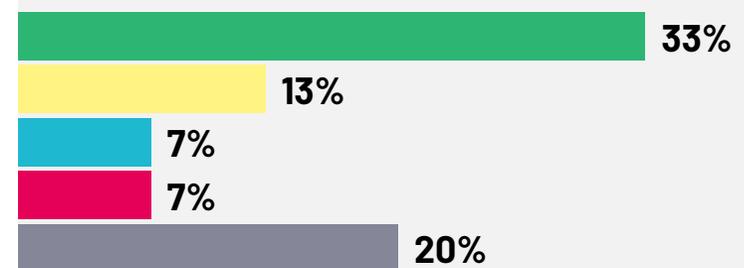
Top five responses by issue:



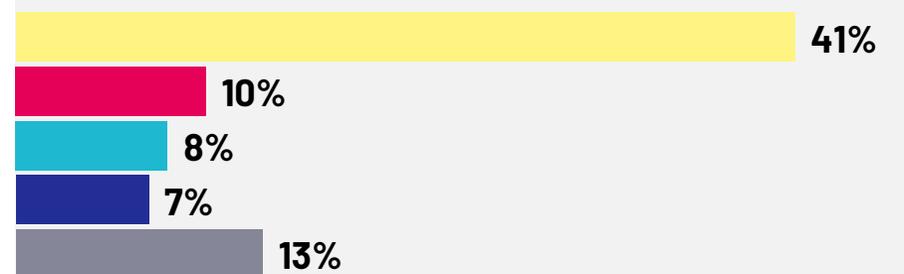
Have the right stance on immigration overall



Tackle the climate crisis



Stand up for Scotland's interests



Base: 1,061 Scottish adults 16+, 27th November – 3rd December 2025

Source: Ipsos | Scottish Political Monitor



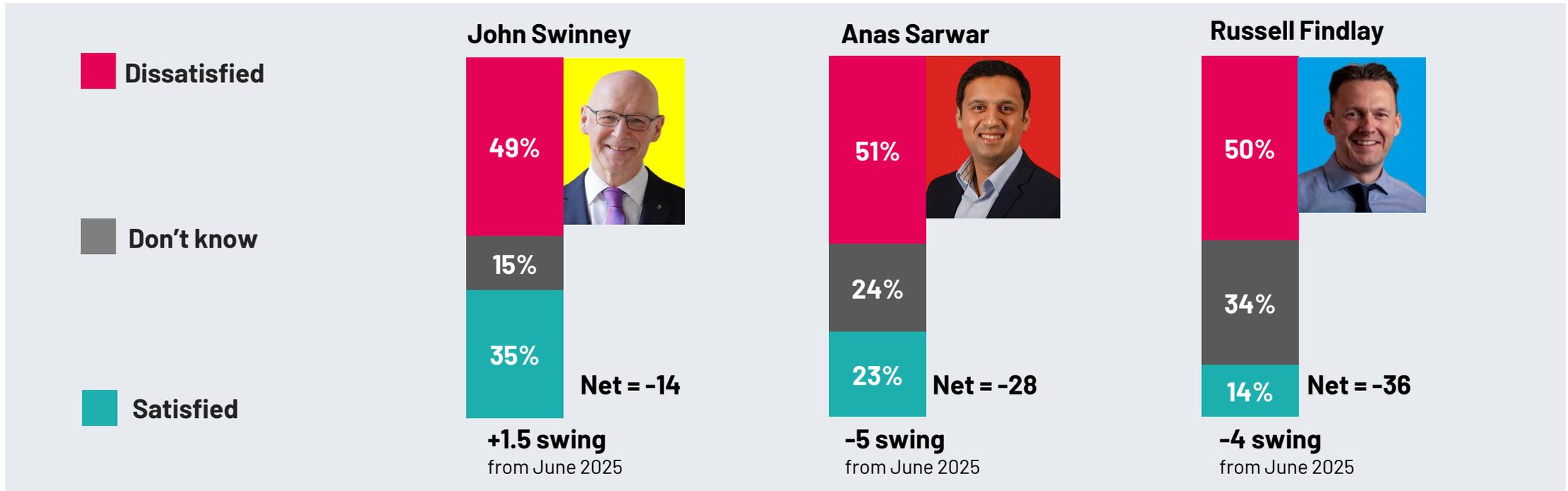
SATISFACTION

with party leaders



Satisfaction with Scottish party leaders: December 2025

Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way.... is doing his job ... as First Minister of Scotland/ leader of the Scottish Labour Party/ leader of the Scottish Conservative Party?

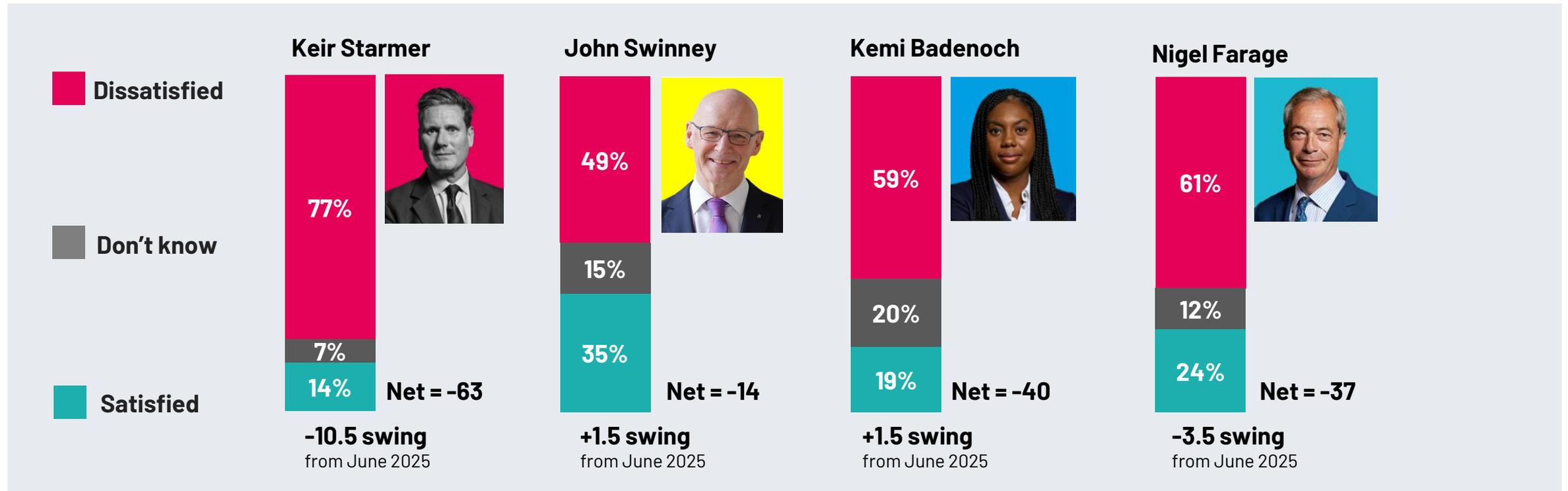


Base: 1,061 Scottish adults 16+, 27th November – 3rd December 2025

Source: Ipsos | Scottish Political Monitor

Satisfaction with leaders and opposition: December 2025

Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way.... is doing his/her job ... as Prime Minister / First Minister / leader of the UK Conservative party / leader of Reform UK?



Base: 1,061 Scottish adults 16+, 27th November – 3rd December 2025

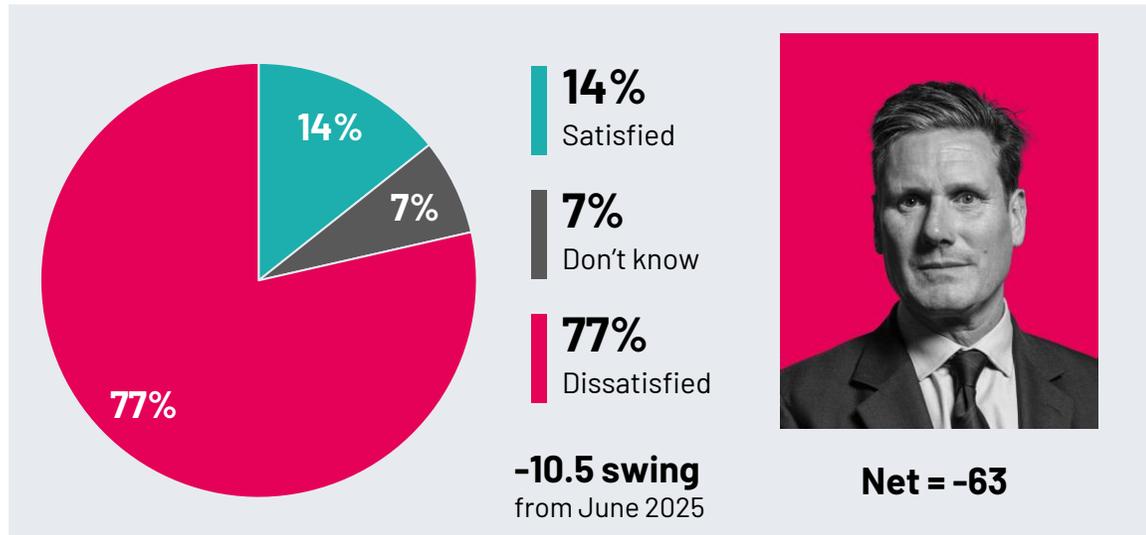
Source: Ipsos | Scottish Political Monitor

Keir Starmer: Satisfaction

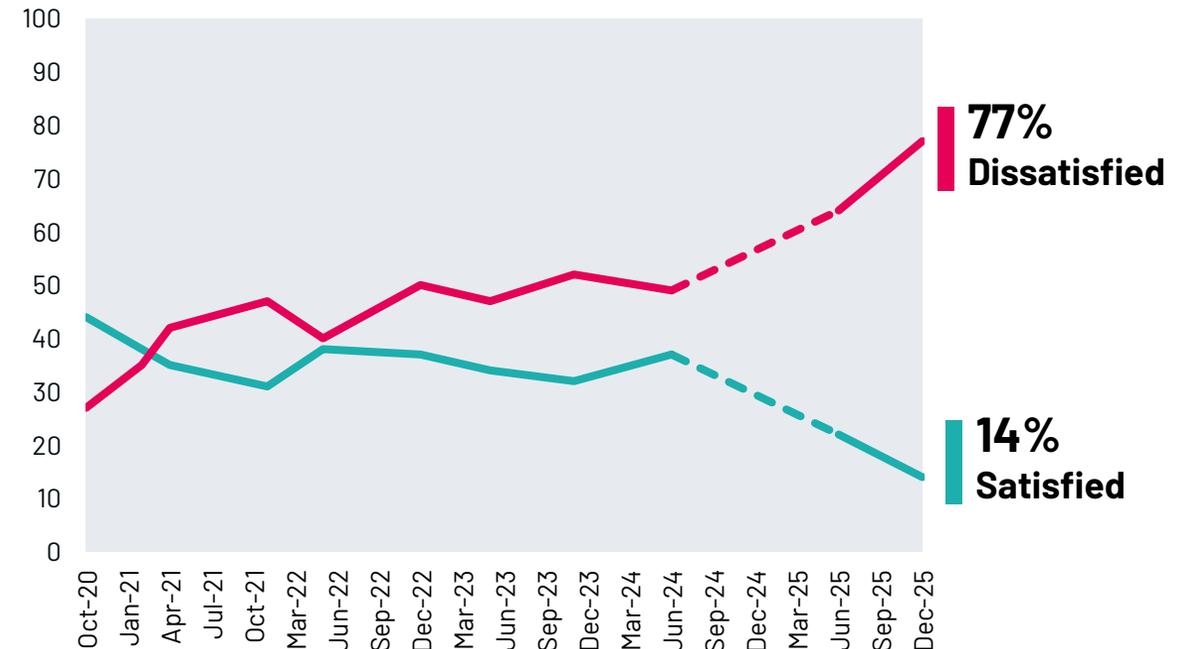
Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way Keir Starmer is doing his job as Leader of the Labour Party/ Prime Minister?

December 2025

Among all



October 2020 – December 2025



Base: 1,061 Scottish adults 16+, 27th November – 3rd December 2025

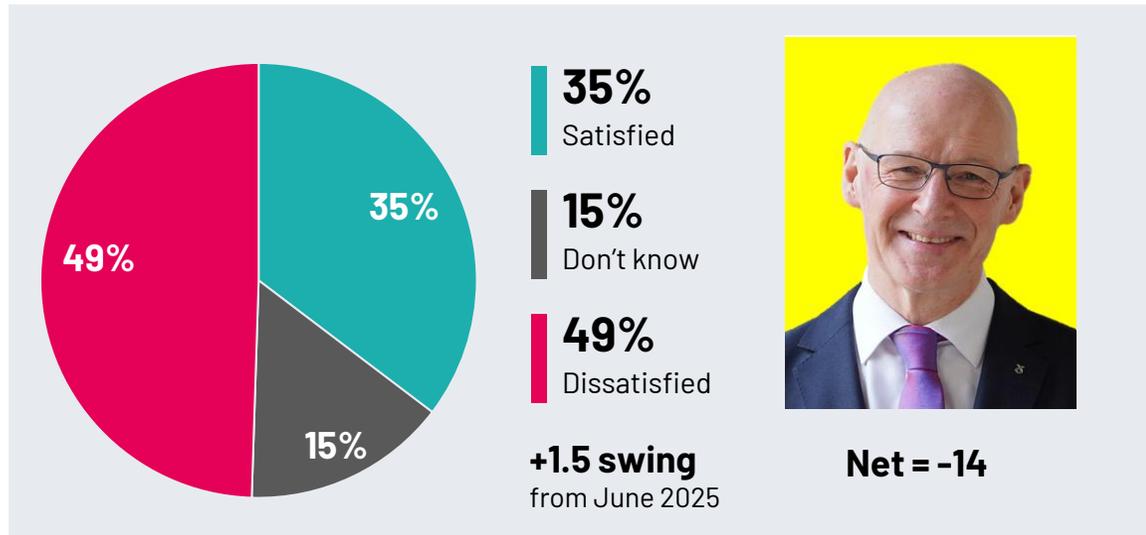
Source: Ipsos | Scottish Political Monitor

John Swinney: Satisfaction

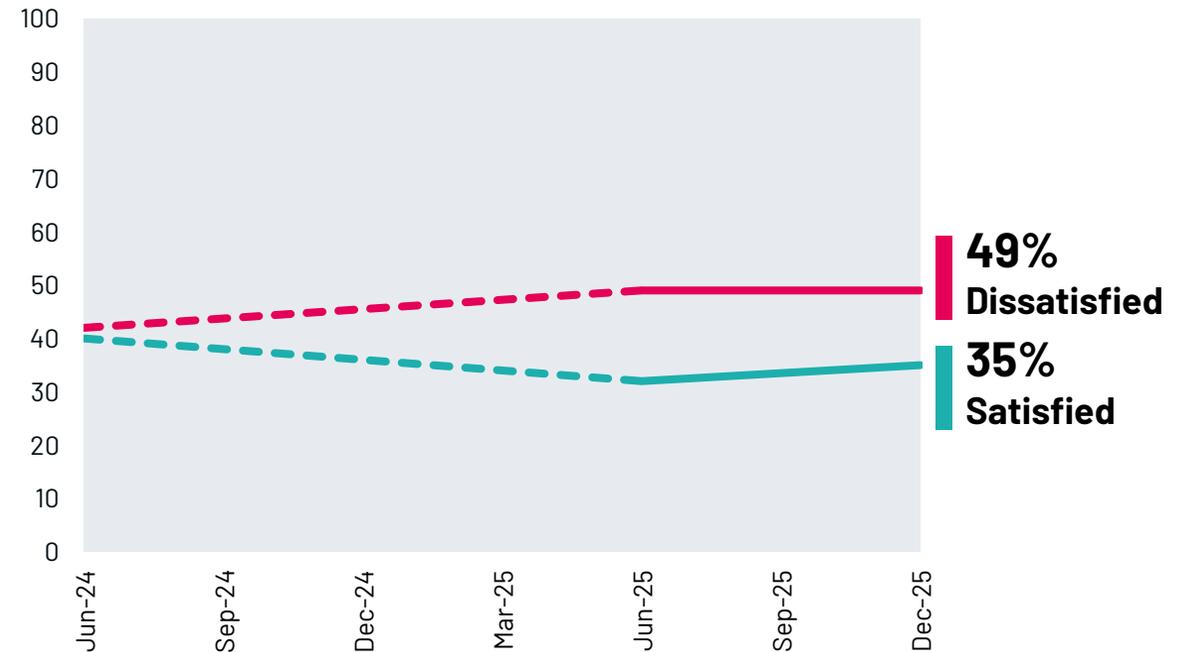
Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way John Swinney is doing his job as First Minister?

December 2025

Among all



June 2024 – December 2025



Base: 1,061 Scottish adults 16+, 27th November – 3rd December 2025

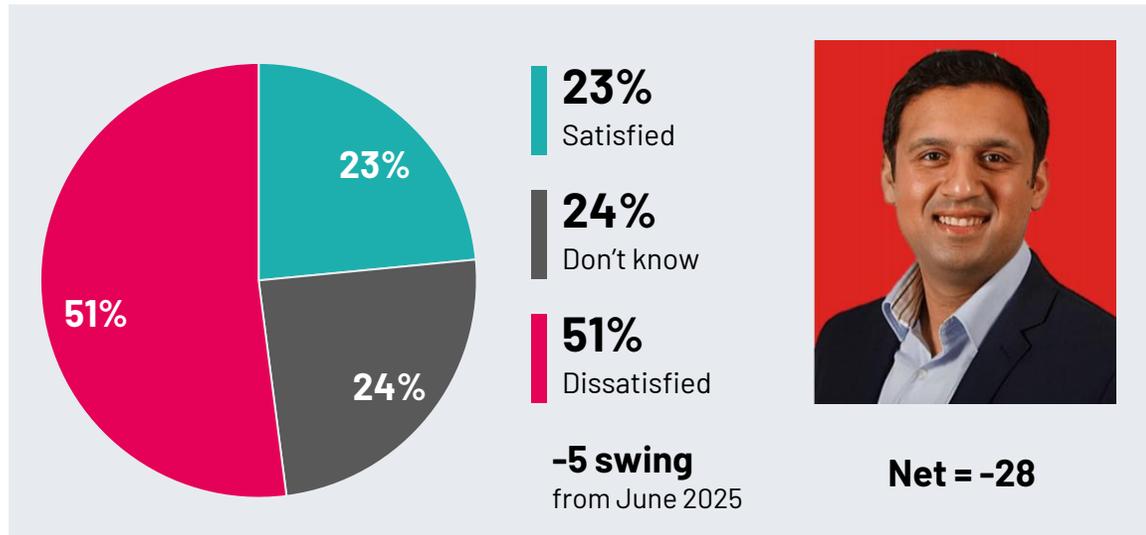
Source: Ipsos | Scottish Political Monitor

Anas Sarwar: Satisfaction

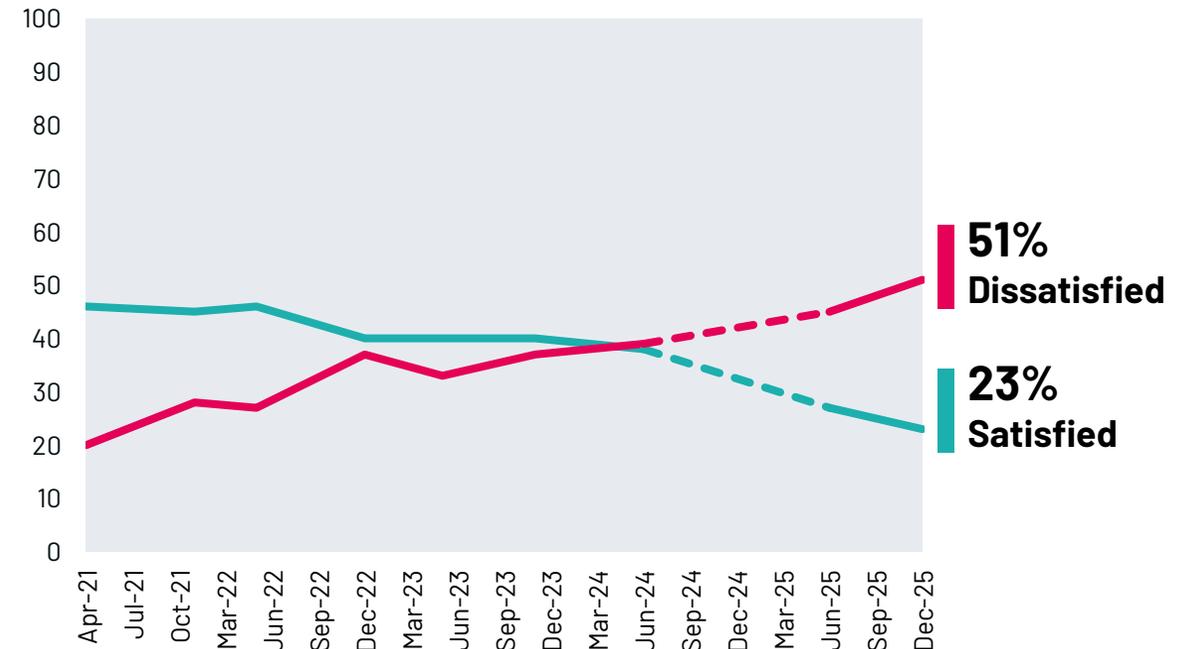
Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way Anas Sarwar is doing his job as Leader of the Scottish Labour Party?

December 2025

Among all



April 2021 – December 2025



Base: 1,061 Scottish adults 16+, 27th November – 3rd December 2025

Source: Ipsos | Scottish Political Monitor

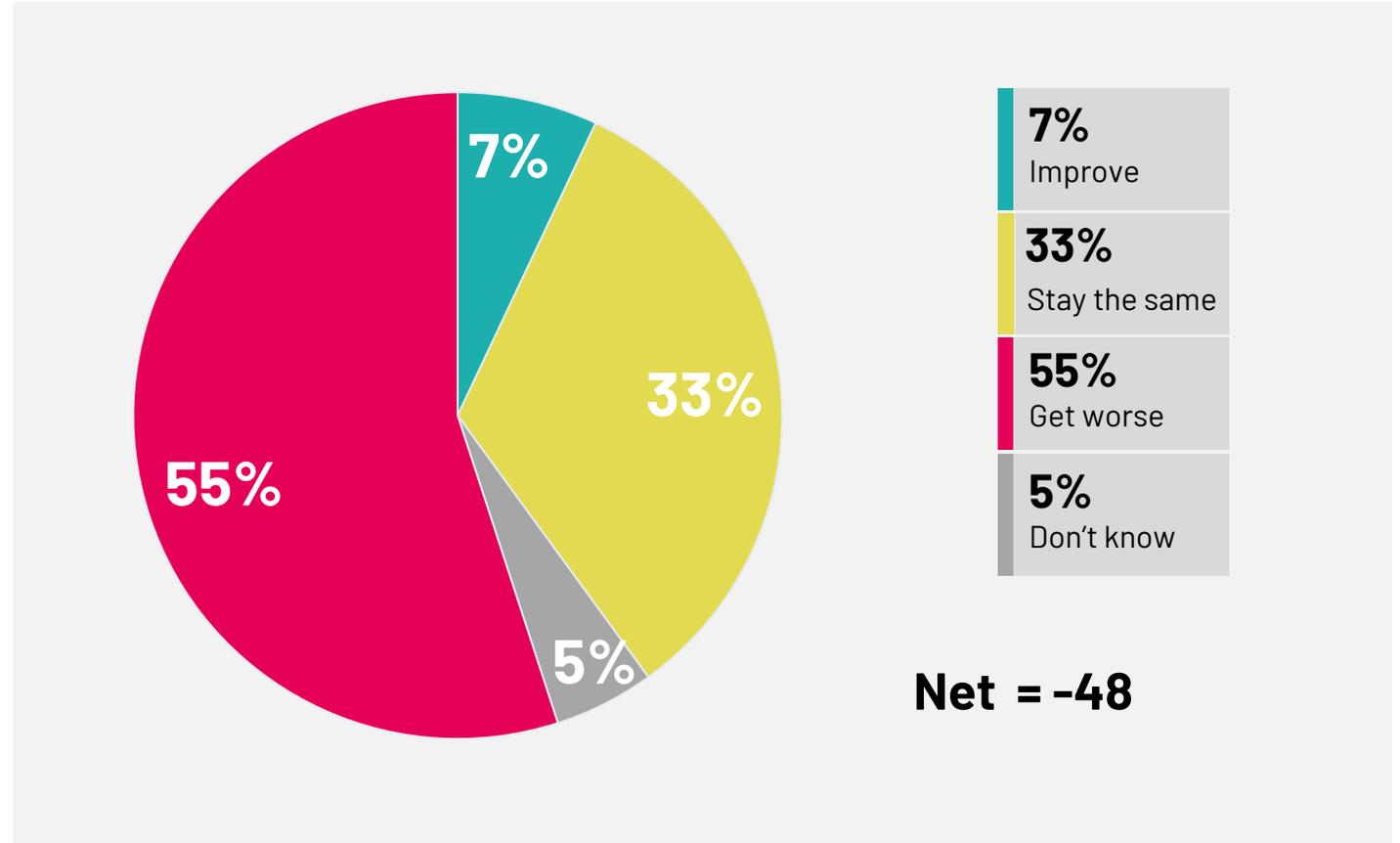
THE ECONOMY



Outlook on the Scottish economy

Do you think that the general economic condition of Scotland will improve, stay the same or get worse over the next 12 months?

December 2025



Base: 1,061 Scottish adults 16+, 27th November – 3rd December 2025

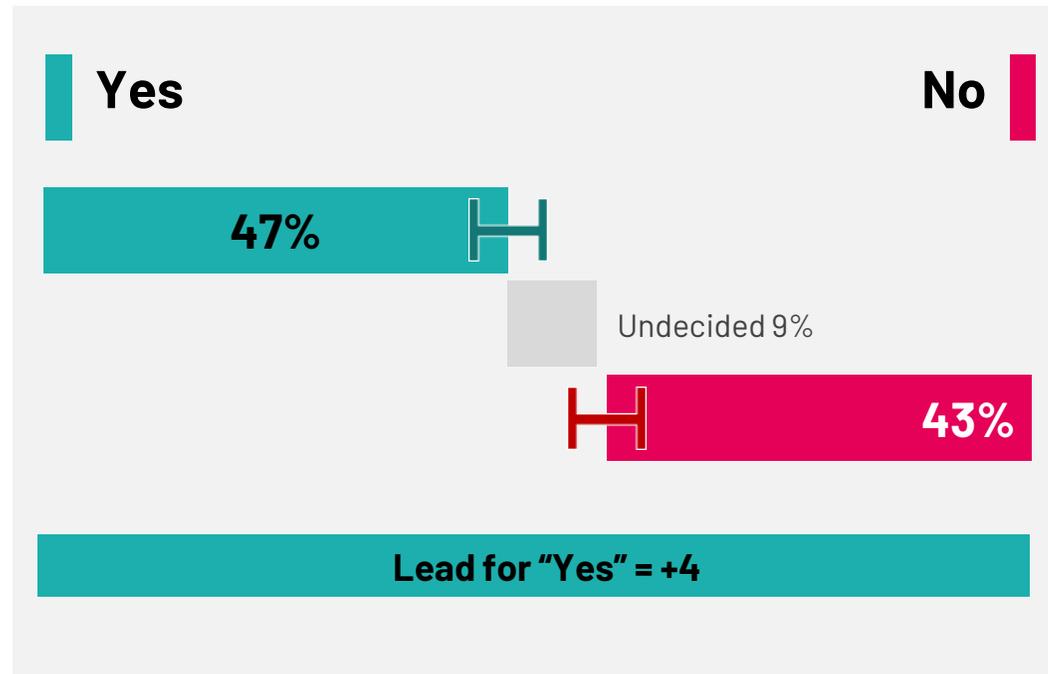
Source: Ipsos | Scottish Political Monitor

VIEWS ON INDEPENDENCE

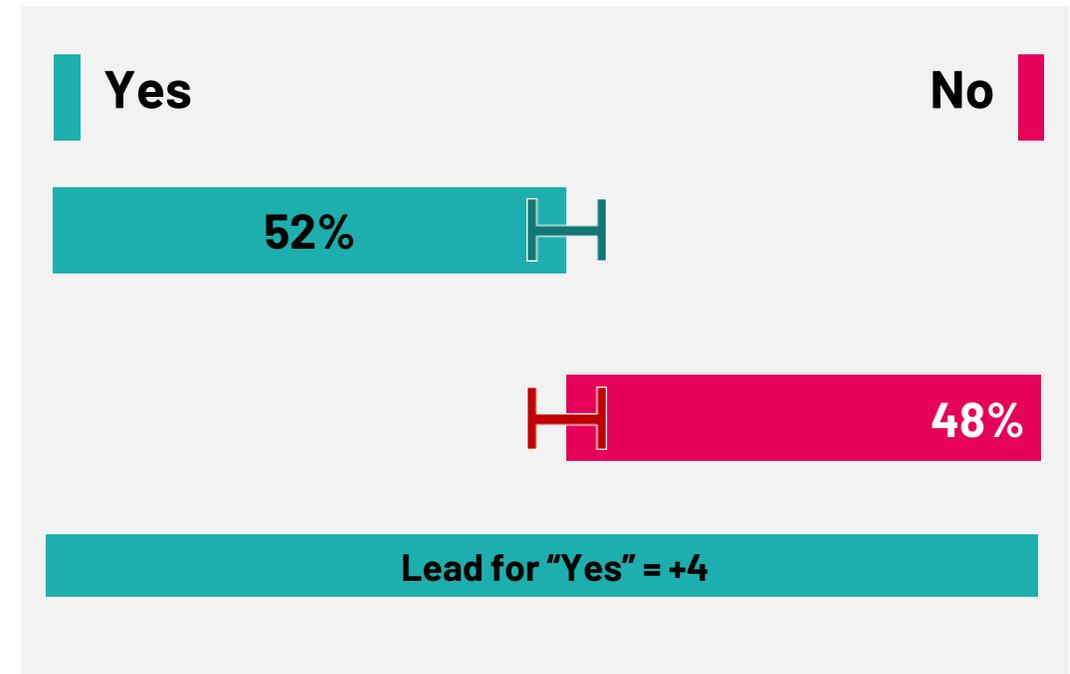
Support for Scottish independence: December 2025

If a referendum were held tomorrow about Scotland's constitutional future, how would you vote in response to the following question: Should Scotland be an independent country?

Among all likely to vote



All likely to vote and expressing a voting intention



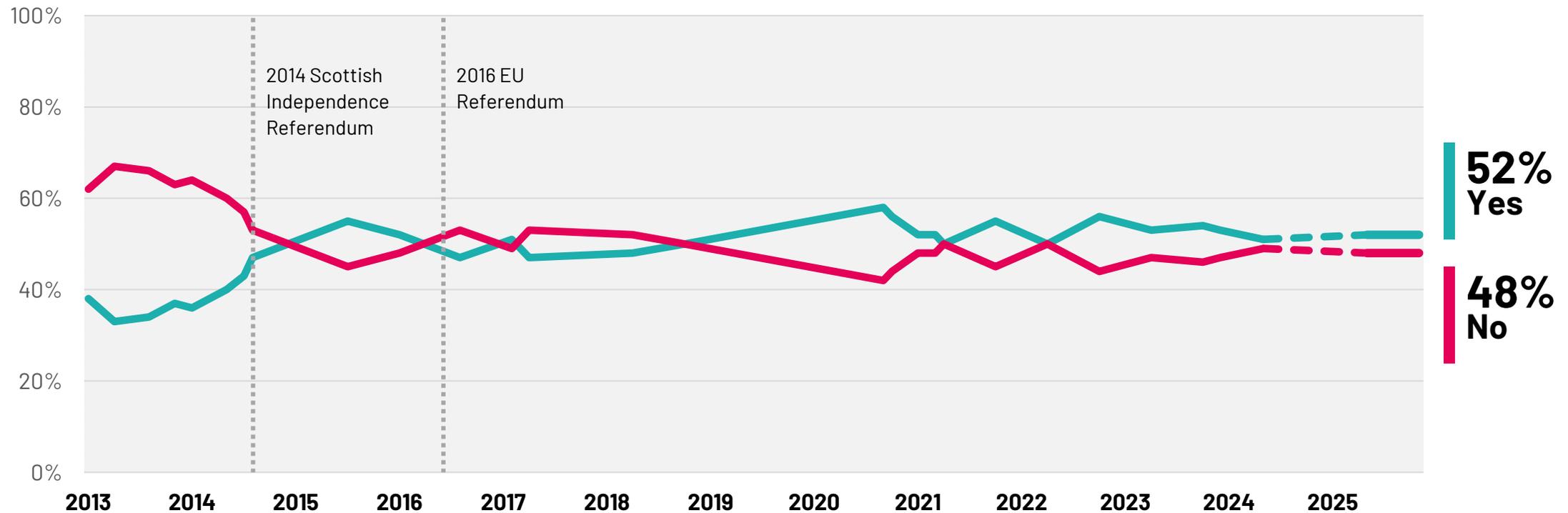
Base: 949 Scottish adults aged 16+ who are at least 9/10 likely to vote in a Scottish independence referendum; 860 Scottish adults 16+ who are at least 9/10 likely to vote in a Scottish independence referendum and expressing a voting intention, 27th November – 3rd December 2025. Margin of error is displayed at +/- 4%.

Source: Ipsos | Scottish Political Monitor

Support for Scottish independence: Change over time

If a referendum were held tomorrow about Scotland's constitutional future, how would you vote in response to the following question: Should Scotland be an independent country?

February 2013 – December 2025

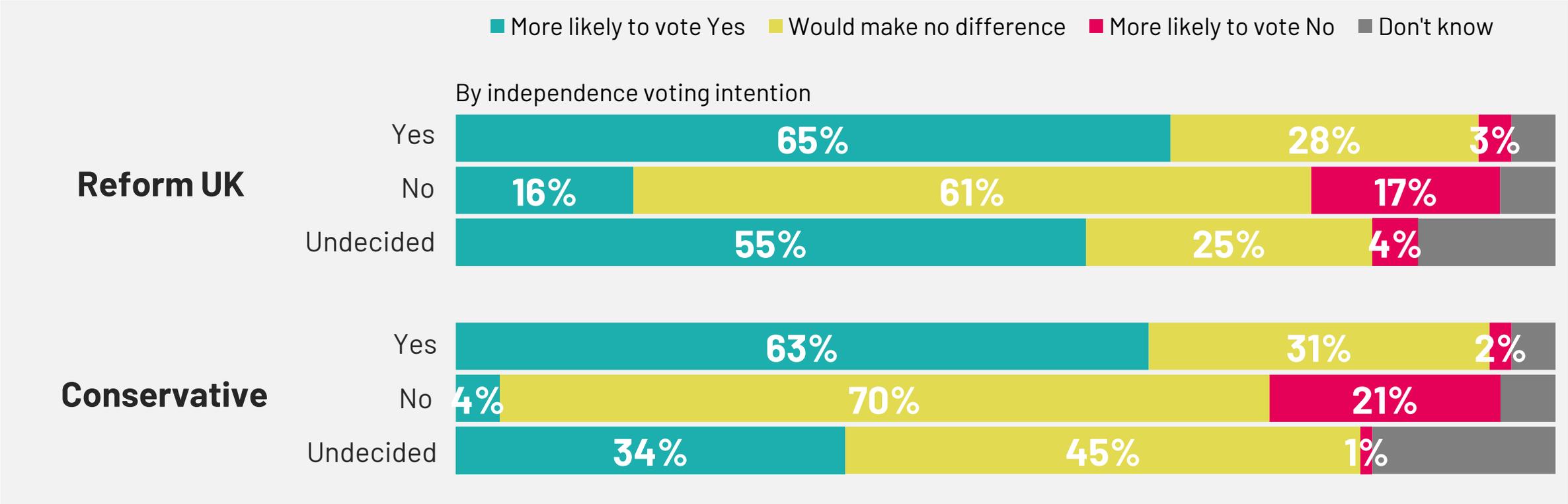


Base: c. 1,000 Scottish adults aged 16+ per wave. Based on all likely to vote, excluding undecideds/don't knows

Source: Ipsos | Scottish Political Monitor

Outlook on independence, by voting intention

If [Reform UK / the Conservative Party] was elected to government in Westminster at the next UK General Election, how much, if at all, would this change how you would vote in a future referendum on Scottish independence? Would you be...?



Base: 1,061 Scottish adults aged 16+, 27th November – 3rd December 2025, including 464 who would vote 'Yes' in a referendum on Scotland's future, if held tomorrow, 446 who would vote 'No', and 145 who are 'Undecided'.

Source: Ipsos Scotland | Political Pulse

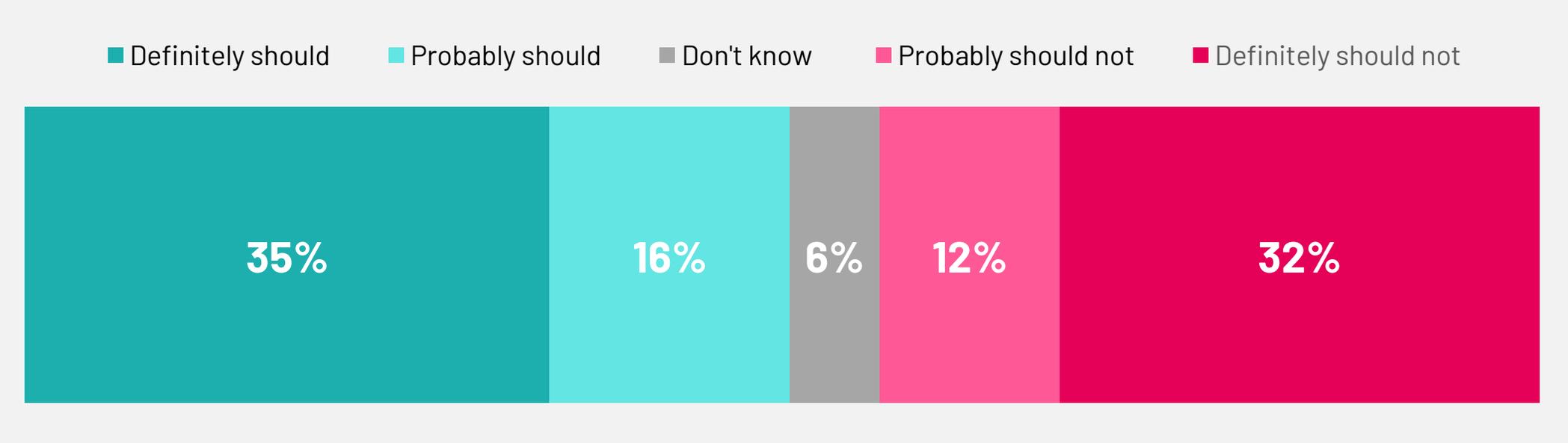


Mandate for a second independence referendum?

If the SNP wins a majority of seats in the 2026 Scottish Parliament elections, do you think the UK Government should or should not allow them to hold another independence referendum within the next five years?

50% Should

44% Should not



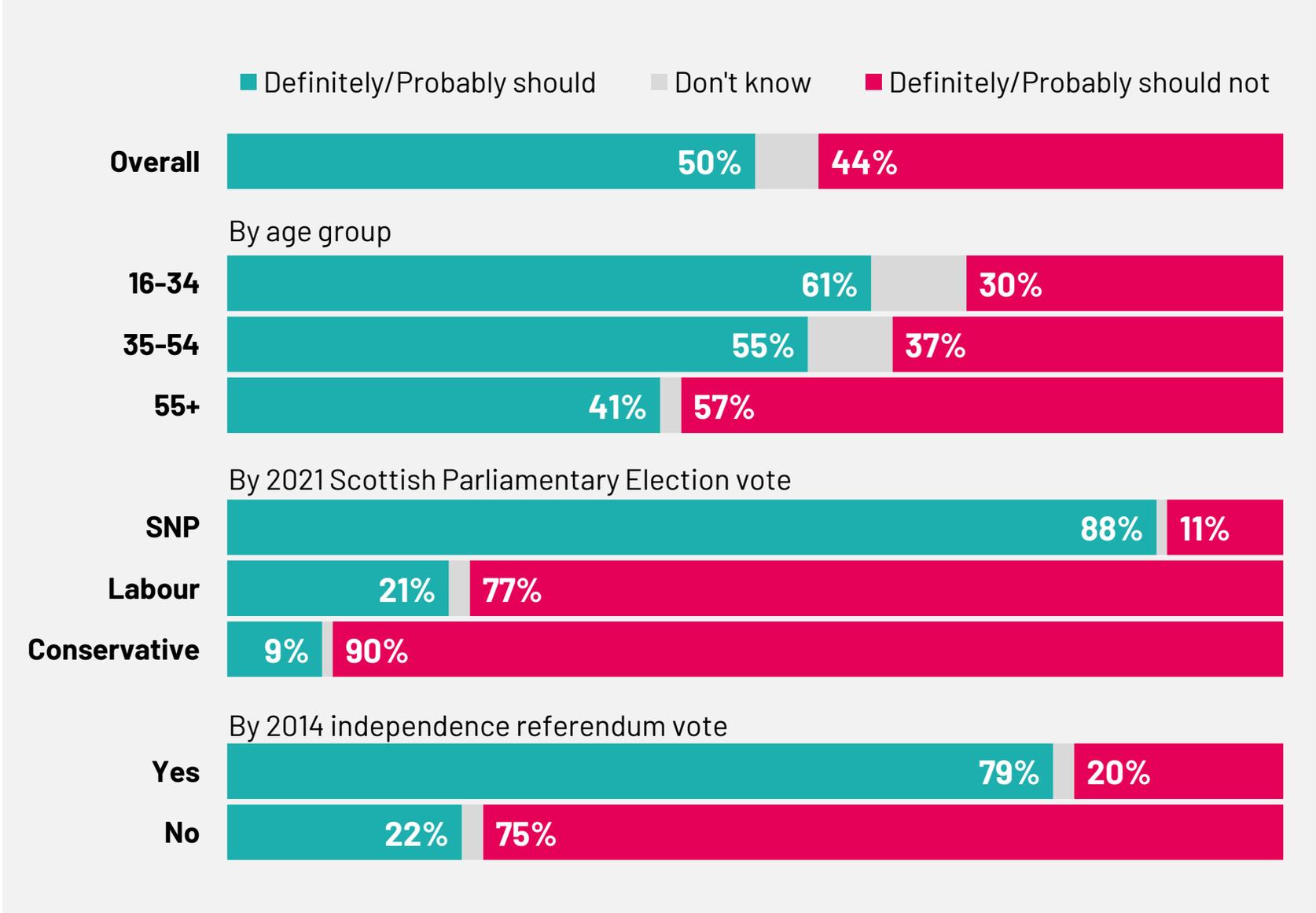
Base: 1,061 Scottish adults aged 16+, 27th November – 3rd December 2025,

Source: Ipsos Scotland | Political Pulse



Mandate for a second independence referendum?

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Base: 1,061 Scottish adults aged 16+, 27th November – 3rd December 2025, including 2021 Scottish Parliament Election SNP voters (341), Conservative Party voters (147), Labour Party voters (140); 2014 Independence referendum ‘Yes’ voters (348), 2014 ‘No’ voters (364); 16-34 year olds (270), 35-54 year olds (342), 55+ year olds (449).

Source: Ipsos Scotland | Political Pulse



About the Ipsos KnowledgePanel

Ipsos, part of the Ipsos group, is one of the UK's largest and most innovative research agencies, working for a wide range of global businesses and many government departments and public bodies.

The KnowledgePanel, set up in 1999 in the US, 2020 in the UK, and since across Europe, is an online random probability panel. In the UK, panellists aged 16+ are recruited via a postal push-to-web methodology. Invitations are sent to randomly selected addresses in the UK. Those who are digitally excluded are provided with a tablet and restricted internet access, free of cost. Our recruitment approach means all UK households in private residential settings have a known and non-zero chance of being invite to join the panel.

A high-quality random selection process is followed for all survey sampling. Panel members are randomly selected to take part in surveys. Data collection usually takes place over a week, online. Being a probability sample, quotas are not applied. Instead, the selected sample is stratified to ensure it is balanced on key characteristics. All those invited are allowed to take part in the survey.

Technical note

We interviewed a representative probability sample of 1,061 adults aged 16+ across Scotland, via the Ipsos UK KnowledgePanel. Data was collected online between 27 November and 3 December 2025. A sample of 1,920 panellists aged 16+ in Scotland were invited to take part in the survey. The sample was stratified by qualifications and vote at the 2024 general election (as collected immediately after the election).

The achieved sample was weighted in two stages:

- Design weights were applied to correct for the unequal probabilities of a person being selected for a survey.
- Calibration weights were applied to correct for differential non-response. Data was weighted to the adult population profile on age and gender, Scottish Parliament region, ethnicity, qualifications, work status and work sector (public sector/other), social grade, area deprivation, number of cars in household, and newspaper readership (print and digital). Population targets were obtained from the 2022 Census, ONS population estimates and other large-scale probability surveys.

For General Election voting intention, a two-part voting intention question is used with prompting on main parties (Conservatives, Labour, Liberal Democrats, Scottish National Party, Reform UK) and a follow-up "squeeze" question of those who are undecided or refuse the first question. A similar approach is taken for Scottish Parliament voting intention, with prompting on major parties (the list of parties prompted for differs for constituency and regional list, as not all parties stand candidates on both) and a follow-up "squeeze" question of those who were undecided or refused to the first question. A turnout filter is used based on two questions: current stated likelihood to vote (at least 9 out of 10 certain to vote) and previous voting behaviour (if they say they "always" or "usually" vote in general elections or that "it depends").

This is the methodology Ipsos has used for its Scottish Political Monitors since June 2025. It involves a new form of data collection (online random probability panel instead of quota telephone survey), an updated voting intention (which involves prompting for Reform UK), and an updated weighting scheme. This is based on our learnings during and since the 2024 General Election. This means that comparisons with previous waves need to be made with caution. As always, we continually review our methods, and may make further changes to our methodology in the future.



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For more information

Emily Gray

Managing Director, Ipsos Scotland
Emily.Gray@ipsos.com

Rachel Ormston

Research Director, Ipsos Scotland
Rachel.Ormston@ipsos.com

Sally Abernethy

Associate Director, Ipsos Scotland
Sally.Abernethy@ipsos.com

Alex Walker

Research Executive, Ipsos Scotland
Alex.Walker@ipsos.com

This work was carried out in accordance with the requirements of the international quality standard for market research, ISO 20252.