Democracy in the UK after Brexit: Population Survey 2

About

As part of the Democracy in the UK after Brexit project, the project team has partnered with YouGov to conduct two online surveys of the UK adult population. The two surveys have a panel structure: all of the respondents to this second survey were also respondents to Survey 1.

This document contains the text of the second of these two surveys. The findings of this second survey will allow the project team to track opinion change since the first survey, and will enable policymakers and academics to develop greater understanding of how UK citizens think about democracy.

The project is funded by the Economic and Social Research Council. It is led by Prof. Alan Renwick (PI) with Prof. Ben Lauderdale (Co-I) and Prof. Meg Russell (Co-I), aided by James Cleaver (Research Assistant). The project team developed the survey in consultation with experts on the project's Advisory Board and beyond.

Survey company: YouGov

Survey method: Online panel

Sample: UK adult population

Sample size: 4,105 respondents

Fieldwork dates: 26 August – 5 September 2022

For questions about the survey, please contact Alan Renwick (a.renwick@ucl.ac.uk) or Ben Lauderdale (b.lauderdale@ucl.ac.uk).

Reading the document

Wherever there is bracketed text in a prompt, e.g., [TEXT], this refers to an element of the text that was randomly selected from a set of possible variations for each respondent. The list of possible variations for this randomised element is listed below the survey prompt and response options. Some such questions have only a single randomised element; some questions have more than one randomised element (with randomisation conducted independently across the different elements – these questions are "embedded conjoint experiments"). There are several points in the survey where the randomised variation from one question carries over to some subsequent

questions. Some of the randomisations in this survey are carried over from the randomisations in Survey 1.

There are several questions on the survey where we have a list of potential response options, of which each respondent saw only two (plus a neutral option, worded appropriately for that question). These “pairwise comparison” questions enable us to assess comparative evaluations made by respondents in the aggregate across the sample, as each response option will appear in comparison to all the others (via a Bradley-Terry model).

Demographic/Background Characteristics

The survey vendor (YouGov) provided these items from its existing data.

- Age
- Ethnicity
- Gender
- Social grade
- Education
- Sexuality
- Religion
- Location: parliamentary constituency (UK 2010 boundaries, Scotland 2014 boundaries, Wales electoral regions) / MSOA / LSOA / postcode sector / unitary authorities and districts
- 2016 referendum vote
- 2019 general election vote
- 2021 Senedd vote
- 2021 Holyrood vote
- Attention to politics
- Newspaper readership
- Media consumption
- Organisation membership
- Social media use
- Household income
- Personal income
- Type of house tenure
- Number of children
- Marital status
- Work status

Initial Consent to Participate

NOTE: The following is what participants saw on screen before undertaking the survey. They could take part only after giving their consent.

The following questions form part of a research project being conducted by researchers from the Constitution Unit and the Department of Political Science at University College London (UCL). They are looking at public views about democracy in the UK. You are invited to take part in the project by answering these questions. Please read the information below before deciding whether you want to participate.

Title of Study: Democracy in the UK after Brexit

Name and Contact Details of the Principal Researcher: Alan Renwick (a.renwick@ucl.ac.uk)

Name and contact details of the UCL Data Protection Officer: Alex Potts (data-protection@ucl.ac.uk)

UCL Research Ethics Committee Approval ID Number: 11565/002

What is the project's purpose?

The project is looking at how people think the United Kingdom's democratic system should operate. It is interested in people's views about the values of democracy and how democracy in the UK should work in practice.

Why have I been chosen?

The survey is being run on behalf of the UCL research team by YouGov. You have been invited to take part because you are a member of YouGov's panel of survey respondents. The survey is going out to 6,000 members of the panel, who are a representative sample of adults living in the UK.

Do I have to take part?

Your participation in this study is entirely voluntary.

What will happen to me if I take part?

We have tested the survey and found that, on average it takes around 14 to 16 minutes to complete. The questions will ask what you think about how democracy in the UK works and how it should work. These include questions on how satisfied you are with how the democratic system works today, what features of democracy you think matter more, and how particular parts of the democratic system should operate. There are also questions where you will be asked to imagine a political situation and say what you think should happen.

What are the possible risks and benefits of taking part?

We do not expect any risks to you in answering these questions.

Your YouGov Account will be credited with 50 points for completing the survey. We hope that your responses will help to inform debates about how democracy should work in the UK.

Will my answers be kept confidential?

Yes. As with all the YouGov surveys that you fill in, your responses will be completely anonymous. The UCL research team will never find out who you are. Nor will anyone else outside YouGov.

Because the survey asks about your political views, your answers are what are called 'special category personal data'. We will therefore protect your privacy absolutely.

Can I withdraw from the study?

You can withdraw from the survey at any point before you have finished it, and your answers will be deleted.

Because your responses are anonymous, it will not be possible to withdraw them once you have completed the survey – the research team will not know which responses are yours.

What will happen to the results of the research project?

Your responses to these questions, as well as some of those that you provided when you joined YouGov's panel, will be used to conduct academic research in this area leading to the publication of articles, reports and blog posts. These will be accessible from the UCL Constitution Unit's website (www.ucl.ac.uk/constitution-unit). You will not be identifiable in any of these publications.

The anonymous dataset will be archived with the UK Data Service so that it is available to future researchers. The UK Data Service is the standard repository for social science research data in the UK. Once deposited, the anonymous dataset will be permanently available to any registered user of the UK Data Service.

Who is organising and funding the research?

This research is organised by researchers from the Constitution Unit and Department of Political Science at University College London. It is funded by the UK Economic and Social Research Council.

What if I have questions or complaints?

If you have any questions or complaints about the use of your data, you can email the project's Principal Investigator (Dr Alan Renwick) at a.renwick@ucl.ac.uk. As your data will be anonymous, the UCL team will be unable to identify, modify or delete any data relating to your responses. If you feel that your complaint has not been handled to your satisfaction, you can contact the Chair of the UCL Research Ethics Committee at ethics@ucl.ac.uk.

Thank you for reading this information sheet and for considering whether to take part in this research study.

Please check the relevant box below to get started.

☐ **I have read the above information and understand what the study involves. I understand that my anonymous data will be shared with the UCL research team and used in their research. I consent to taking part in this research study on that basis.**

Questions about Democracy and General Attitudes

S2_TRUST_INSTITUTIONS

To what extent do you trust or distrust each of the following to act in the best interests of people in the UK?

Response options:

1. Strongly distrust
2. Distrust
3. Neither trust nor distrust
4. Trust
5. Strongly trust
6. Don't know

A. The Prime Minister
B. The UK Parliament
C. The civil service
D. The court system

S2_ LIB/AUTH_LEFT/RIGHT

How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

Response options:

1. Strongly disagree
2. Disagree
3. Neither agree nor disagree
4. Agree
5. Strongly agree
6. Don't know

A. Young people today don't have enough respect for traditional British values
B. For some crimes, the death penalty is the most appropriate sentence
C. People should be allowed to organise public protests against the government
D. People in Britain should be more tolerant of those who lead unconventional lives
E. Censorship of films and magazines is necessary to uphold moral standards
F. People who break the law should be given stiffer sentences
G. Ordinary working people get their fair share of the nation's wealth
H. There is one law for the rich and one for the poor
I. There is no need for strong trade unions to protect working conditions and wages
J. Private enterprise is the best way to solve Britain's economic problems

K. Major public services and industries ought to be in state ownership
L. It is the government's responsibility to provide a job for everyone who wants one

S2_ISSUE_PREFERENCES

Each respondent saw two of choices NC1–NC7 and two of choices C1–C6, randomly selected in each case.

Which comes closer to your view?

NC1

- Taxes and public spending should be reduced
- Taxes and public spending should be increased
- Overall levels of taxes and public spending should stay the same as now
- Don't know

NC2

- Immigration to the UK should be reduced
- Immigration to the UK should be increased
- Overall levels of immigration to the UK should stay the same as now
- Don't know

NC3

- Efforts to tackle climate change should be sped up
- Efforts to tackle climate change should be slowed down
- Efforts to tackle climate change should continue at the same pace as now
- Don't know

NC4

- The priority should be building more houses
- The priority should be protecting communities from too much house-building
- I agree/disagree with both equally
- Don't know

NC5

- Using cannabis should be legalised
- Using cannabis should remain illegal
- I agree/disagree with both equally
- Don't know

NC6

- Defence spending should be increased
- Defence spending should be reduced
- The overall level of defence spending should stay the same as now
- Don't know

NC7

- The UK's relationship with the European Union should be strengthened
- The UK's relationship with the European Union should be weakened
- The UK's relationship with the European Union should stay as it is now
- Don't know

C1

- Government should be strengthened, so that ministers can get things done more easily
- Parliament should be strengthened, so that ministers' proposals are scrutinised more carefully
- I agree/disagree with both equally
- Don't know

C2

- Local communities should be able to make more decisions for themselves
- On most issues, there should be common policies across all parts of the country
- I agree/disagree with both equally
- Don't know

C3

- The voting system for elections to the UK House of Commons should be changed, so that the number of MPs each party gets matches more closely the number of votes each party gets
- The voting system for elections to the UK House of Commons should stay as it is, so there is normally a clear winner and voters decide who forms the government
- I agree/disagree with both equally
- Don't know

C4

- Reform is needed so that politicians who do not act with integrity are punished
- The system for dealing with politicians who do not act with integrity should stay as it is
- I agree/disagree with both equally
- Don't know

C5

- Politicians should have a stronger role in protecting human rights than they have now
- Judges should have a stronger role in protecting human rights than they have now
- I agree/disagree with both equally
- Don't know

C6

- When the current Queen's reign is over, we should abolish the monarchy
- When the current Queen's reign is over, we should keep the monarchy
- I agree/disagree with both equally
- Don't know

C7

- It would be better if Scotland became an independent country
- It's better if Scotland remains part of the United Kingdom
- I agree/disagree with both equally
- Don't know

C8

- It would be better if Northern Ireland left the United Kingdom and became part of a united Ireland
- It's better if Northern Ireland remains part of the United Kingdom
- I agree/disagree with both equally
- Don't know

S2_CONSTITUTION_SALIENCE_1

Please imagine that there is a UK general election and you have two parties to choose from. Here are summaries of their key manifesto commitments:

There are two randomisations here:

1. *First, each respondent saw two of the constitutional issues and two of the non-constitutional issues. These were the same issues as were randomly selected in S2_ISSUE_PREFERENCES.*
2. *Second, for each of the selected issues, which option was attributed to which party was randomised. These randomisations were independent of each other issue by issue.*

	Party A	**Party B**
NC1	Reduce taxes and public spending	Increase taxes and public spending
NC2	Reduce immigration	Increase immigration
NC3	Speed up efforts to tackle climate change	Slow down efforts to tackle climate change
NC4	Focus on building more houses	Focus on protect neighbourhoods from housebuilding
NC5	Legalise cannabis	Keep cannabis illegal
NC6	Increase defence spending	Reduce defence spending
NC7	Strengthen the UK's relationship with the European Union	Weaken the UK's relationship with the European Union
C1	Strengthen government, so that ministers can get things done more easily	Strengthen Parliament, so that ministers' proposals are scrutinised carefully
C2	Allow local communities to make more decisions for themselves	Keep common policies across all parts of the country
C3	Change the voting system, so that the number of MPs each party gets matches more closely its number of votes	Keep the current voting system, so there is normally a clear winner and voters decide who forms the government
C4	Reform the political system so that politicians who do not act with integrity are punished	Keep the system for protecting integrity as it is
C5	Give politicians a stronger role in protecting human rights	Give judges a stronger role in protecting human rights
C6	Abolish the monarchy when the current Queen's reign is over	Keep the monarchy when the current Queen's reign is over

C7	Take steps towards Scottish independence	Seek to preserve Scotland's position as part of the United Kingdom
C8	Take steps towards a united Ireland	Seek to preserve Northern Ireland's position as part of the United Kingdom

Which party would you vote for?

Response options:

- Party A
- Party B
- Don't know

S2_CONSTITUTION_SALIENCE_2

When thinking about politics today, would you say that issues around [A] or around [B] are more important to you?

Response options are a pair from the list below, plus 'Both are equally important/unimportant' and 'Don't Know'.

[A] and [B] are two random selections from the following list. Each respondent was asked for their responses to TWO random pairs:

- the cost of living
- levels of taxation
- income inequality between people
- immigration
- climate change
- housing
- public transport
- whether using cannabis is legal
- the war in Ukraine
- the UK's relationship with the European Union
- poverty
- the NHS
- the social care system
- the education system
- crime
- trans rights
- 'woke' culture
- the rules on gambling
- rubbish collection
- the provision of public libraries
- politicians' moral standards
- the health of democracy in the UK
- the protection of human rights

- the balance of power between judges and politicians
- the balance of power between government and Parliament
- the system for electing MPs
- the amount of 'fake news'
- people refusing to listen to those with different opinions
- whether Scotland stays in the UK or becomes an independent country,
- whether Northern Ireland stays in the UK or becomes part of a united Ireland,

S2_PERSONAL_ACTION_PAST

Which of the following have you done in the past five years? Please choose as many as apply.

Response options:

- Written to your MP
- Been involved in a political party
- Organised within your local community
- Attended political meetings
- Donated money to a campaign group
- Taken part in a street protest
- Taken part in a strike
- Contacted the media
- Discussed political issues on social media
- Signed a petition
- Taken part in a public consultation about an issue
- Taken part in a process that brought people with different views together to discuss an issue and come up with recommendations
- Voted in an election
- Run for election
- None of the above
- Don't know

Respondents could select as many of these as they wished, except the last two, which were exclusive.

Trade-Off Questions with Split Samples

Half of the sample were asked the original eleven trade-off questions from Survey 1. This half of the sample also saw three new trade-off questions.

The other half of the sample saw a different set of fourteen questions. In some cases, these are simple variants of the original questions. In other cases, they are new.

Questions for the first half of the sample

Half of the sample saw this set of questions, the first eleven of which were repeated from S1.

S2_TO_EXPERTS

Which comes closer to your view?

- Important policy decisions should generally be taken by independent experts
- Important policy decisions should generally be taken by elected politicians
- I agree/disagree with both equally
- Don't know

S2_TO_LEGITIMACY

Which comes closer to your view?

- Once a decision has been agreed on democratically, people should accept it and move on, even if they disagree with it
- In a democracy, it is good if people continue campaigning against decisions that they disagree with, even after a decision has been made
- I agree/disagree with both equally
- Don't know

S2_TO_URGENCY

Which comes closer to your view?

- In politics, the key thing is to get things done, even if sometimes the decisions made are not perfect
- In politics, the key thing is to get things right, even if sometimes that takes a bit longer
- I agree/disagree with both equally
- Don't know

S2_TO_JUDGES

Which comes closer to your view?

- Judges have an important role in ensuring that elected politicians operate within the rules
- Elected politicians must themselves be responsible for ensuring that they act within the rules
- I agree/disagree with both equally
- Don't know

S2_TO_RIGHTS

Which comes closer to your view?

- In a democracy, it is more important to follow the will of the majority
- In a democracy, it is more important to protect the rights of minorities
- I agree/disagree with both equally
- Don't know

S2_TO_JUDGEMENT

Which comes closer to your view?

- On big political questions, you can generally trust your instincts about what's right
- On big political questions, it is generally best to weigh the pros and cons of different options before deciding
- I agree/disagree with both equally
- Don't know

S2_TO_DELEGATE_TRUSTEE

Which comes closer to your view?

- MPs should support the policies that most of their constituents say they want
- MPs should support the policies that they think will be best for their constituents
- I agree/disagree with both equally
- Don't know

S2_TO_CONSULTATION

Which comes closer to your view?

- Government is more likely to be effective if just a few people are directly involved in making day-to-day decisions

- Government is more likely to be effective if a wide range of people are directly involved in making day-to-day decisions
- I agree/disagree with both equally
- Don't know

S2_TO_CITIZEN_ENGAGEMENT

Which comes closer to your view?

- In a democracy, citizens should follow political debates closely themselves, rather than leaving it to politicians
- In a democracy, citizens should not have to follow political debates very much – they should be able to leave it to politicians
- I agree/disagree with both equally
- Don't know

S2_TO_DIRECT_REPRESENTATIVE

Which comes closer to your view?

- Decisions on the most important issues should be made by everyone, voting in referendums
- Decisions on the most important issues should be made by MPs, voting in Parliament
- I agree/disagree with both equally
- Don't know

S2_TO_RULES

Which comes closer to your view?

- Healthy democracy requires that politicians always act within the rules
- Healthy democracy means getting things done, even if that sometimes requires politicians to break the rules
- I agree/disagree with both equally
- Don't know

Questions for the second half of the sample

The other half of the sample saw the following set of questions.

S2_DEMOCRACY_MODELS

Political decisions can be made in different ways. Please indicate how far you agree or disagree with these statements about alternative ways of political decision-making.

A. Political decisions should be made by citizens deliberating in public forums
B. Political decisions should be made only by elected legislators
C. Political decisions should be made by citizens voting in referendums
D. Political decisions should be made by expert commissions

Response options:

- 7-point scale, with endpoint labels 'Completely agree' and 'Completely disagree'.

S2_TO_JUDGES_2

Which comes closer to your view?

- Independent regulators have an important role in ensuring that elected politicians operate within the rules
- Elected politicians must themselves be responsible for ensuring that they act within the rules
- I agree/disagree with both equally
- Don't know

S2_TO_DELEGATE_TRUSTEE_2

Which comes closer to your view?

- MPs should support the policies that most of their constituents say they want
- MPs should support the policies that they think will be best for the country
- I agree/disagree with both equally
- Don't know

S2_TO_DIRECT_REPRESENTATIVE_2

To what extent do you agree or disagree that the people, and not politicians, should take our most important policy decisions?

Response options:

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Disagree
- Strongly disagree
- Don't know

S2_TO_RULES_2

To what extent, if at all, do you agree or disagree with this statement:

The UK needs a strong leader willing to break the rules.

Response options:

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Disagree
- Strongly disagree
- Don't know

S2_PARLIAMENT_AGENDA

Which comes closer to your view?

- Government should have the main responsibility for deciding what Parliament discusses and when it does so
- Parliament itself should have the main responsibility for deciding what it discusses and when it does so
- I agree/disagree with both equally
- Don't know

S2_PARLIAMENT_WHIP

Which comes closer to your view?

- MPs should stick to the party line in Parliament, so they are accountable to voters through their party's manifesto
- MPs should work across party lines in Parliament, and be prepared to compromise in order to find the best solutions
- I agree/disagree with both equally
- Don't know

S2_LORDS_APPOINTMENTS

Which comes closer to your view?

- The Prime Minister of the day should appoint new members to the House of Lords
- An independent body should appoint new members to the House of Lords
- I agree/disagree with both equally

- Don’t know

S2_LORDS_COMPOSITION

Which comes closer to your view?

- The House of Lords should include elected members to ensure that it is democratically accountable to the people
- The House of Lords should include appointed members to ensure that it contains experts and people independent of political parties
- I agree/disagree with both equally
- Don’t know

S2_LORDS_SIZE

Which comes closer to your view?

- There should be no limit on the number of members in the House of Lords
- The size of the House of Lords should be capped at no bigger than the House of Commons
- I agree/disagree with both equally
- Don’t know

Further Questions Asked to a Split Sample

Respondents received a random three of the following six questions.

S2_SATISFACTION_DEMOCRACY

On the whole, how satisfied are you with the way democracy works in the United Kingdom?

Response options:

1. Very satisfied
2. Fairly satisfied
3. Not very satisfied
4. Not at all satisfied
5. Don’t know

S2_TO_BUSINESSPEOPLE

Which comes closer to your view?

- Our country would be governed better if more decisions were made by successful businesspeople, rather than by politicians

- Our country is governed better when the important decisions are made by elected politicians
- I agree/disagree with both equally
- Don't know

S2_TO_LYING

Which comes closer to your view?

- When it comes to being honest, all politicians are basically the same
- When it comes to being honest, some politicians are better and others are worse
- I agree/disagree with both equally
- Don't know

S2_TO_COMPROMISE_HANSARD

Which comes closer to your view?

- We need politicians who make compromises with people they disagree with
- We need politicians who stick to their positions
- I agree/disagree with both equally
- Don't know

S2_TO_SOLUTIONS_HANSARD

Which comes closer to your view?

- There are clear solutions to most big issues facing the country today
- Most big issues facing the country today don't have clear solutions
- I agree/disagree with both equally
- Don't know

S2_TO_CONSENSUS

Which comes closer to your view?

- On important issues, ordinary people generally agree what should be done
- On important issues, ordinary people have a wide range of different views
- I agree/disagree with both equally
- Don't know

Trade-Off Questions for Whole Sample

S2_TO_CORRUPTION

Respondents saw the same randomised [ACTORS] across the three response options.

Which comes closest to your view?

- In general, [ACTORS] tend to follow higher ethical standards than ordinary citizens
- In general, [ACTORS] tend to follow similar ethical standards to ordinary citizens
- In general, [ACTORS] tend to follow lower ethical standards than ordinary citizens
- Don't know

[ACTORS]

- politicians
- businesspeople
- judges

S2_TO_POLITICAL_PARTIES

Respondents were randomly assigned to version A or version B.

Version A

Which comes closer to your view?

- Political parties are bad for democracy
- Political parties are good for democracy
- I agree/disagree with both equally
- Don't know

Version B

Some people think that political parties are bad for democracy because they push people into competing teams and make compromises harder.

Others think that political parties are good for democracy because they let voters choose between clear alternatives at elections, and allow coherent governments to form.

Which comes closer to your view?

- Political parties are bad for democracy because they push people into competing teams and make compromises harder
- Political parties are good for democracy because they let voters choose between clear alternatives at elections, and allow coherent governments to form
- I agree/disagree with both equally
- Don't know

S2_TO_AUTHORITARIANISM

Respondents were randomly assigned to version A, B, or C.

Version A

How acceptable would it be to you if the UK had a strong leader who was above the law?

Response options:

- *0–10 scale from 'Not at all acceptable' to 'Entirely acceptable'*

Version B

How acceptable would it be to you if the UK had a strong leader who did not have to bother with parliament and elections?

Response options:

- *0–10 scale from 'Not at all acceptable' to 'Entirely acceptable'*

Version C

Which comes closer to your view?

- Many of the country's problems could be dealt with more effectively if the government didn't have to worry so much about votes in Parliament
- It would be risky to give the government more power to deal directly with many of the country's problems
- I agree/disagree with both equally
- Don't know

Attitudes to Democracy, Politicians, and Integrity

S2_SYSTEM_EVALUATION

Which of these statements best describes your opinion on the present system of governing the UK?

Response options:

1. It works extremely well and could not be improved
2. It could be improved in small ways but mainly works well
3. It could be improved quite a lot
4. It needs a great deal of improvement
5. Don't know

S2_POLITICIAN_CHARACTERISTICS:

Is it more important for a politician to [A] or to [B]?

Response options:

- [A]
- [B]
- Both are equally important or unimportant
- Don't know

[A] and [B] are the same selections from the following list as each individual respondent saw in Survey 1:

- work hard
- be clever
- be inspiring
- think independently
- be honest
- keep their promises
- follow the rules
- be in touch with ordinary people
- listen to a wide range of views
- explain their actions and decisions
- own up when they make mistakes
- have a clear vision for what they want to do
- set a good example in their private life
- have had a job outside politics
- get things done

S2_INTEGRITY_DELIVERY2:

Please imagine that a future Prime Minister has to choose between [INTEGRITY] and [DELIVERY]. Which should they choose?

Response options are the bracketed INTEGRITY and DELIVERY texts and 'Don't know'.

[INTEGRITY]:

- acting honestly
- honouring their promises
- acting within the law
- acting transparently

[DELIVERY]:

- [A1] delivering the policy that they think is best for the country
- [A2] delivering the policy that is best for the country
- [B1] delivering the policy that most people want
- [B2] delivering the policy that they think most people want
- [C1] delivering what is best for the security of the country
- [C2] delivering the policy that they think is best for the security of the country

Individual respondents saw the same INTEGRITY option as in Survey 1. Respondents who saw DELIVERY option A1 in Survey 1 were randomly assigned either A1 or A2. Respondents who saw DELIVERY option B1 in Survey 1 were randomly assigned either B1 or B2. Respondents who saw DELIVERY option C1 in Survey 1 were randomly assigned either C1 or C2.

S2_OVERSIGHT_INVESTIGATION

Please imagine **there are allegations** that a minister in government has [FAILURE]. Which, if any, of the following do you think should happen?

Response options:

- The Prime Minister should investigate as he or she sees fit
- The Prime Minister should be able to ask an independent regulator to investigate
- An independent regulator should be able to launch an investigation themselves
- A committee of MPs in Parliament should be able to investigate
- Someone else should be able to investigate
- There should be no investigation
- Don't know

[FAILURE]

Each respondent saw one of the following, randomized, but not the same one as in S2_OVERSIGHT_MINISTERS (below)

- failed to run their department competently
- bullied officials who report to them
- behaved inappropriately in their private life

- arranged for a government contract to be given to one of their friends
- lied to Parliament

S2_OVERSIGHT_MINISTERS:

Please imagine **there is clear evidence** that a minister in government has [FAILURE]. Which, if any, of the following do you think should decide whether they ought to resign?

Response options:

- The minister themselves
- The Prime Minister
- MPs in Parliament
- An independent person such as a judge
- The minister's constituents
- None of these
- Don't know

[FAILURE]

Each respondent saw the same one of the following as in Survey 1

- failed to run their department competently
- bullied officials who report to them
- behaved inappropriately in their private life
- arranged for a government contract to be given to one of their friends
- lied to Parliament

S2_LYING_SPINNING

Respondents were randomly assigned to version A, B, or C.

Version A

Sometimes, politicians are accused of lying outright. At other times, they are said to 'spin' issues in a way that is misleading but not strictly false.

Which of the following statements comes closer to your view?

- It's worse if a politician lies outright than if they use 'spin'
- There's no real difference whether a politician lies outright or uses 'spin'
- Don't know

Version B

Which comes closer to your view?

- People are often too quick to accuse politicians of lying, when in fact they just have different opinions
- When politicians are accused of lying, that's usually because they really are lying
- I agree/disagree with both equally
- Don't know

Version C

Which comes closer to your view?

- People are often too quick to accuse politicians of lying, when in fact it's just difficult to give straight answers because policy decisions are complicated
- When politicians are accused of lying, that's usually because they really are lying
- I agree/disagree with both equally
- Don't know

Questions on the Citizens' Assembly and Its Recommendations

S2_CA_RECS_UNDERSTANDING

How far would you say you understand each of the following statements?

Response options:

1. Not at all
2. Not very well
3. Fairly well
4. Very well
5. Don't know

Statements

Each respondent saw a random selection of two of the statements in S2_CA_RECS_AGREEEMENT (see below) – but not any of those that they saw in that question.

S2_CA_RECS_AGREEMENT

The logic of what follows

We put various recommendations of the Citizens' Assembly on Democracy in the UK to respondents and asked how far they agreed or disagreed with them. We varied whether we attributed the recommendations to the Assembly and what information we provided about the assembly. The full information about the Assembly read:

> The assembly had 67 members who were selected by lottery from the public. The assembly's organisers made sure that its members were representative of the population of the UK in their different ages, genders, ethnicities, levels of education and political views. The members met online over six weekends. They were given information about the issues and heard different arguments. They got to ask questions, think about the evidence, and discuss different views among themselves. Then they voted on what they thought.

The coloured parts show the elements that we varied: for each respondent each of these was either present or absent. The exception to this pattern was the last element, which could be present only if the element immediately preceding it was also present. The elements covered:

- the size of the assembly
- the sortition element of member selection
- the stratification element of member selection
- the online format
- the duration of the assembly
- the information provision aspect of the assembly
- the deliberative aspect of the assembly

Simply leaving out some of the highlighted words would in some cases have produced sentences that did not make sense, and in others it would have produced a text that was just awkward. We therefore specified precise text for each of the possible combinations of elements, as set out below.

Initial prompt

All respondents saw:

You will now see several recommendations that have been made about how democracy in the UK should work. For each one, please say how far you agree or disagree with it.

Respondents were randomly assigned to one of the following 97 treatments. Half were randomly assigned to treatment 1. The remaining half were randomly assigned across treatments 2–97.

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Response options:

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Disagree
- Strongly disagree
- Don't know

Recommendations

Each respondent saw four of the recommendations set out below.

Respondents in treatment condition 1 (no mention of the assembly) did not see the information given below on levels of support for any of the recommendations. For respondents in all other treatment conditions, whether they saw this or not was randomised – but each respondent saw it either for all the recommendations or for none.

Balance between Government and Parliament

- When significant new policies are announced by the government there should be an opportunity for full parliamentary scrutiny before decisions are made.
    - Supported by 96% of assembly members
- When voting on new laws that were not key election pledges, MPs should have permission to vote in a way that represents the views of their constituents without penalty, particularly on issues that directly affect their constituency even if that is against the position of their party.
    - Supported by 93% of assembly members
- MPs must be able to ensure that issues with significant public support are raised in parliament, debated publicly and decided, even if they are not supported by the government.
    - Supported by 95% of assembly members
- The government should propose when parliament goes to recess, but MPs should be able to debate and amend the proposal before a vote in parliament. Government can however recall parliament in the case of exceptional circumstance / emergency.

  Note: A parliamentary 'recess' is any week when MPs are not meeting in the House of Commons, but can be working in their constituencies.
    - Supported by 91% of assembly members
- A petition signed by half of the elected MPs should be able to demand that parliament is recalled from recess to debate important decisions.

Note: A parliamentary 'recess' is any week when MPs are not meeting in the House of Commons, but can be working in their constituencies.

  - Supported by 94% of assembly members

- The Prime Minister should only be able to call an early general election if it is supported by a vote in the House of Commons.
  - Supported by 78% of assembly members

Public Involvement in the Representative System

- The education systems across the UK need to give more focus to educating young people and life-long learners to be 'political citizens' – ensuring they understand the system and the opportunities they have to influence decision-making.
  - Supported by 95% of assembly members
- Information on what is happening in parliament and government should be freely available to all in a form that is concise, factual, accessible, and unbiased. More work is needed so that people know where to look, and can quickly find the information they want.
  - Supported by 95% of assembly members
- The people elected to represent the public in parliament need to be more diverse and more closely represent the make-up of the UK population so that people can recognise themselves and their interests within the representative system.
  - Supported by 83% of assembly members

The Role of Petitions

- The powers of the petitions system should be extended to ensure that when a petition is debated in parliament it leads to a vote that can be acted on.

  Note: A petition is a proposal that people can sign, asking government or parliament to take an action. Under the current rules, petitions on the official system that get over 100,000 signatures are normally debated in Parliament, but there is no requirement for further action.

  - Supported by 82% of assembly members
- The powers of the petitions system should be expanded to allow the public, once a petition has a 'high' number of signatures, to demand a citizens' assembly be convened to provide advice to ministers on the considered view of a representative group of the public on an issue.

  Note: A petition is a proposal that people can sign, asking government or parliament to take an action. Under the current rules, petitions on the official system that get over 100,000 signatures are normally debated in Parliament, but there is no requirement for further action.

  - Supported by 79% of assembly members

The Role of Referendums

- The use of referendums should be restricted to when there are clearly defined, but contentious, choices where the consequences of the decision can be accurately set out in advance.
    - Supported by 90% of assembly members
- When a referendum is called there should be an impartial, non-political body that is responsible for providing the public with clear, unbiased, factual information that they can use to understand the issues involved.
    - Supported by 96% of assembly members
- Referendums should only be considered as binding instructions to government if there is a supermajority result. 50% + 1 support is not enough to be considered a mandate from society.
    - Supported by 76% of assembly members

Upholding Ethical Standards

- Lying or intentionally misleading parliament should be able to be identified as 'contempt of parliament'. As well as being made to give a public apology, MPs who break this rule should be fined or otherwise punished.
    - Supported by 98% of assembly members
- Existing ways of ensuring that elected representatives behave honestly and selflessly are not working well. Greater involvement of independent regulators is needed.

  Note: A regulator is a person or organisation responsible for making sure that individuals and groups follow particular standards and do not break the law.
    - Supported by 95% of assembly members

The Role of the Courts

- Courts should be able to overturn laws that are judged as violating legally recognised human rights. Otherwise they should not have the power to override laws passed by parliament.
    - Supported by 86% of assembly members
- The basic features of our democracy that protect the public's constitutional rights to participate and be represented should be hard for any government or parliament to change. Courts should be able to overturn, or require modifications to, laws that challenge these basic democratic rights.
    - Supported by 90% of assembly members

The Role of Deliberative Processes

Where respondents saw one of these recommendations, it was the last one that they saw. Similarly, for respondents who randomly got both of these recommendations, they were the last two that they saw.

- Deliberative processes (such as citizens' assemblies) should be used on divisive issues that are really important to people, either locally or nationally, and widely publicised and scrutinised so that they become trusted by the public and politicians.

  Note: A citizens' assembly is a group of people are selected by lottery, in much the same way as for jury service. Organisers try to make sure people of different ages, genders, ethnicities, class backgrounds and political views are represented. These people are given information about the issue and hear different arguments. They get to ask questions, think about the evidence, and discuss different views among themselves. Then they vote on what they think and their conclusions are made public.

  - Supported by 93% of assembly members.

- Citizens' assemblies should be convened to advise on and sense-check new laws proposed by the government that are outside their manifesto commitments, as a formal mechanism of public scrutiny of new proposals. Their findings should be published.

  Note: A citizens' assembly is a group of people are selected by lottery, in much the same way as for jury service. Organisers try to make sure people of different ages, genders, ethnicities, class backgrounds and political views are represented. These people are given information about the issue and hear different arguments. They get to ask questions, think about the evidence, and discuss different views among themselves. Then they vote on what they think and their conclusions are made public.

  - Supported by 80% of assembly members.

S2_CITIZENS_ASSEMBLY

One possible way to resolve a difficult political issue is to get a group of ordinary people together in what's called a "Citizens' Assembly".

In this approach, a group of people are selected by lottery, in much the same way as for jury service. Organisers try to make sure people of different ages, genders, ethnicities, class backgrounds and political views are represented. These people are given information about the issue and hear different arguments. They get to ask questions, think about the evidence, and discuss different views among themselves. Then they vote on what they think and their conclusions are made public.

To what extent would you support or oppose having this kind of Citizens' Assembly become part of how the UK decides difficult political issues?

- Strongly support
- Support
- Neither support nor oppose
- Oppose
- Strongly oppose

- Don’t know

Additional New Questions

Participation

S2_PERSONAL_ACTION_ACTUAL

Please think of a change in government policy that you want. Do you think you personally could have a bigger impact on whether this change happens by [A] or by [B]?

Response options were a pair from the list below, plus 'Both actions would make an equal difference', 'Neither action would make a difference' and 'Don't Know'.

[A] and [B] were two random selections from the following list:

- writing to your MP
- getting involved in a political party
- organising within your local community
- attending a political meeting
- donating money to a campaign group
- taking part in a street protest
- taking part in a strike
- contacting the media
- discussing the issue on social media
- signing a petition
- taking part in a public consultation about the issue
- taking part in a citizens' assembly
- voting for an election candidate who shares your view
- running for election to Parliament

S2_COLLECTIVE_ACTION_ACTUAL

Now thinking about if **many people acted in the same way**, do you think they could have a bigger impact on whether the same policy change happens by [A] or by [B]?

Response options were a pair from the list below, plus 'Both actions would make an equal difference', 'Neither action would make a difference' and 'Don't Know'.

[A] and [B] were two random selections from the following list:

- writing to their MPs
- becoming active in political parties
- organising within their local communities
- attending political meetings
- donating money to campaign groups
- taking part in street protests
- taking part in strikes
- contacting the media

- discussing the issue on social media
- signing a petition
- taking part in a public consultation about the issue
- taking part in citizens' assemblies
- voting for election candidates who share their views
- running for election to Parliament

S2_COLLECTIVE_ACTION_IDEAL

Thinking now about how an ideal democracy would work, should people be able to have more impact by [A] or by [B]?

Response options were a pair from the list below, plus 'Both should have the same impact', 'Neither should have any impact', and 'Don't Know'.

[A] and [B] were two random selections from the following list:

- writing to their MPs
- becoming active in political parties
- organising within their local communities
- attending political meetings
- donating money to campaign groups
- taking part in street protests
- taking part in strikes
- contacting the media
- discussing issues on social media
- signing petitions
- taking part in public consultations
- taking part in citizens' assemblies
- voting for election candidates who shared their views
- voting on issues in referendums
- running for election to Parliament

S2_PERSONAL_ACTION_PREFERENCE

To what extent, if at all, would you ideally like to get involved in politics more than you are?

Response options:

- A lot more
- Somewhat more
- A little more
- No more
- Don't know

S2_PERSONAL_ACTION_REASONS

What are the main reasons you don't get involved in politics more? Please rank up to three, where 1 is the top reason why you don't get involved in politics more.

Response options:

- I don't feel I know enough to get more involved
- I don't think I would make a difference by getting more involved
- I don't like how politics works
- I don't have time to get more involved
- I'm not the kind of person who gets involved in politics
- I'm not interested in politics
- My job means I'm not allowed to get more involved
- I'm already very involved
- None of the above
- Don't know

The Role and Composition of Parliament

S2_PARLIAMENT_ROLE

Which comes closer to your view?

- Government should be able to change the law [MATTERS] without full scrutiny by Parliament
- Parliament should always need to consider and approve changes in the law
- I agree/disagree with both equally
- Don't know

[MATTERS]

- [*no text*]
- on urgent matters
- on minor matters

S2_PARLIAMENT_COMPOSITION

Is it more important for Parliament to [BACKGROUND], or to contain people of merit, whatever their backgrounds?

Response options:

- [BACKGROUND] *[with initial letter capitalised to match other response options]*
- Contain people of merit, whatever their backgrounds
- Both are equally important/unimportant
- Don't Know

[BACKGROUND]

- contain a mix of people from different backgrounds, in terms of things like age, gender, ethnicity, class, income, and levels of education
- contain equal numbers of women and men, to reflect the wider population
- contain a mix of people of different ages, to reflect the wider population
- contain a mix of people of different ethnic backgrounds, to reflect the wider population
- contain a mix of people of different class backgrounds, to reflect the wider population
- contain a mix of people of different incomes, to reflect the wider population
- contain a mix of people with different levels of education, to reflect the wider population

S2_LORDS_ROLE

Respondents were randomly assigned to version A or version B.

Version A

Which comes closer to your view?

- [MPS DESCRIPTION][MPS ARGUMENT] should always have the last word on policy in Parliament
- [PEERS DESCRIPTION][PEERS ARGUMENT] should sometimes be able to overrule MPs on policy
- I agree/disagree with both equally
- Don't know

[MPS DESCRIPTION]

- MPs
- Elected MPs

[MPS ARGUMENT]

- [*no text*]
- , who are accountable to voters,

[PEERS DESCRIPTION]

- Members of the House of Lords
- Appointed members of the House of Lords

[PEERS ARGUMENT]

- [*no text*]
- , who are often experts,

Version B

Which comes closer to your view?

- [MPS DESCRIPTION][MPS ARGUMENT] should decide on policy matters in Parliament without interference from the unelected House of Lords
- [PEERS DESCRIPTION][PEERS ARGUMENT] should be able to require MPs to look at an issue again before making a final decision
- I agree/disagree with both equally
- Don't know

[MPS DESCRIPTION]

- MPs
- Elected MPs

[MPS ARGUMENT]

- [*no text*]
- , who are accountable to voters,

[PEERS DESCRIPTION]

- Members of the House of Lords
- Appointed members of the House of Lords

[PEERS ARGUMENT]

- [*no text*]
- , who are often experts,

The Role of the Courts

S2_JUDICIARY_ROLE1

Respondents were randomly assigned to two groups, one of which was asked version A, the other version B.

Whether they saw version A or version B, all respondents saw the same options for [POLITICIANS] and for [JUDGES] as in survey 1.

Version A

Please imagine there is a dispute over whether the government has the legal authority to decide a particular matter on its own or whether it needs Parliament's approval. How should this dispute be settled?

Response options:

- Government ministers should have the last word
- [POLITICIANS] in Parliament should have the last word
- [JUDGES] in the courts should be able to decide whether the government or Parliament deserves the last word
- Don't know

[POLITICIANS]:

- Politicians
- Elected politicians
- Party politicians

[JUDGES]:

- Judges
- Unelected judges
- Independent judges

Version B

Please imagine there is a dispute over whether the government has the legal authority to decide a particular matter on its own or whether it needs Parliament's approval. How should this dispute be settled?

Response options:

- [POLITICIANS] in government and Parliament should settle the dispute among themselves
- [JUDGES] in the courts should be able to decide whether the government or Parliament has the last word
- Don't know

[POLITICIANS]:

- Politicians
- Elected politicians
- Party politicians

[JUDGES]:

- Judges
- Unelected judges
- Independent judges

S2_JUDICIARY_ROLE2

All respondents saw the same [PROBLEM] as for the equivalent question in survey 1. A quarter of respondents saw identical text for the whole question as in survey 1 (i.e., with ORIGIN = no text and COURTS = 'courts'), while the remainder saw one of the new variants.

To achieve this, respondents who saw a PROBLEM from the non-HRA list were randomly assigned to one of the four conditions.

For respondents who see a PROBLEM from the HRA list, there were 16 conditions (varying both ORIGIN and COURTS). 20% of these respondents were randomly assigned to the survey 1 condition (i.e., with ORIGIN = no text and COURTS = 'courts'). The remaining 80% of these respondents were randomly assigned across the 16 conditions (including the survey condition).

Please imagine the government has proposed a new law and Parliament has approved it. [ORIGIN]. [PROBLEM]. Should the [COURTS – QUESTION] be able to decide whether people's legal rights have been violated as claimed?

Response options:

- The [COURTS – RESPONSE] should be able to decide whether people's legal rights have been violated, and if so, declare the new law null and void
- The [COURTS – RESPONSE] should be able to decide whether people's legal rights have been violated, and if so, require Parliament to look at the issue again and then decide whether the new law will stand
- The [COURTS – RESPONSE] should not have a role in deciding whether people's legal rights have been violated – this is a matter for ministers and Parliament to resolve between themselves
- Don't know

[ORIGIN]:

For respondents who received a (Non-HRA rights) [PROBLEM], there was no [ORIGIN] text.

Respondents who received an (HRA rights) [PROBLEM] were randomly assigned one of the following [ORIGIN] texts

- [*no text*]
- Pointing to the UK Human Rights Act,
- Pointing to the European Convention on Human Rights,
- Pointing to the European Convention on Human Rights (which is an international agreement that the UK is signed up to),

Where respondents received an [ORIGIN] text, the succeeding [PROBLEM] began with a lower-case letter.

[PROBLEM]:

Respondents saw the same option for [PROBLEM] as in survey 1.

(HRA rights)

- Some people believe that this law violates human rights
- Some people believe that this law violates a right that refugees have to stay in the UK if they might be persecuted in their home country
- Some people believe that this law violates a right that women have to equal treatment in the workplace
- Some people believe that this law violates a right that terror suspects have to a fair trial
- Some people believe that this law violates a right that parents have to decide how to raise their children

(Non-HRA rights)

- Some people believe that this law violates a right that people with disabilities have to access benefits
- Some people believe that this law violates a right that pensioners have to access benefits
- Some people believe that this law violates a right that small business owners have to run their businesses as they choose
- Some people believe that this law violates a right that homeowners have to defend their property

[COURTS – QUESTION]

1. courts
2. courts in the UK
3. European Court of Human Rights
4. European Court of Human Rights (a non-EU court that the UK is currently part of)

[COURTS – RESPONSE]

The number of the text that each respondent saw here was the same as for COURTS – QUESTION.

1. courts
2. courts in the UK
3. European Court of Human Rights
4. European Court of Human Rights

Further Questions

S2_VOTING_SYSTEMS

Which of the following is it more important for the voting system used in general elections to do?

Response options were a randomly selected pair from the list below, plus 'Both are equally important/unimportant' and 'Don't Know'.

[A] and [B] were two random selections from the following list:

- Produce a clear winner, so that it is voters who decide who forms the government
- Give each party its fair share of the seats in Parliament, based on how many votes it got
- Avoid there being 'safe seats', where the same party always wins

- Allow voters to choose between individual candidates, rather than just between political parties
- Ensure that political parties are united and able to work effectively
- Ensure that women and men have the same chances of being elected
- Ensure that people from all walks of life have the same chances of being elected
- Ensure that people of all ethnic backgrounds have the same chances of being elected
- Give each local area its own representative in Parliament
- Be simple and easy to understand

S2_CHANGES

Each respondent saw this question twice, with two of the [CHANGE] options.

How much better or worse would democracy in the UK work if [CHANGE]?

Response options:

- A lot better
- A bit better
- No better or worse
- A bit worse
- A lot worse
- Don't know

[CHANGE]

- the voting system was changed so that parties were represented in Parliament in proportion to the votes they won
- the House of Lords was replaced with an elected chamber
- government ministers faced fewer hurdles in implementing their policies
- Parliament was more willing to stand up to government ministers
- judges could no longer decide on whether a law violates human rights
- the country had a written constitution
- referendums were held more often
- there were more citizens' assemblies, where a representative group of people would learn about an issue, discuss it, and make recommendations
- more people were active in political parties
- more people turned out to vote at elections
- politicians spoke more honestly
- MPs were thrown out of Parliament for lying
- media reporting of politics was more factual and less based on opinion
- people were more free to say what they think
- people were more free to take part in protests, even it that causes disruption for others
- we all listened more to those with different opinions
- local communities could decide more issues for themselves
- politicians admitted that most issues are complex and compromises are needed