

The Two-Party Pro-Independence Strategy For Holyrood 2026



Radio Jammor is a politically active, pro-Scottish independence radio station based in Scotland, that is not aligned with any political party.

Unless otherwise indicated, the views expressed in this document are that of Radio Jammor.

To obtain our projections and make our conclusions we have utilised Ballot Box Scotland's poll tracking, as well as the Devolved Elections website, to enable us to do so.

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The Concept

With Scotland's part first-past-the-post (FPTP) and part D'Hondt proportional representation 'list' voting system for the Scottish Parliament, mathematics and common sense has long told us that a two-party strategy was ideal to exploit it. The past problem however has been seeing which two parties – and where – were the best to vote for.

Until now.

The concept is very simple. Pick a party on the constituency vote to go with. With the movement's support, they do well there but that means they cannot do well on the list vote, because the D'Hondt system penalises them for all their constituency wins. So, you choose a second party, who has few if any chances of constituency seats, vote for them on the list, where their vote is penalised far less, or even not at all, as compared to the constituency party. The second party can pick up more list seats as a consequence. This is how you would get as many pro-indy MSPs as you possibly can.

Radio Jammor has been using the latest projection tools to demonstrate that, on **NB existing vote share numbers**. The pro-indy movement can obtain, not just a clear majority in the Scottish Parliament, but a supermajority, if we all vote for the SNP in the FPTP constituency vote and the Scottish Greens (SGP) on the list.

Never before has polling been so stark on the matter. In the past, we've seen massive vote shares for the SNP but small splits for the likes of the Scot Greens and Alba. Some people championed Alba as an alternative and as a potential second list party, but they got a miserable 1.66% of the vote and no seats in 2021. The Scot Greens got 8.12% and eight list seats.

Almost all the most recent polls show the SNP achieving zero list seats, whilst getting anything from 57-64 FPTP seats. This is despite going from 47.7% support in 2021 to c35% now with the FPTP vote – a loss of about a quarter of the support from five years ago.

“37% of Scots would consider voting SNP in a future election” – YouGov, November 2025. The Scottish Green figure was 27%.



The Scottish Greens vote share has risen to be far and away the second most popular pro-independence party in Scotland, polling to get c11-12 seats with c12% of the list vote, but also possibly gaining a constituency seat in Edinburgh (*more on that to come*).

With the death of Alex Salmond, Alba are barely an entity, standing only in a couple of regions. Any other independents are too new and have too little support to make any headway. This also applies to “Your Party”, who when included in polling thus far, have barely registered with 1% of the Scottish vote (*Find Out Now Poll, 19 December 2025*).

(**NB** who is standing where could still change as the deadline is 4pm, 1 April 2026.)

To them we say, ‘*come back in five years and we’ll see where we all are*’, but this time around, how to vote is about as clear as it is ever likely to get.

The SNP still remain, by some distance, the most popular party in Scotland. Consequently, this means the FPTP element of the vote suits their standing, and this is why they are polling to retain close to all their constituency wins in 2021 (62). They might even, somewhat bizarrely, considering their one quarter drop in support, better it.

The SNP may do better than 2021, not so much because of their own efforts, but because of the fall in the vote share of the main rivals, the Tories and Labour.

With the advent of Reform UK, the Tory vote has split and diminished sharply, adversely affecting, for example, their chances of retaining seats in South Scotland, which the SNP could take instead.

We do need to watch for a complete Tory vote collapse to Reform, which could take those seats the SNP might otherwise gain. Even if so, the SNP should still get at least six seats in that region.

Labour have been so woeful in government in Westminster, their Scottish vote share has plummeted from c35% in 2024, with the General Election win, to c17% now.

South Scotland was one of the two regions where the SNP gained a list seat in 2021.

Current polling suggests that the SNP could win seven, eight or even nine of the ten FPTP seats in the region. This would make their list seat divisor so high as to rule them out of winning a list seat there.

Even with six FPTP wins, their chances of a list seat in South Scotland region are very small and polling says they will win **zero**.

It’s worth mentioning at this point that 2026 voting boundaries have been changed, but the polling that we see has taken this into account.

The other region that the SNP got a list seat from in 2021 is the Highlands and Islands region. This remains the most likely place for the SNP to get a list seat in 2026, however, most polling has calculated that the SNP will claim zero there, this time. A few have shown them getting one.

In these regions, this is where we see one of the flawed bases for voting come into effect; that of thinking, *“It’s possible the SNP could get a list seat here, so I should vote SNP on the list”*, when you should be thinking, *“How many would a second party (the SGP) get instead?”*.

This is especially true when the SGP list vote will not be divided **at all** in South Scotland, as the SGP are not standing constituency candidates there (*at least, not to date, and they probably wouldn’t win any FPTP seats there if they did*), and when polling has the SNP actually doing better in the constituency vote in that region, than they did in 2021, making any list seat that much harder to get.

In Highlands and Islands, there is a Scot Green candidate for Shetland, but they have little chance of success (*polling 4th per Ballot Box Scotland, in a Lib Dem stronghold*), so the voting situation for the SGP in Highlands and Islands is highly likely to be the same; no FPTP seats for the SGP and a divisor of one for their list vote, which again, makes them the ideal pro-indy list party to vote for.

The Scottish Greens are the only other pro-indy party, than the SNP, that are standing list candidates in all eight Scottish Parliamentary regions.

(NB at the time of writing, the SNP have not yet confirmed their list seat candidates, but there is every reason to believe that they, as the largest Scottish party, will be standing multiple list candidates in all regions, just as they always have in the past.)

Quite simply, you will still get more pro-indy list MSPs by voting SGP2, even in regions where the SNP are polling to get comparatively few FPTP seats (*few for them, that is*).

The SNP are polling to get five FPTP seats in Highlands and Islands and Edinburgh and Lothians East. That means the SNP list vote will be divided by six, when the divisor for the SGP will be one in Highlands and Islands – not divided at all – but maybe two, or an unlikely three, in Edinburgh and Lothians East. Still less than the SNP are expected to get, which means the SGP has more of a chance on the list vote.

We did some example projections for the ‘weakest’ SNP regions (*or in one case, they were such in 2021, but are not now*), based on current/recent polling, to see what our projections would come up with. We then did some ‘what if’ projections, moving roughly half the list vote from the SNP to the SGP, to see what would happen if that many pro-indy voters voted SGP instead.



If you think that's stretching things beyond breaking point, think again.

From that November YouGov article again: *"The SNP have retained far more of their 2024 voters [than Labour], with 87% saying they would consider voting for the party again, though nearly half (45%) are also open to voting Green."*

The regions we selected: Highlands and Islands, South Scotland and Edinburgh and Lothians East.

If the SNP are going to get list seats, based on what we have seen from polling and experience, it would be in one or more of these three regions.

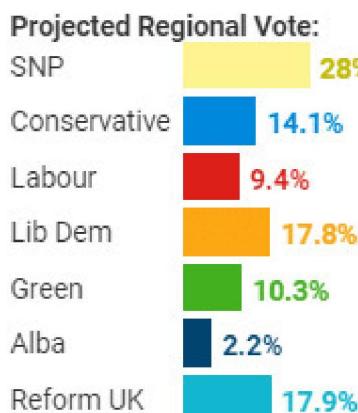
Note that even in these three 'weaker' regions, the SNP are polling to get the most seats.

In our projections, for these three regions, we still saw the SNP obtain zero list seats.

Highlands and Islands

Highlands and Islands

Projected Leader: SNP
Projected Runner-Up: RUK



Taking polling, the reported number of constituents in the region and estimating a turnout, we calculated all the figures we needed to project a list vote outcome. In each case, we found that we replicated Ballot Box Scotland's (BBS) projections.

The divisor divides the list vote by the number of FPTP seats won in the constituency, plus one (hence 5 SNP FPTP wins means their divisor = 6; those with 0 means divisor = 1).

The quotient (*Quotient*, Q2-Q7) is the result of the list vote divided by the divisor (*Divisor*, D2-D7), and is the number used to determine who gets the list seat on each of the seven rounds.

Highlands & Islands

Party	FPTP Wins	Votes	Divisor	Quotient	D2	Q2	D3	Q3	D4	Q4	D5	Q5	D6	Q6	D7	Q7	Seats Allocated	Region	Seat Totals
SNP	5	66898	6	11150	6	11150	6	11150	6	11150	6	11150	6	11150	6	11150	0		5
Scottish Greens	0	24609	1	24609	1	24609	1	24609	2	12304	2	12304	2	12304	2	12304	1		1
Labour	0	22459	1	22459	1	22459	1	22459	1	22459	2	11229	2	11229	2	11229	1		1
Tories	0	33688	1	33688	1	33688	2	16844	2	16844	2	16844	2	16844	3	11229	2		2
Lib Dems	3	42528	4	10632	4	10632	4	10632	4	10632	4	10632	4	10632	4	10632	0		3
RefUK	0	42767	1	42767	2	21383	2	21383	2	21383	3	14256	3	14256	3	14256	3		3
Alba	0	5256.3	1	5256	1	5256	1	5256	1	5256	1	5256	1	5256	1	5256	0		0

Winner RefUK Tories SGP Labour RefUK Tories RefUK

The red boxed numbers indicate the highest quotient in each round and therefore indicates the party that gets the seat allocation in that round.

The first list seat is then allocated to that party (*Reform*), their divisor is increased by 1, then the calculation is repeated, thereby taking into account list seat allocations as it goes, until the seven available list seats are allocated.

We are therefore showing the workings of how the list seats are allocated, based on the projected polling and turnout.

Allocations: Reform UK 3, Tories 2, Labour 1, Scottish Greens 1.

As per above, this outcome matched Ballot Box Scotland's projection (below).



We then redid this projection but with a 'what if' scenario; where half the SNP list vote voted SGP instead.

Highlands & Islands

Party	FPTP Wins	Votes	Divisor	Quotient	D2	Q2	D3	Q3	D4	Q4	D5	Q5	D6	Q6	D7	Q7	Seats Allocated	Region	Seat Totals
SNP	5	33499	6	5583	6	5583	6	5583	6	5583	6	5583	6	5583	6	5583	0		5
Scottish Greens	0	58108	1	58108	2	29054	2	29054	2	29054	3	19369	3	19369	3	19369	3		3
Labour	0	22459	1	22459	1	22459	1	22459	1	22459	1	22459	2	11229	2	11229	1		1
Tories	0	33688	1	33688	1	33688	1	33688	2	16844	2	16844	2	16844	2	16844	1		1
Lib Dems	3	42528	4	10632	4	10632	4	10632	4	10632	4	10632	4	10632	4	10632	0		3
RefUK	0	42767	1	42767	2	21383	2	21383	2	21383	2	21383	3	14256	3	14256	2		2
Alba	0	5256.3	1	5256	1	5256	1	5256	1	5256	1	5256	1	5256	1	5256	0		0

Winner SGP RefUK Tories SGP Labour RefUK SGP

The SGP would claim three list seats, instead of one, keeping out two more unionists, one Reform and one Tory.

Put another way, 58,108 SGP list votes would get three list MSPs, when 66,898 SNP list votes would get **nothing**.



South Scotland

In this one, we showed more of the spreadsheet, which has the last known number of regional voters, an estimated 65% turnout and the calculations of each party's vote, based on polling. Again, this outcome matched Ballot Box Scotland's projections.

South Scotland

Party	FPTP Wins	Votes	Divisor	Quotient	D2	Q2	D3	Q3	D4	Q4	D5	Q5	D6	Q6	D7	Q7	Seats Allocated	Total	Regional Seats
SNP	8	105956		9	11773	9	11773	9	11773	9	11773	9	11773	9	11773	9	0	8	
Scottish Greens	0	30936		1	30936	1	30936	1	30936	1	30936	1	30936	2	15468	2	15468	1	1
Labour	0	62646		1	62646	1	62646	2	31323	2	31323	3	20882	3	20882	3	20882	2	2
Tories	2	73087		3	24362	3	24362	3	24362	3	24362	3	24362	3	24362	3	24362	0	2
Lib Dems	0	28229		1	28229	1	28229	1	28229	1	28229	1	28229	1	28229	2	14115	1	1
RefUK	0	76567		1	76567	2	38284	2	38284	3	25522	3	25522	3	25522	3	25522	3	3
Alba	0	5027		1	5027	1	5027	1	5027	1	5027	1	5027	1	5027	1	5027	0	0

1. Enter constituency wins in column B.

2. Enter regional votes in column C.

	%	RefUK	Lab	RefUK	Lab	SGP	LD	RefUK
386701 SNP	27.4	105956						
Scottish Greens	8	30936						
Labour	16.2	62646						
Tories	18.9	73087						
Lib Dems	7.3	28229						
RefUK	19.8	76567						
Alba	1.3	5027						

The projected eight FPTP seat wins for the SNP would mean they would do better here than in 2021, but on the FPTP vote alone. The list vote suffers accordingly with a divisor of nine.

Allocations: Reform 3, Labour 2, SGP 1, Lib Dems 1.

So no SNP list seats.

You can also see that if the SNP only won six FPTP seats, their divisor would be seven and their quotient would be c15,000, so bearing in mind one or two other parties having that additional one or two divisor handicap to their quotient number (*but also they would have more votes so as to reduce the SNP to six FPTP seats, and/or the SNP would have fewer*), this projection shows that c15,000 would still be too low a quotient number to claim a list seat.

Put simply, the SNP are nowhere near getting a list seat in South Scotland.

We did a similar 'what if' to our Highlands and Islands projection, moving 55,000 (c52%) SNP2 voters to SGP2, to see what would happen.

South Scotland

Party	FPTP Wins	Votes	Divisor	Quotient	D2	Q2	D3	Q3	D4	Q4	D5	Q5	D6	Q6	D7	Q7	Seats Allocated	Total Regional Seats
SNP	8	50956	9	5662	9	5662	9	5662	9	5662	9	5662	9	5662	9	5662	0	8
Scottish Greens	0	85936	1	85936	2	42968	2	42968	2	42968	3	28645	3	28645	3	28645	3	3
Labour	0	62646	1	62646	1	62646	1	62646	2	31323	2	31323	2	31323	3	20882	2	2
Tories	2	73087	3	24362	3	24362	3	24362	3	24362	3	24362	3	24362	3	24362	0	2
Lib Dems	0	28229	1	28229	1	28229	1	28229	1	28229	1	28229	1	28229	1	28229	0	0
RefUK	0	76567	1	76567	2	38284	2	38284	2	38284	3	25522	3	25522	2	2	2	2
Alba	0	5027	1	5027	1	5027	1	5027	1	5027	1	5027	1	5027	1	5027	0	0

1. Enter constituency wins in column B.

2. Enter regional votes in column C.

594925	%	SGP	RefUK	Lab	SGP	RefUK	Lab	SGP
386701 SNP	27.4	105956						
Scottish Greens	8	30936						
Labour	16.2	62646						
Tories	18.9	73087						
Lib Dems	7.3	28229						
RefUK	19.8	76567						
Alba	1.3	5027						

This was just enough to claim three list seats instead of one for the SGP, at the expense of Reform and Lib Dem candidates.

So here, that's 105,956 SNP list votes not even close in a region where they won a list seat in 2021, whilst 85,936 SGP list votes could get three list MSPs.

Edinburgh and Lothians East

This region has probably been the most affected politically by the redrawn boundaries for the 2026 elections. It has become one of the weakest regions for the SNP, but they are still expected to win five/six FPTP seats here. Perhaps seven, if they win all the marginals and beat Labour and the SGP in Edinburgh Central, although the latter is looking unlikely. See Ballot Box Scotland polling.

For our projection in this region, we noted one constituency that BBS had as SNP (*East Lothian Coast and Lammermuirs*), is a knife-edge marginal with Labour, and some polling had it for Labour. For the purposes of making the list vote chances more favourable for the SNP, and get a best case SNP scenario within the overall scenario, we flipped it red.

Edinburgh & Lothians East																		
Party	FPTP Wins	Votes	Divisor	Quotient	D2	Q2	D3	Q3	D4	Q4	D5	Q5	D6	Q6	D7	Q7	Seats Allocated	Total Regional Seats
SNP	5	81874	6	13646	6	13646	6	13646	6	13646	6	13646	6	13646	6	13646	0	5
Scottish Greens	1	67241	2	33621	2	33621	2	33621	3	22414	3	22414	3	22414	4	16810	2	3
Labour	2	69331	3	23110	3	23110	3	23110	3	23110	4	17333	4	17333	4	17333	1	3
Tories	0	35885	1	35885	1	35885	2	17943	2	17943	2	17943	2	17943	2	17943	1	1
Lib Dems	1	45640	2	22820	2	22820	2	22820	2	22820	2	22820	3	15213	3	15213	1	2
RefUK	0	37279	1	37279	2	18640	2	18640	2	18640	2	18640	2	18640	2	18640	2	2
Alba	0	7316	1	7316	1	7316	1	7316	1	7316	1	7316	1	7316	1	7316	0	0

Allocations: Reform 2, SGP 2, Labour 1, Tories 1, Lib Dems 1.

Still zero list seats for the SNP.

(We also checked out what would happen if we made that marginal seat flip yellow to SNP. Basically, Labour would gain a list seat instead, at Reform's expense, so overall unionist list wins would be the same.)

For our 'what if', we shifted just under half (40,000) of the SNP2 vote to SGP 2, which is what it would take for the SGP to get a third list seat. We also flipped that aforementioned marginal yellow, to this time benefit Labour in our list seat calculation and make it harder for the SGP and the rest.

Edinburgh & Lothians East																		
Party	FPTP Wins	Votes	Divisor	Quotient	D2	Q2	D3	Q3	D4	Q4	D5	Q5	D6	Q6	D7	Q7	Seats Allocated	Total Regional Seats
SNP	6	41874	7	5982	7	5982	7	5982	7	5982	7	5982	7	5982	7	5982	0	6
Scottish Greens	1	107241	2	53621	3	35747	3	35747	3	35747	4	26810	4	26810	5	21448	3	4
Labour	1	69331	2	34666	2	34666	2	34666	2	34666	2	34666	3	23110	3	23110	2	3
Tories	0	35885	1	35885	1	35885	1	35885	2	17943	2	17943	2	17943	2	17943	1	1
Lib Dems	1	45640	2	22820	2	22820	2	22820	2	22820	2	22820	2	22820	2	22820	0	1
RefUK	0	37279	1	37279	1	37279	2	18640	2	18640	2	18640	2	18640	2	18640	1	1
Alba	0	7316	1	7316	1	7316	1	7316	1	7316	1	7316	1	7316	1	7316	0	0

Allocations: SGP3, Lab 2, Tories 1, RefUK 1.

Because of the one projected constituency win for the SGP, in our projection it would take c107,000 votes for them to win three list seats here, but that's still going to be better than the SNP, with a divisor of at least 6, polling to win zero, even with 81,874 list votes.

With these projections, we have shown what happens if roughly half the SNP1 vote went SGP2, and that is also roughly what it would take to get three list seats for the Scottish Greens in these three regions, where the SNP are expected to get zero list seats, or at best, one in total.

It is worth clarifying at this point that three is not a limit. What we have done here is set an admittedly hopeful, but still possible, level of vote switching on the list, to demonstrate the maths of how voting SGP2 would get more list seats than SNP2.

You simply get more MSPs with a two-party strategy and we WILL get more pro-indy MSPs by voting SGP on the list, EVERYWHERE in Scotland, as well as SNP in the constituency vote.

We would add a solitary proviso, but it would only apply to the FPTP vote.

There are a few FPTP seats where the SNP or the Scot Greens could win, so as far as pro-indy seats goes, that's a win-win.

We do not however want to split the pro-indy vote in these places. We would say to pro-indy voters, check the polling and engage your brains. Vote for the party most likely to win – but in any event, *still* vote SGP on the list.

(NB As far as we know, the SGP are only standing in five constituencies. There is some suggestion that this may rise to “about a dozen” of the 73. The deadline for candidates is 4pm, 1 April 2026.)

What SNP Campaigners (NB not politicians) Say About This

This is an actual quote:

“*There is little chance of this happening so give the SNP both votes.*“

This particular source has repeatedly shown themselves as ridiculously impervious to any kind of logic, or to what polling is telling us, but this quote takes the biscuit for being so ‘facepalm’ worthy.

In the face of polling repeatedly demonstrating the SNP getting zero list seats, and no more than one in a few others (*and none at all in this miscreant’s region, in any poll, we might add*), this SNP proponent would rather have hundreds of thousands of SNP list voters waste their votes, than attempt to get pro-indy MSPs on the list by voting SGP2 instead.

Not even any consideration of doing this on a region-by-region basis. All or nothing.

Well, the SNP will get nothing on the list in your region – that's a virtual certainty.

They are also one of a number of sources we have seen where they cling to what happened in 2011, as if it was a standard, both for their vote share and of the Scottish Parliament, rather than an aberration of the voting system and a high water mark for the SNP.

They keep talking about trying to emulate 2011 numbers and that's why they advocate for “both votes SNP”.



They also blindly accept senior SNP claims that “both votes SNP” can claim a majority.

The only way that happens would be if voters magically appear on their side, out of thin air. The claim is so unrealistic, it’s a fantasy.

It completely belies how voting has changed since then. It takes no account of the growth of Reform and how the unionist vote has fractured, all whilst SNP support has fallen by a quarter!

We’ve been saying for some time that the most likely way the SNP will get a Holyrood majority in 2026 would be by another fluke, but this time on the constituency vote.

It’s *possible* that the SNP might benefit from Reform splitting the Tory and Labour vote just right, in some constituencies, for the SNP to gain more FPTP seats than expected.

This is not likely, and everything would need to go the SNP’s way – but it is possible – and without any list seats factoring into it.

These SNP stalwarts tend to completely ignore current polling, and the fact that since 2021, the SNP have dropped from a 47.7% vote share to polling around 35%.

These SNP advocates are utterly blind to the fact that dissatisfaction with their party means that the people who used to vote for them, that they are hoping to come back and get them back to 2011 voting levels, are not coming back anytime soon, if ever.

The SNP hasn’t done anything to attract them back. These voters were already repelled, so in effect, they are not available for the SNP to appeal to. They’ve gone elsewhere or will not vote at all.

What has changed for the SNP in terms of the Scottish Parliament vote, is that their drop in support is counterbalanced somewhat by it now being easier for them to get FPTP seats, because of unionist vote fractures, due in part to the rise of Reform. This in turn makes it harder for the SNP to get any list seats, on top of having fewer voters to vote for them on the list as well. They don’t seem to appreciate that the D’Hondt aspect of the vote is designed to better reflect vote shares and they are polling to get over 46% of the total seats from about 35% of the vote. D’Hondt will kill their list vote accordingly.

The only grace to that is each regional list vote is stand-alone, so a regional vote could buck the system if it deviated enough to do so, which Highlands and Islands *might* do, but probably *won’t* do.

This explains why polling shows the SNP getting about the same number of seats overall, as in 2021. The difference is that the breakdown of SNP seats is almost always, all FPTP seats and zero list seats.



So where are these extra voters going to come from to get what SNP supporters want, or think they can achieve?

Even if you add in SGP support to their numbers (*which after the BHA fiasco is not going to happen anytime soon*), that's about 44%, and that would still do no better than 2021, because again, they are still polling to win too many constituencies this time.

The SNP only won 53 FPTP seats in 2011 on a vote share of 45.4%. In 2026, the SNP would get c62-64 FPTP seats with that kind of vote share, thereby killing their list vote chances – as the most recent polling keeps demonstrating.

The SNP are not going to get anywhere near the 16 list seats they got in 2011, because they will get significantly more than 53 FPTP seats, the vote share of the other parties are no longer the same – and neither are theirs. They're not even anywhere near likely to get the two they got in 2021!

To hark back to the 2021 or even the 2016 or 2011 elections, is to ignore the present entirely, which is ludicrous. These people have not or will not look at or accept polling numbers that in any way contradict the line that if we repeat 2011, we can get an SNP majority, and in turn, another referendum.

It's just pure, fanatical tunnel vision from people who are unable to get over their own biases to see the actuality; that a repeat of 2011 is not just extremely unlikely because of SNP vote shares, it's extremely unlikely because of **every** party's vote share.

They are absolutely blinkered by the claim of another referendum. They don't grasp that these FPTP seats don't just rely on how well the SNP are doing, but how badly the Tories and Labour are doing, and that Reform are not doing well enough, either, to seriously dent the SNP's likely FPTP seat haul.

The SNP's Claim That An SNP Majority Will Earn A Referendum

As a slight aside, the claim that an SNP majority will get a second independence referendum, can be accurately described as a political **deceit**, aimed at the SNP party faithful who will accept such claims on trust.

We say to that; these SNP claims should be regarded as 'electoral rhetoric', where according to Electoral Commission rules and regulations, almost anything goes and only a few specific things can result in candidates or parties being called out or held accountable.

The moral: Verify first before trusting.



We've indeed checked the Scotland Act and there is nothing there that can compel the UK Government to accede to any kind of Section 30 (S30) request made from Holyrood. It's entirely a matter of discretion or politics as to whether Westminster enables such a request, or not.

Furthermore, any claim that the Edinburgh Agreement and the 2014 referendum acts as an enforceable precedent, is nonsense. The principle at work at Westminster is that a current government can override the decisions of a previous one. A constitutional and legal expert has also rubbished the idea, for that and other legal reasons.

Most of all though, why would an SNP only majority be more compelling to Westminster, when it isn't possible for it to be *more* than a multi-party majority?

An SNP majority could indeed mean fewer pro-indy MSPs in total, than a two-party or more majority, because it would almost certainly reduce the number of SGP list MSPs, if more people voted SNP on the list to try and achieve that.

In short, The SNP cannot force Westminster to accede to any S30 request, nor is there anything whatsoever about whether or not the make-up of a Scottish Parliamentary majority for it has to be made up of one party, or more than one.

A party majority is irrelevant to either making a S30 request, or whether it is acceded to by the UK Government.

Throw in that the Labour Party Manifestos (*main and Scottish*) rejected having an independence referendum if they got in (*which they did with a majority of Scottish MPs*), this isn't happening regardless of the Scottish elections; something they reiterated in 2025 to the Scottish Parliament.

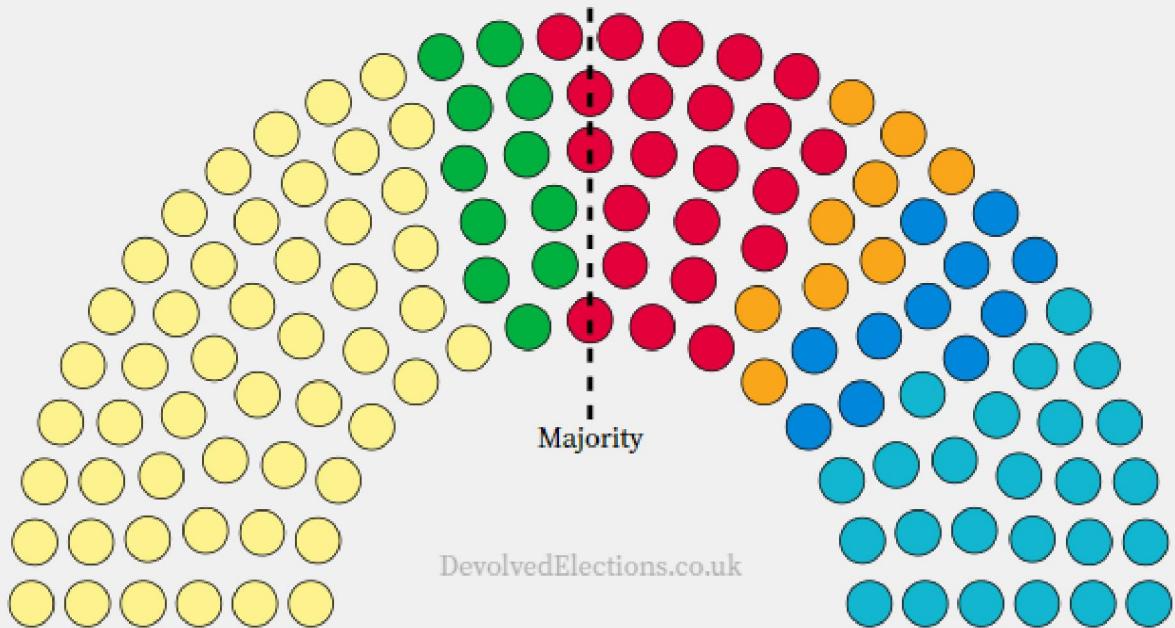
We therefore regard SNP claims that an SNP majority will get an independence referendum as nothing more than rhetoric designed to appeal to their own party supporters, and the otherwise gullible, in order to shore-up their vote. It's purely about SNP MSPs rather than pro-indy MSP numbers overall.

Another claim we've had from SNP supporters goes the other way. They claim that if the SNP vote dropped by e.g., 5% between now and 7 May, we'd need to vote SNP on the list to make up for it.

Rubbish. We looked at a scenario where the SNP lost 5% across the board and it would lose so many FPTP seats that it would inevitably pick up some list seats to offset that, but would still only have c51 seats if everyone voting SNP also voted SNP on the list. At most, they'd get four list seats, total, whilst losing at least 10 FPTP seats!



Scottish Parliament Seat Distribution



Combined Seat Counts

Party	Const. Share	List Share	Const. Seats	List Seats	Total Seats
SNP	30	30	47	4	51
Reform	20	20	5	20	25
Labour	18	18	5	17	22
Conservatives	11	11	5	6	11
Greens	10	10	4	7	11
Liberal Democrats	9	8	7	2	9
Alba	0	3	0	0	0

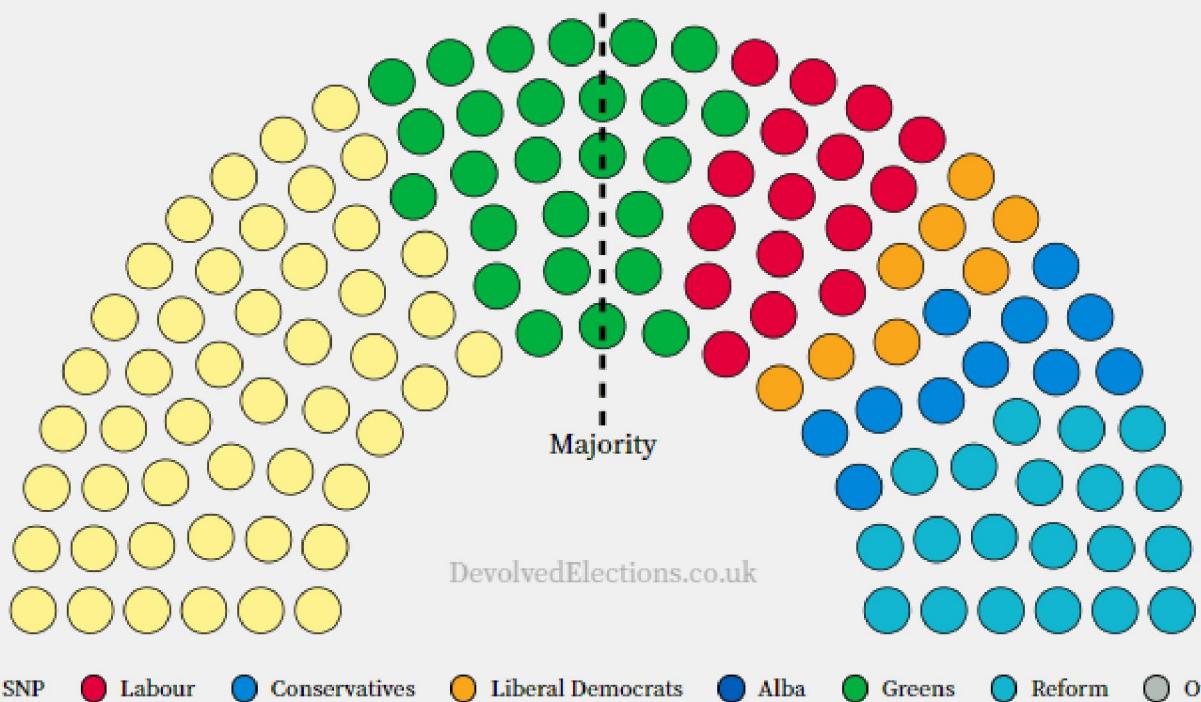
The SGP would get about 11 seats, taking a couple of FPTP seats from the SNP but consequently losing them on the list vote – so roughly the same overall as what they would get otherwise.

You will also note that this would lose the pro-indy majority.

Now, here's what would happen if the SNP lost 5%, but half of them voted SGP2.

It would retain – save – the pro-indy majority.

Scottish Parliament Seat Distribution



Combined Seat Counts

Party	Const. Share	List Share	Const. Seats	List Seats	Total Seats
SNP	30	15	48	0	48
Greens	10	25	4	22	26
Reform	20	20	4	16	20
Labour	18	18	5	11	16
Conservatives	11	11	5	6	11
Liberal Democrats	9	8	7	1	8

The SNP would lose their four list seats, but the SGP would get 15 more, to total 22, a grand total for them of 26. With the 48 SNP FPTP seats, that's a comfortable 74-55 majority.

Not only would this SNP1&2 claim backfire if it was acted upon, it would do so to the point of losing the pro-indy majority – whereas we could *still* get a comfortable majority by voting SGP on the list vote.

This demonstrates that this SNP supporter's claim regarding a 5% drop is a nonsense, but at

least that gave us enough of a scenario for us to demonstrate how wrong that was and how we should vote instead. It's just another instance that shows how a two-party strategy works better for us, and we get more pro-indy MSPs by applying it across the board, with that one proviso about voting the most likely in SNP v SGP constituencies.

We Need A Majority Big Enough To Last Until 2029

The England & Wales Green Party are rising in the polls for Westminster, as the newly emerging best alternative to either Labour or Reform. Their leader, Zack Polanski, has reiterated not only that policy for Scotland lies with the Scottish Green Party – an associated but different party – he has also said that he would support independence and would therefore enable a referendum.

Whilst a Labour Government would certainly refuse to allow a referendum, we should still look to maintain a pro-indy majority, ideally making it as big as possible, by voting SNP1 SGP2.

It is imperative that we get as many pro-indy MSPs as possible, to do better than a narrow majority, because that could erode by attrition, and we need to keep a majority in place for the 2029 General Election, which the rising Green Party could win.

Our projections are not hoping for new or returning voters, as these SNP stalwarts are, with their harking back to previous elections. They would need more people voting for them than are evidently prepared to do so, currently.

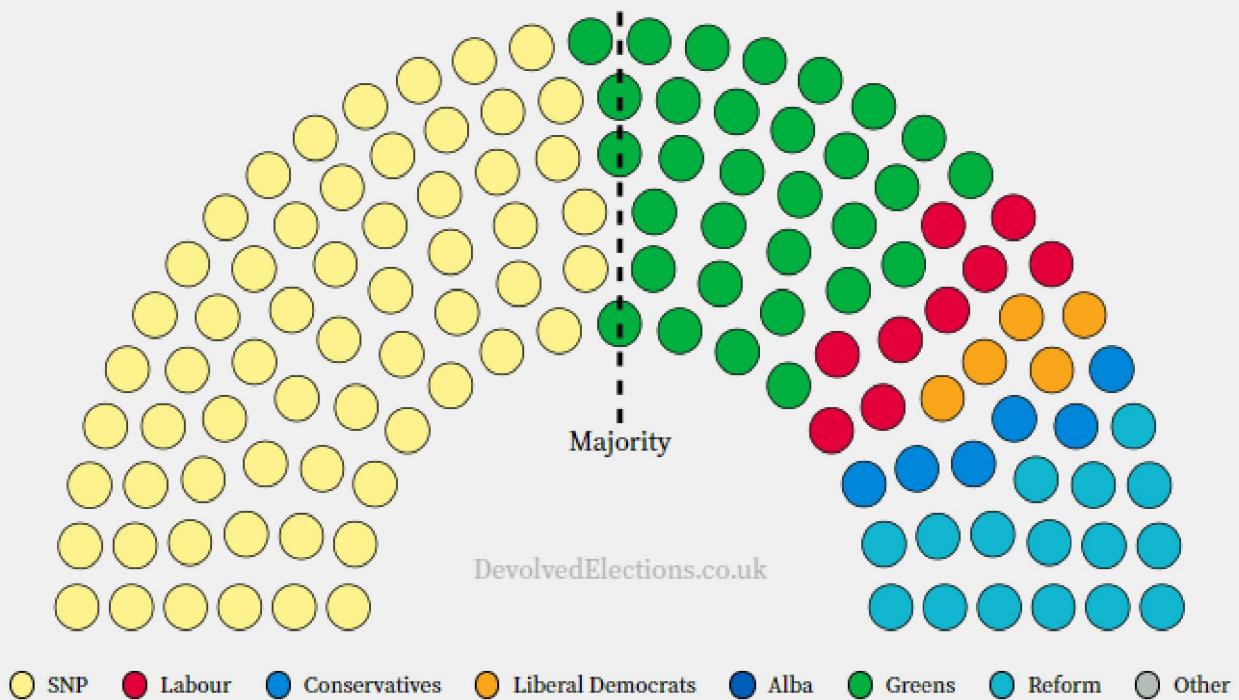
Our projections are asking existing and current numbers of pro-indy voters, who are open to voting SGP on the list, to look at the polls and the numbers and projections and arguments made here, and see that **everything points to the need to vote SNP1 SGP2**.

We have said that the SNP's best route to a majority is through FPTP seats, because constituencies could break their way to get them their 65 seats. This is still very unlikely, but still demonstrates that we can achieve both a thumping pro-indy majority by adding up to 31 Scottish Green MSPs via the list, whilst voters might also achieve an SNP majority from the constituency vote alone.

So next, we have the dream scenario. What would happen if all SNP and SGP voters voted SNP1 and SGP2.

Result: We could get 93 seats, a whopping 57 seat supermajority.

Scottish Parliament Seat Distribution



Combined Seat Counts

Party	Const. Share	List Share	Const. Seats	List Seats	Total Seats
SNP	44	0	62	0	62
Greens	0	43	0	31	31
Reform	19	19	6	10	16
Labour	17	17	0	9	9
Conservatives	10	11	0	6	6
Liberal Democrats	8	7	5	0	5
Alba	0	3	0	0	0

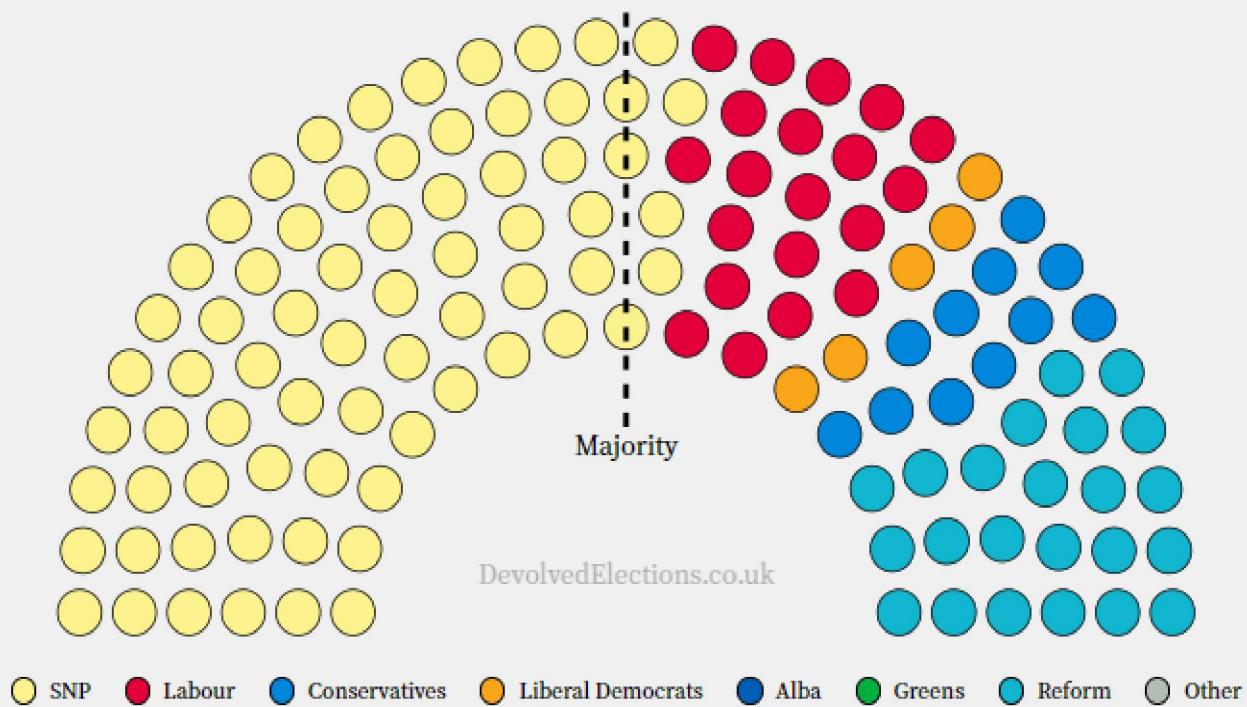
This vote share gives the SNP 62 FPTP seats, when a similar vote share gave the SNP 53 FPTP seats in 2011. That alone tells you how times have changed and how the outcome for any party can be affected by that of others.

It reflects the reality that Scottish Parliamentary seats are not purely based on how any given party does, but reflects that other results for other parties affects things also.

The only way the SNP could repeat 2011, to gain a reasonably clear majority, would be if they were the only pro-independence party, and had all the pro-indy party votes. But they're not, and they don't. We're not in 2011 any more and there are other players with growing numbers on both sides of the independence divide.

But we ran that scenario for the hell of it, eliminating the Scottish Green vote.

Scottish Parliament Seat Distribution



Combined Seat Counts

Party	Const. Share	List Share	Const. Seats	List Seats	Total Seats
SNP	44	43	68	2	70
Reform	19	19	0	23	23
Scottish Labour	17	17	0	20	20
Conservatives	10	11	0	11	11
Liberal Democrats	8	7	5	0	5
Greens	0	0	0	0	0
Alba	0	3	0	0	0

Party List Seats by Region

Click on a region to see the D'Hondt seat allocation



The SNP would still only get two list seats, because they'd get 68 FPTP seats – and both those list seats come in their weakest region, Highlands and Islands, nowhere else (*which makes sense, as in Edinburgh's region, this scenario would have the SNP winning the region's marginals, and put list seats there out of reach*).

Even in this scenario, with how all the parties stack up, **the SNP list vote would still be completely wasted in seven of the eight regions**. They could have gone to another party and could have resulted in something nearer the aforementioned supermajority outcome, rather than a too close for comfort 70 seats.

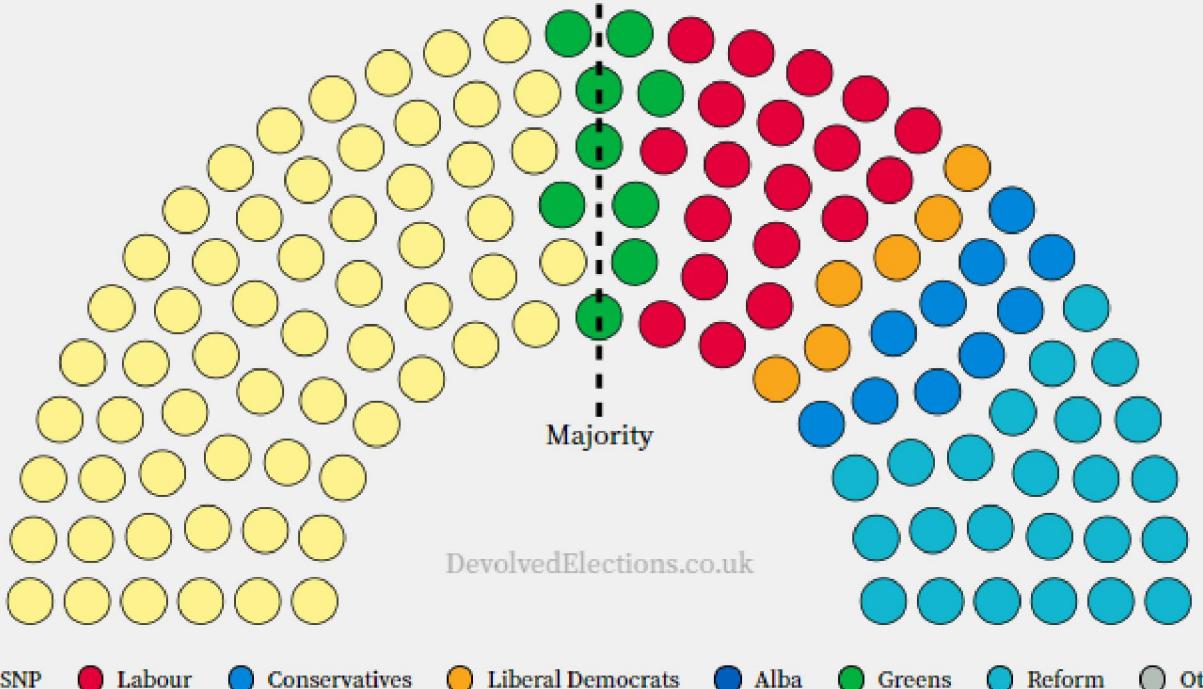
(Reminder, the SNP have lost four MSPs between the 2021 and 2026 elections.)

Realistically, this following projection is about the best the SNP can realistically get in 2026.

It's still short of a majority.

We stand by the view that the SNP *could* do better than this and *could* get a majority on FPTP seats alone, but this projection demonstrates that it is unlikely, as unionist vote splits would have to go their way.

Scottish Parliament Seat Distribution



Combined Seat Counts

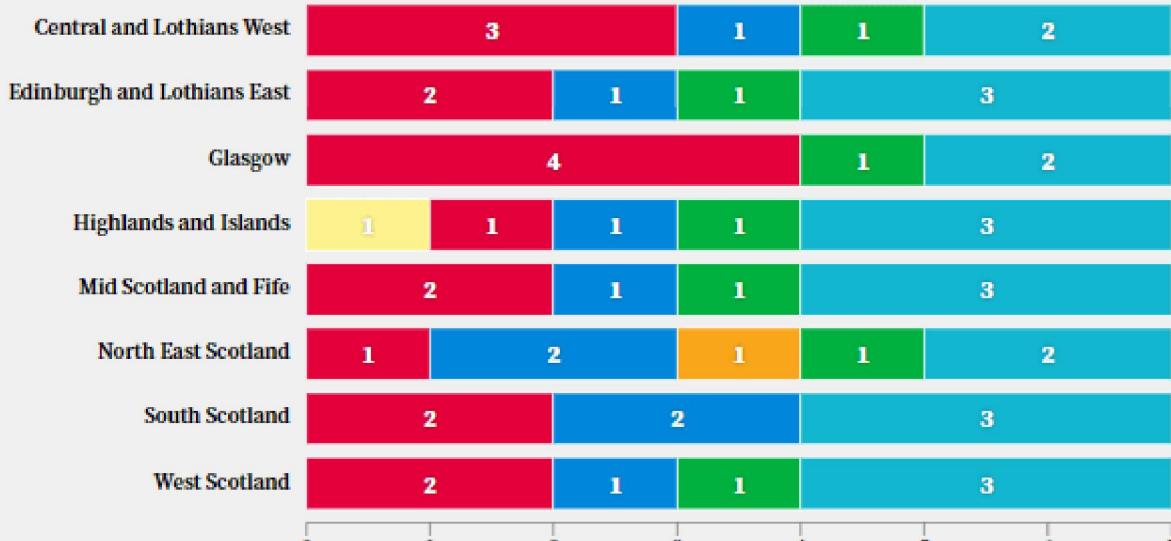
Party	Const. Share	List Share	Const. Seats	List Seats	Total Seats	
SNP ⁸	SNP	37	37	60	1	61
改革党	Reform	19	19	3	21	24
Scottish Labour	Labour	17	17	2	17	19
保守党	Conservatives	10	11	1	9	10
绿色党	Greens	9	9	2	7	9
自由民主党	Liberal Democrats	8	7	5	1	6
阿尔巴党	Alba	0	0	0	0	0

To get this, no one votes Alba and all otherwise likely SNP1 voters also vote SNP2 on the list.

With all likely possible SNP voters voting SNP1&2, The SNP would still not get a majority, and only get the one list seat, again in Highlands and Islands, which is realistically the only region where the SNP **might get such, in 2026.**

Party List Seats by Region

Click on a region to see the D'Hondt seat allocation



However, as demonstrated already, with our Highlands and Islands projections, this SNP list seat would be at the expense of two additional pro-indy MSPs that we could get in that region, by voting SGP on the list.

SNP voters need to get real and realise that there are a chunk of pro-indy voters that are not going to vote for them. And even if they did, and raised their vote share to c44%, they will probably still fall short of the SNP majority outcome they want, because the SNP would win too many FPTP seats to get many/any list seats.

The SNP are far from likely to get a majority and far from likely to get any list seats. Any list seats they do get would be at the cost of multiple more Scottish Green MSPs that we could have had instead.

SNP list votes means fewer pro-indy MSPs overall, and most likely will not win any SNP list seats. It is that stark and that simple.

This is why 'Both Votes SNP' puts the pro-indy majority at risk. A further drop in SNP support cannot be mitigated by more SNP list votes. It can only be mitigated by more SGP list votes.

If SNP supporters are truly pro-independence, they will recognise the truth of this and will support the Scottish Greens on the list vote, whilst still voting SNP in their constituencies.

The SNP will still be the largest party, will most likely form the next Scottish Government, and may still get a majority from the constituency vote alone, if constituency vote splits fall their way.

Furthermore, a massive pro-indy majority, whether or not the SNP get a majority within it or not, would surely be harder for Westminster to ignore, than any lesser numbered SNP majority, which could fall over from attrition, just as SNP MSPs have fallen from 64 to 60 since 2021.

Whilst we fully expect the Labour Westminster Government to reject another independence referendum, in accordance with their own manifesto(s), we should get a different response if they are replaced by The England & Wales Green Party, in 2029. The pro-indy majority needs to be big enough to ensure it lasts until then.

The polls, the mathematics and the party standings are all screaming for SNP1 SGP2.

A two-party strategy works better in Scottish Parliamentary elections. QED.

It only remains for pro-indy voters to receive the message and act on it on 7 May.

