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Introduction

I am pleased to introduce the third edition of the Maitland Political Insight covering one of the most important political events in a generation – the Scottish independence Referendum. This often heated debate has been gathering pace since Prime Minister David Cameron and First Minister Alex Salmond signed the Edinburgh agreement in 2012, with claim and counter-claim often making it difficult to get a clear picture of who will win and what the consequences will be. Whatever the outcome, it will shape British politics far beyond the next election.

Over the next 25 pages we aim to get to the heart of the matter. Exploring arguments from expert voices on both sides of the campaign, we consider the potential impacts of separation for Scotland and for the rest of the United Kingdom; and consider if business thinks this presents exciting new opportunities or a threat to their bottom line.

Should Scotland vote no, we also present the options available in the face of an outdated status quo. As well as this, we offer a personal perspective from one of Maitland Political’s own on a similar referendum in another Commonwealth country not so long ago.

The televised clashes between Alistair Darling MP and Alex Salmond MSP have been important in bringing the independence debate to the masses. Both of the contests have provided hearty and engaging political debate with the issues of a currency union, pensions and further devolution taking centre stage.

It has been a busy few months for us at Maitland. We continue to grow our team to prepare for a packed political season ahead; joining us as a Senior Consultant is Henk van Klaveren who previously worked for the Liberal Democrats press team for three years and for Deputy Prime Minister Nick Clegg before that. Additionally, we’ve recognised the birth of four party politics in the UK going into the next general election and we are proud our team now encompasses experts from the Conservatives, Labour, Lib Dems and UKIP.
We have a raft of new clients, including in the energy, housing and hospitality sectors who have chosen to work with Maitland Political. In addition to this, we have launched the Havas Climate Practice. Working with our global colleagues and drawing on the expertise of both our senior and junior teams, the climate practice will provide strategic consulting, communications advice and campaign mobilisation to clients on the issue.

Maitland Political also held a second packed out event at the Ellwood-Atfield Gallery in Westminster where we were delighted to welcome the Mayor of London Boris Johnson as our guest of honour. Will be holding our next event at the Ellwood-Atfield Gallery on the 9th of September welcoming guests from across the political and think thank community.

My thanks to all those who helped to make this edition of the Maitland Political Insight possible. You can read more of our expert insights on the Scottish referendum here. Should you wish to contact us about our insight or our work please feel free to get in touch.

Yours faithfully,

Pete Bowyer,
Managing Partner,
Maitland Political
Should Scotland become an Independent country?

“NO”

- Brian Wilson, Former MP and Better Together Board Member

Scotland is a nation with a strong identity around the world. Through more than 300 years, it has also been part of the United Kingdom. There is no contradiction. We have the best of both worlds.

Together, we have created the great institutions and freedoms of the British state. We have played a major part, for better and worse, in building and then dismantling an empire. We defended freedom together and when we stood against the Nazis nobody asked whether the guy beside him was from Dundee or Durham.

After three centuries of peaceful trading, our economies are closely integrated. Scotland sells twice as much to the rest of the United Kingdom as we do the rest of the world. The financial services sector has nine-tenths of its customers in England. If the Nationalists succeed, they will turn our biggest trading partner into our biggest competitor – ten times the size.

We do not know what currency Scotland would use as a separate state. Alex Salmond’s blustering about continuing to use the pound cannot disguise that fundamental issue. Indeed, it difficult to know which would be worse for Scotland – to be inside a currency union, run by a foreign central bank, or outside it using the “Panama option”.

Membership of the European Union is another unanswered question. Salmond lied repeatedly about having legal advice which said Scotland would be automatically entitled to membership. We wouldn’t. There are plenty of EU members, notably Spain and Belgium with their own secessionist movements who would be deeply concerned about the precedent. If we got in, it would be after long negotiation with no reason to believe that UK opt-outs would be carried over.
The great majority of Scots had no wish to be asked the question on the ballot paper and now want the whole protracted and divisive affair to be over and done with. But the question exists and there are only two ways of answering it. At a time of austerity and hardship for many households, it is inevitable that some will see hope in something different and apparently patriotic.

Of course, the Nationalists are adept at exploiting these sentiments. Any contradiction, however eminent the source, is written off as “scaremongering”. Those of us who see no sense in creating new borders and risking so much are sneered at for “negativity”. Yet what can be more negative than dividing a small island into separate states in the second decade of the 21st century?

Over the next few weeks, Scottish voters need to see through such word-games and recognise the massive uncertainty that would be created for them and their families. Jobs in huge numbers, security of pensions, and the ability to fund public services are all at stake. This is for real. I do not believe that most Scots want to separate but nobody should assume a vote in favour of independence is impossible. For anyone who cares about the unity of our country, now is the time to speak out.
Should Scotland become an Independent country?

“YES”

- Blair Jenkins,
Chief Executive of the Yes Scotland Campaign

Wherever you stand right now on the issue of the independence referendum – Yes, No or undecided – there is one point on which most people seem to agree. And that is that all of the positive energy and ideas in this debate are on the Yes side. Only one campaign is asking the people of Scotland to imagine a better future, to look ahead to a happier and healthier and wealthier Scotland. Only one campaign is building hope, and that campaign is the Yes campaign.

It has been said repeatedly now, and never challenged, that Scotland will be better positioned and better prepared to be an independent country than any other nation that has gained its independence in the last 100 years. That is something that gives us great confidence in this important year.

We can never know with absolute certainty what the future will be like, but we can be confident and optimistic about many things. We can be sure that the people who care most about Scotland, the people who live and work here, will make the best decisions about what is right for our country.

The Scottish referendum is a story of two very different campaigns. Indeed, it is a referendum with two very different narratives. The Yes narrative is that an independent Scotland is more likely to produce a social and economic model that is in line with the values and priorities of the people of Scotland.

This country would be a fairer, more progressive, peaceful and reforming Scotland. This would be a society that would tackle inequality and poverty by reducing the gap between rich and poor. We know that vast economic inequality produces unhealthy and unhappy communities. We know we can do better.
We now have the biggest grassroots movement in Scottish political history with hundreds of local groups, and tens of thousands of active volunteers.

We are bringing people into our conversations and into our campaign who had given up on politics and elections, who had given up on believing that things could change. We are finding very strong support in communities where people used to be told that their vote didn’t count, that they didn’t have any influence, that they couldn’t make a difference.

But they know this referendum is different. They know that this year, with one small action – putting a cross against Yes on the ballot paper – they can make a huge difference.

Nobody seriously disputes any longer that we CAN be a successful independent country. Scotland is one of the wealthiest nations in the world. Yes is the option that provides the once-in-a-lifetime opportunity to make the most of our great skills and natural resources.

An independent Scotland will have a new sense of autonomy and of purpose. We will be a country eagerly searching for international partnerships, and eagerly embracing international friendships.
10th June: 100 days until referendum

11th June: Harry Potter author JK Rowling donates £1m to Better Together Campaign

17th July: Scottish Office publishes ‘In the Know’ fact sheet covering independence’s impact on pensions and jobs

23rd July: Commonwealth Games in Glasgow begin

30th July: 50 days until referendum

5th August: 1st Salmond vs Darling Debate

25th August (TBC): 2nd Salmond vs Darling Debate

26th August: Postal voting ballots sent out

18th September: Polls Open
**Campaign Milestones**

- **19<sup>th</sup> September:** Result announced & start of negotiations
- **21<sup>st</sup> – 24<sup>th</sup> September:** Labour Annual Party Conference in Manchester
- **28<sup>th</sup> September – 1<sup>st</sup> October:** Conservative Annual Party Conference in Birmingham
- **4<sup>th</sup> – 8<sup>th</sup> October:** Liberal Democrats Annual Party Conference in Glasgow
- **13<sup>th</sup> – 15<sup>th</sup> November:** SNP Annual Party Conference in Perth
- **7<sup>th</sup> May 2015:** UK General Election polling day
- **8<sup>th</sup> May 2015:** General Election Result Announced
- **24<sup>th</sup> March 2016:** Scotland’s Independence Day?
What would a future Scotland look like?

Currency

The biggest issue of the campaign: pound sterling or pound scots?

Yes

Independent Scotland will keep the pound as part of a currency union with rUK, known as the Sterling Area, as this would be in the interest of both countries.

No

The three main Westminster parties have ruled out agreeing to a currency union and called on Yes Scotland to set out its Plan B.

Independent View

The Governor of the Bank of England set out in a speech in January the costs and benefits of a successful currency union, including the need for a banking union, shared fiscal policy and “some ceding of national sovereignty.”
Policy Hub
The Big issues of the campaign

Defence

Yes  

iScotland will seek to join NATO and the SNP have committed to a £2.5bn budget for defence and security:
✓ Progressively build up to a total of 15,000 regular and 5,000 reserve personnel
✓ Focus on maritime capabilities, such as air and sea-based patrol
✓ Seek the speediest safe withdrawal of nuclear weapons

No  

No campaigners have said that:
× Scotland could not simply co-opt existing units primarily recruited or based in Scotland
× Those units in themselves would not be a coherent, credible and balanced force
× Capital investment in defence in Scotland would come to an end

Health

Yes  

iScotland could address inequalities, which are the root cause of many of the country’s remaining health issues. Only independence would protect NHS Scotland from privatisation and budget cuts taking place in England, which would have a knock-on effect on the NHS Scotland budget.

No  

Health is already a devolved matter and the Scottish Parliament decides on funding and how healthcare is delivered. The founding principles of the NHS, such as free at the point of use, are not being questioned and the NHS England budget has increased in real terms.
Pensions

Yes

On the State Pension, this will continue as now in iScotland, including the single-tier pension reform. All accrued rights will be honoured and protected. An effective regulatory system will ensure robust private pensions and people will be helped to save for their retirement.

No

Independence would put Scots pensions at risk, due to projected extra budget cuts needing to be made. It is unclear whether iScotland or rUK would pay accrued state pensions rights. Private pensions are likely to be affected by the currency question, financial regulation and EU membership, prompting Standard Life to announce it may move operations outside of Scotland.

EU Membership

Yes

Negotiations on EU membership will take place while Scotland is still part of the UK and this will ensure an easy transition once Scotland achieves independence so that it remains part of the EU.

No

iScotland will have to abide by the rules for new members and apply as a new state, with rUK continuing to be a member and inheriting all legal responsibilities from the UK. This would be subject to normal procedures, such as a vote on new membership by all Member States.
What powers are the Westminster parties offering if Scotland votes No?

Prime Minister, David Cameron, Deputy Prime Minister, Nick Clegg and Labour Leader, Ed Miliband together with the leaders of Scottish Labour, the Scottish Conservative and the Scottish Lib Dems have signed an joint declaration that there will be further powers for the Scottish Parliament in the event of a no vote, “in particular in the areas of fiscal responsibility and social security.” The three parties have each drawn up different blueprints for devolution, which shall be put “before the Scottish people at the next general election and all three parties have guaranteed to start delivering more powers for the Scottish Parliament as swiftly as possible after the 2015 election.”

Conservatives

- Full income tax powers
- A share of Scottish VAT receipts
- Top-up welfare spending
- Reforms to Scottish Parliament procedures
- More decentralisation within Scotland to give more powers to local authorities  
  (Scottish Conservatives, Commission on the Future Governance of Scotland)

Powers to remain reserved to Westminster:
Air Passenger Duty; Climate Change Levy; Excise, Fuel and Vehicle Duties, Oil Tax.
What powers are the Westminster parties offering if Scotland votes No?

**Labour**

- 40% of budget raised from own resource.
- Power to further widen all income tax variation
- Housing Benefit as well as Attendance Allowance
- Scottish Health & Safety Executive
- Equality legislation enforcement
- Employment tribunals
- Local government reforms

(Scottish Labour: Devolution Commission)

**Powers to remain reserved to Westminster:**

VAT, national insurance contributions, corporation tax, alcohol, tobacco and fuel duties, climate change levy, insurance premium tax, vehicle excise duty, inheritance tax, capital gains tax and tax on oil.

**Liberal Democrats**

- Income tax (except Personal Allowance)
- Inheritance tax
- Capital gains tax
- Aggregates levy
- Air passenger duty
- Local government reforms

(Scottish Liberal Democrats: Federalism: the best future for Scotland)

**Powers to remain reserved to Westminster:**

Business, consumer, employment and financial regulation, VAT Excise duties Welfare and pensions, tax on oil
No 'At the extreme, uncertainty over the Scotland’s currency arrangements could prompt capital flight from the country, leaving its financial system in a parlous state'. Douglas Flint, Chairman of HSBC

No ‘These are quite big uncertainties for us. I think all businesses have a concern. My personal view is Great Britain is great and it ought to stay together’ Bob Dudley, CEO of BP

Yes ‘For Scotland's financial sector, this is an opportunity, not a threat.' Sir George Mathewson, former Chairman & CEO of RBS, now head of asset management firm Toscafund

Yes ‘Asians are well integrated into Scottish society, but I think that with independence, we will integrate even more. It will mean new opportunities for the community - in politics, in business and in terms of jobs'. Mohammed Ramzan, Chairman of United Wholesale Grocers, one of Scotland’s biggest cash-and-carry operations
The view from Industry - Open Letters

200 business leaders calling for a Yes vote in a personal capacity including Stagecoach Chairman CEO, Brian Souter & Clyde Blowers CEO, Jim McColl

'We know Scotland will thrive as an independent country, because key economic decisions will be made by those who truly understand and care most about our Scotland's distinctive economic needs'.

130 business leaders calling for a No vote in a personal capacity include CEO of the Co-op Bank, Niall Booker & CEO of BHP Billiton, Andrew Mackenzie

'The United Kingdom gives business the strong platform we must have to invest in jobs and industry. By all continuing to work together, we can keep Scotland flourishing'.

15
All elections campaigns are strongly influenced by the expected result. Imagine for a moment how different the Better Together campaign would be if the consensus view of the polls was that in a few weeks’ time Scotland would vote to leave the United Kingdom.

During the Scottish referendum campaign all but one poll has found more people reject than welcome independence and no poll has registered a majority in favour of it.

But while Better Together’s lead has remained fairly constant until last week, another factor has dominated the campaign over the past few months: the currency debate. So potent has this issue become that before the second televised debate, “currency” was 1-100 odds on favourite to be used by one of the leaders.

At first glance, it appears to have been a headache the Yes campaign could have avoided. ComRes polling at the beginning of this year showed that despite the clear sense that the English and Welsh would have preferred Scotland to remain part of the UK, there was little bitterness if it were to leave: Britons thought Scotland should be able to keep the pound if it decided to become independent by a margin of 45% to 33%. Even in England, 42% thought an independent Scotland should be able to keep the pound, compared to 36% who thought not.

How it became such an issue is therefore something that the supporters of independence will have to look long and hard at after the referendum is over and the time for reflection has come. Alex Salmond obviously struggled with it during the first debate and Alastair Darling’s victory on that occasion was less that he came out top in the immediate post-match analysis, but that the issue dominated the debate for the coming week.
But this story also contains a serious warning for the No campaign. In spring this year, George Osborne, David Cameron, Ed Balls and Mark Carney all near-unanimously delivered the same message that an independent Scotland would not be able to keep the Pound. If that appears like meddling or interfering, the Scottish population certainly thought so and the period saw a serious narrowing in the polls. Just because the currency is an issue that the rest of the UK feels it has a right to express its opinions on, Westminster politicians tread very close to the wire by doing just that.

Support for Scottish independence has changed relatively little throughout the period since devolution – and polls showing majority support for it have been extremely rare. If, as seems highly likely, Scotland votes to remain within the United Kingdom, then the next time the nationalists call a referendum they will need to ensure that the ‘High Politics’ stuff like the currency is settled and agreed up front.
What is the road ahead for an Independent Scotland or the UK?

What is the road ahead for Scotland?

What happens on the 18th September 2014 will determine Scotland’s future for the next 100 years. The referendum asks people in Scotland to make a crucial decision: whether to remain in the UK, or to become a separate state, permanently. Whether the outcome is a Yes or a No vote there will be some landmark changes pivotal to the political system and the country. Below we map out both the road to a future Union and the road to a future independent Scotland.

Staying in the Union: A No vote but change

Further powers will come into force regardless of the outcome of the 2015 general election. The Scotland Act 2012 will grant the Holyrood Parliament the following powers over the next 2 years:

- Stamp Duty Land Tax - April 2015
- Landfill Tax - April 2015
- Borrowing Powers - April 2015
- Scottish Rate of income tax - April 2016

Independence: A Yes vote for the establishment of a new state

- A vote for independence will initiate negotiations between the Scottish Government and the Westminster Government on the formation of an independent Scotland
- Independence is scheduled to be formally ratified in March 2016 (Scotland's Future White Paper)
- At this point 59 Scottish MPs will be ejected from the House of Commons and their seats abolished which may cause the makeup of the 2015 UK government to change
- Negotiations with the European Union will also begin formally after Scotland's succession from the United Kingdom.
HOW SCOTLAND WILL BE GOVERNED UNDER INDEPENDENCE
Constitution based on sovereignty of the people of Scotland with Her Majesty The Queen As Head of State

DEALING DIRECTLY WITH OTHER GOVERNMENTS

NEGOTIATING TREATIES ON SCOTLAND’S BEHALF

REPRESENTING SCOTLAND INTERNATIONALLY

SCOTTISH GOVERNMENT INCLUDING FIRST MINISTER

SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT, ELECTED SOLELY BY PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION (‘HOLYROOD’)

COURT OF SESSION AND HIGH COURT OF JUSTICIARY ACTING AS THE SUPREME COURT OF SCOTLAND

RESPONSIBLE FOR ALL ISSUES INCLUDING: HEALTH, EDUCATION, LOCAL GOVERNMENT, JUSTICE, THE ENVIRONMENT, HOUSING, SOCIAL WORK, TAX, WELFARE, FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND DEFENCE
HOW SCOTLAND WILL BE GOVERNED WITHIN THE UNITED KINGDOM?

Main devolved:
- COURTS
- EDUCATION
- HEALTH
- AGRICULTURE
- CULTURE & ARTS
- TRANSPORT
- FIRE & RESCUE
- BUSINESS SUPPORT
- ENVIRONMENT
- FISHING
- SPORT
- POLICE

Main reserved:
- DEFENCE & NATIONAL SECURITY
- MACRO ECONOMIC POLICY
- IMMIGRATION
- THE CONSTITUTION
- FOREIGN AFFAIRS
- BROADCASTING
- ENERGY REGULATION

Scotland Act 2012 adds:
- Stamp Duty
- Land Tax
- Landfill Tax
- Borrowing powers
- Scottish rate of income tax

- APRIL 2015
- APRIL 2015
- APRIL 2015
- APRIL 2016

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- Scottish rate of income tax

- APRIL 2015
- APRIL 2015
- APRIL 2015
- APRIL 2016
As a Canadian federalist with Scottish and English heredity, this referendum hits a nerve. It calls to mind the Quebec referendum of 1995, which brought Canada one percentage point away from losing Quebec. The lead up and the aftermath of that event are points to consider heading into the Scottish referendum.

Before the referendum in Quebec, federal and provincial politicians in the “No” camp worked furiously to counter arguments for separation, including then Prime Minister Jean Chrétien, a Quebeccois himself, sending his top advisors to Montreal and Quebec City to tirelessly rework strategy. Still, the “No” campaign had a difficult time articulating a persuasive message to Quebeccois the benefits of remaining part of Canada, leading to a result too close for comfort.

It remains unclear if the “Better Together” (later rebranded as the “No Thanks”) campaign will have a similar fate after being forced to shift narratives. While initially strong after the successful performance by Alistair Darling during the debate in early August as he painted a picture of unknowns and instability that would face Scotland were it to separate, the most recent debate forced him to lower the level of rhetoric, and with it his polling numbers. However, only the final results will tell.
If the polls are correct and Scotland remains in the UK, I can make a few predictions on UK politics going forward, as gleamed from my work in Canadian federal politics. Though Quebec voted to stay part of Canada, still, 20 years later, a continuous effort to keep things that way are necessary. The referendum gave the Separatist’s threat of separation credibility which is forever in their back pocket. Quebec gained power through the referendum.

Politically, the presence of Quebec’s separatist party in Canada’s House of Commons continues to shape policy, and ensures that Quebec, as a unique and important interest group, is always recognised. Constitutionally, Canada granted Quebec a number of autonomies to enjoy as a nation. Unlike other provinces, it acts domestically almost as a sovereign state. In Scotland this will come in the form of continued focus on extensive devolution granting Scotland more autonomy for tax arrangements and in areas of social security.

Together or separate, Scotland will gain more power, and while the betting odds point to Scotland staying in the UK, the political question moving forward will be: how can they be kept?
The Mayor of London was the guest of honour at the Ellwood Atfield gallery on the 30th July and spoke frankly about his time in front of the camera at the event sponsored by Maitland Political.

Guests at the packed out event saw some of the most striking images captured over the last 5 years by the multi-award winning photographer, Andrew Parsons, and listened to the photographer and Boris providing some characteristically amusing opinions on the importance of imagery in public life.

Speaking at the event Boris said "We live in an age when the barriers to entry in the entire media profession have been catastrophically lowered....it is all the more important to celebrate one of the few people who really knows what they're doing when they point a camera. Whose pictures can still explain events and capture moods and tell stories in a way that words simply cannot do."

The event was an opportunity to raise money for Great Ormond Street Hospital, a charity that has a personal poignancy for Andrew following his daughter's diagnosis with leukaemia. Photographs can be purchased at http://www.ellwoodatfieldgallery.com/

Praising Andrew's work, Pete Bowyer, Managing Partner of Maitland Political said: "Andy's photography has captured some of the key moments in recent British political life from an insider's perspective. We were delighted to have been able to make this amazing event happen and support such a worthy cause."
As a Consultant at Maitland Political, Justin works across a number of accounts in the industries of transport, biotech, healthcare and housing industries, supporting them through tailored research reports and strategic political advice. Throughout the campaign he has written articles including 200 days to go, Darling vs Salmond round 1 & Darling vs Salmond round 2.

Justin has developed his expertise on Scottish politics through his time spent on the Better Together Campaign as a policy researcher. He authored briefings and campaign documents including ‘500 days to go 500 unanswered questions on independence’ which was trailed in the media and political blogosphere. In addition to working on the campaign, he was heavily involved in Scottish University politics as President of the Conservative Union and gained a 2:1 degree in his MA international politics from the University of Stirling. Ahead of the referendum, Justin will be embarking on a campaign tour prior to the referendum taking in the cities of Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Inverness and Stirling before the polls open on the 18th September.

‘This referendum campaign has been the most intriguing political event in my lifetime and I have followed it closely every step of the way. It has been fantastic to observe how politics has once again energised the public and overhear discussions taking place all over; from boardrooms to pub corners. I am very much looking forward to joining the campaign trail as it reaches fever pitch in the days prior to the vote’.

You can contact Justin at: jtaylor@maitland.co.uk
And follow him on twitter: @MR JustinTaylor
Henk van Klaveren and Carly Erickson

Biography

A recent addition to the Maitland Political team as a Senior Consultant, Henk works across a number of accounts in the transport, hospitality, green manufacturing and personal finance industries. He started his career working for the Liberal Democrats for nearly four years, first in the Liberal Democrat Leader’s Office, then organising Nick Clegg’s general election tour in 2010 and subsequently as a press officer for three years following the formation of the Coalition Government.

Henk’s interest in Scottish politics was first sparked while he studied history at the University of Glasgow, which focused in part on the history of Scotland leading up to and following on from the Acts of Union. He also had a keen interest in student politics there and while at the Lib Dems, Henk worked closely with the Scottish Liberal Democrat team, both in Westminster and in Holyrood. Prior to joining Maitland, he worked at the Whitehouse Consultancy where he worked on a number of clients with an interest in the devolved nations and set up campaigns focused on Holyrood and Cardiff.

You can contact Henk at: hvanklaveren@maitland.co.uk
And follow him on Twitter: @hvklav

Carly joined Maitland Political in 2013. With over three years of experience working in politics including as a political staffer in Strategic Communications for a former Leader of the Opposition in the Parliament of Canada, where she focused on projects ranging from natural resources, to health care policy, she later served as the Issues Manager for the Ontario Cabinet Minister of Mining and Northern Development. Finally she worked as a field manager on a U.S. Senate campaign.

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And follow her on Twitter: @carlyjerickson
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DEFINING DEBATES

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