



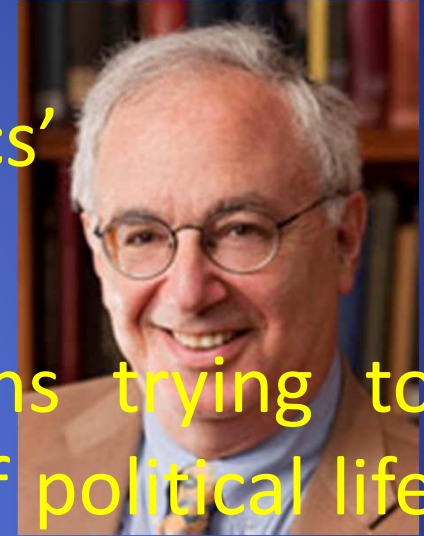
The Scottish independence referendum: background, implications and campaigns

*James Mitchell
Academy of Government
University of Edinburgh*

*Konrad Adenauer Stiftung
12/13 October 2014
Kas Academy, Berlin*

Scotland's 'constitutional moment'

Bruce Ackerman: 'highest kind of politics'



Normal politics as 'inferior' - factions trying to 'manipulate the constitutional forms of political life to pursue their own narrow interests'

To what extent was the referendum a different kind of politics?

Thursday 18 September 2014

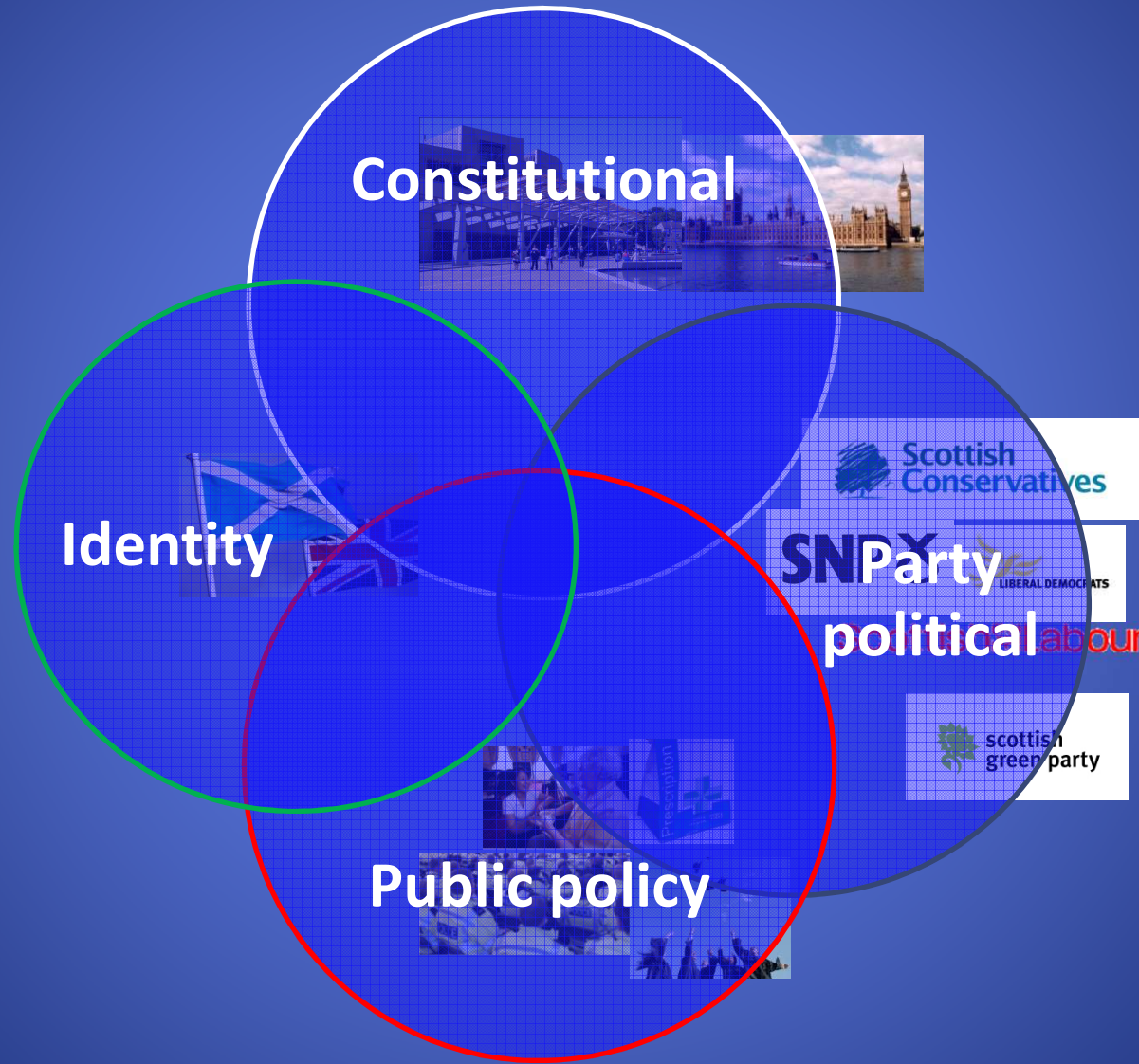
“It is now up to the people of Scotland to make that **historic decision**. The very future of Scotland depends on their verdict. It is that important. This agreement delivers the people’s referendum.”

Prime Minister Cameron, October 2012

"I'm honoured to announce that, on Thursday the 18th of September 2014, we will hold Scotland's referendum - **a historic day** when the people will decide Scotland's **future**."

First Minister Salmond, March 2013

The Scottish Question(s)



Eligibility

Eligible to vote ✓

People born in other parts of the UK who are now resident in Scotland

England 366,755

Northern Ireland 32,049

Wales 15,120

Not eligible to vote X

People born in Scotland who now live elsewhere in the UK

England 753,286

Wales 22,533

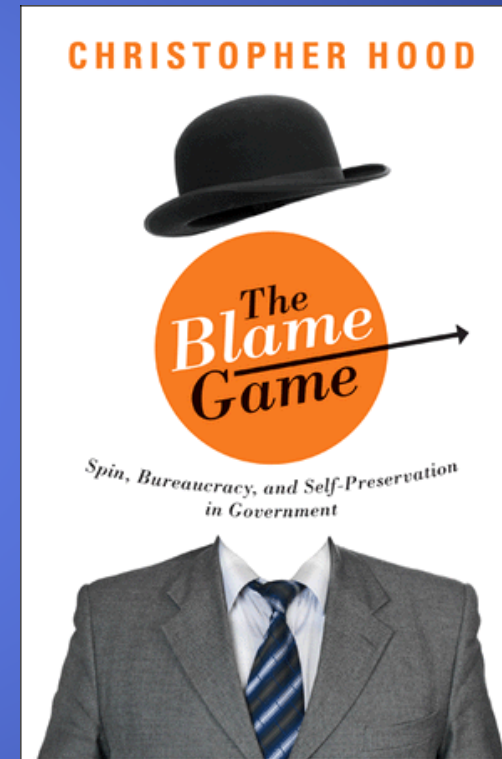
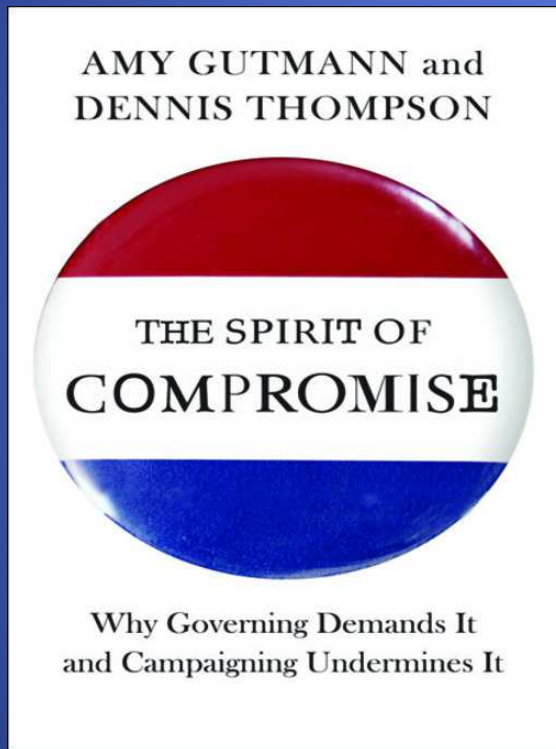
Northern Ireland 14,965

Source: General Register Office for Scotland, 2001 Census (latest available figures)
All ages 16+

- 16 years old and over on September 18th 2014
- EU citizen living in Scotland
- Commonwealth citizen living in Scotland with permission to enter or remain in UK
- Members of armed forces, Crown servants (eg diplomats) and British council employees

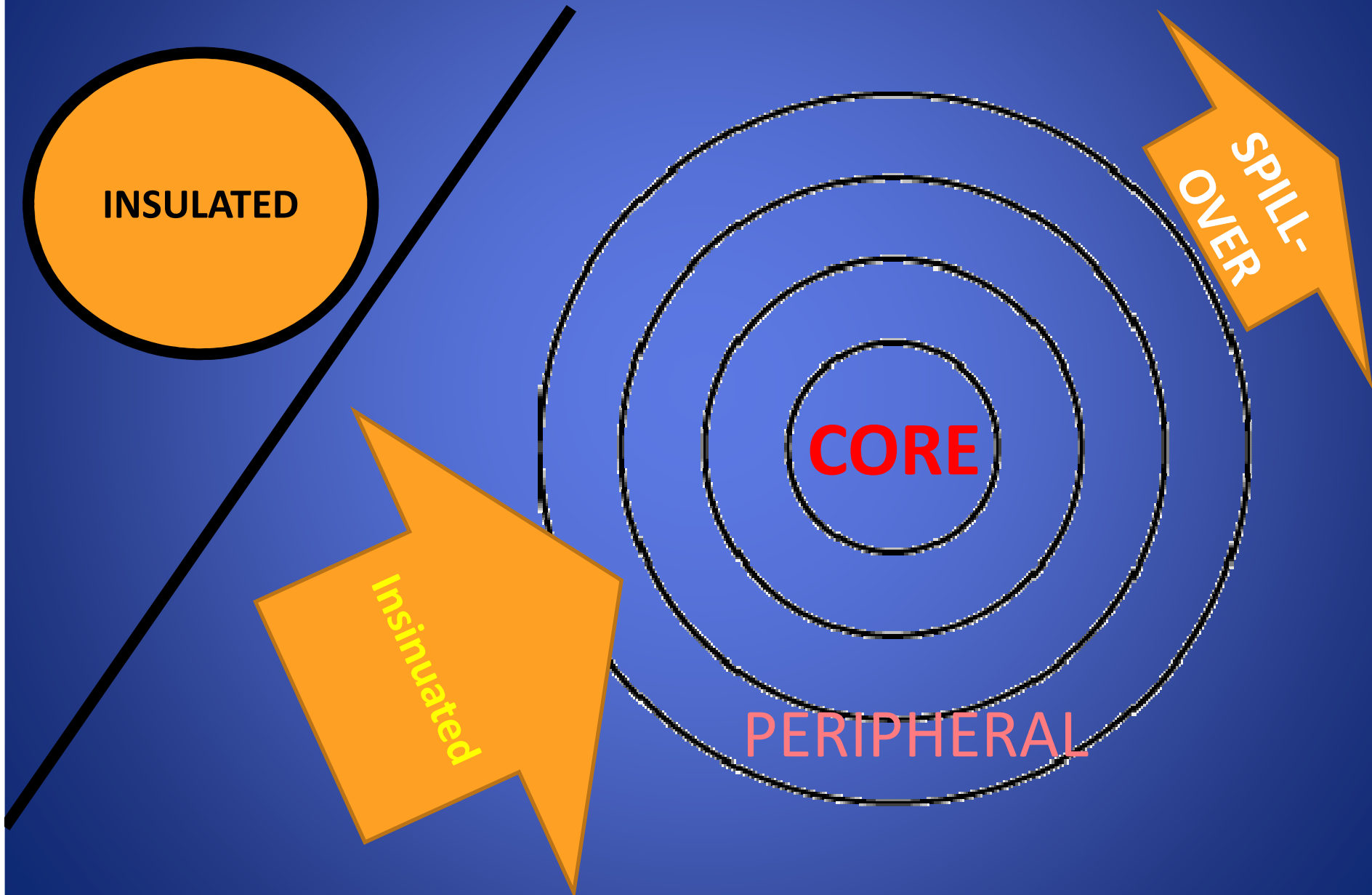


COMPETING 'MINDSETS': a **campaigning mindset** that blocks compromise and a **governing mindset** that inclines decision-makers to respect opponents and find common objectives and outcomes.



"Do you agree that Scotland should be an independent country?"

REFERENDUM & PUBLIC POLICY



CORE ISSUES

HOPE vs FEAR

Defence

Economy & Currency

EU Membership

Welfare & NHS

London/Tory Govt

Hope vs Fear

Hands up everyone who thinks Scotland could be a better place to live.



YesScotland.net

SCOTLAND'S FUTURE IN SCOTLAND'S HANDS



The Economist

America's hardball election campaign
Is the German model worth copying?
Chile's restive middle class
Why promotion is good for your health

It'll cost you

The price of Scottish independence



Daily Record
SCOTLAND'S CHAMPION

OUR NATION DECIDES
THREE LEADERS SIGN PROMISE TO SCOTLAND
Westminster's three party leaders – one of whom will be the next prime minister – sign a historic joint promise which, in their own words, will guarantee more devolved powers to Scotland and protect the NHS if we vote No.
SEE PAGES A55

The 60 Labour MPs arriving in Glasgow today say England's NHS is being pushed off a "cliff edge"



NHS

Only a Yes protects us from the knock-on effects



Kenyon Wright: We must vote Yes for our children

FREE MILK
1 litre bottle from Graham's the family dairy

THE VOW

The people of Scotland want to know that all three main parties will deliver change for Scotland.
WE ARE AGREED THAT:
The Scottish Parliament is permanent and extensive new powers for the Parliament will be delivered by the process and to the timetable agreed and announced by our three parties, starting on 10th September. And it is our hope that the people of Scotland will be engaged directly as each party works to improve the way we are governed in the UK in the years ahead.
We agree that the UK exists to ensure opportunity and security for all by sharing our resources equitably across all four nations to secure the defence, prosperity and welfare of every citizen.
And because of the continuation of the Barnett allocation for resources, and the powers of the Scottish Parliament to raise revenue, we can state categorically that the final say on how much is spent on the NHS will be a matter for the Scottish Parliament.
We believe that the arguments that so powerfully make the case for staying together in the UK should underpin our future as a country. We will honour those principles and values not only before the referendum but after.
People want to see change. A No vote will deliver faster, safer and better change than separation.



RECORD VIEW NOW VOTERS CAN MAKE AN INFORMED CHOICE

INSINUATED

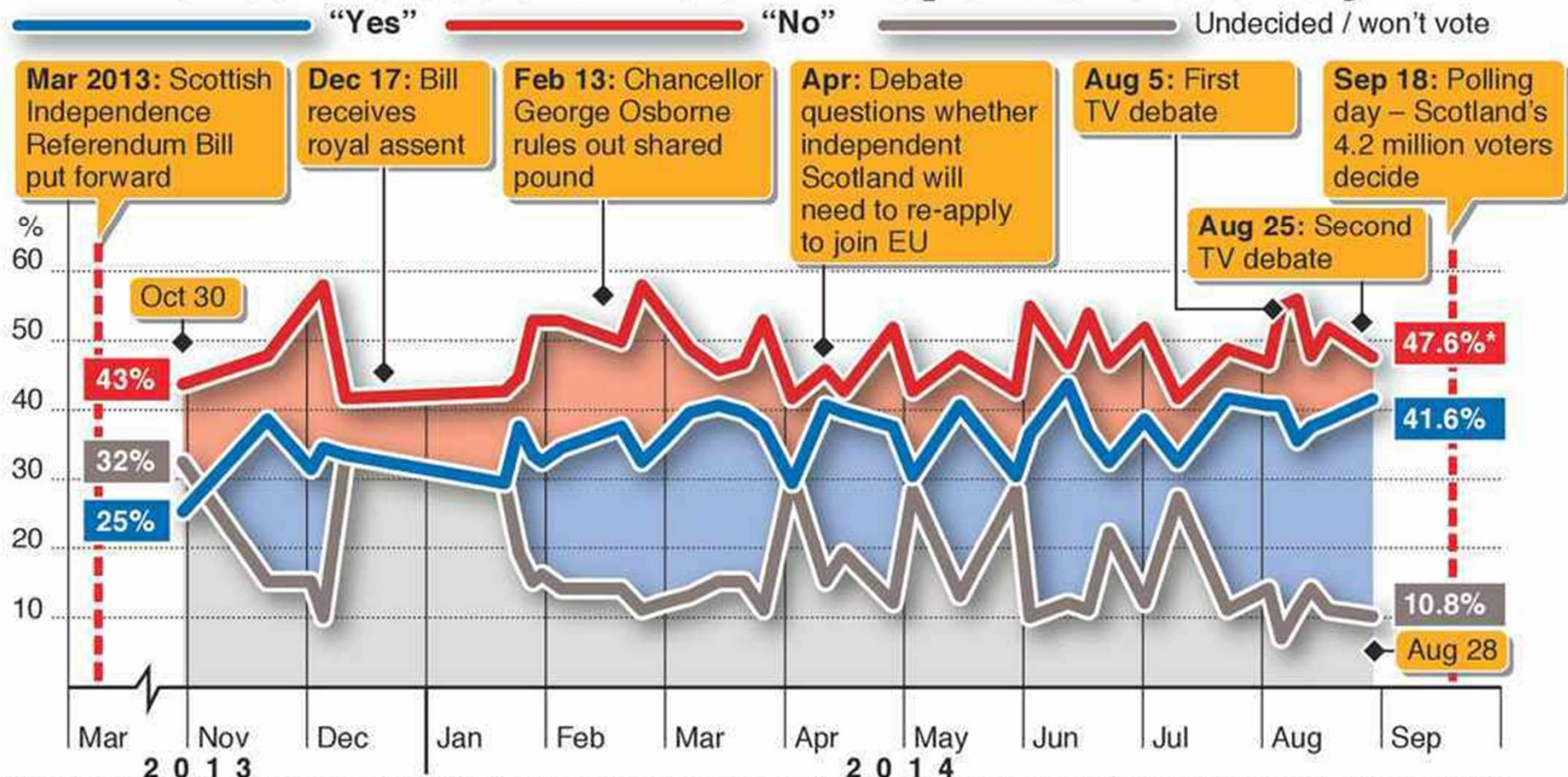
Scottish Improving the Lives of Refugees in Scotland after the Referendum: 'aims to stimulate the debate on asylum and refugee policy within the context of the Scottish Referendum on independence in 2014'



Scotland's three Islands Councils – Shetland, Orkney, and Comhairle nan Eilean Siar representing the Western Isles, have agreed to work together in a programme of positive engagement to ensure that whatever happens over the next two or three years in relation to the constitution of Scotland the position and needs of island areas are adequately taken into account and the particular nature of Scotland's three main islands' areas acknowledged and recognised.

A long campaign

Should Scotland be an independent country?

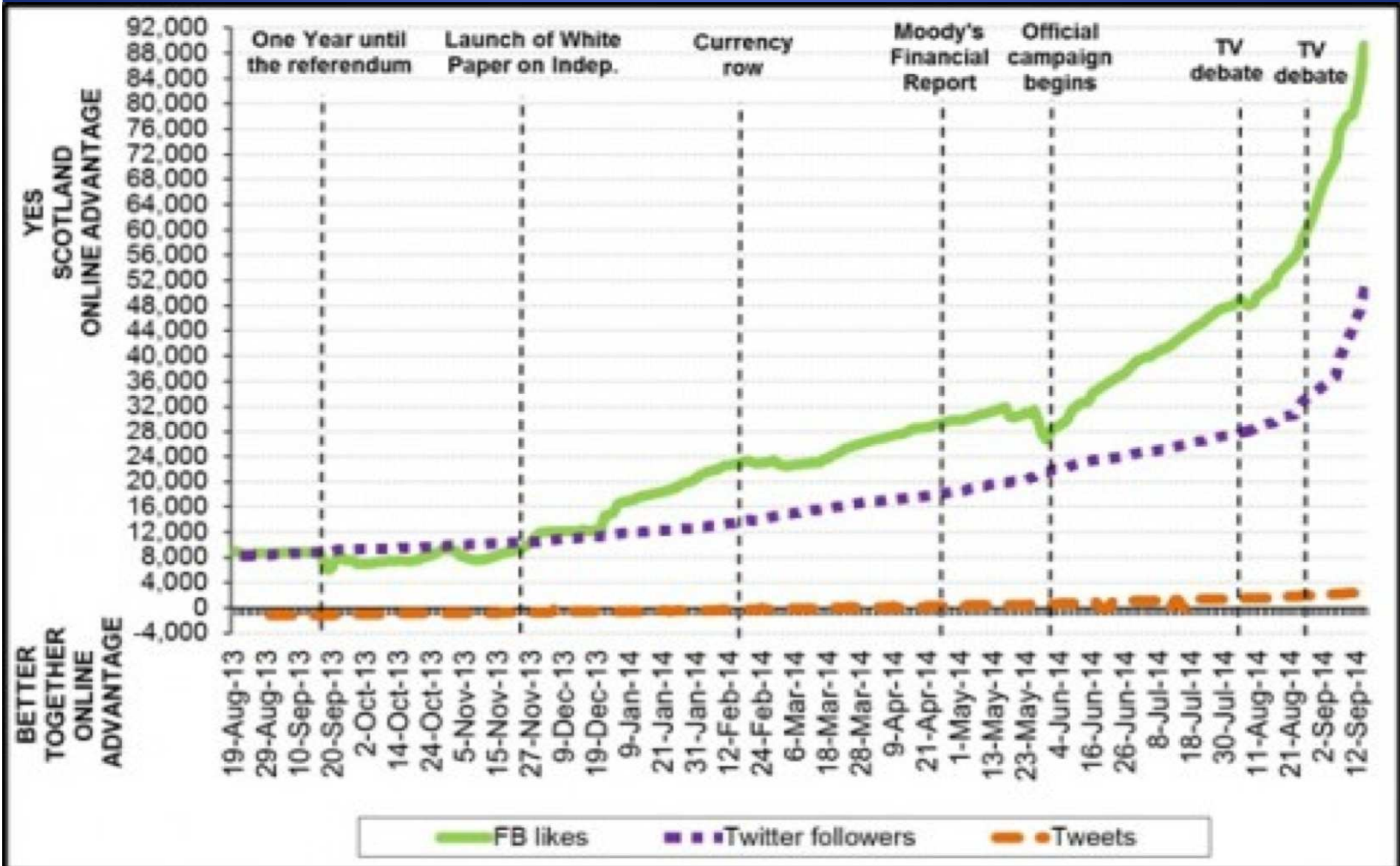


*Survation poll for Scottish Daily Mail of 1,001 Scottish residents aged over 16. Poll conducted between August 26-28. Margin of error: $\pm 3.1\%$

Sources: What Scotland Thinks, Panelbase, TNS BMRB, YouGov, Ipsos MORI, ICM, Survation

© GRAPHIC NEWS

Social Media



mirroco.uk

DAILY Mirror 10p THURSDAY SEPTEMBER 14, 2014

OUR DAY OF DESTINY

Don't leave us this way

A simple message to Scotland: Don't let the sun set on our 307 years together. Vote No today & keep Britain truly GREAT

Daily Record REFERENCE DAY SPECIAL

Then let us pray that, come it may, As come it will for a' that, That Sense and Worth, o' a' the earth, Shall bear the grieva' o' that, For a' that, a' that, It's coming yet for a' that, That Man to Man, the world o'er, Shall brothers be for a' that.

ROBERT BURNS

CHOOSE WELL SCOTLAND

Today the nation votes on all of our futures and more than 200 years after the papers were written, the sentiment of our greatest poet still inspires them. The matter that we all face today is certain: Change will come to this country - and tomorrow we'll all be Scots together.

RECORD OPINION: SCOTLAND'S WRAP PLUS PAGES 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13

THE SCOTTISH Sun 40p

YES OR NO. TODAY SCOTLAND STARTS WITH A BLANK PAGE

IT'S A DECISION TIME: SEE PAGES 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13

THE Sun 40p

READ ALERT

LOSE 7lb in 7 days

SCOTS VOTE CHAOS

JOCKY HORROR SHOW

See Chelle on sea shore PAGE 3

1 in 4 kids behind in reading
It costs economy £10bn a year

• 'Bribe' uproar • Queen shock

OLE ON WAY OUT

Western Mail

YES NO

UK future too close to call as Scotland decides

INDEPENDENCE REFERENDUM LATEST: PAGES 4, 5, 6, 7

Libairtelime 329 2025 7777

ITALY LAKE GARDA 4* 300

SPAIN TOSCA DE BAR 4* 399

IRELAND 4* 229

DEPENDENT

The 307-year itch

As Scotland's voters head to the polls, a union forged in 1707 may be entering its final hours. But, as **ANDREW WESTON** writes, wherever the result, we ought to celebrate a carnival of democracy from which the rest of the world can learn.

WRITER: Cameron, Salmond, Brown and Darling to receive Best Book Award. What is the significance of the 307th anniversary of the Union? See page 12

DAILY EXPRESS

DON'T LET THE SUN SET ON OUR UNION

SCOTLAND'S DAY OF DECISION: PAGES 2 & 3 • CAMPAIGN REACH FEVER PITCH: PAGES 4 & 5 • COMMENT: PAGE 12

The Herald

Scotland's day of reckoning

Final push from Salmond and Brown as referendum race goes to the wire

UK Muslims in protest at Islamic terrorism... University praised for 'gay-friendly' culture... Whiteblower GP 'was scared to go to work' after record turnover... IndigoVision upbeat about 'after record turnover'...

NO MAKE THEM BUY YOURS & BE PROTECTED BY THE 30 YEAR HOME WARRANTY

EXECUTIVE LIVING WEST END STYLE

FINANCIAL TIMES

Atlas Shrugged... In the sick bay... David Pilling... Beauty and terror leave Scots on the rack - and the brink of history

Fed renews vow on low rates but hints at faster pace of rises through 2015

PIAGET

Title	Circulation	Preference
Sun	246,066	Neutral
Daily Record	203,941	Neutral
Daily Mail	93,321	No
Press and Journal (Aberdeen)	62,177	Neutral
Dundee Courier (Dundee)	48,955	Neutral
Daily Express	48,636	No
Daily Star	41,799	Neutral
The Herald	37,728	Neutral
Evening Express (Aberdeen)	34,894	Neutral
Evening Times (Glasgow)	33,397	Neutral
The Scotsman	27,208	No
Evening News (Edinburgh)	25,908	Neutral
The Times	20,420	No
Evening Telegraph (Dundee)	19,766	Neutral
i	18,712	Neutral
Daily Telegraph	18,599	No
Daily Mirror	18,079	No
The Guardian	10,623	No
Daily Express (Paisley)	6,477	Neutral
The Independent	2,990	No
Financial Times	2,312	No

SUNDAY NEWSPAPERS

Title	Circulation	Preference
Sunday Mail	231,821	Neutral
The Sun on Sunday	175,525	Neutral
Sunday Post	146,940	No
Mail on Sunday	83,079	No
The Sunday Times	46,927	No
Scotland on Sunday	30,297	No
Sunday Express	28,002	No
Sunday Herald	25,000	Yes
Daily Star Sunday	23,161	Neutral
Sunday Mirror	18,202	No
Sunday Telegraph	16,543	No
The Observer	14,093	Neutral
Sunday People	9,678	Neutral
Independent on Sunday	5,896	Neutral

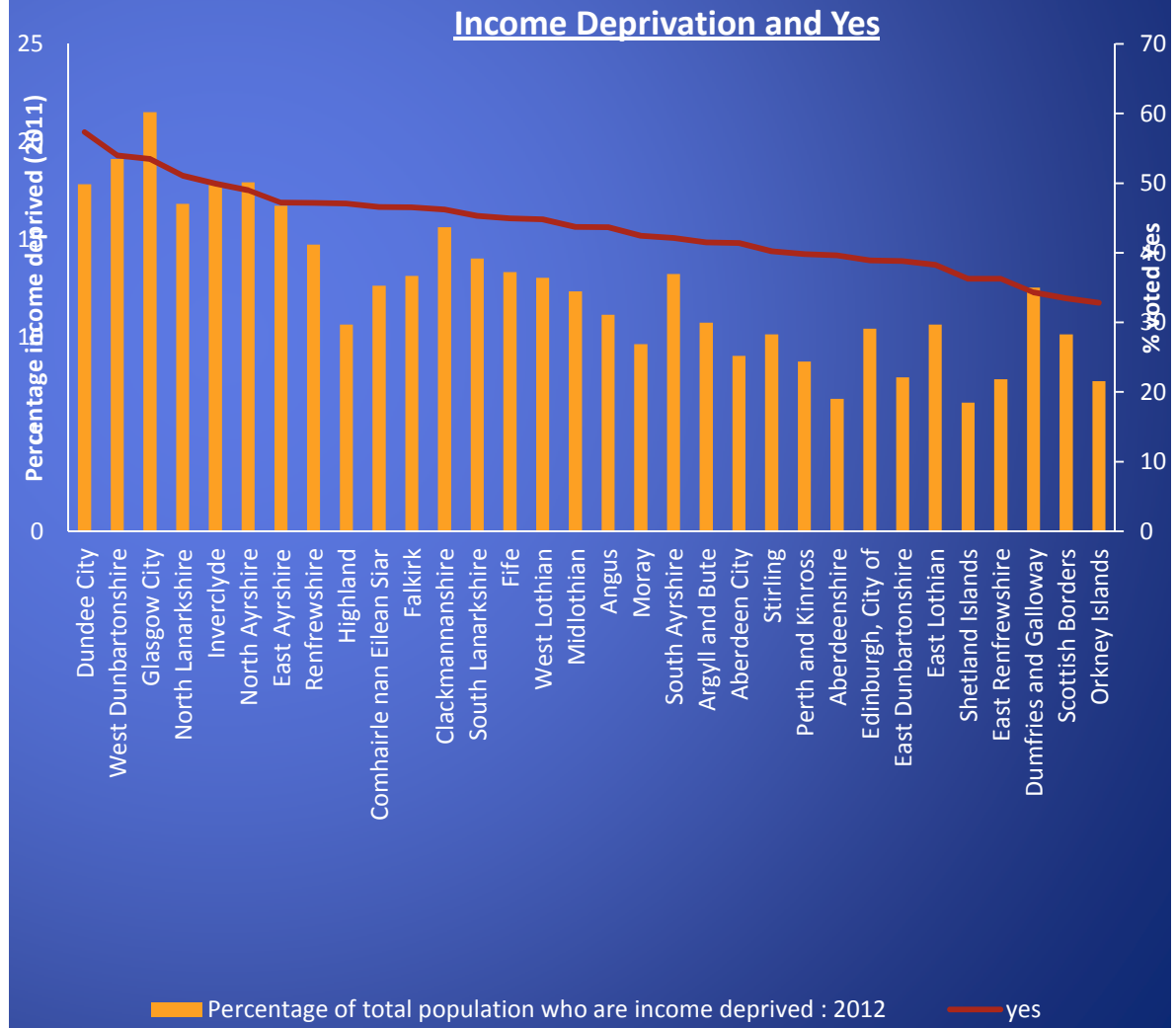
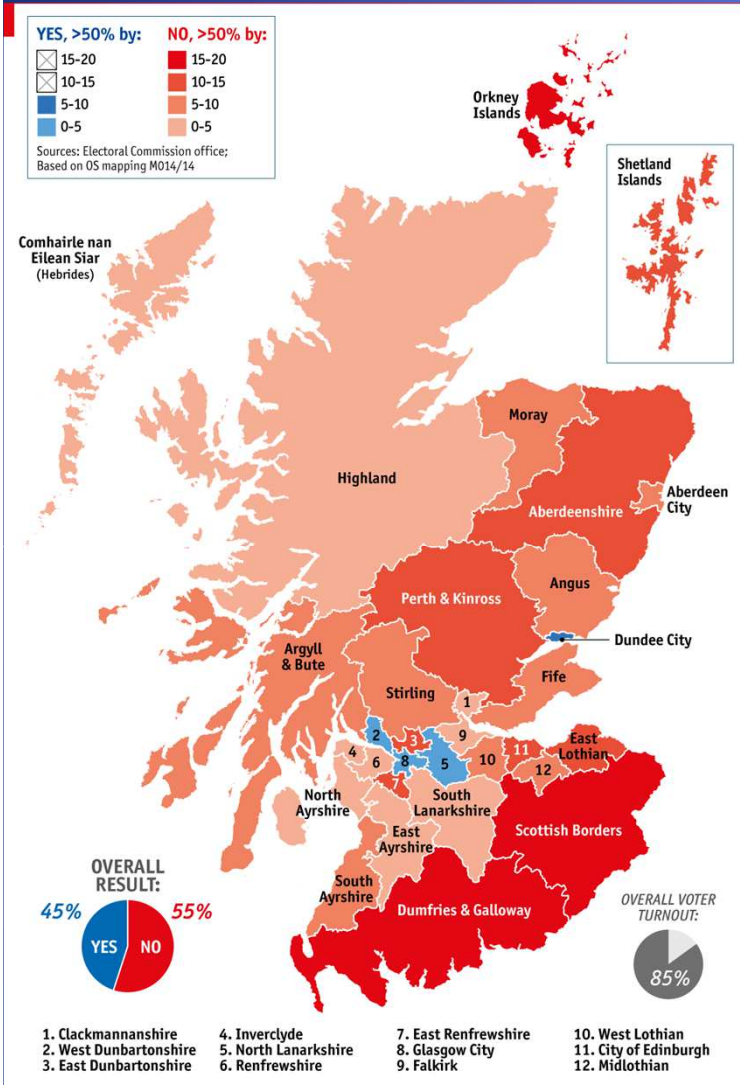


4th May 2014

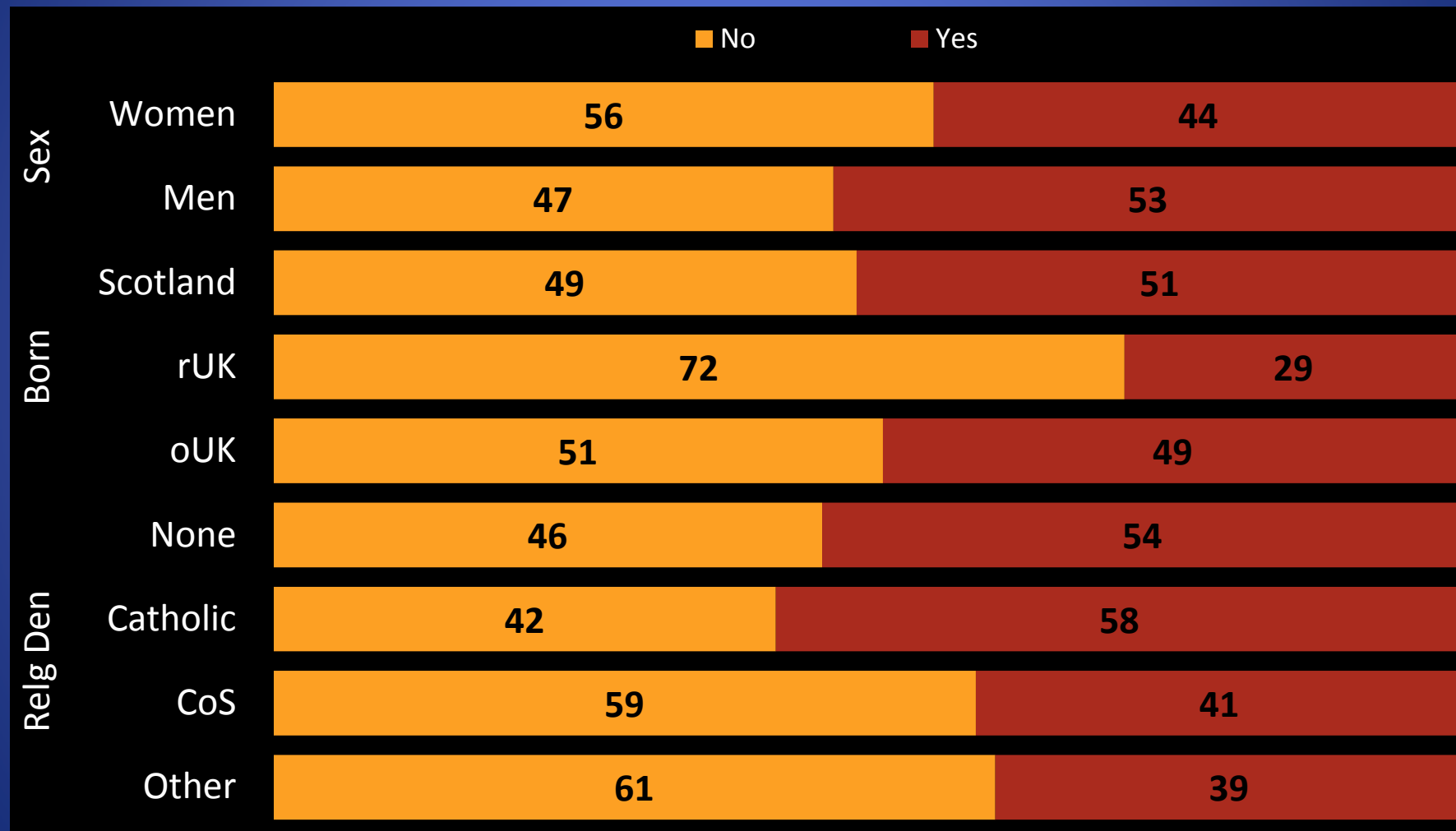
RESULT: Turnout: 84.59%

NO 55.30%

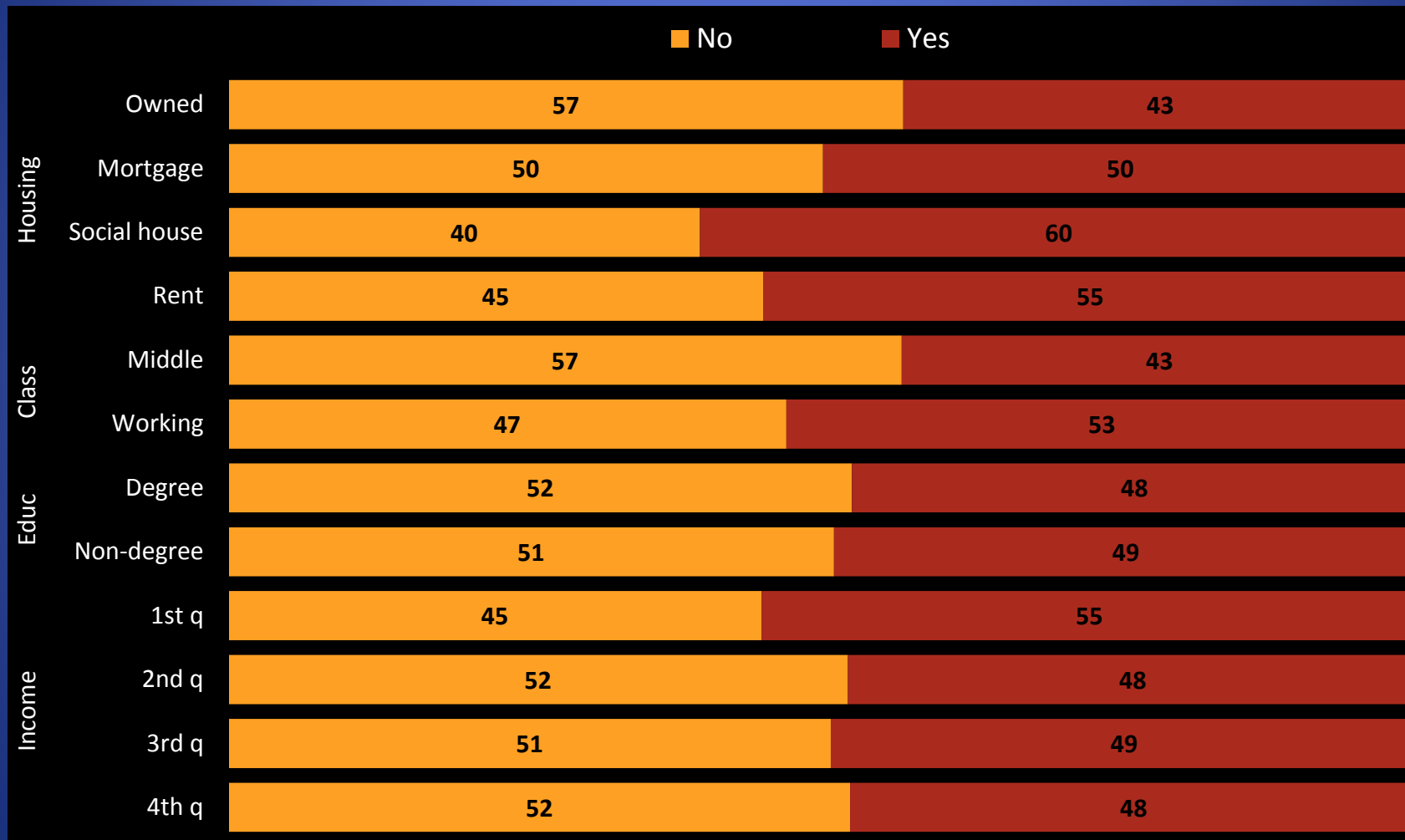
YES 44.70%



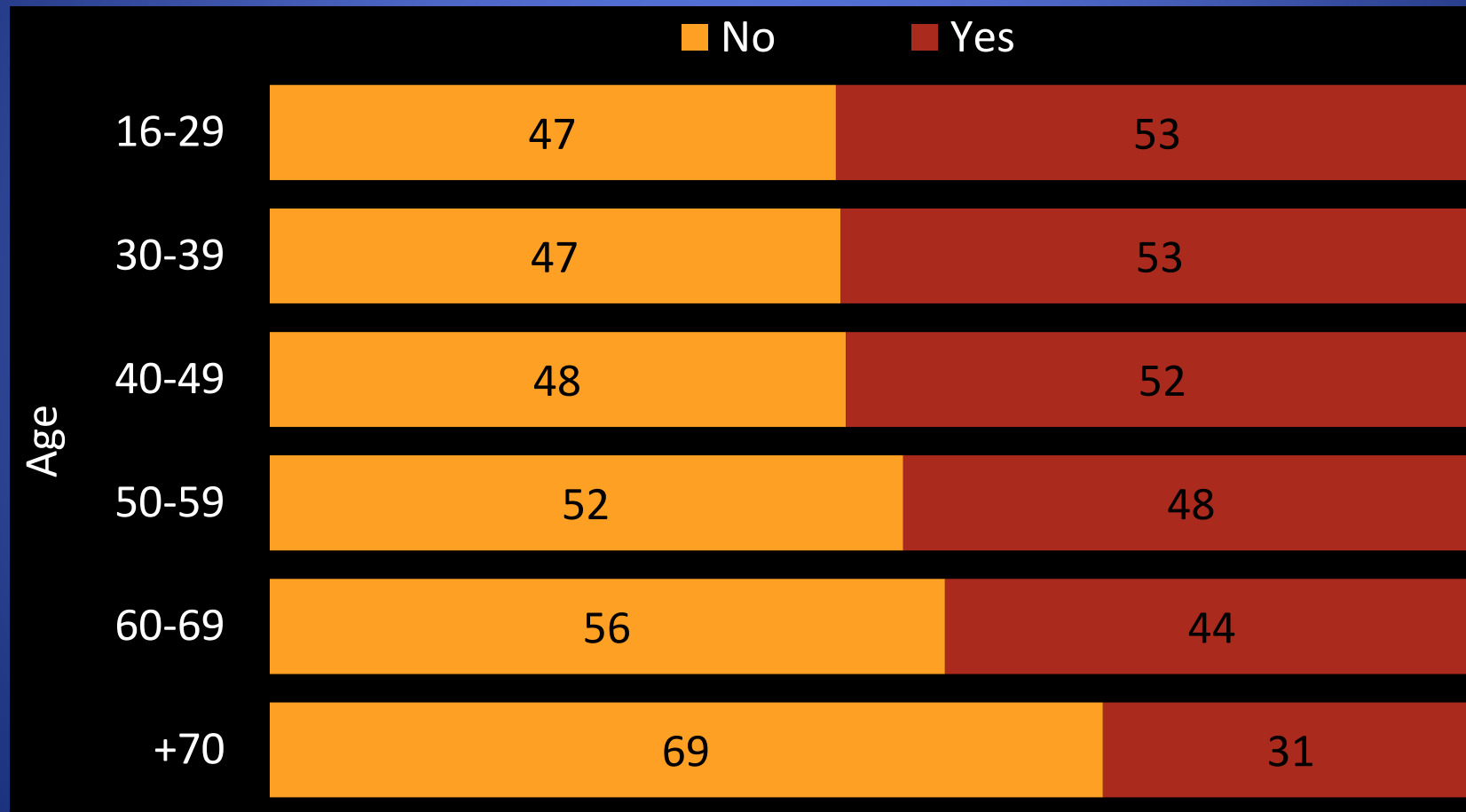
1. Who votes YES/NO



2. Who votes YES/NO



3. Who votes YES/NO



Referendum and resolution?

Promises, promises...

Delivering the best of both worlds for Scotland

Friday
19 SEPT

The day after a No Vote the timetable for further powers will be published as a motion before the UK Parliament. All UK parties will support the motion.

Friday
31 OCT

A Command Paper will be published by the end of October setting out all the plans for more powers. We will then have intensive consultation with Scottish society.

Sunday
30 NOV

By St Andrew's Day we will have completed the consultation and published a White Paper which will set out the final agreed plans. These will be open to challenge & scrutiny.

Sunday
25 JAN

Legislation published by Burns Night. A new Scotland Bill, ready to be voted on by UK Parliament.

Thursday
07 MAY

2nd Reading of the Scotland Bill will take place immediately after the General Election. With more powers on tax and welfare guaranteed, and full power over our NHS & Schools, we don't need the risk of separation.

NO THANKS

Printed by Treehouse Print, 40 Potter Place, S19 4BB. Published & Promoted by Blair McDougall on behalf of Better Together both at 1 Blythwood Square, G2 4AD.

OUR NATION DECIDES

THREE LEADERS SIGN PROMISE TO SCOTLAND

Westminster's three party leaders – one of whom will be the next prime minister – sign a historic joint promise which, in their own words, will guarantee more devolved powers to Scotland and protect the NHS if we vote No

SEE PAGES 4&5

Daily Record
SCOTLAND'S CHAMPION

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 16, 2014



Kenyon Wright: We must vote Yes for our children

Out of the architects of Scottish devolution, Kenyon Wright says: 'A brighter future is in our hands'

SEE PAGES 6&7

FREE MILK
1 litre bottle from Graham's the family dairy



SEE PAGE 22

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David Cameron Ed Miliband Nick Clegg



RECORD VIEW NOW VOTERS CAN MAKE AN INFORMED CHOICE

**SCOTTISH
QUESTION =
IRISH
QUESTION**

'Gladstone spent his declining years trying to guess the answer to the Irish Question; unfortunately, whenever he was getting warm, the Irish secretly changed the Question.'

W.C. Sellar and R.J. Yeatman (1930), 1066 and All That, Methuen and Co Ltd.