



# Cameron's Conservatives

## The ones to watch



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## Welcome to Cameron's Conservatives.

This document provides an overview of Tory policy and profiles the candidates, MPs and officials who are likely to be influential in a Conservative government. It does not go into detail about the Shadow Cabinet, on whom a large amount of information is already available.

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## About Open Road

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# Introduction

It is not surprising that companies and organisations are keen to get to know the Conservatives. The party is consistently ahead in the polls, whilst its leader has solid approval ratings and has earned the respect of the media. It faces a government that looks weak, divided and has seen better days. There is a strong likelihood that there will be a Conservative government by June 2010.

This is quite a political turnaround. There was a period of 15 years, from Black Wednesday to Brown's notorious bottling in 2007, when it looked practically impossible for the Conservatives to win an election. Events now seem to be moving Cameron's way – perhaps most symbolized by the fact that the *Sun*, which always likes to be on the winning side, has come out for the Conservatives.

The result of this change is that the media, civil service and business are now seriously preparing for a Conservative government for the first time since 1997. And so are the Conservatives. Only three members of the Shadow Cabinet have previously served as Cabinet ministers; the rest, depending on your tastes, are either refreshing new blood or lacking in experience.



Consistently ahead in the polls, it is time to give serious thought to a Conservative government for the first time since 1997.





Parallels with 1997 are obvious – a long-serving, increasingly unpopular, divided government tainted by sleaze, facing a charismatic Leader of the Opposition who has moved towards the political centre. The potential incoming government is untested and there are many questions about what they will do in practice. Power will move to new groups, not just ministers but special advisers, party officials and a range of different think-tanks. Perhaps most important of all, there will be new MPs – considerably over a hundred new Conservatives alone for there to be a change of government – with a completely new set of interests.

But there are important differences with the situation in the mid-90s. The Blair Shadow Cabinet consisted of people who had established a profile in opposition over a decade or more – the likes of Robin Cook and Jack Straw were better known to the public than Chris Grayling is today. In comparison, Cameron's team is very new. Aside from re-treads like Hague and Clarke, only George Osborne is widely known. Furthermore there is no guarantee that the Conservatives will win outright. There is still a strong chance that the Tories may be the largest party but fall short of an overall majority. The truth is, that with under 200 MPs (fewer than won by Labour in 1983), the Conservatives have an electoral mountain to climb.

The situation will be further complicated by the economic crisis. The next government will be far more constrained by circumstances than the government in 1997, with harder decisions throughout the Parliament and less room to implement and fund new policies. Whoever wins will have to both drastically cut spending and raise taxes.

The purpose of this document is to give an overview of the dominant attitudes and priorities of Conservative policy-making and profile some of the people likely to be generating policy, and headlines, after 2010.

Our focus is outside of the Shadow Cabinet, on the sitting MPs, Prospective Parliamentary Candidates (PPCs), party staffers and think-tank researchers who are likely to be influential in Cameron's government



# Policy development

In opposition, Cameron has carried out a rebranding exercise, decontaminating the reputation of the so-called ‘nasty party.’ This has largely been successful, although Cameron’s critics on both right and left have accused him of solely being about branding and, heaven forbid, PR.

In fact, Cameron has worked hard to overhaul policy, creating six major reviews across different areas, working closely with think-tanks such as Policy Exchange and Iain Duncan Smith’s Centre for Social Justice. The Conservatives are also in talks with the Civil Service, who have already begun to plan for the prospect of a Tory government, which will no doubt be a spur to the

process of policy formulation. The policy reviews were only designed to be suggestions from which the Shadow Cabinet can pick and choose, and as the economy has deteriorated they have been somewhat left behind by events. Nevertheless, they have served as the base on which policy has been further developed. Some of the main policy reviews are listed below.

Policy Review	Chair	Recommendations
Social justice	Iain Duncan-Smith MP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>▪ New tax credits for married couples</li><li>▪ Expand drug rehabilitation</li></ul>
National and international security	Dame Pauline Neville-Jones	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>▪ Creation of a UK Border force and a Department of Energy</li><li>▪ Stronger leadership role for women in the Muslim community</li></ul>
Globalisation and global poverty	Peter Lilley MP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>▪ Remove trade barriers to the developing world</li><li>▪ Use aid to support economic development</li></ul>
Economic competitiveness	John Redwood MP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>▪ Scrap inheritance tax</li><li>▪ Reduce corporation tax</li><li>▪ Reduce business red tape</li><li>▪ Repeal working time regulations</li></ul>
Public service improvement	Stephen Dorrell MP and Lady Perry	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>▪ Aid for council tenants to help buy their properties</li><li>▪ Support for rural schools</li><li>▪ Greater freedom for professionals in the NHS</li></ul>
Quality of life	John Gummer MP and Zac Goldsmith	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>▪ Increased tax on short haul flights and gas guzzling cars</li><li>▪ A moratorium on airport expansion</li><li>▪ A new index for measuring well-being including social and environmental indicators</li></ul>



**EMERGE**



**AMBULA**



**Main Ent**



Cameron has explored a number of themes during his leadership, but one that has started to dominate in terms of public service delivery and social policy is the idea of ‘the post-bureaucratic age,’ where ‘true freedom of information makes possible a new world of responsibility, citizenship, choice and local control.’

In policy terms this means new models of public service delivery controlled by individuals at a local level. Much is also made of a ‘web 2.0’ approach to government, allowing patients to manage their own health records, making government data open source and enabling crowd sourcing decision-making.

This agenda has started to be reflected in policy announcements. In February 2009, Cameron announced a raft of new proposals designed to shift power to ‘local people and local institutions.’ Plans included more city mayors, elected police commissioners and the return of planning powers to local councils.

Cameron sees this agenda as compatible with his ideas about fixing ‘the broken society’ – decentralisation will lead to social entrepreneurship by charities and voluntary bodies. This thinking was inspired by some of the latest theories on behavioural economics such as Thaler and Sunstein’s *Nudge: Improving decisions about health, wealth and happiness* examining the wide-ranging positive benefits of small decisions. Nudge politics (small policy changes) are distinct from the top-down, target setting approach of New Labour. In policy terms this means encouraging rather than regulating for the right sort of behaviour.

This work was all pre-downturn, when society, rather than the economy, topped the agenda. However, it remains at the core of Conservative policy, Cameron’s 2009 conference speech stressed the importance of responsibility as opposed to big government in solving the nation’s social and economic problems as well as public services reform, which has been brought together under three themes:

**Advancing opportunity:** This theme relates to the party’s Education policy, led by former *Times* journalist and Cameron confidant Michael Gove.

The Conservatives plan to introduce a ‘supply-side revolution’ in education. This is a highly ambitious programme, under which charities, groups of parents and not-for-profit trusts will be permitted to create schools, with an aspiration to create an extra 220,000 places in total. Like the Liberal Democrats, the Conservatives are keen on the idea of the pupil premium which provides extra funding for schools to take the poorest pupils. This is all combined with a more traditional Tory approach focusing on school discipline, a ‘Troops for Teachers’ scheme, competitive sports and rigorous teaching of literacy. There is a matching commitment to vocational training, with the planned creation of 100,000 new apprenticeships.

**Nurturing Responsibility:** A theme which cuts across a number of fields including welfare, volunteering, health and local government, and seeks to ‘fix the broken society’. Some of the most important changes will be to local government; scaling back regional planning powers, giving discretionary powers to local councils to spend money or reduce taxes and making provision for local referenda and elected police bodies.

**Protecting Security:** This policy theme combines defence and criminal justice policy with energy supply and security. The Conservatives plan to deliver improved defence procurement, a unified national border police and, in criminal justice, a programme of small prisons and an end to early release. In energy, they support the development of carbon capture and storage, a ‘smart’ electricity grid and other methods to lower carbon emissions.

Overall, like many a leader moving towards the centre Cameron has sent out a number of mixed signals. Alongside a clear commitment to the NHS, a rejection of new grammar schools and a new interest in the environment have been statements of support for tax breaks for marriage and a pledge to reduce inheritance tax. Many Conservative policies carry this tension, in most fields modernising policies are balanced with more traditional ones.

The table below illustrates how this approach is being used across a range of policy areas:

## Cameron's policy agenda: combining the old and the new

Field	Traditional-style Tory policy	New-style Tory policy
Business	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Cut red tape</li> <li>▪ Cut small business taxes</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ National loans guarantee scheme for small businesses</li> <li>▪ Improve government procurement opportunities for small firms</li> </ul>
Community relations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Tackle unacceptable cultural practices, such as those towards women</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Use community groups to fight deprivation</li> </ul>
Rural affairs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Reduce red tape on farmers</li> <li>▪ Encourage people to buy British food</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Increase local control and access to services</li> <li>▪ Reduce rural poverty</li> </ul>
Criminal justice	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Reduce police red tape</li> <li>▪ Increase stop and search powers</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Directly elect police commissioners</li> <li>▪ Reduce the surveillance state</li> </ul>
Economy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Freeze council tax</li> <li>▪ Reduce business tax when public finances allow</li> <li>▪ Raise inheritance tax threshold over time</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ National loan guarantee scheme</li> <li>▪ Tax cuts focused on job creation</li> </ul>
Energy and climate change	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Include nuclear power in the energy mix</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Smart grids to reduce electricity usage</li> <li>▪ Promote renewable energy</li> <li>▪ Transparent household energy pricing</li> </ul>
Environment and agriculture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Reform the Common Fisheries Policy to protect fish stocks</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Increase recycling and reduce waste</li> </ul>
Europe	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Referendum on the Lisbon Treaty or, if ratified, leave the Social Chapter</li> <li>▪ Never join the Euro</li> <li>▪ Take back powers from Brussels</li> <li>▪ Leave the European People's Party</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Improve the emissions trading scheme</li> <li>▪ Improve use of the EU's aid budget</li> </ul>

Field	Traditional Tory policy	New-style Tory policy
Family	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Recognise marriage in the tax and benefits system</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>More flexible parental leave arrangements</li> </ul>
Foreign affairs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Reform the EU</li> <li>Improve Britain's relationship with the US</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Establish a national security council</li> </ul>
Health	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>None</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Commitment to maintain NHS spending</li> <li>More single rooms in hospitals</li> <li>Greater freedom for health professionals</li> </ul>
Housing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Scrap stamp duty for first time buyers</li> <li>Abolish HIPs</li> <li>Make it easier for social tenants to part-own their homes</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>None</li> </ul>
Immigration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Annual limits to immigration</li> <li>Border police force</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Make those who benefit the economy eligible for admission</li> </ul>
International development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Secure a pro-development global free trade deal</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Commit to maintain aid spending at 0.7% of GDP</li> </ul>
Local government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Abolish the quango state</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>More powers and freedoms to councils, including council control over spending</li> <li>Resident control over tax rises</li> </ul>
Education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Improve discipline</li> <li>More teaching by ability</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Remove obstacles to founding schools</li> <li>Greater parent power and choice</li> </ul>
Transport	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>None</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>High-speed trains</li> <li>No third runway at Heathrow</li> <li>Greener local transport</li> </ul>
Universities and skills	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>More apprenticeships</li> <li>Supply side skills training reform: money will follow the learner</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Support for mature and part-time students</li> <li>A pathway from vocational study into university</li> </ul>
Voluntary sector	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Reduce bureaucracy faced by charities and social enterprises</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Social Enterprise Zones</li> <li>An annual volunteering entitlement</li> </ul>
Welfare and pensions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Compulsory work and training for benefit claimants</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Raise the basic state pension</li> <li>Personalised approach to elderly care</li> </ul>
Women	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>None</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Tackle the gender pay gap</li> <li>Tackle violence against women</li> <li>Flexible parental leave</li> </ul>

# Thinkers and Think-Tanks

Outside the Shadow Cabinet there are several figures with significant influence over policy. Former Shadow Chancellor Oliver Letwin MP plays an important role overseeing policy development as Chairman of the Conservative Research Department (CRD). Also key behind the scenes is Francis Maude MP, who heads up a dedicated Implementation Team which is preparing the party for government. The team has been advised by a number of former mandarins and ministers, and has had informal contact with Civil Servants throughout the year.

Nick Boles, formerly of Boris Johnson's mayoral team, runs the Implementation Team on a day-to-day basis. At present the team is developing detailed plans for the first Queen's speech and the first year of a Cameron government.

Think-tanks have proved important outriders in developing Conservative ideas, as in the period of policy development under Thatcher during the late 1970s. However, the last decade has seen the creation of new right-wing think-tanks, and established bodies such as the Institute for Economic Affairs, and the Adam Smith Institute have moved into the background. Currently, the most influential think-tanks are:

## Centre for Social Justice (CSJ)

Set up by former Tory leader Iain Duncan Smith in 2004, the CSJ focuses on addressing poverty and social breakdown, not traditionally Conservative themes. The Centre is distinctive in using social conservatism, in particular support for marriage and the family, to achieve its aims. It has been particularly influential on family policy and ideas around fixing the 'broken society.'

## Policy Exchange

Called 'Cameron's favourite think-tank', Policy Exchange was set up in 2002 by Cameroons Nick Boles and Michael Gove. Its vision is to use centre-right solutions to achieve progressive ends and it therefore focuses on free-market and localist solutions. It was influential in the development of Cameron's green agenda and is in the process of shifting its focus towards the economy.

## Reform

Founded in 2001 by Nick Herbert MP, Reform has a strong focus on public services reform and the economy. Reform has been effective in adopting a cross-party approach, and non-Conservative figures, such as independent-minded Labour MP Frank Field, sit on its board. Reform's expertise and intelligent approach to making public spending savings is likely to increase its influence.

## Centre for Policy Studies (CPS)

The original Thatcherite think-tank founded by Keith Joseph and Thatcher herself in 1974, its philosophy is freedom and responsibility. The CPS remains strongly free-market in its outlook, opposing increased financial regulation throughout the recession and trumpeting the return of powers to the Bank of England – now Tory policy. It was the venue of Cameron's 'broken society' speech and looks set to regain much of its former influence.

# The economic challenge

Initially Cameron avoided economic policy. It had not been a vote winner for the Conservatives since 1997. He pledged to match Labour's spending plans and focused instead on the themes of the environment and the broken society. The Conservatives were subsequently slow in adapting to the financial crisis and recession, and were accused of an uncertain position on the City bailout and fiscal stimulus package.

However, Cameron and Osborne have steadily reclaimed the initiative. Their scepticism over the VAT decrease was well-received. They have built public and media acceptance of the need for spending cuts, and encouraged the impression that cuts are inevitable, irrespective of the election result. Osborne's claim that the debate was about honesty rather than cuts proved particularly effective. Opinion polls show this has become a consensus view amongst voters. The Conservatives have (just) held off the accusation that they are isolated internationally in their economic policy. They have also developed a number of ideas of their own – such as the small business loan scheme.

Cameron has explored various ideas in building up his vision for the economy. In late 2007 and early 2008 he was talking of a 'Californian model,' where Britain would lead in high-tech green innovation. This vision still exists in policy papers but the Californian reference looks tarnished, given that State's recent financial troubles. More recently, Cameron has started to talk about what has become known as the 'Grantham model' of Thatcherite thrift based around a new savings culture and a business culture focused on long-term returns.

The Conservatives still face major challenges however. They are committed to maintaining health spending, fearing that to do otherwise could prove an Achilles heel comparable to tax for Labour in 1992. There is also a degree of confusion over some policies – for example, will the Conservatives still go ahead with an inheritance tax cut, and if so, when?

Public spending is likely to be a major election issue, with Labour accusing the Conservatives of not caring enough about public services to cut spending in a way that protects the frontline. One of the big questions is whether the public has built up enough trust in the Conservatives to allow them to handle cuts. This is likely to be a key debate in the general election campaign. There are also questions over the credibility of the Conservative approach – protecting health and international development will mean even deeper cuts elsewhere. Osborne made a start to setting out his approach to spending cuts in his 2009 conference speech, with plans for the pain to be shared across the population with public sector spending freezes, middle-class welfare cuts, the retention of the 50 per cent tax band and an increase in the pension age.

The return of Ken Clarke to the Shadow Cabinet in January 2009 was calculated not only to add charisma and communications skills, but also the intellectual weight and confidence of a former Chancellor of the Exchequer in addressing the challenge of putting together a coherent economic policy. Clarke has subsequently put together a detailed set of proposals for scaling back business regulation. A Conservative government would introduce a one-in one-out approach to regulation with sunset clauses for all new regulations and regularly review the functions of all existing bodies.

## Personnel

George Osborne has built up his own team to develop economic policy, at the core of which is former Bank of England employee Matthew Hancock, his Chief of Staff.

Other key members of the Osborne team include four dedicated economic advisers, whose experience provides a solid base in economic policy:

### Rupert Harrison

Chief Economic Adviser, formerly of the Institute for Fiscal Studies

### Eleanor Shawcross

former researcher for Boris Johnson

### Rohan Silva

former Treasury civil servant

### Seth Cumming

formerly of Accenture and Reform

Hancock has been particularly influential over Osborne's plans for the reform of financial regulation announced in July 2009. These proposed the abolition of the Financial Services Agency (FSA), the return of banking regulation to the Bank of England and the creation of a new agency to

protect consumers. The new policies include resistance to more EU-wide regulation and a Competition Commission Review of concentration in the banking sector.

To provide additional advice, the Conservatives have formed an *Economic Recovery Committee*. The Committee meets fortnightly and discusses the economic situation, both in terms of immediate proposals for tackling the recession and long-term planning. The group was formed in February 2009 and responded to a perceived deficit in ideas for tackling the economic crisis. Its members are:

### Sir Christopher Gent

former CEO of Vodafone

### Sir Peter Middleton

former Chairman of Barclays

### Baroness Sheila Noakes

Conservative spokeswoman in the Lords and a former partner at KPMG

### Sir Brian Pitman

former Chairman of Lloyds TSB

### Sir James Sassoon

former Vice-Chairman of Warburg's and Treasury mandarin

### Simon Wolfson

former Chief Executive of Next

### Eric Schmidt

Chief Executive of Google

Sassoon in particular has played a central role, having completed a review of financial services regulation for the party. He had previously worked at the Treasury and was Gordon Brown's ambassador to the City. Sassoon's defection was a real coup for the Conservatives and he is likely to have an enduring influence on their financial services policy.

## A broad business and economic policy package has now been put together:

	Organisational changes	Tax changes	Regulatory changes
Business	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Office of Tax Simplification</li> <li>All regulation to be cleared centrally through the business department</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Small company corporation tax reduced from 22% to 20%</li> <li>Aspiration to reduce standard corporation tax rate from 28% to 25%</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Breathing space for businesses in trouble</li> <li>Two regulations removed for every one introduced</li> <li>Rationalise SME business support schemes</li> </ul>
Public spending	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Office of Budgetary Responsibility</li> <li>Independent Fiscal Council</li> </ul>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Scrap Brown's fiscal rules</li> <li>Reform of PFI</li> </ul>
Financial	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Bank of England to take over financial services regulation</li> <li>Abolition of the FSA</li> <li>Consumer Protection Agency</li> </ul>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Debt Responsibility Mechanism – banks report regularly to the regulator</li> </ul>
Personal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>National Financial Advice Service</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Aspiration to increase inheritance tax threshold to £1 million</li> <li>Recognise marriage in the tax system</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>New regulation of consumer finance, including home credit and store cards</li> </ul>
Housing		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Stamp duty threshold increased to £250,000 for first time buyers</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Abolition of Home Information Packs (HIPs)</li> </ul>
Environment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Create a Green Environmental Market to provide capital</li> </ul>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>New market in green technology to encourage investment</li> </ul>

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# Financial services reform

In July 2009 George Osborne published a paper setting out his specific recommendations for reform of financial services regulation. The Conservatives believe that the crisis had been permitted to escalate by the failure of the tripartite regulatory system.

The Conservatives see the need for a strong regulator to ensure that the financial system meets the long-term needs of the economy. The proposed reforms are built around the Bank of England playing this role and include the following features:

- Responsibility for long-term financial stability and macro-prudential regulation moved to the Bank of England, monitoring the risks to the system as a whole and the overall level of credit
- A new Bank of England Financial Regulation Division, which will be responsible for micro-prudential regulation of banks, building societies and insurance companies
- The Bank will regulate pay structures, riskiness, complexity and size of financial institutions
- A Financial Policy Committee within the Bank will oversee regulations and include independent members. This will co-ordinate with the Monetary Policy Committee
- Bank capital and liquidity requirements will reflect the size and complexity of the institution
- A Conservative government will press for international regulatory reform
- A single Treasury minister responsible for financial regulation
- A new Consumer Protection Agency created from the FSA and the Office of Fair Trading, to take a tougher approach in this field

Questions remain over whether the Bank of England would be any more effective as a banking regulator than the FSA. Its track record prior to 1997 was not one of complete success, and included some outright failures, such as the Bank of Credit and Commerce International (BCCI) and Barings. There are also fears that the disruption caused by the transition will weaken regulation when it needs to be strengthened, and the FSA may be unable to recruit and retain the best people now it faces abolition.



# A progressive Conservatism?

Cameron's Conservative party has convincingly modernised and is routinely described as progressive or liberal.

Yet the party retains some very right-wing policies: the current Conservative position on Europe is actually more extreme than under William Hague, it is equally right-wing on immigration and is committed to recognising marriage and civil partnerships in the tax system. In explaining this phenomenon it seems appropriate to draw upon one of Winston Churchill's dictums: 'A fanatic is someone who won't change his mind and can't change the subject.'

Cameron has applied great discipline to party communications and successfully changed the subject – Europe has been dropped and replaced with climate change. Talk of the dangers of big government and high taxes has been replaced with the tale of the broken society. Cameron has felt confident enough to claim that it is the Conservatives not Labour who are committed to fighting poverty. Cameron has also shown a strong interest in international development – and matched this with a spending commitment.

This has been a successful and remarkably painless decontamination of the Conservative brand. There have been only two real conflicts with the membership, as opposed to the right-wing press. Firstly, over the 'A-list' for preferred parliamentary candidates, which was seen – ironically considering Cameron's policy agenda – as internal centralisation. Secondly, in summer 2007, there was considerable activist anger over Cameron's refusal to commit to the creation of more grammar schools.

The challenge for Cameron now will be managing the conservative instincts of the party as a whole. It is keen on spending and tax cuts and eager to root out waste and social engineering in the public sector. These instincts are likely to become ever more resurgent in government.

The recession has given the leadership both more and less leeway: there will now be a need to make spending cuts but far less scope for tax cuts. The latter issue is likely to remain a fault line between the leadership and membership, and after the election, the backbenches as well.

The current Conservative position on Europe is actually more extreme than under William Hague and is equally strong on immigration.

## Conservatives 2.0: People Power and the Internet

It is easy to underrate the importance of Conservative activists. They have few formal powers and their main hobby seems to be moaning about the people they select as Prospective Parliamentary Candidates (PPCs) being too young or uncommitted to campaigning.

However, opportunities for web mobilisation are likely to mean that activists are in a far stronger position to influence the party over their policy concerns.

The Conservative grassroots already have a base in the form of ConservativeHome, a forum on which shadow spokespeople regularly set out new policy and to which Cameron has sometimes written in response to the editors' concerns. This has surely created expectations of continued dialogue. It is perfectly plausible that ConservativeHome would be able to mobilise a lot of support over significant policy differences between activists and leadership.

Another issue will be the blogosphere. It is often said that the Conservatives are ahead online, although Opposition would surely give Labour an opportunity to catch-up. Nonetheless, the Conservatives will have to get used to a rougher ride – particularly from those of a naturally critical disposition such as Guido Fawkes. However, other right-wing blogs – and many of the most popular are often uncompromising in their views, will also be significant vehicles for criticising the leadership in a way that previous Conservative governments did not have to endure.

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# Some Conservative challenges

## Devolution

The Tories were wiped out in Scotland in 1997 and are likely to make only a modest recovery there. Meanwhile, Scotland is governed by an SNP administration keen to stoke fears of the return of the Conservatives and 'Thatcherism.' Alex Salmond is likely to use fear of a Conservative government, and the reality of public spending cuts as hooks for a referendum on independence. The party, still officially named Conservative and Unionist and very much officially committed to preserving the Union, will need to tread a careful line if they are to preserve the union. Salmond will no doubt seek to exploit the maximum possible opportunity for conflict.

## Europe

Cameron has successfully kept Europe off the agenda so far but is unlikely to be so lucky in government. The Irish vote in favour of the Lisbon Treaty may come to haunt Cameron, and some MPs are even likely to push for complete re-negotiation of Britain's status in Europe. Rebellious mutterings at the 2009 conference proved abortive, but this will not be the end of the matter. Another flashpoint to watch for in the first year will be any plans emanating from Brussels for stricter regulation of the City of London. Another issue to watch for is the long-term effects of Tory departure from the European People's Party (EPP).



# Cameron's inner circle

When David Cameron first ran for the leadership of the Conservative Party he was identified as a member of the socially liberal and modernising 'Notting Hill Set,' a group of party officials and MPs in their 30s associated with the distinctly unmodern Michael Howard. It included a number still in Cameron's inner circle; MPs such as Ed Vaizey and Michael Gove and advisers such as Steve Hilton and Catherine Fall. What is strange about the Set is that media reference to it has vanished: press mentions have been minimal since early 2007.

The Notting Hill Set can be seen as the latest in a series of Conservative modernising groups, from Hague advisers like Danny Finkelstein, to the MPs labelled 'mods' in the late 90s and the supporters of Michael Portillo in the 2001 party leadership election.

Cameron's modernising group is distinctive for its public school, and specifically Etonian tone. This has been exaggerated, but Cameron retains a significant number of school contacts around him, and Etonians are prominent in the party, not least in the form of Boris Johnson. Less well publicised is the extent to which Cameron and Osborne are surrounded by Oxford graduates in PPE – Philosophy, Politics and Economics. All of Osborne's close advisers were PPEists.

## Edward Llewellyn

Cameron's Chief of Staff, and the only senior member of his team that actually went to school with him. He also worked with Cameron in CRD. Llewellyn has impressive international experience, having worked for Chris Patten in Hong Kong and as an aide to Paddy Ashdown in Bosnia. He is seen as a *de-facto* national security adviser to Cameron. Viewed as a genuine moderniser who fully understands the Cameron agenda.

## Catherine Fall

Deputy Chief of Staff and Cameron's gatekeeper, she exerts strong control over his diary and who he meets. Fall is the half-American daughter of a diplomat, brought up in the US and Russia. She is former Director of the Atlantic Partnership think-tank and previously worked for Michael Howard.

Cameron is the first Etonian Conservative leader in over 40 years, and his success stands in contrast to Douglas Hurd's failed leadership bid in 1990, during which Hurd felt the need to apologise for his schooling.

Cameron's success suggests that British society has made surprising progress in moving beyond both inverted and traditional snobbery. It helps that he has also created an accessible image as a family man. Privilege will remain an Achilles heel for the Conservatives – as the expenses scandal illustrated – and one that will be exacerbated if they gain the perks of office.

The leadership is clearly aware of this, and Cameron has made efforts to be seen to be running a broadly based team, bringing in the down to earth Ken Clarke and promoting Eric Pickles, who has become the accessible face of Conservative Campaign Headquarters (CCHQ). The loss of David Davis from the Shadow Cabinet has been a setback to this process.

One problem is that the Cameron-Osborne double act has few presentational advantages – they are too similar in style and background to complement each other. On the plus side, despite them being tipped as the 'Tory Brown and Blair', there is little evidence of comparable rifts between them. At present it seems unlikely that their relationship will be a source of the central conflicts in Conservative government.

The original inner circle still dominates the decision-making process, with many MPs complaining of feeling excluded. The Shadow Cabinet is not seen as the key decision-making body. This carries overtones of the New Labour project – the idea of a small faction hijacking a party. More importantly it accentuates the importance of the leader’s office.

Tight decision-making and disciplined messaging had clear benefits in the rebranding stage. As Cameron moves into government a different approach will be needed. Ministers will increase in profile and stature and seek to have greater influence on policy. Nevertheless, it is likely that Cameron’s current communications advisers will remain influential.

### Steve Hilton

Cameron’s Director of Strategy is an old friend from Conservative Central Office, where he invented the 1997 ‘New Labour, New Danger’ campaign. He still advises Cameron, despite his stint in California with partner Rachel Whetstone (formerly Michael Howard’s Chief of Staff, now Global VP of Public Affairs and Communications at Google). Hilton has previously worked for Saatchi & Saatchi and ran his own corporate responsibility consultancy. He is one of the main forces behind Cameron’s green, social liberalism and decentralisation agendas. Much of the rebranding work – associating Cameron with the environment and the NHS – has been due to Hilton. He is less strong on economics. He will certainly go to Downing Street but he is not the new Campbell: his emphasis is on strategy and brand, he does not directly deal with the media.

### Gabby Bertin

Bertin has been Cameron’s press officer since the 2005 Conservative leadership election. She is a reassuring presence who has won the respect of the media and will play a prominent role in any Downing street communications team.

### Andy Coulson

The former *News of the World* Editor was appointed Director of Communications in 2007, and has already been a source of controversy. Coulson is the tabloid element of the operation, leading on direct, day-to-day media activity. He has managed to overhaul the CCHQ media machine without provoking a briefing campaign against him and invented the successful ‘ditherer’ tag for Gordon Brown. Most definitely not an Old Etonian, Coulson went to work for the *Basildon Evening Echo* after leaving school. He differs from Hilton in being a more traditional social conservative, and there have been some conflicts between the two over tactics and how far the party should go in terms of modernisation.

### James O’Shaughnessy

Appointed Director of CRD in 2007 and previously Head of Research at Policy Exchange, O’Shaughnessy’s post is indicative of the strong links between the two organisations. Still in his early 30s, he began his career in the education team at CRD, and worked in public affairs until he joined Policy Exchange in 2004. Rumour has it he DJs in Clapham in his spare time.

### Tim Chatwin

Deputy to Steve Hilton and the key interface between Hilton and Coulson. Chatwin handles the strategic media grid, his background is in the Conservative party where he advised CRD on education.

# Some rising stars

The 2005 intake of MPs will be particularly important in a Cameron government. It is larger than its predecessors and will be more experienced than those entering parliament at the next election. After two or three years it will form the backbone of the government.

Of the current MPs likely to rise to prominence in the early years of a Conservative government, the following have most potential:

## Justine Greening

The Putney MP was in many ways the face of the 2005 Conservative mini-recovery and has already made an impact. She was almost instantly promoted to Party Vice-Chairman for Youth and is now in the Shadow Communities and Local Government team after a period in Work & Pensions and the Treasury team. Originally from Yorkshire, she boasts an MBA and has been extensively involved with the work of the Centre for Social Justice.

## Adam Afriyie

MP for Windsor and another of the 2005 intake. Grammar school educated with mixed race parentage, Afriyie has real business experience, having founded and run a number of companies including DeHavilland Information Services. Currently a spokesman on Business, Innovation and Skills, he sat on the party's Competitiveness Review and currently leads CCHQ's business relations department. Likely to become a key influence on regulatory policy in a Conservative government.

## Sir Simon Milton

Currently Chief of Staff to Boris Johnson, was formerly Chair of the Local Government Association and long-standing Leader of Westminster City Council. He is credited with turning Westminster into a flagship authority. Milton will be one of the few prominent Tories with real public sector experience and is our top tip for a senior ministerial post in the Lords.

## Ed Vaizey

MP for Wantage and Shadow Minister for the Arts, Vaizey is a definite moderniser and close friend of David Cameron's (they were at university together). Previously a barrister and a lobbyist, he is a skilled and effective media performer. It seems unlikely that government will see him moving out of the limelight.

## Stewart Jackson

MP for Peterborough and Communities spokesman elected in 2005. Jackson is one of the liveliest Shadow spokesmen and currently handles regeneration and flooding. He has a blokeish manner, good business experience and campaigned fiercely to win his Peterborough constituency. His wife is a national newspaper journalist and his profile seems likely to increase.



### Greg Barker

The Shadow Climate Change Minister and Member for Bexhill and Battle worked in the city, and has led the development of Conservative policy on decentralised energy. His grasp of the Cameronite green agenda and hard commercial knowledge will see him play a crucial role in implementing environmental policy. He is close to Cameron personally, having helped to run his leadership campaign.

### Mark Prisk

Hertford and Stortford MP and Shadow Minister for Business and Enterprise. A keen proponent of business reform and an experienced entrepreneur in property development and marketing. He takes a keen interest in small business issues and the self-employed and international trade. He has tended to oppose green belt development.

### Mark Simmonds

Elected MP for Boston and Skegness in 2001. Simmonds has held a number of shadow posts including education and international development. He is currently shadow health spokesman responsible for NHS commissioning and information. A sharp thinker known for his openness to new ideas, he is definitely one to watch.

### Grant Shapps

MP for Welwyn Hatfield since 2005 Shapps campaigned relentlessly and innovatively to win his seat. An entrepreneur who founded his own printing business at the age of 21, he is currently Shadow Housing Minister. Grant holds a pilot's licence and enjoys general aviation as a pastime.

### Mike Penning

The Hemel Hempstead MP and Health spokesman is probably less well known than the others in this section but is definitely one to watch. A former Grenadier Guards soldier and fireman he has been a political journalist, an adviser to William Hague and Deputy Head of Media under Duncan-Smith. Penning's strong combination of real life and political experience could prove a valuable asset.



# Future Special Advisers

Special Advisers became a source of increasing media and public interest under New Labour, when their profile increased dramatically. Tory special advisers will seek to wield just as much influence as their predecessors but may try to avoid the infamy.

The new wave of Special Advisers will be chosen for the usual range of reasons: loyalty, connections, ideas and political and media skills. There will be rewards for long-serving members of CCHQ and opportunities for wonks in think-tanks to put their visions into practice. As under the early days of New Labour, some special advisers will become notorious, others will be key players behind the scenes, much sought after by journalists and public affairs practitioners. Here is our selection of the ones to watch from party HQ and the centre-right think-tanks.

## Party staffers

### Nick Timothy

Deputy Director of CRD, responsible for much of the day-to-day running of the department. He advises on political issues such as PMQs and by-elections and played a vital role in identifying Conservative Party messaging on the 10p tax rate in 2008.

### Sean Worth

Deputy Director of CRD and responsible for policy development. Has a PhD in labour market policy and will most likely advise on these issues at the business department.

### Sheridan Westlake

Also Deputy Director of CRD, an attack dog who ensures his shadow spokespeople top the PQ league and keeps up a flow of stories for the tabloids. Entrenched in the Research Department for a decade, Westlake keeps his fingers in a number of pies – including lobbyist policy – but is most likely to become a special adviser at the Department for Communities & Local Government (DCLG).

### Caroline Preston

Press Secretary to Cameron, overlooked by most analyses in favour of her better-known colleague Gabby Bertin. However Caroline is equally on the ball with the press. Likely to stay with Cameron and end up in Number 10 after the election.

### Matt Hancock

Chief of Staff to George Osborne, Hancock is an Oxford graduate and former Bank of England economist who has played a crucial role in developing Conservative economic policy. He will almost certainly be going to the Treasury.

### Poppy Mitchell-Rose

Osborne's gatekeeper plays a key organisational role in his office. The former journalist also assists in media relations and is likely to remain with the Shadow Chancellor.



Key players behind the scenes will be much sought after by journalists and public affairs practitioners

### Dominic Cummings

Adviser to the influential Michael Gove, Cummings is an important player on education policy. He was previously Director of Strategy for Duncan Smith and played an important part in his downfall. An established communicator on campaigns such as Business for Sterling, he is a strong tip for the Department for Children, Schools & Families (DCSF.)

### Oliver Dowden

Deputy to Andy Coulson and previously Head of the CCHQ political unit and with experience in communications. He advises across the Shadow Cabinet and his counsel is likely to be brought into government.

### Henry Macrory

The party Head of Press is a former *Daily Star* journalist and the main source of interaction with the lobby press. He has broad Fleet Street experience and now tweets from the lobby.

## Think-tanks

### Elizabeth Truss

Deputy Director of Reform, a Conservative councillor and former Parliamentary candidate, she seems far more likely to plunge directly into politics than Reform Director Andrew Haldenby. She has recently completed a report on policing reform, which proposes increasing public involvement in criminal justice. Do not be surprised if she ends up at the Home Office.

### Sam Talbot-Rice

The young and very bright Head of Research at the Centre for Policy Studies has interests across public services reform from faith schools to the BBC. Keeps a lively blog on the *Telegraph*. Likely to advise the Cabinet Office.

### Ben Caldecott

Director of Environment at Policy Exchange, and stands out as one of the organisation's most influential thinkers. His writing on how individuals can be more green in their everyday lives is in tune with the freedom and responsibility agenda. There is a good chance that he will be an adviser at the Department of Energy and Climate Change.

# Parliamentary candidates to watch

For the Conservatives to be elected to government they will need to win 130 additional seats, requiring a demanding swing of around 7%. A reasonable Conservative majority will bring some surprise entries into the House of Commons. The spate of resignations after the expenses scandal will further accentuate this process, and may see the election of some celebrity candidates and political newcomers.

## The new intake

The Conservatives have worked for the last decade to reform candidate selection in an attempt to build a more diverse party that ‘reflects modern Britain.’ In parallel with this, the party was keen to bring in people with achievements outside of politics and party networking. At the start of Cameron’s tenure, an ‘A-list’ of preferred candidates was created, but, hated by activists jealous of celebrity queue jumping and disliked by local constituency associations, it was quietly dropped. Open Primaries have also provided an opportunity for a wider range of candidates to shine by opening the adoption process up beyond the activist base.

To a large extent the diversification programme has been a success: the candidates list includes more women and more ethnic minorities. However, it is still dominated by middle-class professionals and remains distinctively Oxbridge. Amongst the 200 candidates most likely to win are 33 lawyers and three offspring of former Cabinet ministers.

The new crop of candidates are appreciably more metropolitan than current Tory MPs. This is partly a reflection of the seats the Tories are targeting – urban and suburban, in contrast to their current rural base. Some traditional Tory occupations are less on show – there are 16 farmers and 17 with military experience amongst the Top 200 candidates – compared to 17 with teaching experience.

The main issue with the new intake of MPs is the extent to which it shares Cameron’s policy preferences. Despite media claims that candidates are very right-wing, the evidence here is distinctly mixed – as many candidates said they would have voted for Obama as McCain (47%) in a ConservativeHome poll of candidates.

On social policy the same poll found the evidence is varied – a majority of candidates support rights for same sex couples but also favour restriction of the abortion law and are happy to allow Catholic adoption agencies to exclude gay adoption. Three quarters also oppose capital punishment. It seems that the party has settled at a new consensus probably not too far from Cameron’s own position on social issues.

However, according to the same poll, only 4% of candidates agree with the policy of protecting international aid spending from cuts. 39% of those polled wished to protect defence spending, and only 34% cited protecting health spending, which is the leadership's position. The party is also lukewarm on the environmental agenda – terrorism is seen as a bigger problem than global warming and candidates are keen on nuclear power.

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It is on Europe that the views of candidates are strongest – although only 5% of candidates favour withdrawal, nearly 90% favour repatriation of powers from, or re-negotiation with, the EU.

Overall, candidates are not completely at variance with the positions that Cameron has set out. The real risk is that they will seek to drive Conservative policy to the right on spending and Europe. Leaving the EPP will have been nowhere near enough to appease the Eurosceptics.



The names below are another set of ‘ones to watch.’ They stand out by dint of their experience, intellect and communications skills –in particular using new media. We predict that, one way or another they will make an impact. This may be soon: new intake MPs may be needed as ministers within a very short space of time.

### Shaun Bailey

Standing in Conservative-held Hammersmith, still one of only a few ethnic minority candidates. Raised by a single mother in a deprived area, Bailey has become a poster boy for the modernisation of the party, and lends it crucial legitimacy with respect to youth and urban issues. A youth worker and founder of the charity MyGeneration, he is a top broadcast performer, a favourite of Cameron and author of policy papers on Conservative solutions to inner city problems.



### Charlie Elphicke

Candidate for Labour-held Dover, Tory target seat 90. A tax lawyer by day, he has been credited as having the best candidate website. Elphicke is Research Fellow at the CPS and stands out as a contributor on ConservativeHome on the economy and the public finances. He aims to make Britain ‘richer and more fun.’

### Gavin Barwell

Candidate for Conservative-held Croydon Central. Despite being only 36, Barwell’s experience goes back to the Major government where he was a special adviser on the environment. He has worked as Director of Campaigning for the Party. He is one of the candidates to have mastered the art of blogging.

### Nicholas Boles

Candidate for Grantham and Stamford, currently held by defector Quentin Davies. An original member of the Notting Hill Set and founding Director of Policy Exchange. Boles was appointed Boris Johnson’s Director of Transition when he became Mayor of London, assembling his senior team of advisers (a task he is not widely regarded as successful in). He currently heads up the CCHQ Implementation team with Francis Maude MP and is a key figure in the Tories’ plans for re-thinking government.

### Jesse Norman

Fighting Lib Dem-held Hereford and South Herefordshire, Norman has an impressive intellectual pedigree, not only as an Executive Director of Policy Exchange but as the author of books on conservative philosopher Michael Oakeshott and Compassionate Conservatism. A former Director of Barclays, he might also bring something to economic policy-making.

### Nicola Blackwood

In her early 30s and fighting Lib Dem-held Oxford West and Abingdon, Blackwood faces a fierce campaign against a well-entrenched MP. She has extensive international development field experience and worked as an adviser to Andrew Mitchell. She is such a modern Conservative she describes her profession as ‘human rights campaigner.’

### Charlotte Leslie

Fighting Labour-held Bristol North West, 31 year old Leslie will be in Parliament if she achieves a 1% swing. She has an impressive all-round CV: she was an adviser to David Willets, editor of the Bow Group Magazine and author of a number of education policy papers. She has managed to blog for both the *Guardian* and the *Daily Mail*.

### Zac Goldsmith

The son of late billionaire tycoon and Referendum Party leader James Goldsmith, Zac's background is very much in environmental issues, particularly as Editor of the *Ecologist* magazine. He is fighting against Liberal Democrat Susan Kramer in Richmond Park, which is 61st on the Conservative target list. He was a co-chair of the Conservatives' Quality of Life Policy Group.

### Margot James

The Conservatives' first openly lesbian candidate running for Stourbridge in the West Midlands only requires a 1.5% swing. She is currently Vice-Chairman of the party for women's issues and a successful businesswoman; she set up and ran PR agency Shire Health, which she sold to Martin Sorrell's WPP.

### Robert Halfon

Fighting Labour-held Harlow for the third time, and probably successfully against a majority of only 357. Currently Political Director of the Conservative Friends of Israel and on the board of the Centre for Social Justice, Halfon previously worked for Oliver Letwin, the benign uncle of Tory modernisation. He maintains a news and feature packed website and is a regular contributor on ConservativeHome's Centre Right blog.

### Damian Collins

Replacing Michael Howard to fight Folkestone and Hythe, Collins is another with a good all-round CV. He has worked for Saatchi & Saatchi and in public affairs, as well as for the party in the research department and press team. He has also contributed to a number of Bow Group policy publications.

### Priti Patel

Fighting Conservative-held Witham in Essex, Patel will be the first female Asian MP. She was a surprise selection for a constituency thought to be committed to white males. Patel currently works in public affairs but has previously been on the political frontline as Deputy Press Secretary to William Hague. She has already attracted interest in the national press for her distinctly socially conservative views.

### David Gold

Fighting a key target of Labour-held Eltham, Gold previously fought Brighton Pavilion. He needs a swing of 4% to enter Parliament. He worked for William Hague and was one of the party's early modernisers and remains fairly socially liberal side. He has extensive business and charity experience.

### Philippa Stroud

Candidate for Lib Dem-held Sutton and Cheam, Philippa needs only a 3% swing but will face a tough fight. If elected, however, she is likely to be influential, as Executive Director of the Centre for Social Justice she has turned that body into a key influence on Cameron's social policy.



# Conclusion

Cameron has made the Tories a credible and potentially election winning force. He has completed a successful rebranding whilst developing a considerable amount of new policy. He has developed a professional media operation which regularly succeeds in setting the news agenda at the beginning of each week.

He has nevertheless made some mistakes, and still faces significant challenges in solidifying his party's support leading up to the General Election. There will be significant political conflict over public spending and over economic policy more broadly. Cameron has a strong poll lead but it is not the Labour lead of the mid-90s.

A Conservative victory is very likely, but not certain, and a hung Parliament with the Conservatives as the largest party remains a real possibility.

There are a number of potential areas of conflict. One of these is Cameron's court. Cameron has a close knit team of advisers, many of whom are his friends, and the tightness of this group, and the exclusion of outsiders, alienates many in the Parliamentary party.

Europe, successfully avoided by Cameron, remains a significant challenge. The closer Cameron gets to government the more likely the chances of conflict over Europe. Also the more likely that Cameron's hardline European policy – and its likely consequences – will come under scrutiny.

But the big question remains – how will Cameron perform in government? So far he has handled most crises well, and has built up a team of high-quality people. It also seems likely that he will have a crop of good, fresh MPs.

Against this there are risks – particularly the mediocre prospects for the economy and dire ones for the public finances. Once in government, his own MPs may wish to move to the right, or rebel against Cameron's style of leadership.

Questions remain then about what a Cameron government will really be about. In particular whether there will be a clear direction, strategy, and commitment to reform in the style of Margaret Thatcher – or whether Cameron will seek to simply adapt and try to survive for that second term.

**How well Cameron handles these challenges will determine how any Cameron government is remembered.**



# 100 most winnable seats

Name	Constituency	Currently held by	Swing (%)	Swing (votes)
Mike Freer	Finchley and Golders Green	Labour	0.05%	31
Henry Smith	Crawley	Labour	0.05%	37
Gavin Barwell	Croydon Central	Labour	0.35%	317
Jane Ellison	Battersea	Labour	0.40%	336
Guto Bebb	Aberconwy (previously called Conwy)	Labour	0.40%	243
Robert Halfon	Harlow	Labour	0.45%	357
Iain Stewart	Milton Keynes South	Labour	0.50%	483
Mike Weatherly	Hove	Labour	0.50%	450
Caroline Nokes	Romsey and Southampton North	Lib Dem	0.55%	462
Mark Coote	Cheltenham	Lib Dem	0.55%	515
Maria Hutchings	Eastleigh	Lib Dem	0.55%	530
Gareth Johnson	Dartford	Labour	0.65%	583
Caroline Righton	St Austell and Newquay	New Seat	0.80%	630
Stephen Mosley	City of Chester	Labour	0.90%	813
Gareth McKeever	Westmorland and Lonsdale	Lib Dem	0.90%	836
Neil Carmichael	Stroud	Labour	0.95%	1007
Charlotte Leslie	Bristol North West	Labour	1.05%	1075
Nicky Morgan	Loughborough	Labour	1.15%	1138
Jonathan Evans	Cardiff North	Labour	1.25%	1146
Ken Andrew	Carshalton and Wallington	Lib Dem	1.25%	1044
Amber Rudd	Hasting and Rye	Labour	1.30%	1205
Wilfred Emmanuel Jones	Chippenham	New Seat	1.35%	1260
Craig Whittaker	Calder Valley	Labour	1.40%	1346
Margot James	Stourbridge	Labour	1.45%	1285

Name	Constituency	Currently held by	Swing (%)	Swing (votes)
Jesse Norman	Hereford and South Herefordshire	Conservative	1.45%	1297
Jason McCartney	Colne Valley	Labour	1.50%	1535
Mark Formosa	Taunton Deane	Lib Dem	1.50%	1702
Louise Bagshawe	Corby	Labour	1.55%	1517
Simon Kirby	Brighton Kempton	Labour	1.65%	1213
Peter Lyburn	Perth and North Perthshire	SNP	1.65%	1521
Steve Metcalfe	South Basildon and East Thurrock	Labour	1.70%	1467
Alun Cairns	Vales of Glamorgan	Labour	1.80%	1664
Robert Buckland	Swindon South	Labour	1.85%	1565
Brian Binley MP	Northampton South	Labour (Boundary redrawn)	1.85%	1386
Richard Drax	Dorset South	Labour	1.85%	1812
Mark Lancaster MP	Milton Keynes North	Labour (Boundary redrawn)	1.90%	1862
Jeremy Lefroy	Stafford	Labour	1.95%	1800
Alberto Costa	Angus	SNP	2.10%	1601
Julian Sturdy	York Outer	New Seat	2.25%	1821
Karen Lumley	Redditch	Labour	2.30%	1948
Anna Soubry	Broxtowe	Labour	2.35%	2267
Andrew Griffiths	Burton	Labour	2.40%	2134
Andrew Bingham	High Peak	Labour	2.50%	2332
Andrew Stephenson	Pendle	Labour	2.65%	2180
Simon Hart	Carmarthen West and South Pembrokeshire	Labour	2.70%	2063
Deirdre Alden	Birmingham Edgbaston	Labour	2.75%	2187
David Nuttall	Bury North	Labour	2.75%	2236

Name	Constituency	Currently held by	Swing (%)	Swing (votes)
Paul Uppal	Wolverhampton South West	Labour	2.80%	2252
Lorraine Fullbrook	Ribble South	Labour	2.85%	2686
Peter Duncan	Dumfries and Galloway	Labour	2.85%	2922
Christopher Pincher	Tamworth	Labour	2.95%	2569
Heather Wheeler	Derbyshire South	Labour	3%	2733
Marcus Wood	Torbay	Lib Dem	3%	2755
Martin Vickers	Cleethorpes	Labour	3.05%	2642
Bob Blackman	Harrow East	Labour	3.10%	2647
Justin Tomlinson	Swindon North	Labour	3.30%	2832
Phillipa Stroud	Sutton and Cheam	Lib Dem	3.30%	2870
Robin Walker	Worcester	Labour	3.40%	3144
Zahid Iqbal	Bradford West	Labour	3.55%	2580
Zac Goldsmith	Richmond Park	Lib Dem	3.60%	3649
Brandon Lewis	Great Yarmouth	Labour	3.70%	3055
Matthew Offord	Hendon	Labour	3.75%	3005
Mary MacLeod	Brentford and Isleworth	Labour	4%	3471
Ben Jeffreys	Cheadle	Lib Dem	4%	3950
David Gold	Eltham	Labour	4.10%	3174
Richard Fuller	Bedford	Labour	4.10%	3476
Andrew Percy	Brigg and Goole	Labour	4.10%	3347
Stephen McPartland	Stevenage	Labour	4.25%	3451
Jake Berry	Rossendale and Darwen	Labour	4.25%	3752
Flick Drummond	Portsmouth South	Lib Dem	4.25%	3181
Philip Allott	Halifax	Labour	4.35%	3438
Chris Kelly	Dudley South	Labour	4.40%	3126
Michael Ellis	Northampton North	Labour	4.50%	3483

Name	Constituency	Currently held by	Swing (%)	Swing (votes)
Joanne Cash	Westminster North	New Seat	4.55%	3021
Paul Maynard	Blackpool North and Cleveleys	Labour	4.65%	3540
Brenda Porter	Southport	Lib Dem	4.65%	3838
Jeff Clarke	Wirral South	Labour	4.70%	3724
Andrew Bridgen	Leicestershire North West	Labour	4.75%	4477
Anne-Marie Morris	Newton Abbot	Lib Dem	4.75%	4573
Mark Garnier	Wyre Forest	Independent	4.75%	4574
Karl McCartney	Lincoln	Labour	4.80%	3844
Marcus Jones	Nuneaton	Labour	4.85%	3843
Susan Williams	Bolton West	Labour	4.90%	4075
James Morris	Halesowen and Rowley Regis	Labour	5%	4140
Suzy Davies	Brecon and Radnorshire	Lib Dem	5.10%	3905
Charlie Elphicke	Dover	Labour	5.20%	5061
Bruce Laughton	Gedling	Labour	5.25%	4876
Kris Hopkins	Keighley	Labour	5.25%	4852
John Stephenson	Carlisle	Labour	5.30%	4069
Deborah Dunleavy	Bolton North East	Labour	5.35%	3581
Oliver Colville	Plymouth Sutton and Devonport	Labour	5.35%	4305
Simon Reevell	Dewsbury	Labour	5.40%	4924
David Mowat	Warrington South	Labour	5.45%	5062
Stuart Andrew	Pudsey	Labour	5.45%	4751
Bob Dalrymple	Stirling	Labour	5.45%	4767
Nick King	Mid Dorset and North Poole	Lib Dem	5.45%	5270
Richard Harrington	Watford	Labour	1.96%*	1148
Neil Hudson	Edinburgh South	Labour	4.55%*	405
Julia Mulligan	Leeds North West	Lib Dem	4.8%*	911
Gerald Michaluk	Ochil and South Perthshire	Labour	4.95%*	688

# Cameron's Shadow Cabinet

David Cameron	Leader of the Conservative Party	Francis Maude	Shadow Minister for the Cabinet Office and Shadow Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster
William Hague	Shadow Foreign Secretary and Senior Member of the Shadow Cabinet	Theresa May	Shadow Secretary of State for Work and Pensions and Shadow Minister for Women
George Osborne	Shadow Chancellor of the Exchequer and General Election Campaign Coordinator	Patrick McLoughlin	Opposition Chief Whip in the House of Commons
Greg Clark	Shadow Secretary of State for Energy and Climate Change	Andrew Mitchell	Shadow Secretary of State for International Development
Kenneth Clarke	Shadow Secretary of State for Business	David Mundell	Shadow Secretary of State for Scotland
Alan Duncan	Shadow Leader of the House of Commons	Pauline Neville-Jones	Shadow Security Minister and National Security Adviser to the Leader of the Opposition
Liam Fox	Shadow Secretary of State for Defence	Owen Paterson	Shadow Secretary of State for Northern Ireland
Mark Francois	Shadow Minister for Europe	Eric Pickles	Chairman of the Conservative Party
Cheryl Gillan	Shadow Secretary of State for Wales	Grant Shapps	Shadow Housing Minister
Michael Gove	Shadow Secretary of State for Children, Schools and Families	Caroline Spelman	Shadow Secretary of State for Communities and Local Government
Chris Grayling	Shadow Home Secretary	Thomas Strathclyde	Leader of the Opposition in the Lords
Dominic Grieve	Shadow Secretary of State for Justice	Theresa Villiers	Shadow Secretary of State for Transport
Philip Hammond	Shadow Chief Secretary to the Treasury	Sayeeda Warsi	Shadow Minister for Community Cohesion and Social Action
Nick Herbert	Shadow Secretary of State for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs	David Willetts	Shadow Minister for Universities and Skills, with special responsibility for family policy
Jeremy Hunt	Shadow Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport	Joyce Anelay	Opposition Chief Whip in the Lords (Attending Shadow Cabinet)
Andrew Lansley	Shadow Secretary of State for Health		
Oliver Letwin	Chairman of the Policy Review and of the Conservative Research Department		