CONSERVATIVE LEADERSHIP CANDIDATES: A ROOT AND BRANCH REVIEW
ROOT AND BRANCH REVIEW

GRASSROOTS SUPPORT AND ODDS

MICHAEL GOVE
GRASSROOTS SUPPORT
TBC
BOOKMAKER ODDS
10/1

THERESA MAY
GRASSROOTS SUPPORT
36%
BOOKMAKER ODDS
4/11

STEPHEN CRABB
GRASSROOTS SUPPORT
7%
BOOKMAKER ODDS
25/1

ANDREA LEADSOM
GRASSROOTS SUPPORT
7%
BOOKMAKER ODDS
4/1

LIAM FOX
GRASSROOTS SUPPORT
4%
BOOKMAKER ODDS
50/1

GRAASSROOTS POLL WAS CONDUCTED BY YOUCOV/TIMES 29TH JUNE 2016
REFERENCE: LADBROKES, NEXT PERMANENT TORY LEADER, 1ST JULY 2016
We need a bold, new, positive vision for the future of our country – a vision of a country that works not for a privileged few but for everyone, regardless of who they are and regardless of where they’re from.

THERESA MAY
Constituency: Maidenhead • Majority: 29,059

Theresa was elected in May 1997, she had previously contested unsuccessfully for Barking in 1994 and North West Durham in 1992.

BACKGROUND
• Theresa May has been Home Secretary since the start of the Coalition Government in May 2010. Between May 2010 and October 2012 she also served as Minister for Women and Equalities.
• While in opposition, her roles included Shadow Work and Pensions Secretary, Shadow Leader of the House of Commons, Shadow Family, Culture, Media and Sport Secretary, Shadow Transport Secretary, and Shadow Education Secretary.
• From 2002 to 2003, May served as the first female Chairwoman of the Conservative Party.
• Prior to entering Parliament, May was a councillor in the London Borough of Merton between 1986 and 1994. During this time she held positions including housing spokesperson and Deputy Leader of the Conservative Group.
• Born in Sussex and educated at Oxford University, May started her career at the Bank of England. She went on to become Head of the European Affairs Unit and later Senior Adviser on International Affairs at the Association for Payment Clearing Services.

ROLE IN REMAIN CAMPAIGN
• Officially, May backed the Remain campaign, but stayed largely aloof from referendum campaigning. Having made just one big speech on Brexit in April 2016, her silence can be seen as indicative of her early ambitions to bid for leadership regardless of the referendum result.
• As a ‘Brexit-Among Remain’ woman who is tough on immigration, May is likely to pitch herself as the unity candidate in the leadership race.

POSITION ON POST-BREXIT NEGOTIATION
• As Home Secretary, May has had a complex and often difficult relationship with the police service. Clashes over budget cuts, pay restructuring and corruption have only served to harden her determination to reform the police service, which may well continue as a personal focus if she becomes leader.
• May has confirmed that if elected, she would not hold a snap general election, instead leaving the EU.
• In her April speech, May also highlighted that Brexit could be ‘fatal’ to the union with Scotland and Britain’s international relationships, including the ‘Special Relationship’ with the US. Political leaders and Mike Penning are therefore likely to be another priority should she be chosen to lead Britain as it negotiates leaving the EU.

POLITICAL VIEWS
• May is a political heavyweight and is generally well-respected by her Conservative colleagues. She famously highlighted the perception of the Conservatives as the “nasty party”, helping to pave the way for the modernising approach undertaken by David Cameron when he became party leader.
• She is not a Gove or Blair-style ‘grand reformer’. However, her role in noisily pushing the policing efficiency agenda and unwavering commitment indicates she is willing to affect significant change, and is more than capable of doing so.
• Often compared with the German Chancellor Angela Merkel, it is well known in government that she is a tough negotiator. It has been reported that “if she wanted something, he [David Cameron] liked to give it to her”. Colleagues have both admired and admonished her tight control of the Home Office. Some have criticised this as micro-management but this has enabled her to become the longest serving Home Secretary since 1892.
• May holds a prominent role in government when the Conservatives developed their manifesto ahead of the last election, and is seen as being well-placed to continue with the government’s existing mandate.
• May does not have the same parliamentary power base enjoyed by the likes of George Osborne and Michael Gove. However, she may well benefit from the backing of MPs loyal to David Cameron. Foreign Secretary Philip Hammond, International Development Secretary Justine Greening, Police Minister Mike Penning, and several other Conservative MPs have pledged their support for the Home Secretary since 2010.

DOMESTIC POLICY PRIORITIES
• May has confirmed that if elected, she would not hold a snap general election, instead leaving the EU. At the passage of time, it is thus useful that she has recognised the need of Parliament to re-elect her as Prime Minister.
• She has described the ‘choice’ between EU and non-EU markets as a ‘false dichotomy’, arguing that Britain needs to maintain access to both.

We need a bold, new, positive vision for the future of our country – a vision of a country that works not for a privileged few but for everyone, regardless of who they are and regardless of where they’re from.
I have come, reluctantly, to the conclusion that Boris cannot provide the leadership or build the team for the task ahead.

Michael was elected in May 2005.

BACKGROUND

• Born in Scotland, Michael Gove was adopted and raised by a Labour-supporting family. An Oxford graduate, Gove was rejected when he applied to work at the Conservative Research Department for being “insufficiently Conservative”.
• He turned to work as a journalist, including for The Times and the BBC. He later became Assistant Editor of The Times.
• He published a biography of Michael Portillo in 1995, and served as Chair of Policy Exchange — the leading centre-right think tank — from 2003 to 2005.
• First elected to Parliament in 2005, Gove immediately became part of the so-called Notting Hill Set of Cameroon Conservatives. Upon his election as leader David Cameron appointed Gove as housing spokesperson. He was later promoted to Shadow Secretary of State for Children, Schools and Families, shadowing Ed Balls.
• Upon the formation of the Conservative—Liberal Democrat coalition, Gove was appointed as Secretary of State for Education. Trailblazing and combative, he referred constantly to bureaucrats, unions and other education interests as “the Blob”. He cancelled the school building programme initiated under Labour, and focused on strengthening the curriculum and expanding the academies programme, frowning schools from local authority control and oversight. During his tenure he faced vociferous opposition, especially from teaching unions.
• In the pre-election reshuffle Mr Gove was appointed as Chief Whip, taking responsibility for being the government’s broadcast spokesperson. After the election he was appointed as Secretary of State for Justice and brought his reforming zeal to that department by scrapping court fees, removing a limit on the number of books prisoners can have, and announcing plans to devolve budgets and decision-making to prison governors.
• Gove is married to Sarah Vine, a columnist for the Daily Mail, and has two children.

ROLE IN LEAVE CAMPAIGN

• Gove’s decision to head up the Leave campaign came as a shock, despite his long-held Euroscepticism, due to his close personal links to David Cameron. Writing for the Spectator, Gove attributed his opposition to continued membership to a desire to protect British sovereignty and described the EU’s institutions as “hopelessly out of date”.
• He participated in several television debates during the campaign, and was regarded as a devastatingly effective operator. He was a proponent of cutting down on immigration and introducing a points-based immigration system. He also called for voters to stop “sending £350 million a week” to Brussels, stating that the savings could be spent on the NHS instead.

POSITION ON POST-BREXIT NEGOTIATION

• Gove has described the outcome of the EU referendum as a “clear instruction” from the British people “to restore democratic control of immigration” and to “spend their money on national priorities such as health, education and science”.
• Gove said during the referendum campaign that leaving the EU would mean that Britain would have to exit the single market.
• He suggested the UK could seek to maintain “access” to the single market by joining a European free-trade zone, free from EU regulations and the free movement of people.
• He also spoke of Britain’s potential to negotiate bilateral trade agreements with other countries including the US, China and India.

DOMESTIC POLICY PRIORITIES

• Gove’s focus is on helping individuals to realise their potential, and he could be expected to turn his reforming zeal to a number of areas. He would likely continue David Cameron’s life chances strategy in some form and retain his interest in education and prisons, as well as turning to welfare.
• Gove is socially liberal, and focused on individual freedom, stating “the only sustainable ethical foundation for society is a belief in the immutable worth and dignity of every individual”.
• He describes himself as a neoconservative on matters of foreign policy, ascribing importance to the UK’s relationship with the US and Israel. He also supports “exporting” liberal democracy to the Middle East, and takes a strong stance against extremism.
• He has previously said “I just don’t have what it takes” when asked about his potential leadership ambitions.
I was brought up to believe that no-one is a self-made man or woman – we are all shaped and formed by our families and communities. And I was brought up to understand that nothing gets handed to you on a plate. Stephen was first elected in May 2005. He had previously contested his seat unsuccessfully in 2001. He has declared that he will stand on a joint ticket with Sajid Javid as Chancellor.

BACKGROUND
- Stephen Crabb has been Work and Pensions Secretary since Ian Duncan Smith’s resignation in March. Prior to his position at the Department for Work and Pensions he served in the Wales office from 2012, first as Minister and then rising to Secretary of State.
- He was also an Opposition and Government Whip from 2009 to 2014.
- Crabb has sat on the Treasury and International Development Committees. He is a member of the Conservative Party Human Rights Commission, the Parliamentary Energy Studies Group, and the Conservative Christian Fellowship.
- Before entering Parliament Crabb worked as a marketing consultant. He was also Research Assistant to former MP Andrew Rowe, Parliamentary Affairs Officer for the National Council for Voluntary Youth Services, and Policy and Campaigns Manager for the London Chamber of Commerce and Industry.
- Crabb was Chair of the Southwark North and Bermondsey Conservative Association for two years.
- Raised in Haverfordwest, Pembrokeshire, Crabb studied at Bristol University before gaining a Master’s in Management from the London Business School.

ROLE IN REMAIN CAMPAIGN
- Crabb strongly backed the Remain camp warning Britain would face “economic rupture” if the country voted to leave the EU. He called the possible move “self-harm” that would “take an enormous, indelible toll on families and communities”.
- He said that within the EU, the UK gets the best of both worlds – full access to the single market without using the Euro.

POSITION ON POST-BREXIT NEGOTIATION
- As both a working class Conservative and a reluctant leaver he is positioning himself as someone who can work with Scotland’s Nicola Sturgeon to maintain national unity while reconnecting with voters and carrying out their will to leave.
- He has said there will be no general election in the autumn, arguing the Conservatives have a mandate to 2020 and the country does not need more instability.
- Crabb has committed to enacting the peoples’ wish to leave the EU, dismissing the possibility of a second referendum. He has also called immigration a “red line” in negotiations.
- He will create an advisory council made up of the devolved administrations of Scotland, Wales, Northern Ireland, and the Westminster Parliament. London is notably absent.

DOMESTIC POLICY PRIORITIES
- Crabb is a one nation compassionate Conservative inspired by his Christian faith and the example of his single mother who grew up on a housing estate and managed to wean herself off a reliance on benefits.
- He is seen as representing the next generation of Conservatives who won marginal seats in recent elections. This group of MPs is concerned with winning the favour of white working class industrial areas, engendering and supporting communities, and promoting social mobility.
- Key supporters include a number of the 2010/2015 intake as well as Children and Families Minister Edward Timpson and Attorney General Jeremy Wright, who is running his campaign.
- Crabb has declared he will stand on a joint ticket with Sajid Javid to become his Chancellor. Sajid is also seen as a new generation Conservative who can reach out to non-traditional voters.
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Sajid was first elected in May 2010.

BACKGROUND
- Following the 2015 general election Sajid Javid was appointed Secretary of State for Business Innovation and Skills. In the previous parliament, Sajid was the fastest rising MP of the 2010 intake. He served as Culture Secretary, Financial and Economic Secretaries to the Treasury, Parliamentary Private Secretary (PPS) to George Osborne and PPS to Further Education Minister John Hayes.
- Before entering Parliament Sajid had a successful career as a banker working as Vice President for Chase Manhattan Bank aged just 24 and then as a Managing Director for Deutsche Bank in Singapore.
- Sajid describes himself as the working class son of an immigrant bus driver and a seamstress, one of five sons. He studied Economics and Politics at Exeter University.

ROLE IN REMAIN CAMPAIGN
- Sajid Javid campaigned for remain but pledged to stay a “Brussels basher” calling it a very difficult decision to make.

POSITION ON POST-BREXIT NEGOTIATION
- He has pledged to enact the decision to leave saying “we’re all Brexiteers now”.
- Despite this, he is positioning himself as the voice of business, hosting a summit of business groups and vowing staying in the single market as his top priority for negotiations.
- This position has been called into doubt given Crabb’s commitment to curtailing freedom of movement and assertions from Angela Merkel and other European leaders that the two policies go hand in hand.

POLITICAL VIEWS
- Sajid grew up admiring Thatcher, saying he “was a Thatcherite long before I was a Conservative”. He is an idealist who set up a free market campaigning organisation with later ConHome founder Tim Montgomerie at university.
- He wanted the Conservatives to be more radical and opposed Britain’s membership of the single rate mechanism.
- The story of his immigrant father arriving in Britain with just £1 in his pocket means that, like Crabb, he is seen as a candidate that would appeal to working class and BME audiences.
- Javid is not a practising Muslim and his wife is a church-going Christian. He has non-traditional views for his background, linking the Paris attacks to Islam, and is strongly supportive of Israel.

SAJID JAVID
Constituency: Bromsgrove • Majority: 16,529

Potential Chancellor

Sajid was first elected in May 2010.
Andrea was elected in May 2010, having contested the seat of Knowsley South in 2005.

BACKGROUND
• Andrea Leadsom was appointed Minister of State for Energy and Climate Change following the May 2015 election. In the previous parliament, she served as Economic Secretary to the Treasury.
• Before her government role, Leadsom served as a member of the Treasury Select Committee from 2010 – 2014. Throughout this period, she was the only female member of the Committee.
• Before entering Parliament, Leadsom worked in the banking and finance industry for 25 years. Her roles included Head of Corporate Governance and Senior Investment Officer at Invesco Perpetual. Fittingly, her maiden speech in 2010 was on the need for greater competition in the banking sector.

ROLE IN LEAVE CAMPAIGN
• Leadsom was one of the Leave campaign’s leading lights, having participated in both the ITV and BBC televised debates in the run-up to the referendum. These platforms boosted her profile with the public as well as setting her out as an ardent Eurosceptic.

POSITION ON POST-BREXIT NEGOTIATION
• Leadsom has already been dubbed the “true Brexit candidate” amongst some Leave campaigners. In the aftermath of the referendum result, she’s been quick to emphasise that “ending freedom of movement should be non-negotiable”. For Leave campaigners, this stands in stark contrast to Boris’s failure to clarify his position in his first Telegraph column after the referendum result.
• Leadsom has also called on MPs to disregard their personal views on Brexit in favour of becoming ‘implementers’ of the public’s wishes. This reflects a clear effort on her part to develop a tough stance on the Brexit negotiation.
• In terms of allies, Leadsom is known for her close association with George Osborne after her time in the Treasury. However, the Chancellor is unlikely to endorse any of the candidates. A question also hangs over the state of their relationship after Leadsom’s prominent role in the Leave campaign.

DOMESTIC POLICY PRIORITIES
• Given her lack of prominent ministerial positions to date, Leadsom’s character and political viewpoints (aside from her Euroscepticism) are less publicised than those of her rivals, particularly Theresa May and Michael Gove.
• Nonetheless, leadsom has defined herself within Westminster as a classic small ‘c’ conservative, believing in further devolution of power and a small state. She is a keen proponent of early intervention being preferable to welfare support, having campaigned on life chances and the significance of early years development.
• Leadsom’s other interests include clean energy (whilst being ardently opposed to onshore wind), economic and fiscal policy and gender equality in the workplace. Her broad spectrum of policy positions will likely appeal to all elements of the Conservative party.
We've just been through quite a traumatic period in our referendum and I think we need to try to heal the divisions on that and I think I can do that having been on the Leave side of that equation but having many friends on the other side who were in the Remain camp.


BACKGROUND
- Fox unsuccessfully stood for the party leadership in 2010, where he was eliminated in the second ballot, being beaten by David Cameron and David Davis.
- Following his unsuccessful leadership bid, Fox was appointed as Shadow Secretary of State for Defence. He was appointed as Secretary of State for Defence in May 2010, but was forced to resign in October 2011 after controversy over his relationship with the lobbyist, Adam Werritty.
- Whilst in opposition, Fox's roles included Shadow Foreign Secretary, Shadow Secretary of State for Health and Shadow Minister without Portfolio.
- From November 2003 – May 2005, Fox served as Co-Chair of the Conservative Party.
- Prior to entering Parliament, Fox worked as a GP, a Civilian Army Medical Officer and a Divisional Surgeon with St John Ambulance.
- Born in East Kilbride, Fox was born and raised in a Catholic family. He was educated in the state sector and studied Medicine at the University of Glasgow.

ROLE IN REMAIN CAMPAIGN
- Fox is a long-time Eurosceptic, and is opposed to European defence and political integration, particularly in the Lisbon Treaty.
- Despite this, as well as his prominent position as vice-president for the Eurosceptic pressure group, Conservatives for Britain, Fox avoided voicing his views too loudly during the campaign.
- This has left him well-placed to unite MPs on both sides of the debate, and will form a core part of his appeal as a candidate.

POSITION ON POST-BREXIT NEGOTIATION
- While Fox has not explained his preferred option for the UK’s relationship with the EU following the result of the referendum, it is likely he would want a bare-thread relationship, encompassing Single Market access at most, given his strong Euroscepticism.
- Fox could position himself as a staunch Brexiteer who will see through the referendum result, while strengthening the UK’s relationship with NATO and the US.
- His support of the UK’s nuclear deterrent could be a first port of call, to both unite the party and exploit the disarray in the Labour party, should Jeremy Corbyn still be in power.
- Controlling immigration would be another priority for Fox, who has consistently been in favour of stronger enforcement of immigration rules and could carry favour with the electorate.
- Fox’s previous call to end the ring-fencing of the NHS budget may popular if the referendum result tips the UK into recession.
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DOMESTIC POLICY PRIORITIES
- Fox was once a political heavyweight, though his forced resignation in 2011 damaged his reputation both in parliament and with the wider public.
- Further, Fox’s time out of the political limelight has meant his political convictions, short of his euroscepticism, staunch support of the military and overall position on the right of the Conservative Party, have been left as needing to be fleshed out. This likely means that the current fast-paced leadership race will place him at a disadvantage.
- Fox voted for the invasion of Iraq in 2003, and has been vocal in promoting government military interventions in Iraq, Afghanistan, Syria and Iran should it be required. The release of the long-awaited Chilcot report on the 6th July may not be to his disadvantage.
- His opposition of same-sex marriage and ending of the NHS' ring-fencing puts him at odds with any “one nation” candidate; his leadership bid in 2005 was built around the theme of a “broken society”.
- While Fox has yet to receive any endorsements from MPs, the bulk of his support will come from the right of the party, given his traditional conservative views on issues such as immigration, welfare and the NHS.
HOW WE CAN SUPPORT YOUR ORGANISATION TO RESPOND

Making sure you are in the best place to respond to the evolving policy and regulatory environment is key to ensuring you protect your ability to operate effectively.

In addition to our existing range of integrated communications services, Westminster Advisers has put together the following options to help you effectively position your organisation in the immediate future.

Assessment of impact on your organisation

An assessment of the immediate political and economic implications of the referendum outcome for your organisation or sector:

1. The latest political developments and implications for your sector.
2. How to effectively position your business within the developing political, media and policy narrative.
3. A presentation to your senior team on the above, including the production of analysis and outputs.

Stress-testing your strategy

A deep-dive into your public affairs, PR and communications strategy to help you maximise impact in the post-referendum environment:

1. Review your strategy and stress-test your messaging within the new political landscape.
2. Make recommendations on how you revise your strategy to ensure it resonates with new stakeholders.
3. Put you in the best position to be influential and well advocated for your messages.
4. Help you to forward-plan your strategy against key milestones.

Supporting your internal comms

Helping you to effectively communicate to your staff to ensure they are informed and understand the implications of the referendum and its political fall-out:

1. Review your internal communications plan to ensure it sets out your position in a clear, accessible way.
2. Help you to maximise message delivery by advising on effective forward planning, as well as ensuring messages are consistent and targeted.
3. Assess the channels and messages you intend to use with your audience to make sure they provide clarity and comfort.
4. Ensure your internal communications strategy supports two-way communication with employees.

Policy analysis for investors

An in-depth look at the policy risks to your business to identify:

1. How your portfolio’s exposure to UK and European policy, regulation, trade in labour supply. The range from implemented and expected European directives to stated UK government and opposition policy and legislative programmes.
2. Potential changes to these policy areas and how these affect your business’s operations.
3. The commercial risks this presents to your assets and where there are opportunities to mitigate these factors.
4. A regular review of political risks on individual assets, exploring further detail where changeable or business-critical risks are identified.

Insight, monitoring and analysis

Ensuring you stay ahead of the curve in understanding:

1. Who the new key players are in government and the opposition.
2. The outputs of the teams “Team Brexit” unit.
3. The policy priorities of No.10 and the key government departments.
4. How the manifesto development process works, should a general election be called.
5. Where the pressure points are and how you can capitalise on new hires.
6. Effectively tracking the policy development process.

ABOUT WESTMINSTER ADVISERS

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