

Dear Colleagues,

Paper 3/2017: Values

Last year, Lord Feldman's Conservative Party Review found, "A general theme was that the Party does not tend to talk enough about values or use these to encourage membership."¹ This paper is a direct response to this feedback and a part of all that is now going on following the General Election:

- Sir Eric Pickles is leading a formal review, together with Graham Brady, the Chairman of the 1922 Committee, and Rob Semple, the Chairman of the National Convention, into the Party's General Election campaign to see what lessons can be learned.²
- The Prime Minister has asked the Committee on Standards in Public Life to undertake a review of intimidation experienced by Parliamentary candidates and to report back with recommendations on ways to tackle abuse in the future.³
- Following the evident success of the opposition to motivate the younger generation of voters to support them, the CPF has also announced a summer project of Renewal ahead of the Party Conference.⁴

Following the General Election, rather than plunging back in with discussions on specific issues, this CPF discussion paper considers the longer view towards 2022. It encourages members to reflect on the values and assumptions that we will all be bringing to our discussion of future policy areas. This paper, therefore, is not so much about shaping the development of future Government policy as about shaping the Party and future CPF discussions.

We want to ensure that as many associations and as many members are able to engage in this wide-ranging discussion. So, the closing date for this brief is 8 October, after the Party conference. We look forward to receiving your responses to the paper in due course, using the response form published on the CPF website, via CPF.Papers@conservatives.com. A summary of responses to this paper will be sent to both the Chairman of the Prime Minister's Policy Board and the Party's Chief Executive within a month of the closing date for submissions and a response will be due by the end of the year.

With best regards,

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and

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One-Page Summary

Towards a Conservative policy agenda

The CPF's vision is that the United Kingdom be shaped by a Conservative policy agenda. Our mission is to develop and advance Conservative ideas and policies within the Party and in Government for the benefit of the whole nation. This begs a very simple but fundamental question: what Conservative values underpin such an agenda?

Our Election Manifesto presented five giant challenges that the nation faces: the need for a strong economy; Brexit and a changing world; enduring social divisions; an ageing society; and fast-changing technology.

This paper seeks to lay the ground for our future CPF policy discussions around these challenges. Using statements made by the Prime Minister, we want to consider together what the Conservative Party stands for and how our values connect with those of the wider electorate.

1. Conservative Values

The deeply-held convictions that drive members' priorities and underlie the assumptions that influence our attitudes and actions.

2. Conservative Themes

The ideas that define 21st-century Conservatism.

3. Conservative Mission

The respective responsibility of the Government, of businesses, of charities, of families, of individuals and of other institutions in society to tackle entrenched disadvantage and to promote real equality in our communities and the country.

4. Conservative Principles

The need to tackle political disengagement, rebuild faith in politics and open the Conservative Party up to a new generation.

*"The values and aspirations that motivate the British people are the same values and aspirations that motivate us. Their priorities are our priorities. They want better public services first - so do we. They want to see a society which cares for vulnerable people - so do we. They want Britain to be better - so do we. Because we are the party that cares more about where you are going than where you have come from. We are the party for everyone in Britain who wants to change things for the better. The status quo will not do - it's leaving too many people behind. That's why we are committed to change. It's not for its own sake, it's change with a purpose - both in our country and in our party."
(Theresa May, conference speech, 2002)*

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Our Election Manifesto presented five giant challenges that the nation faces:

- 1. The need for a strong economy.** We need to make the most of our existing strengths, invest in infrastructure and people, and ensure that the whole of our economy across the whole of our country can grow. Without a strong economy, we cannot guarantee our security, our personal prosperity, our public services, or contented and sustainable communities.
- 2. Brexit and a changing world.** We need to deliver a smooth and orderly departure from the European Union and forge a deep and special partnership with our friends and allies across Europe. As there is increasingly little distinction between domestic and international affairs in matters of migration, national security and the economy, Britain must stay strong and united – and take a lead in the world to defend our interests.
- 3. Enduring social divisions.** For too many people, where you end up in life is still determined by where you were born and to whom. We need to make sure that everyone has the opportunity to make the most of their talents and hard work, whoever you are and wherever you are from.
- 4. An ageing society.** We need to respond to the reality of an ageing society, giving people security in old age and caring for those with long-term health conditions, whilst making sure we are fair to younger generations.
- 5. Fast-changing technology.** For the sake of our economy and our society, we need to harness the power of fast-changing technology, while ensuring that our security and personal privacy – and the welfare of children and younger people – are protected.

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1. Conservative Values

*"The government I lead will put fairness and opportunity at the heart of everything we do, so that we fulfil the promise of Brexit together and – over the next 5 years – build a country in which no one and no community is left behind; a country in which prosperity and opportunity are shared right across this United Kingdom."
(Theresa May, 9 June 2017)*

"True Conservatism means a commitment to country and community; a belief not just in society but in the good that government can do; a respect for the local and national institutions that bind us together; an insight that change is inevitable and change can be good, but that change should be shaped, through strong leadership and clear principles, for the common good.

"We know that our responsibility to one another is greater than the rights we hold as individuals. We know that we all have obligations to one another, because that is what community and nation demands. We understand that nobody, however powerful, has succeeded alone and that we all therefore have a debt to others. We respect the fact that society is a contract between the generations: a partnership between those who are living, those who have lived before us, and those who are yet to be born." (Conservative Manifesto 2017, p.9)

*"While [our opponents] believe in control we believe in freedom. While they believe in uniformity we believe in choice. While they trust politicians we trust the people."
(Theresa May, conference speech, 2002)*

Values represent the distinctive and enduring core priorities that guide decisions in any organisation. They are deeply-held convictions that drive members' priorities and underlie assumptions that influence attitudes and actions.

The Conservative Party has a long and proud history: from the landed party of grandees; through free trade and repeal of the Corn Laws under Peel; through electoral reform and mass enfranchisement under Disraeli; through social reforms such as the Factory Acts and abolition of slavery, as the party of social justice and One Nation welfare; through the rise of liberalism and socialism, as the party of freedom and wealth creation; through the World Wars and Cold War, as the party of strong defence; through monetarism, as the party of enterprise; to the challenges that we face today – of globalisation, Brexit, and the nation's ongoing problems with the public finances.

- Discuss the above quotations and compile a list of up to a dozen values that your group considers to be Conservative values – the distinctive and enduring core priorities that we should draw on in navigating the challenges of our age.

2. Conservative Themes

"We, the Conservatives, will put ourselves at the service of ordinary, working people and we will strive to make Britain a country that works for everyone – regardless of who they are and regardless of where they're from. I know there is a great hunger for this kind of One Nation vision in the Conservative Party. Whether it is the 2020 Group, the Blue Collar Conservatism agenda or the social justice caucus, I have never known our Party to be so alive with such creative policy thinking and such an obvious desire to improve people's lives. And it this is the kind of Conservatism I've always believed in and always stood for." (Theresa May, 30 June 2016)

Discuss each of the following Conservative themes and compose a short summary (up to 40 words) of what you understand by each phrase:

- a. Modern Conservatism
- b. Compassionate Conservatism
- c. One Nation Conservatism
- d. Blue Collar Conservatism

Having defined each of the phrases, on a scale of 0 to 10, to what extent do each of them resonate with your group's ideas of Conservatism?

Modern Conservatism	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Compassionate Conservatism	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
One Nation Conservatism	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Blue Collar Conservatism	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

3. Conservative Mission

"We live in a country where if you're born poor, you will die on average 9 years earlier than others. If you're black, you're treated more harshly by the criminal justice system than if you're white. If you're a white, working-class boy, you're less likely than anybody else in Britain to go to university. If you're at a state school, you're less likely to reach the top professions than if you're educated privately. If you're a woman, you're likely to be paid less than a man. If you suffer from mental health problems, there's not enough help to hand. If you're young, you'll find it harder than ever before to own your own home. There are not easy answers to these problems, but it is vital that we come together to address them. For they are all burning injustices that undermine the solidarity of our society and stunt our capacity to build the stronger, fairer country that we want Britain to be. ..."

"When you see others prospering while you are not; when you try to raise your concerns but they fall on deaf ears; when you feel your very identity – all that you hold dear – is under threat, resentments grow, and the divisions that we see around us – between a more prosperous older generation and a struggling younger generation; between the wealth of London and the rest of the country; between the rich, the successful and the powerful, and their fellow citizens – become entrenched. That's why I believe that – when we consider both the obvious and the everyday injustices in unison – we see that the central challenge of our times is to overcome division and bring our country together by ensuring everyone has the chance to share in the wealth and opportunity on offer in Britain today. And that starts by building something that I call the shared society." (Theresa May, 9 January 2017)

Britain is said to have the lowest social mobility in the developed world. Here, the salary you earn is more linked to what your father got paid than in any other major country.⁵

- In what areas of life, our communities and the country would you say discrimination, division and the need for real equality still persists?
- Rank the areas that you have identified according to how great a cause for concern you think they are.
- To what extent do you think it is the responsibility of the Government, of businesses, of charities, of families, of individuals and of other institutions in society to tackle entrenched disadvantage and to promote equality in these areas?

4. Conservative Principles

"If we're going to govern in the interests of the whole country, we cannot allow the Government to be defined exclusively and indefinitely by the process of our withdrawal from the EU. Because Britain still needs a Government that is capable of delivering a programme of serious social reform and realising a vision of a country that truly works for everyone." (Theresa May, 30 June 2016)

"The full title of my party is the Conservative and Unionist Party, and that word 'unionist' is very important to me. It means we believe in the Union: the precious, precious bond between England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland..."

"As we leave the European Union, we will forge a bold new positive role for ourselves in the world, and we will make Britain a country that works not for a privileged few, but for every one of us. That will be the mission of the government I lead, and together we will build a better Britain." (Theresa May, 13 July 2016)

If we are to tackle political disengagement, rebuild faith in politics and open the Conservative Party up to a new generation, what Conservative principles do you think should guide the Government's approach to each of the following areas?

- Brexit negotiations
- Social reform
- Political reform

Resources

The speeches by Theresa May quoted in this discussion paper can be read in full at:

- Statement after the 2017 General Election, 9 June 2017: [link](#)
- The shared society, Charity Commission annual meeting, 9 January 2017: [link](#)
- First statement as Prime Minister, 13 July 2016: [link](#)
- Leadership launch statement, 30 June 2016: [link](#)
- Chairman’s speech, Party Conference, 2002: [link](#)

People to seek opinions from

Conservative Parliamentarians

Endnotes

¹ *Conservative Party Review 2016*, p.8: [link](#)

² *Pickles and Brady to conduct Party’s inquiry into the general election campaign*, Conservative Home, 14 July 2017: [link](#)

³ *Intimidation of Parliamentary candidates: CSPL Call for Evidence*, Committee on Standards in Public Life, 24 July 2017: [link](#)

⁴ *Shaping Tomorrow – Post-Election Conservative grassroots renewal*, CPF, 21 July 2017: [link](#)

⁵ *A Family Affair: Intergenerational Social Mobility across OECD Countries* (2010) OECD, pp.184f: [link](#), citing *Intergenerational Transmission of Disadvantage: Mobility or Immobility Across Generations? A Review of the Evidence for OECD countries* (2007) D’Addio, A., OECD Social, Employment and Migration Working Papers No. 52, pp.31ff: [link](#), but cf. *The link between family background and later lifetime income: how does the UK compare to other countries?* (2014) Jerrim, J., Institute of Education, University of London: [link](#)