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The Parliamentary Conservative Party: The
Leadership Elections of William Hague and Iain
Duncan Smith

Michael Hill

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the
Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of
Philosophy

The University of Huddersfield

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of my father, David Leyland Hill.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my supervisory team: Dr. Timothy Heppell, Professor Brendan Evans and Professor Valerie Bryson for their help, support and guidance. I am also grateful to Dr. David Tyfa and Dr. Jon Blacktop for their assistance and advice with the statistical element of this thesis. I would like to express my gratitude to the Rt. Hon. Francis Maude MP for sharing his views of the 2001 Conservative Party leadership campaign. Finally I would like to thank my partner Corrina Rest and my mother, Pauline Hill, whose support made it possible for me to complete this work.

Abstract

The aim of this research is to investigate the post-1997 Parliamentary Conservative Party, with particular attention placed upon the Conservative Party leadership election of 1997 and 2001. The thesis uses these two leadership elections as a lens which can be utilised to focus upon and analyse the ideological disputations of contemporary British Conservatism. This is done by identifying the voting behaviour of Conservative parliamentarians in the two leadership elections and then by putting forwards a systemic explanation of the candidates' support. Three sets of variables are tested. First, the thesis analyses socio-economic variables (i.e. the occupational and educational background of conservative parliamentarians). Second, the research considers the candidates' support in relation to electoral and political variables (i.e. electoral vulnerability, political insider / outsider status, age and experience). Finally the research will evaluate the candidates' support with regard to the ideological disposition of the candidates and their supporters. This requires an extensive exploration of the attitudes of Conservative parliamentarians with regard to the dominant ideological divides within contemporary post-Thatcherite Conservatism – economic policy (wet / dry), European policy (europhile / eurosceptic), and social, sexual and moral attitudes (social liberalism / social conservatism). By analysing the patterns of voting in relation to social background, political attributes and ideological disposition the thesis locates and interprets the differing motivational influences on voting behaviour.

The thesis argues the ideological disposition of the candidates and their supporters was the crucial factor in both the leadership elections. The final round of the 1997 leadership election was a straight ideological battle between the europhile and eurosceptic wings of the parliamentary Conservative Party. This benefited the eurosceptic William Hague at the expense of the europhile Kenneth Clarke. In 2001 both Clarke and Portillo attracted support from across the ideological spectrum of the parliamentary party, suggesting that a section of the parliamentary party had moved away from ideologically driven voting behaviour. However, Iain Duncan Smith reaching the final ballot was due to the support of an ideologically cohesive group of traditional Thatcherite MPs and indicative of the continued significance of ideology on the direction of the Conservative party.

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Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 Rationale

The Conservative Party has traditionally and with some justification thought of itself as the natural party of government. During the 20th century, the party was in government, either alone or in coalition for a total of sixty-two years. The party dominated post-war British politics governing for thirty-five years between 1945 and 1997. Moreover, the main anti-Conservative party only achieved a significant majority in three parliaments before 1997; the Liberals between 1906-1910 and Labour between 1945-50 and 1966-70. By contrast, the only Conservative government hampered by the lack of a working majority was John Major's administration of 1992-97 (Seldon & Ball, 1996: i). Moreover, of the twelve 20th century Conservative leaders only two, Austen Chamberlain and William Hague failed to become Prime Minister (Watkins, 1998: 1). Several factors have been put forward for the Conservative Party's dominance: their ideological flexibility, superior organisation, unity and strong leadership. The Conservative Party has traditionally ceded considerable power to the party leader, giving him or her sole authority to appoint the cabinet in government and the shadow cabinet in opposition. The leader is also the sole arbiter of policy and nothing can become party policy without the agreement of the leader. However, the extent of this formal power can deceive the casual observer into believing that Conservative leaders are omnipotent for although Conservative leaders enjoy wide ranging authority, they are not automatically blessed with security of tenure. Writing in the days before Conservative Party leaders were subject to annual re-election Robert McKenzie noted that:

It is important to note that the Conservative Leader achieves office and retains power only with the consent of his followers; *and there is ample precedent for the withdrawal of that consent.* (McKenzie, 1964: 22)

In particular, consent depends on the leader delivering that which the Conservative Party craves most; power. Conservative Party leaders who do not deliver electoral success are ruthlessly removed. Moreover, even the perception of future failure was enough to trigger the removal of Mrs. Thatcher, despite three successive electoral victories.

The 1997 general election defeat was one of the worst in Conservative Party history: the carnage of election night cut the Conservatives' representation to a mere 165 MPs, their lowest total since 1906 (Cowley & Stuart, 2003, 66), moreover the party polled its lowest

share of the vote since 1832 and polled almost six million votes fewer than in 1992 (Garnett & Lynch, 2003: 1). The electoral catastrophe of 1997 was followed by a further humiliation in 2001, when the party gained just one seat. Since 1997 the Conservative Party has been faced with a dual crisis of ideology and leadership, which provides the rationale for this thesis. The onus on the party leader to formulate policy, together with the Conservative Party's inability to articulate a coherent, credible and electorally successful response to New Labour has further undermined the position of the Conservative Party leader. In turn this has contributed to the continued perception that the party was disunited and lacking in strong leadership.

The Conservative Party's disunity and ideological sterility was at its most visible during the Conservative Party leadership elections of 1997 and 2001 and it is this that has provided the rationale for this thesis. The research will examine the voting behaviour in these two leadership elections and analyse this within the context of socio-economic variables (educational and occupational background); electoral and political variables (electoral vulnerability, age and experience, career status); and ideological variables (attitudes towards the economy, Europe and social policy). The main thrust of the research will be placed on analysing social, political and ideological factionalism within the PCP in the post-1997 period, specifically concentrating upon the Hague and Duncan Smith eras. The research thesis will use the 1997 and 2001 leadership elections as a lens which can be utilised to focus upon and analyse the ideological disputations of contemporary British Conservatism. Furthermore, it will seek to identify the links between factionalism, electoral unpopularity and the attempt to define the ideology of the parliamentary Conservative Party in the post-Thatcherite era.

The research will therefore revolve around three hypotheses based on Cowley and Garry's (1998) three motivational models of voting behaviour:

These will argue that voting in leadership elections is influenced by social background (education and former occupation); it is influenced by political attributes (electoral vulnerability, age and experience and career status); and centrally that it is determined by ideological disposition (economic policy, European policy and social policy).

Identifying individual MP's social status and political attributes will be determined through analysing career backgrounds of individual MPs through such sources as Dod's Parliamentary Guide. However, the main thrust of the research will be on analysing the

ideological disposition of individual MPs and how this relates to voting behaviour in leadership elections. In methodological terms, this will involve using analysis of parliamentary data; division lists, early day motions (EDMs) and membership of party ‘ginger groups’ together with press leaks, statements to journalists, semi-structured elite interviews and sample surveys of Conservative MPs. The data on the social background, political attributes and ideological disposition of individual MPs can then be married to data on voting behaviour in the 1997 and 2001 leadership elections to explain the outcomes of those elections.

1.2 Structure

The thesis will consist of five substantive chapters: Conservatism and the Conservative Party: Ideology and Politics; The Conservative Party Leadership Elections of 1997 & 2001; The Social Background and Political Attributes of the Parliamentary Conservative Party; The Ideological Disposition of the Parliamentary Conservative Party 1997 – 2003; Voting Behaviour in the 1997 and 2001 Leadership Elections: The Impact of Social Background, Political Attributes and Ideological Disposition. The thesis will conclude with an assessment of the impact of leadership and ideological renewal on the Conservative Party between 1997 and 2003.

Chapter two will be in two sections; the first will provide an overview of the ideology and politics of the Conservative Party. The concept of ideology is related to an examination of the ‘building blocks’ of conservatism, utilising Norton’s (1994) theory of tenets and dispositions. The interaction of these, sometimes contradictory, tenets and dispositions will then be used to draw out the inherent tensions within conservatism in general and British conservatism in particular. The discussion of conservatism will conclude by examining the validity of the ‘death of conservatism’ hypothesis expounded by Giddens (1995), Gray (1997) and the counter arguments of their critics, notably Willetts (1997) and Eccleshall (2002). The second section of this chapter will examine the institutional aspects of the Conservative Party; the National Union, Conservative Central Office and the Parliamentary Conservative Party. This includes a discussion on the role of the leader of the Conservative Party; their powers of patronage and of policy formulation and the leader’s relationship with the party they lead: it will argue that although Conservative leaders are ceded broad powers, this is conditional on delivering electoral success and that the introduction of a formal leadership election has left Conservative leaders even more dependent on the goodwill of the parliamentary party. The

chapter will then examine why the Conservative Party introduced a formal election process, designed by Alec Douglas Home and first used in 1965, give an explanation of the procedures used and outline how these procedures were subsequently amended. The chapter will then analyse the reforms instituted by William Hague, which included an overhaul of the party's organisation and completely new leadership election rules that allowed party members to take part on the basis of one member one vote.

Chapter three will be a background chapter, which provides an historical narrative of the 1997 and 2001 Conservative Party leadership elections, which resulted in William Hague and Iain Duncan Smith respectively being elected party leader. This chapter will also be in two sections; the first section covers the period from May 1997 to June 2001 and will give an account of the party's defeat in the general election of 1997 that triggered the resignation of John Major. It will then give an account of the strengths and weaknesses of the candidates who took part in the 1997 leadership, together with an assessment of the potential impact of those senior Conservatives who were unable to contest the election, in particular Michael Heseltine and Michael Portillo. The chapter will then give an account of the three ballots that led to William Hague becoming leader, together with an analysis of Hague's leadership of the Conservative Party. This will centre upon the constraints upon Hague's leadership, particularly his lack of personal following, Michael Portillo's return to Westminster and the legacy of sleaze personified by Jeffrey Archer and Jonathan Aitken. It will then examine Hague's attempt to move beyond Thatcherism by defining a socially liberal 'Fresh Conservatism' and explain why this failed and Hague reverted to traditional Thatcherism with his 'Common Sense Revolution'.

The second section of this chapter covers the period from June 2001 until October 2003. It will examine the circumstances of the Conservative Party's defeat in the 2001 general election and the resignation of William Hague. The chapter will then analyse the qualities of the candidates who contested the 2001 leadership election and assess why some senior Conservatives chose not to enter the contest. It will then offer an account of the three rounds of balloting within the parliamentary party and the final round ballot of the entire party that led to Iain Duncan Smith being elected leader. The chapter will then offer an assessment of Duncan Smith's leadership of the party together with an account of his removal from the post. It will look at his lack of charisma and how the Conservative Party continued to flat line in polls, despite signs of innovative new policies. This section will then examine the failures

of Duncan Smith's party management that eventually culminated in him losing a vote of no confidence and being forced to resign. The chapter will conclude with a comparative assessment of the leadership of William Hague and Iain Duncan Smith.

Chapter four will analyse four sets of non-ideological factors that contribute towards the composition and nature of the parliamentary Conservative Party; social background, electoral vulnerability, age and experience and career status. Whilst work on the social composition of the PCP has been done before, notably Baker, Gamble & Ludlam (1992), Baker & Fountain (1996) and Cowley & Garry (1998), it is in need of updating. The chapter will provide a discussion of the relevance of the representativeness of a political party's MPs, together with an appraisal of the historical changes in the social background of the Parliamentary Conservative Party, as defined by MPs' education and pre-parliamentary career. It will then go on to analyse the social background of the 1997 and 2001 PCP. This analysis, together with past analyses has concentrated on the class background of the PCP, due to the paucity of women and ethnic minorities within the PCP. Consequently, the final part of this section will examine the reasons for the Parliamentary Conservative Party being almost exclusively white and male, together with a discussion of the measures the Conservative Party are taking to remedy this imbalance. It will then look at the political attributes that may define or impact upon a Conservative MP's career: electoral vulnerability, age and experience and career status. The chapter will show that MPs with marginal constituencies are likely to find that their electoral vulnerability acts as a severe restraint upon their ability to rise to high office. Conversely MPs are far more likely to achieve cabinet, or shadow cabinet, rank if they possess a safe seat. The age and experience of the Conservative Party's leadership will then be analysed in light of Rosenbaum's assertion that a common goal of politicians is to appear to be authoritative and experienced (Rosenbaum, 1997: 179). It will reveal that as the post-war period has progressed the Conservative Party has chosen ever younger and less experienced leaders, who have in turn appointed younger and less experienced colleagues to cabinet and shadow cabinet. Finally, the chapter will outline how the career status of MPs, referred to by John Major as the 'possessed, dispossessed and never possessed' may affect a Conservative MP's strategy, as they seek the job of leading their party.

Having dealt with non-ideological factors that affect the character and behaviour of the parliamentary Conservative Party, chapter five will examine the impact that ideology has had upon the post-war Conservative Party and analyse the ideological disposition of the

parliamentary party from 1997 to 2003. The chapter will be in three sections; the first will examine academic classifications of the Conservative Party (Rose, 1964; Norton, 1990; Dunleavy 1993; Baker, Gamble & Ludlam 1993, 1994; Sowemimo, 1996: Baker, Gamble & Seawright, 2002; Garry, 1995; Cowley, P. & Garry J. 1998; Heppell 2002). The second section will deal with the ideological development of the Conservative Party from 1945 – 1997 and the third section will provide an analysis of the ideological composition of the parliamentary Conservative Party from 1997-2001 and 2001-2003.

Traditional accounts of the Conservative Party have argued that it was primarily interested in attaining and retaining power and was therefore more concerned with party unity and electoral pragmatism than with ideological ‘purity’. This led Richard Rose (1964) to argue that the Conservative Party was a ‘party of tendencies’, rather than a ‘party of factions’. However, other academics argued that by the late Thatcherite era the Conservative Party was increasingly concerned by ideology and showing signs of factional behaviour (Gamble, 1995, 1996: Baker et. al., 1993). Consequently, the chapter will begin by appraising the work of Rose (1964). The chapter will contain an overview of previous typologies of the Thatcherite and post-Thatcherite Conservative party: one-dimensional (Norton, 1990), two-dimensional (Dunleavy 1993; Baker, Gamble & Ludlam 1993, 1994; Sowemimo, 1996: Baker, Gamble & Seawright, 2002) and three-dimensional (Garry, 1995; Cowley, P. & Garry J. 1998; Heppell 2002) (Heppell & Hill, 2005: 342). These will be used to critique the contemporary relevance of Rose’s (1964) definition of the Conservative Party as a party of tendencies, rather than a party of factions.

Chapter five will provide a thematic analysis of historically important ideological disputations within the Parliamentary Conservative Party. The thematic scheme will reflect Gamble’s definition of the Thatcherite Conservative Party as the party of national independence, economic liberty and conservative morality (Gamble, 1996: 28). It will show how the party has undergone considerable ideological change over the period. The Conservatives’ economic policies initially accepted the Attlee Settlement; welfare state, full employment and conciliatory policies towards the trade unions but subsequently rejected of these ideas in favour of a return to economic liberalism under Margaret Thatcher, after a period of muddle under Heath. The party’s attitudes towards Europe have also evolved with time; from indifference in the immediate post-war period, through to enthusiastic engagement under Heath and wary acceptance in the early years of Margaret Thatcher’s leadership.

However, after Thatcher's *Bruges Speech* Conservative attitudes to Europe underwent a sea change, leading some Conservative MPs to advocate a fundamental redrafting of European treaties or outright withdrawal from the European Union. The Conservative disputation over Europe reached its zenith during John Major's premiership, and ratification of the Maastricht Treaty, poisoning intra-party relations and wrecking his government. Finally this section will account for the sometimes confused social and moral policies of the Thatcherite Conservative Party, which consisted of strong rhetoric against the 'permissive society' ushered in during the 1960s, together with little serious attempt to reverse the socially liberal reforms of the era. The Conservatives' socially conservative rhetoric eventually opened them up to ridicule after John Major launched 'Back to Basics' and several of his colleagues were revealed to be enmeshed in sexual or financial scandal.

The final section of this chapter will use division lists, early day motions, group memberships and public statements to locate the ideological disposition of each Conservative MP elected in 1997 and in 2001. This will provide evidence to show that the parliamentary Conservative Party moved sharply to the right after the 1997 general election; it was drier, more eurosceptic and more socially conservative than the cohort elected in 1992¹.

Chapter six will present an in depth analysis of the final round of the 1997 Conservative Party leadership election and the final parliamentary round of the 2001 leadership election. It will explain the methodology used to identify whether an MP voted for Clarke or Hague (1997) and Clarke, Portillo or Duncan Smith (2001) and present a series of tables showing who voted for whom. The chapter will then offer a number of possible hypotheses that may account for voting behaviour: non-ideological hypotheses; social background, age and experience and career status, together with ideological hypotheses; economic policy, European policy and social and moral policy. Data will be presented that shows composition of the candidates' supporters according to each hypothesis. The data will be examined using bivariate analysis to show the impact of non-ideological and ideological factors upon the leadership elections of 1997 and 2001.

¹ Research into the ideological composition of the PCP 1992-1997 was carried out by Heppell (2002)

1.3 Conclusion

In conclusion, the rationale for this thesis is to explore the impact of two catastrophic election defeats upon what was, until 1997 the most successful democratic political party in Europe. The thesis is centred on three hypotheses which argue that voting behaviour in leadership elections are motivated by several factors: social background, political attributes and ideological disposition. The thesis will attempt to do this through an analysis of the composition of the contemporary Conservative Party in non-ideological as well as ideological terms. The thesis will commence with an outline of the ideological foundations upon which the Conservative Party is built, together with a description of how the Conservative Party organises itself. This is followed by a contextual analysis of the 1997 and 2001 leadership elections and an appraisal of the performance of the leaders elected in those elections. The thesis will then examine the social background and political attributes of Conservative MPs and look at how these factors impact upon Conservative politics. It will then discuss academic typologies of the Conservative Party and whether the party is one of tendencies or factions. The chapter will also account for the development of the party's ideology in the post war period and offer an analysis of the ideological composition of the parliamentary Conservative party of 1997 and 2001. Finally the thesis will take evidence of candidate support during the 1997 and 2001 leadership elections and marry it with data concerning the social background, political attributes and ideological disposition of Conservative MPs. This data will then be analysed to provide an explanation of voting behaviour in the 1997 and 2001 leadership elections and to focus on the ideological divisions within contemporary British Conservatism. Ideology is explored in relation to non ideological factors in order to demonstrate its decisive impact on recent Conservative leadership elections.

Chapter Two

Conservatism and the Conservative Party: Ideology and Politics

2.1 Introduction

The rationale of this chapter is to set out the philosophical and organisational foundations upon which the Conservative Party is built. The chapter is in two sections; the first will provide an overview of the ideology and politics of the Conservative Party. The chapter will provide a definition of ideology and discuss the merits and demerits of linear and three dimensional ideological spectra. The chapter will then define what is meant by the concept of conservatism. This will then be expanded into an examination of the ‘building blocks’ of conservatism, utilising Norton’s (1994) theory of tenets and dispositions. The interaction of these, sometimes contradictory, tenets and dispositions will then be used to draw out the inherent tensions within British conservatism, in particular the tensions can be seen to arise between: economic liberals and economic interventionists; eurosceptics and europhiles and social liberals and social conservatives. The chapter will then examine three strands or traditions of political action within the Conservative Party: paternalism, libertarian conservatism and the new right. The discussion of conservatism will conclude by examining the validity of the ‘death of conservatism’ hypothesis expounded by Giddens (1995), Gray (1997) and the counter arguments of their critics, notably Willetts (1997) and Eccleshall (2002).

The second section of the chapter will examine the institutional aspects of the Conservative Party the National Union and the role of party activists; Conservative Central Office and the role of the Chairman; the Parliamentary Conservative Party and the role of the 1922 Committee. The chapter will then examine the formal and informal powers of the Party leader and the possible constraints a leader may face, together with an appraisal of the different ways the Conservative Party has used to choose its leaders. The chapter will conclude by examining the scope and impact *Fresh Future* reforms instituted by William Hague in 1998.

2.2 Ideology

The term ideology is often used in a negative or pejorative sense; it is seen by many to imply extreme, rigid and authoritarian positions that are commonly associated with fascism and communism (McLellan, 1996: 7). Consequently, this has led to the denial of ideology across

a wide range of political traditions; liberals have viewed ideology as an officially sanctioned belief system that claims a monopoly of truth, Conservatives traditionally regarded ideology as a set of unrealistic and possibly dangerous goals divorced from reality. Moreover, whilst fascists reject ideology as over-intellectualised and devoid of fervour, traditional Marxists see it as a tool used by the ruling class, to manipulate the opinions and emotions of the masses, thereby perpetuating the dominance of the ruling class; in *The German Ideology* Marx described ideology as:

The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas, i.e. the class which is the ruling *material* force of society, is at the same time the ruling *intellectual* force.
(Heywood, 1998: 7, 15)

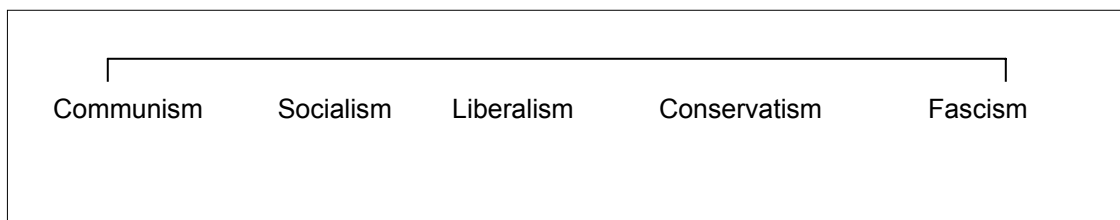
By contrast, Marx claimed that his ideas constituted a set of scientific principles that could be used to examine the true nature of society (Leach, 1996: 17).

However, in order to analyse and classify political doctrines it is necessary to adopt a more inclusive definition of ideology, which acknowledges that all such doctrines can be encompassed by the term. (Evans, 1994: 131). Heywood’s (1998) definition is that:

An ideology is a more or less coherent set of ideas that provides the basis for organised political action, whether this is intended to preserve, modify or overthrow the existing system of power. All ideologies therefore (a) offer an account of the existing order, usually in the form of a ‘world view’, (b) provide the model of a desired future, a vision of a ‘good society’ and (c) outline how political change can and should be brought about. (Heywood, 1998: 12)

This more inclusive definition allows us to classify political doctrines and relate them to one another. The simplest and most frequently used approach has been to relate ideologies on a linear left / right spectrum (see Table 2.1 below).

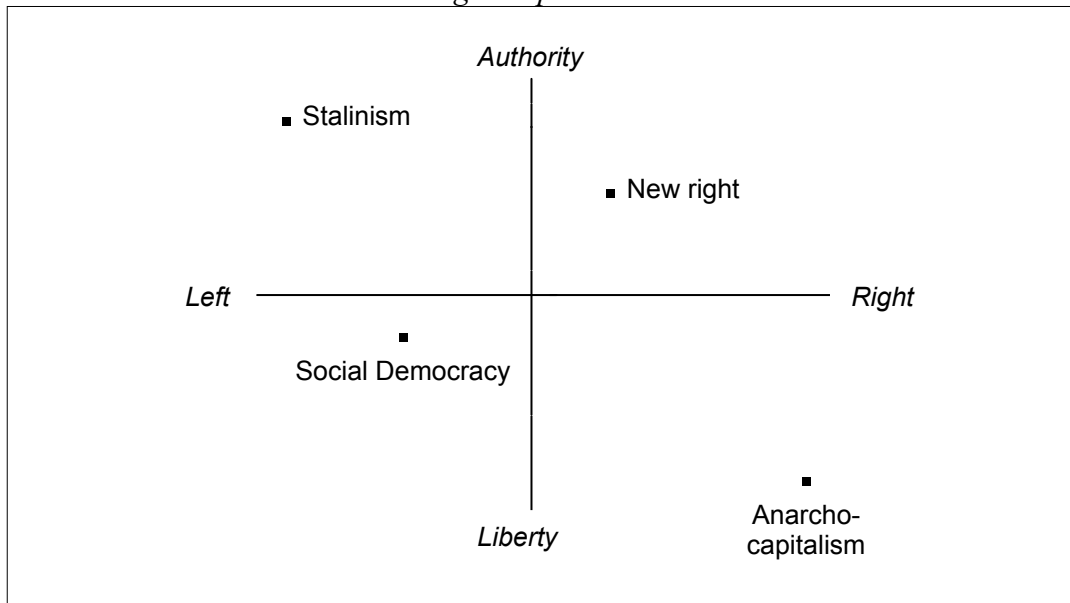
Table 2.1: *Linear ideological spectrum*



Source: Heywood, 1998: 17

However, this is a rather simplistic interpretation as both soviet communism and fascism are authoritarian forms of rule, even though they are at opposite ends of the spectrum. Therefore a two-dimensional spectrum, which also shows attitudes to liberty and authority, allows a more sophisticated representation of ideological positions (see Table 2.2 below).

Table 2.2: *Two-dimensional ideological spectrum*



Source: Heywood, 1998: 19

The concept of ideology is relevant to political parties today because political parties need to court popularity in order to be electorally successful and consequently must undergo a periodic process of ideological renewal. In this search for electoral popularity a party may adopt policies that are at odds with its traditions and doctrines, often provoking considerable dispute within the party. The policies embraced by the Conservative Party under Thatcherism were seen either as a return to basic Conservative principles by her supporters, or as the adoption of 19th Century liberalism by her detractors. Similarly, the creation of the New Labour project is portrayed by its supporters as a process of modernisation that nevertheless remains true to the party's founding principles, whilst critics allege that the Party has abandoned socialism in favour of a Thatcherite agenda (Adams, 1998: 9). Following three consecutive electoral defeats, the Conservative Party is again undergoing a period of ideological renewal, provoking disagreement between the modernisers who want the Party to promote a more inclusive agenda and the traditionalists who wish to remain true to the principles of Thatcherism.

2.3 Conservatism

Conservatism can be defined as:

The social and political outlook that comes from a desire to conserve existing things, held to be either good in themselves, or better than the likely alternatives, or at least safe, familiar, and the objects of trust and affection (Scruton, 1996: p. 100).

The term “conservative” was first used in the early 19th century to describe a reaction to the increasing pace of political and economic change and to the upheaval caused by the French Revolution. Indeed, one of the earliest statements of conservatism was Edmund Burke’s *Reflections on the Revolution in France* written in 1790 (Heywood, 1998: p. 66). Burke was highly suspicious of the power of human reasoning preferring to rely on “prejudice” and “prescription”. Prejudice is an opinion that has stood the test of time and was seen by Burke as being far superior to reason, whilst prescription means that politics should be based on the known, rather than the unknown. Therefore, if a system of government has worked for a long time, there is a presumption in favour of that system against any other. Furthermore, it can be argued that there is no point in replacing a system that works with one that may not work (Gilmour, 1977: p. 62). Given their suspicion of grand political designs traditional conservative thinkers argue that conservatism is a set of attitudes, or dispositions, rather than an ideology.

2.4 Dispositions of conservatism

Arguably one of the best analyses of these dispositions is by Philip Norton (1994). Norton argues that conservatives have two basic dispositions; firstly they are anti-intellectual and sceptical of the power of human reason, which is seen as limited and imperfect. As conservatives believe that society is the product of history and the accumulated wisdom of generations, they contend that significant improvements cannot be made by any individual or group. Moreover, conservatives argue that to make sweeping change is to step into the unknown, which may have unintended consequences (Norton, 1994: 40), or as Burke wrote in *Reflections on the Revolution in France*:

...very plausible schemes, with very pleasing commencements, have often shameful and lamentable conclusions (Burke, 1991: 35).

It was this suspicion of grand political schemes that led the conservative philosopher Michael Oakeshott to criticise Freiderich Hayek’s *The Road to Serfdom* as ‘a plan’ and to say that:

...to resist all planning may be better than its opposite, but it belongs to the same style of politics. (Gilmour, 1977: 115)

Consequently, the second disposition is that conservatives prefer society as it currently exists and possess an attachment to those institutions which help form and shape the nature of society. Conservatives are therefore, inclined to defend institutions such as the monarchy, parliament and the police if they are perceived to be under attack. If changes to the status quo are proved to be necessary then these changes should be as limited as possible. Norton goes on to argue that some basic tenets may be drawn from these dispositions (Norton, 1994: 40).

2.5 Tenets of conservatism

The first of these tenets is the *organic nature of society*; society is seen as a living organism, rather than a machine. This organism is difficult to change because it is an historical product, which grows slowly and naturally (Norton, 1994: 41). Moreover, it is made up of a variety of constituent parts, such as the family, church, government and nation, and each plays a vital role in ensuring the stability and well being of society. Conservatives attach great importance to the defence of the family, which they see as a microcosm of society as a whole (Heywood, 1998: 75-76).

Conservatives also recognise that society is evolutionary and therefore the second tenet is the acceptance of the necessity for some degree of change, though this should always be gradual and intended to improve, rather than destroy that which already exists (Norton, 1994: 41). Moreover, conservatives value stability and may well accept unpalatable measures, if they feel that continued resistance could adversely affect the stability of society (Gilmour, 1977: 123-124).

The third conservative tenet is that there must be order and discipline, as a condition of personal freedom, and that order should come from a deep respect for authority. This authority is posited in all the institutions of state and society and in the rule of law, by which all such institutions are governed (Norton, 1994: 41). Thus, in the family authority should be exercised by parents, in schools by teachers, in the workplace by the employer and in society at large by the government (Heywood, 1998: 78). As authority is always necessary in society and authority entails inequality, conservatives see hierarchy and inequality as part of the natural order, although many would also point to the need for equality of opportunity and equality before the law (Vincent, 1992: 69).

Fourthly, conservatives believe that the law must also protect the ownership of private property, which is seen as another condition of personal liberty. The ownership of property contributes to the stability of society and imparts a sense of responsibility upon the property owner. Property also provides independence against an overbearing state and ensures that the property owner is not reliant on either other individuals, or the state (Norton, 1994: 42). Moreover conservatives also see the widespread ownership of private property as a bulwark against socialism and inefficient state monopolies (Gilmour, 1977: 148-149).

The fifth conservative tenet is to accord a limited role to government, as an unfettered government is seen as a threat to individual liberty. Conservatives recognise that government is necessary in order to maintain peace at home, to defend the security of the nation state and to check and prevent abuse. However, conservatives are not against strong government as long as it can be held accountable (Norton, 1994: 42).

Sixth, conservatives have always believed in wealth creation and that market forces are superior to government intervention. Government intervention, conservatives argue, can only lead to monopoly, a decline in efficiency and competitiveness and the loss of individual liberty (Norton, 1994: 42). Moreover, it is argued that the best way to guarantee national wealth is by ensuring that each person, by pursuing his own material interests, can thereby pursue the well-being of the whole (Scruton, 2001: 88). Therefore the purpose of government is to maintain the conditions for capitalism and not to run the economy (Norton, 1994: 42-43).

British Conservatism has also acquired two further tenets dating from Disraeli's leadership of the Conservative Party. The first of these is the concept of *one nation at home*, which gives a role to government in helping those who cannot help themselves. (Norton, 1994: 43) This is seen both as a moral obligation and necessary to appease the working class and avert the possibility of societal destabilisation (Heywood, 1998: 84-85). The second tenet, *one nation abroad* is the belief in the need to promote and defend British interests abroad (Norton, 1994: 43). This strategy, originally based on the British Empire, was designed to appeal to nationalist sentiment across class boundaries, by emphasising Britain's 'greatness' and unique position in the world (Barnes, 1994: 336-337).

2.6 Inherent tensions within conservatism

The tenets outlined above demonstrate the diversity of conservative thought. However they are not necessarily compatible with each other and a number of separate, but interrelated tensions can be identified (Norton, 1994: 43). The first is between continuity and change. Conservatism is concerned with preserving society as it exists, yet it also recognises that society changes and consequently that a degree of political change will be inevitable. However, tensions can arise when ascertaining the point at which change becomes necessary, a task made more difficult because there are no hard and fast rules. Some Conservatives will place greater emphasis on one tenet than on another and therefore will be more inclined to accept change than others who highlight the importance of a different tenet (Norton, 1994: 43).

Tension also arises between those Conservatives who follow the ‘one nation’ tradition and stress the need for government to intervene in the economy, to maintain the social fabric, and free market conservatives who believe such intervention to be wrong in principle (Norton, 1994: 43). This tension was clearly visible during Margaret Thatcher’s first administration when she pursued a free market monetarist strategy to the dismay of ‘one nation’ Conservatives, whom she disparagingly labelled ‘wets’ (Ball, 1998: 124). Paradoxically as Gamble (1994) recognised, Mrs. Thatcher was obliged to strengthen the state in other areas in order to protect the institutions of the free economy (Gamble, 1994: 39).

Tension may also become apparent between those who place the emphasis on order and standards and those who stress the need for limited government. Whilst many conservatives accept that society is greater than the sum of the individuals that inhabit it, there is also a recognition that individuals are naturally different. However, free market conservatives place special emphasis on the role of the individual to the extent that the role of society is diminished or denied (Norton, 1994: 44). Mrs. Thatcher’s contradictory attitude to this paradigm was demonstrated by her statement that there is, “no such thing as society” (Thatcher, 1993: 626) which clearly gave primacy to the individual. However, whilst she believed in individual freedom in the economic sphere, she was a stern critic of moral *laissez-faire* and eulogised Victorian social values which she believed far superior to the permissiveness of the 1960s (Hayes, 1994: 84-85).

In addition, there is also tension within the Conservative Party over the European Union (EU) and Britain's role in the world. This conflict is exacerbated because both europhiles and eurosceptics point to the same tenet, one nation abroad, in order to justify their position. The key issue is sovereignty; europhiles believe that by 'pooling' sovereignty with other nations, the process of European integration allows Britain renewed influence upon the world stage (Barnes, 1994, 342). By contrast, eurosceptics regard sovereignty as indivisible and fear that Britain is in danger of being subsumed within a European superstate, losing its identity and influence in the process (Gamble, 1988: 133). This tension has been apparent, although of a minor nature, within the Conservative Party ever since Britain's accession to the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1974. However, these divisions grew steadily worse in the late 1980s under Mrs. Thatcher's premiership, leading to no less than six ministerial resignations between 1986 and 1990 and ultimately to the downfall of Mrs. Thatcher herself. Her successor, John Major fared no better, after 1992, as further intra-party conflict erupted over the issue of further European integration (Davies, 1995: 363-364). Moreover, this conflict became so intense that the Major government's European policy was informed by the fear that the party could split over the issue (Major, 1999: 585). Whilst Major successfully prevented the party from splitting he was powerless to avert the very public divisions over Europe, which eventually destroyed both his leadership and his government (Holmes, 1998: 134-136).

These tensions demonstrate why Conservatism has historically been made up of various strands of Conservative thought. Because the tenets and dispositions of conservatism are open to being interpreted in a variety of ways, they have led to several distinct traditions of political action within the Conservative Party.

2.7 Strands of Conservatism

2.71 Paternalism

The paternalist strand of Conservatism originates from the 19th Century Conservative leader Benjamin Disraeli, who sought to avoid the country becoming:

Two nations; between whom there is no intercourse and no sympathy; who are as ignorant of each other's habits, thoughts and feelings, as if they were...inhabitants of different planets; who are ...fed by different food...and are not governed by the same laws. (Willetts, 1992: 11)

Disraeli's concern was both practical and moral. On the one hand he feared that a society divided by extremes in wealth and poverty risked being undermined by social unrest or worse destroyed by revolution. On the other hand he believed that the beneficiaries of wealth and privilege had a moral duty to help the most vulnerable sections of society (Heywood, 1998: 84-85). Furthermore, Disraeli also argued that the interests of both nation and party demanded that the Conservatives should not simply be class based. Rather, they should be composed of and govern in the interests of all sections and all classes (Gilmour, 1977: 86).

During the early 20th century the paternalist banner was taken up by Joseph Chamberlain and his supporters who campaigned for the introduction of import tariffs, in order both to protect British industry and to pay for social reforms such as old age pensions (Dutton, 1981: 874). Chamberlain also believed that the nation's security and prosperity were dependent upon Britain being at the centre of a wider economic and political unit. Originally this was the British Empire; however following Britain's post-war retreat from Empire adherents to the Chamberlainite tradition gradually shifted their focus towards membership of the EEC (Gamble, 1996: 21).

The dominance of the paternalist tradition within the Party during the immediate post-war era led the Conservatives to accept the great majority of the previous Labour government's collectivist reforms, which formed the basis of a political consensus that was to last until the 1970s (Heywood, 1998: 87). I would argue that the high water mark for paternalist conservatism was during the 1957-63 Macmillan premiership. Macmillan's 'middle way' was an attempt to steer a course between socialist statism and laissez-faire capitalism². Whilst Macmillan supported the welfare state, he also sought to maintain full employment as a means for the working-class to help themselves (Green, 2002: 186-187). However, whilst paternalist values were dominant within the Conservative Party for most of the 20th century, they were always rejected by a substantial minority who belonged to the libertarian wing of the Party (Ludlam & Smith, 1996: 7).

² Between 1972 and 1974 and the Heath administration nationalised industries and pursued a statutory pay policy. However, Heath's government acted under the pressure of unprecedented events and was severely criticised by some members of his own party. (See chapter 5 for a longer discussion of the economic policies of the Heath government.)

2.72 Libertarian Conservatism

Libertarian conservatism can be traced back to the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when it emerged as a reaction to what some saw as increasing collectivisation. The tradition draws heavily upon liberalism's mistrust of the state and the belief that people should be free to do as they please as long as they do not harm others (Ludlam & Smith, 1996: 7). Libertarian conservatives, therefore advocate a reduced role for the state. In practice, this means the state should confine itself to maintaining the best conditions for the operation of the free-market and to guaranteeing an individual's negative rights; that is the right to pursue one's own goals free from interference (Smith, 1996: 147). The failure of the post-war consensus led to the renaissance of the libertarian tradition within the conservative New Right, whose values had always found sympathy within the ranks of the Conservative Party, despite the dominance of paternalist attitudes.

2.73 The New Right

The New Right is an offshoot of libertarian conservatism although it rejects concepts of social liberalism. Rather it is a marriage of economic liberalism and social conservatism and is heavily influenced by Friederich Hayek's 1945 book *The Road to Serfdom*. The New Right rose to prominence in Britain during the 1960s and 1970s, as a result of economic failure and widespread social unrest, it rejected the post-war welfarist consensus. The governments of Margaret Thatcher from 1979-90, strongly influenced by the ideas of Alfred Sherman and Sir Keith Joseph, were an attempt to put New Right theory into practice.

The economic liberal aspect of the New Right emphasises the superiority of the free-market and rejects welfarism in favour of individual self-reliance (Heywood, 1998: 92). The market is seen as an efficient, self-regulating device for the allocation of scarce resources, both human and material. Moreover, the market is seen as being neutral and impersonal (Hayes, 1994: p. 27). The pre-eminence of markets in New Right thinking led to a change in economic priorities. The old commitment to full-employment was abandoned in favour of the pursuit of low inflation. This was believed to be necessary in order to secure the health of the market economy. The New Right also believed that the free-market could not flourish alongside high levels of taxation and regulation, both of which were cut in order to encourage producers to produce (Heywood, 1998: 94-95).

The New Right's social conservative facet emphasises the need to return to nineteenth century social and moral values. This is an explicit response to the permissive society, which is responsible, in the eyes of social conservatives, for undermining the traditional family and for the questioning of authority (Gamble, 1994: 197). Thus, the rising crime and disorder of the Thatcher years were seen, not as a result of economic liberal economic policies, but as a consequence of the social decadence of the 1960s (Isaac, 1990: 211). Moreover, social conservatives are deeply hostile towards non-traditional family units. One-parent families are frowned upon, particularly if they are in receipt of state benefit. In the same vein social conservatives disapprove of homosexuality for undermining conventional family values (Isaac, 1990: 218-219). Social conservatives are also suspicious of multi-culturalism, as the presence of different cultures and religions is believed to undermine both social cohesion and national identity (Seidel, 1986: 111-112). This concern for the character of the nation also manifests itself within Conservative Party in the form of insular and exclusive euroscepticism (Heywood, 1998: 100). Research by Berrington & Hague (1998) found that 76% of anti-Maastricht MPs were also in favour of the death penalty (Berrington & Hague, 1998: 56).

It should be noted that the two strands of thought that make up the New Right are highly contradictory. Whilst economic liberalism emphasises personal freedom in the economic sphere, neo-conservatism advocates social authoritarianism in the personal sphere. It has been argued that these contradictions ultimately make the New Right enterprise unsustainable. John Gray contends that the success of the New Right project adopted by Mrs. Thatcher in the 1980s has left conservatism both ideologically drained and in terminal decline (Eccleshall, 2002: 31), an argument that has seemingly been reinforced by the Conservative Party's devastating defeats in the 1997 and 2001 General Elections.

2.8 Is Conservatism dead?

John Gray follows Ian Gilmour in arguing that Mrs. Thatcher abandoned Conservatism for 19th Century liberalism and the Conservative Party abandoned its traditional pragmatism in favour of alien dogma. This additional ideological baggage has made it increasingly difficult for the Party to adapt to the changing nature of society (Eccleshall, 2002: 31). Gray also argues that the Thatcherite experiment weakened those British institutions that the Conservative Party traditionally sought to defend, consequently undermining the Party's intellectual and electoral position (Eccleshall, 2002: 31). This argument is echoed by

Anthony Giddens, who claims that the contradictory nature of economic liberalism has fatally damaged Conservatism:

There is a damaging contradiction at the core of economic liberal thought. On the one hand, in encouraging the free play of market forces, economic liberal political philosophy unleashes detraditionalising influences of a quite far-reaching kind. On the other hand, the very traditional symbols which these influences help to dissolve are held to be essential to social solidarity. (Giddens, 1995: 40)

Or, as Lord Harris of High Cross realised, the market has no inherent morality and will supply what consumers want, "...from prayer books and communion wine to pornography and hard liquor..." (Isaac, 1990: 212). Finally, 20th century Conservatism defined itself through a doctrine of anti-socialism, which arguably reached its apogee under the Thatcher administrations. However, the collapse of Soviet Communism and New Labour's adoption of much of the Thatcherite agenda, has arguably robbed the Conservative Party of one of its most potent electoral strategies (Heywood, 1998: 101).

However, it can be argued that the contradictions of the New Right are not necessarily terminal, as conservatism has always consisted of diverse and contradictory strands that have left plenty of scope for disagreement (Eccleshall, 2002: 31). Moreover, David Willetts (1997) argues that Conservatism is still relevant to contemporary British politics. He rejects the concept that a devotion to the free-market is incompatible with concern, both for the family and for the social fabric of society (Gray & Willetts, 1997: 70-71). Indeed, Willetts denies that the breakdown in social cohesion during the 1980s and 1990s was the consequence of economic liberalism, preferring to lay the blame at the door of excessive state intervention in society (Gray & Willetts, 1997: 78-79). Consequently, Willetts advocates pushing free-market reforms further, through what he calls 'civic conservatism'. This involves giving increased autonomy to institutions involved in delivering healthcare and education, which would, Willetts argues increase both choice and quality (Gray & Willetts, 1997: 172).

Moreover, although the Conservative Party suffered two heavy electoral defeats during the 20th century, in 1906 and 1945, it was nevertheless able to reinvent itself to become the most successful political party of the era. However, whilst the Party's ideological flexibility was an important factor in its electoral successes during this era, it was not the only factor. The Conservatives' superior organisation also played a major role in the party's domination of 20th century Parliamentary politics. The party's ability to deliver regular electoral victories

meant that its structure remained largely unaltered following the 1945 Maxwell-Fyfe reforms, until declining membership and the crushing electoral defeat of 1997 prompted William Hague to order a fundamental review of the Party's structure and mechanisms.

2.9 Structures and Mechanisms of the Conservative Party

Until the Hague reforms, published in 1998 under the title of *The Fresh Future*, the Conservative Party consisted of three separate but interlinked components; The Parliamentary Conservative Party (PCP), Conservative Central Office and the National Union of Conservative and Unionist Associations, representing the parliamentary, professional and voluntary sections of the Party respectively.

2.9.1 The National Union of Conservative and Unionist Associations

The National Union was the body responsible for the 634 individual constituency associations in England, Scotland and Wales. All associations had to be approved by the National Union, to whom they paid an affiliation fee (Whiteley et. al., 1994: 20). In addition the National Union organised the Party Conference, the bi-annual Central Council meetings and acted as a sounding board for the membership. Representatives of the constituencies met at area and national level, and a system of advisory committees was used to convey grass roots opinion to the Party leadership. However, whilst the National Union could express opinion and support, it did not possess any mandatory powers (<http://www.bodley.ox.ac.uk>).

The Party's grass-roots members, within the associations, play a vital role within the organisation as a whole. Members provide funds for Conservative Central Office and supply an unpaid army of volunteers, canvassing and leafleting, at election time. The debt owed, by the Party to its activists has long been recognised as Walter Long speaking in 1919 said:

We owe our position in the country, and always have done, much more to local personal influence than to the popularity of our own party. (Davies, 1995: 154)

However, the efficacy of such local influence is now in serious doubt due to a severe decline in membership, especially amongst the young. Although membership of all political parties has declined, the problem for the Conservatives is acute. In 1975 party membership stood at around 1.5 million that has now declined to about 300,000 (Cooke, 2002). Moreover, membership of Conservative youth groups has declined from 34,000 in 1979 to less than 10,000 in 1997. Consequently, the average age of the party has risen, with adverse effects on the ability of local associations to campaign effectively during elections (Peele, 1998: 144).

Traditionally, the constituency associations retained a high degree of autonomy both from the National Union and from Central Office. Only constituency associations could select Parliamentary candidates and recruit and expel members, which could have adverse repercussions for the parliamentary party³. Furthermore any member with a grievance against their association had no recourse to the National Union. Moreover, associations were under no obligation to report membership numbers to either body; consequently the Party had very little knowledge of either the size or social composition of their activist base (Whiteley et. al., 1994: 20-21). Associations jealously guard their independence, occasionally leading to bitter disputes with Central Office, which activists criticise for treating them as servants, rather than clients (Kelly, 1995: 11).

2.92 Conservative Central Office

The role of the professional section of the Party, Conservative Central Office, is to provide a range of services both to the leader and to the Party as a whole. The services Central Office supply to constituencies include the supply of guest speakers, assistance with election and by-election campaigns and professionally produced publicity and propaganda material. Central Office also provides the list of approved candidates from which associations choose their prospective MP. The services Central Office provide for the party leader include monitoring the state of opinion within the Party and the commissioning of private polling to ascertain the state of public opinion. Central Office plays an important role at election time, advising both on timing and tactics and co-ordinating the campaign, recommending adjustments where necessary (Bell, 1996: 192-196). The professional organisation is run by the Party Chairman, who is appointed by the leader and runs Central Office as the leader's personal fiefdom (Davies, 1995: 66). When the Party is in office the Chairman tends to be, a caretaker, although a more heavyweight candidate is usually chosen if an election is imminent. The Chairman's powers are undefined, but have been likened to those of a constitutional monarch, "...to encourage, to advise and to warn." Consequently power varies from holder to holder, dependent on personality and circumstance (Ball, 1996: 177). However the Chairman needs to play a careful balancing act, as he or she needs to retain the confidence of both the

³ In 1997 Neil Hamilton's local association ignored pressure from Central Office to deselect him, despite Hamilton's involvement in the 'cash for questions' scandal. The subsequent election battle between Hamilton and 'the man in the white suit', Martin Bell came to symbolise all allegations of Conservative Party sleaze between 1992-97. The rules governing the selection of candidates were changed in 1998 to allow Central Office to deselect candidates it deemed unsuitable.

leader and the voluntary section of the Party (Norton & Aughey, 1981: 254). Since Cecil Parkinson's tenure, from 1981-83, the Chairman has become the focal point of the Party's public relations, as the media increasingly demanded contact with "...a central and easily accessible political voice..." (Ball, 1996: 179).

2.93 The Parliamentary Conservative Party

The PCP is the oldest of these three organisations and is therefore considered to be the most important (Kelly, 1995: 11). The PCP was traditionally drawn from Britain's social elite (Baker & Fountain, 1996: 86). The problematic nature of such a narrow social base was addressed by Sir David Maxwell-Fyfe's inquiry into the Party's organisation, which was prompted by the 1945 election defeat. The reforms introduced by Maxwell-Fyfe were slow to take effect, however they did eventually lead to a broader social background and to the increasing professionalisation within the PCP. However, examination of the 1992 intake shows that 65% of Conservative MPs were privately educated, 7% were Old Etonians and 43% Oxbridge graduates³ (Baker & Fountain, 1996: 87).

The 1922 Committee represents the views of backbench Conservative MPs. This meets weekly and provides a forum for MPs to raise parliamentary or party matters and to make their views known to the leadership. The 1922 Committee is both influential and powerful; it was instrumental in changing the leadership election rules in 1974-75, thus ensuring that the party leader became more sensitive to the concerns of backbench MPs (Norton, 1996b: 112). When all is well the 1922 Committee tends to have little influence with the Party leadership, however the Committee's authority is enhanced when the Party is going through a difficult period. The second Major government's small majority and apparent lack of purpose enabled the Committee to increase its leverage within the PCP. Consequently, the views of the Committee's Executive were influential in the removal from government of David Mellor, Norman Lamont, Neil Hamilton and Michael Mates (Kelly, 1995: 11-12). As the representative body of all Conservative backbenchers, the committee is also responsible, under its Chairman, for the organisation and conduct of the Party's leadership elections.

³ The social background of the PCP will be discussed in greater length in chapter four.

2.94 The Party Leader

The Conservative Party leader is drawn from the ranks of the PCP and is vested with both considerable autonomy and powers of appointment. This patronage allows the leader to select both Cabinet ministers when in government, and shadow cabinet members when out of government (Davies, 1995: 65-66). The leader also appoints the Party's Chairman and Treasurer (Ball, 1998: 20). The power of appointment is a key weapon of party management; Mrs. Thatcher's first cabinet reflected her less than secure position, with the overall balance skewed in favour of the paternalist wing of the Party, however, this apparent disadvantage was offset by giving all the major economic portfolios to Thatcher loyalists (Shepherd, 1991: 181). However, by 1981 she felt secure enough to either sack or marginalise many of her 'wet' critics (Kavanagh & Seldon, 1999: 169). Nevertheless, the leader's powers of appointment are constrained by the need for unity within the PCP, hence John Major's reluctance to sack three of his right-wing Cabinets critics for fear of the consequences of having "...three more of the bastards out there (Major, 1999: 343). Moreover, although the leader's powers of patronage can be extremely useful, they can also be a liability if misused or used badly. Mrs. Thatcher's treatment of Geoffrey Howe, like a "...cross between a doormat and a punch bag", according to one colleague (Hennessey, 2000: 402) and his demotion to the etiolated role of Deputy Prime Minister led to his resignation and ultimately to her downfall. Moreover, the prominent role and far-reaching powers bestowed upon the leader, arguably entail a correspondingly high responsibility for electoral success or failure (Belloff & Peele, 1980: 179). Therefore electoral defeat or even the prospect of defeat renders the leader vulnerable (Davies, 1995: 66-67).

The leader also plays the dominant role in the formation of policy; moreover, the leader's authority is magnified by the broad nature of the basic tenets of conservatism which allow a great deal of room for manoeuvre (Norton, 1996a: 149). The policy making process differs depending on whether the Party is in government or opposition. In power, Ministers and their civil servants will provide the majority of policy proposals, which are primarily concerned with the practicalities of government whereas, when the Party is in opposition policy making is focused towards the production of the manifesto and courting electoral popularity (Ball, 1998: 98-99).

Whilst leaders are not personally responsible for every policy initiative, which may come from colleagues or think tanks, nothing will be adopted by the Party unless it has the approval

of the leader (Barnes & Cockett, 1993: 347). However, the power to set party policy is a double-edged sword; popular policies can enhance the leader's authority, but a disliked or unsuccessful policy can undermine the leader's position. The fallout from Britain's enforced departure from the Exchange Rate Mechanism (ERM) not only destroyed the Conservative Party's reputation for economic competence but also weakened John Major's authority to the point where he considered resignation (Hennessy, 2000: 465-466). Occasionally, the damage can be even more severe, as Margaret Thatcher discovered in 1990 when the unpopularity of the poll tax was a contributory factor in her downfall (Norton, 1996a: 254).

The leader's extensive personal power has led some to describe the relationship between the party and its leader as monarchical, with the leader seen as the monarch, surrounded by a court from which the leader's advisers are chosen. However, Richard Rose has likened this association to a baronial system, with the emphasis placed on bargaining and coalition building (Ingle, 2000: 54). A third, arguably superior, analogy used by Norton & Aughey (1981) is that of a family with the party leader as head of the household. Like a family there is a hierarchical structure, with deference accorded to the older and more senior members (Norton & Aughey, 1981: 242).

Whilst this hierarchical structure reflects the conservative belief in the necessity of authority, Robert McKenzie's *British Political Parties* (1955) argued that in practice, the leader could only survive with the consent of his followers. The leader according to McKenzie "...leads and the party follows, except when the party decides not to follow – then the leader ceases to be leader." (Bogdanor, 1994: 89). Moreover, McKenzie went on to suggest that virtually no Conservative leader had retired at the time of their choosing, most being forced out by a mutinous party (Ramsden, 1998: 10). Therefore, it is arguable that the relationship between the party and its leader can be described as Hobbesian, with absolute power being surrendered to the leader, so long as the interests of the party are protected through electoral victory. However, if the leader fails to deliver the requisite electoral success, then this obligation is no longer considered binding (Ingle, 2000: 54). In a further parallel to Hobbes' *Leviathan* the party had no clear procedure for removing a leader until 1975 (Norton, 1996a: 142).

However, Kelly (1995) has argued that the changing nature of the relationship between the PCP and its leader has undermined the leader's position. Tory leaders found it increasingly

difficult to insist on unquestioning loyalty during the 1980s and early 1990s, as the perceived unelectability of the Labour Party led backbench Tories to believe that more open debate and even dissent need not be electorally damaging. Moreover, with the adoption of Thatcherite populism Conservative MPs no longer thought of themselves as the representatives of a besieged middle-class, but rather as tribunes of the people, in touch with the demands of the average voter. Therefore, they are now less deferential and more sceptical of the notion that ‘the leader knows best’ (Kelly, 1995: 11). However, as Gillian Peele has argued, whilst the PCP has become less deferential it still retains its attachment to strong leadership and therefore has become ‘culturally schizophrenic’ (Peele, 1997: 105).

The introduction of a formal election process to choose the Party leader has led to a process of evolutionary change that has further undermined the leader’s position. The first milestone in this process was the first election of 1965. As the beneficiary of an election, rather than an emergence Edward Heath was arguably more dependent upon the goodwill of the parliamentary rank and file than was his predecessor. However, whatever goodwill Heath enjoyed was exhausted by 1975, when rule changes, allowing for annual elections, led to the precedent of an incumbent leader being challenged. Heath’s challenger and successor, Margaret Thatcher was herself challenged in 1989, the first challenge to a sitting Prime Minister and again in 1990, when the PCP took the unprecedented step of removing her from office. Consequently, Thatcher’s heir, John Major found himself in charge of a Parliamentary Party still reeling from the heady effects of parricide and at times, seemingly eager for a repeat performance. Consequently, Major’s position was never secure after 1992 indeed, his authority was so undermined that he took the unparalleled step of resigning his position and standing for re-election. Rule changes introduced by William Hague in 1998 and first used in 2001, giving activists a voice in the election process mean that Tory leaders now have to face a dual constituency. Whilst the leader must still retain the support of the PCP, in order to avoid being challenged, he/she must now also court popularity with the rank and file members, who are the final arbiters in any election process.

2.95 The leadership selection process

Conservative Party leaders were not elected until 1965, when Edward Heath was chosen to succeed Alec Douglas-Home. Previous Tory leaders ‘emerged’ after informal consultations within the PCP (Bogdanor, 1996: 69). However, the appointment of 14th Earl of Home as leader in November 1963, led to widespread discontent within the Parliamentary Party on

several counts. Firstly, many felt that the process had been unfairly manipulated in Home's favour and that as Ian Macleod alleged, Harold Macmillan and a "magic circle" of Old Etonians had conspired to stop R. A. Butler and make one of their own Conservative leader (Thorpe, 1996: 344). Secondly, by the 1960s, the system was beginning to come under attack from some in the Conservative Party who found it arcane and out of step with the changing climate of the decade. The old process compared badly when compared to Labour's system of electing their leader by a secret ballot of Labour MPs (Davies, 1995: 73). Indeed one young Tory MP, Humphry Berkeley, went as far as to describe it as, "More appropriate to the enstoolment of an African tribal chief." (Watkins, 1998: 183). Finally, in order to enter the Commons, Home had to renounce his titles and fight a by-election, after the original Conservative candidate kindly stood down in Home's favour. Even *The Times* was forced to conclude that it was not possible to, "...see a dis-ermined fourteenth earl as a perfect standard-bearer for a democratic party." (Punnett, 1992: 44).

Following the Conservative Party's defeat in the 1964 general election Home consulted party colleagues and in February 1965 published, *Procedures for the Selection of the Leader of the Conservative & Unionist Party*. Elected by secret ballot of Conservative MPs, candidates needed two nominations to stand. Victory in the first round of balloting required both an overall majority and 15% more votes cast than any other candidate. If these conditions were not met a second ballot would be held and new nominations could be submitted, victory in this round merely required an overall majority. If no one achieved an overall majority in the second round, the three leading contenders would enter a third round, in which voters had to give their first and second preferences. The second preference votes of the candidate with the least amount of first preference votes would be distributed to the leading two candidates to decide the winner (Thorpe, 1996: 382-283). The election of Edward Heath, in 1965, marked a watershed in Conservative Party history; Heath's lower middle-class background was in marked contrast to his patrician forebears, which according to *The Economist* made him, "the biggest departure from the Tory leadership norm since Disraeli." (Evans & Taylor, 1996: 141).

However, the rules were designed only to fill vacancies in the party leadership and made no provision for challenging an unpopular incumbent, such as Edward Heath. Heath as Douglas-Home's successor was the first leader to be formally elected in 1965. However, despite having lost three out of four elections, by 1974 he stubbornly refused to resign. Nevertheless,

he eventually bowed to pressure and a committee under Douglas-Home made two amendments to the rules. The first allowed for an unqualified annual election, the second raised the threshold of votes needed to win by defining it as a proportion of the whole electorate, rather than just those who voted. This annual election process was to significantly undermine the position of the leader in the 1990s (Kavanagh, 1998: 31). The first election under the new rules was scheduled to be held in February 1975 and resulted in Margaret Thatcher becoming leader (Ramsden, 1998: 419-420). The rules were amended again in 1991 to confine the third ballot to the top two candidates from the second ballot. This was as a result of the 1990 leadership election, in which John Major fell two votes short of victory, in the second round and Michael Heseltine and Douglas Hurd both conceded (Bogdanor, 1996: 1993).

In the wake of the Conservatives' crushing election defeat of 1997 their new leader William Hague instituted a complete revision of the election procedures as part of a comprehensive review of party structures entitled *Our Party: Blueprint for Change*. Hague claimed these reforms would be based on the principles of unity, decentralisation, democracy, involvement, integrity and openness. This was, arguably, a new departure for a party, which had previously emphasised leadership and trust (Peele, 1998: 143). The rule changes were intended to democratise the party and to strengthen the position of the leader in relationship to the PCP. These proposals were put to a ballot of the party's membership in September 1997. Once approved the reforms were instituted in 1998 under the title *The Fresh Future* (Kelly, 1999: 28).

2.96 A fresh future? The Hague reforms

The impetus for reforming the selection procedures came from three concerns within the Party. Firstly it was felt that the provision of an annual challenge, combined with the necessity of a challenger fostered instability and made the leader's position insecure. This in turn created a poor public image and led to hostile and personalised campaigning (Alderman, 1999: 263). Secondly, the Party leadership faced increasingly vocal demands from activists for more intra-party democracy and a say in choosing future leaders (Alderman, 1998: 3). Finally it was felt that the Party's organisation and administration was in need of fundamental reform, which would give activists real influence, in order to attract new members and refresh the Party's ageing and shrinking membership (Kelly, 1999: 28). Indeed, Hague's ambitious target was to double the Party's membership within five years (Kelly, 2002: 40).

The new leadership election procedure introduced by William Hague removed the obligation for the leader to submit to annual re-election and the requirement that a challenge be instituted by an individual MP. Instead, a vote of confidence can be held at any time if proposed by at least 15% of Tory MPs and a full-scale election triggered if the incumbent fails to win this initial vote. However, if the no confidence vote fails then no more confidence motions are allowed for the next twelve months. If a no-confidence motion is carried, the leader must resign and play no further part in the contest. If there are only two candidates, their names are submitted to a ballot of all Party members, who have been members for at least six months prior to the no confidence motion, on the basis of one member - one vote (OMOV). If there are more than two candidates, then primary ballots are held within the PCP, which eliminate the weakest candidate in every round, until only two are left (Kelly, 1999: 29).

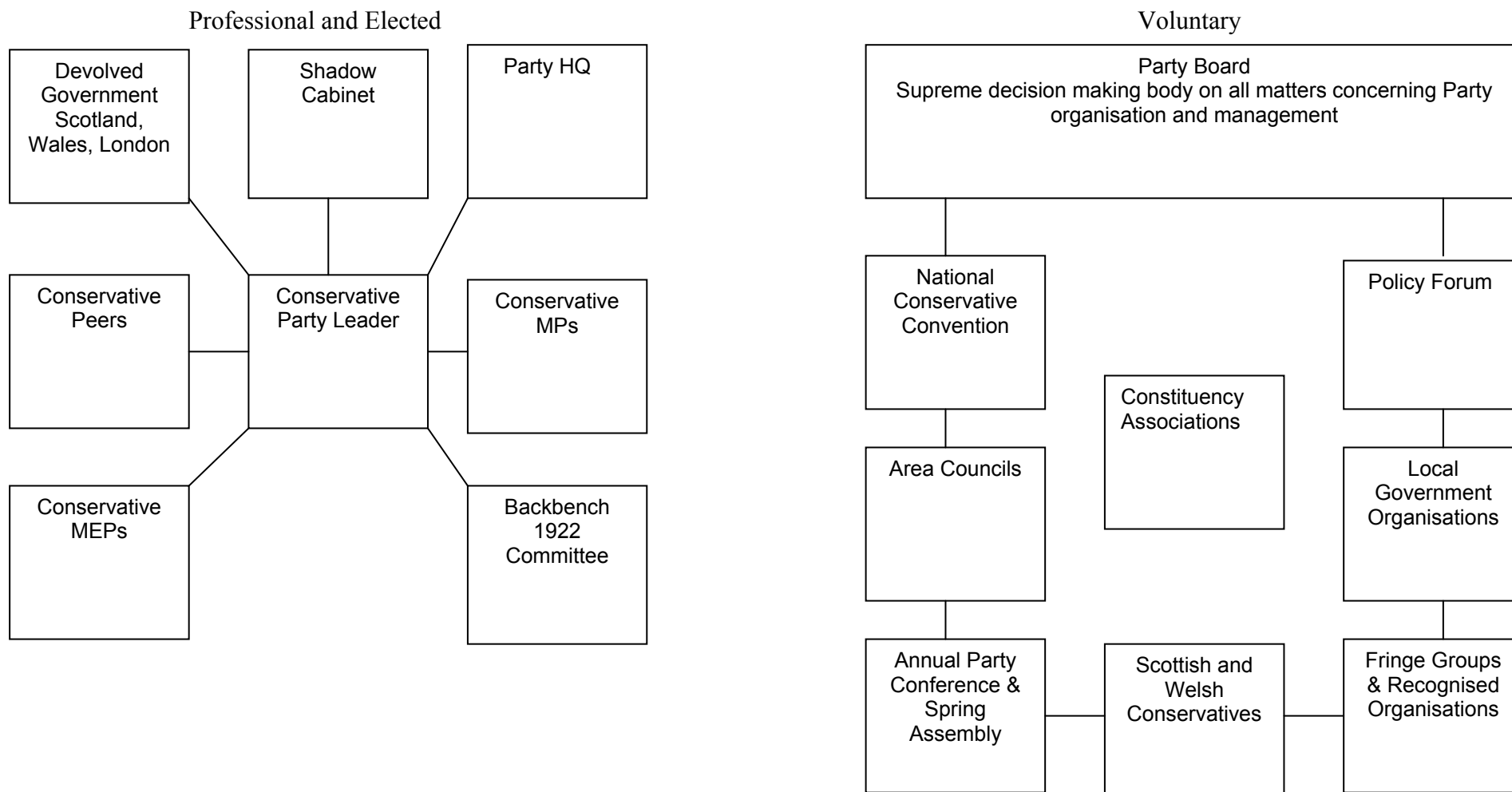
The organisational reforms set out in *The Fresh Future* brought the three formerly separate elements of the Conservative Party, the parliamentary, voluntary and professional wings, together as a single entity (see Table 2.3 below) with a constitution, rules and a national membership (Peele, 1998: 144). A new *Party Board* was set up as the supreme decision making body. It normally meets monthly and consists of seventeen members, five of whom, including the Party Chairman, are appointed by the leader; five are activists from the newly formed National Convention, with the remaining four members coming from Scotland, Wales, the Association of Conservative Councillors and the 1922 Committee.

In addition, a *National Convention* was set up to replace Central Council. Like Central Council it meets twice yearly and comprises national, regional, and area officials, officers of constituency associations and members of other affiliated bodies, such as women's and youth groups. The National Convention keeps the leadership informed of grass roots views and advises the Board on all aspects of extra-parliamentary organisation (Kelly, 1999: 28). Furthermore, forty-two *Area Councils* have been established, "...to act as co-ordinating bodies between the Board and the Associations." (Conservative Insight, 2001: 17). The six senior officers of the National Convention form the National Convention Executive, with day-to-day responsibility for the voluntary section of the Conservative Party. The Executive is responsible to the Board (Kelly, 1999: 28). Ordinary members are encouraged to contribute their views on policy through the Conservative Policy Forum. Under this system about six

discussion papers a year are sent out to constituencies and feedback from activists is passed back to the Shadow Cabinet for consideration (Kelly, 2001: 332). Finally, a centrally administered membership list has been established, for the first time. Whilst this was necessary for the implementation of the final OMOV stage of any future leadership contest, it also had two further advantages; the central leadership had access to accurate membership figures for the first time in the party's history, and could use this information to bypass the constituency associations and communicate directly with the mass membership of the party (Lees-Marshment & Quayle, 2001: 204).

However, Hague's reforms have been subject to certain criticisms from inside the Party. The new procedure for electing the Party leader was used for the first time in June 2001 in a contest that lasted for three months. Many felt that this time span was too long and contributed to the acrimonious nature of the contest, which in turn damaged the Party's image (Alderman, 2002: 584). Moreover, despite talk of intra-party democratisation the thrust of *The Fresh Future* has been toward centralisation, with much of the day-to-day power in the hands of the Party's Chairman, Deputy-Chairman and Treasurer, all appointees of the leader (Peele, 1998: 147). The adoption of OMOV allows Tory leaders to claim a mandate from the whole Party, something not previously possible, again concentrating power in the hands of the leader. Furthermore, the abolition of the National Union and the creation of a single party is likely to undermine the Constituency Associations' traditional autonomy, leading to more central control over both candidate selection and constituency funds (Kelly, 1993: 30). The Party's ballot figures for the 2001 leadership contest show that not only were Hague's ambitious membership targets not met, but that Hague presided over a further decline in Conservative Party members (Kelly, 2002: 43). Finally, Kelly has suggested that evidence from the 2001 General Election proves that the Conservatives' organisation was in a worse state than it was prior to Hague's reforms (Kelly, 2002: 38).

Table 2.3: *Conservative Party Structure Post 1998*



2.10 Conclusion

The purpose of the chapter has been to outline the philosophical and institutional foundations of the British Conservative Party and to appraise how these elements interact with each other to influence the politics of the Conservative Party. The Norton (1996) theory of tenets and dispositions of conservatism demonstrates that conservatism is a broad church that can encompass many different, often contradictory concepts. This diversity of thought enables conservatism to be ideologically flexible and has contributed to the Conservative Party's ability to adapt to changing circumstances. Consequently the Conservative Party has been able to follow a governing code, rather than an ideological creed (Bulpitt, 1992: 265).

However, the broad sweep of conservatism can also act to the detriment of the Conservative Party; conservatism's sometimes contradictory tenets can lead to tensions. Tensions are apparent between the paternalist / interventionist and economic liberal / limited government traditions; between the europhile / integrationist and the eurosceptic / independence traditions; between the social liberal / social conservative traditions. The party's traditional pragmatism, desire for power and pursuit of a governing code has usually allowed the Conservatives' to keep these differences from the public gaze. This led to the Conservatives being characterised as a relatively unified party of tendencies. However, the series of typologies of the PCP published between 1990 and 2002 have shown a damaging and widening split along the integrationist / independence axis that threatened to split the party asunder as the party became increasingly factionalised during John Major's premiership.

The events of the Major era, together the scale of the electorate's rejection of the Conservative Party in 1997, together with the party's rigidly Thatcherite ideological stance since 1997 has led some academics, notably Giddens and Gray to question the viability of conservatism and its relevance to contemporary British politics. However, conservative thinkers and politicians vehemently deny this 'death of conservatism' thesis; David Willetts argues that spreading the choice agenda downwards and creating a 'new localism' will restore the electoral fortunes of the Conservative Party.

The institutional organisation of the Conservative Party arguably reflects the dichotomous nature of conservative ideology; an attachment to personal liberty is reflected in the autonomy traditionally afforded to local Conservative Associations, whilst a belief in hierarchy is evinced by the considerable powers bestowed upon the Conservative Party leader. The party leader is vested with considerable powers of patronage that allow him / her to appoint those responsible for the day to day running of party affairs; the Chairman, Treasurer and another three members of the party board. The leader has sole control over the appointment of his / her cabinet in government and shadow cabinet in opposition, although this is subject to the constraint of maintaining party unity. The leader also has the last word on party policy and the final say in the content of the party's election manifestos. However, the leader's considerable authority is balanced by a commensurate responsibility for delivering electoral success; Conservative Party leaders who fail at the ballot box may soon find their position untenable.

The Conservative Party's electoral ambition, combined with the leader's responsibility for delivering electoral success has meant that the party has paid particular attention to the way in which it chooses its leaders. Prior to 1965 leaders 'emerged' to the popular acclamation of the Parliamentary Conservative Party, until a formal process of election was introduced after the 1964 election defeat by Sir Alec Douglas Home, which was first used to elect Edward Heath in 1965. This system continued to be used, with amendments until 1997. The most significant amendment was the provision for an annual challenge to the leader, introduced in 1975 after Edward Heath defied the wishes of the PCP by remaining as leader. The annual challenge was never intended to be used against an incumbent Prime Minister; however Margaret Thatcher was challenged twice under this rule⁴. Her successor, John Major's suffered so badly from speculation about the emergence of a challenge that he resigned and stood for re-election. Consequently, William Hague introduced new rules that dispensed with the requirement for an annual challenge and enfranchised the entire party, theoretically strengthening the hand of Hague's successors. However, the democratisation of the Conservative Party has unforeseen consequences: the

⁴ Sir Anthony Meyer stood unsuccessfully in 1989. Michael Heseltine stood in 1990 and inflicted enough damage to force Mrs. Thatcher to resign.

introduction of a formal electoral process, together with institutionalised campaigning, has led to ideological factionalism becoming more important as the leadership selection process was opened up to first the wider parliamentary party and ultimately to the entire membership of the Conservative Party. The leadership elections of 1997 (conducted under the Douglas Home rules) and of 2001 (conducted under the Hague rules) are the subject of the next chapter.

Chapter 3

The Conservative Leadership Elections of 1997 & 2001

3.1 Introduction

The central theme to this thesis is an analysis of the Conservative Party leadership elections of 1997 and 2001. The purpose of this chapter is to provide a narrative account of those leadership elections in order to provide a background and to illuminate the analysis that will be provided in chapter six. It will be in two sections; the first covering the period from 1997-2001 and the second dealing with the period from 2001-2003. The chapter will commence with an explanation of the circumstances surrounding the 1997 leadership election contest, particularly the party's overwhelming defeat in the 1997 general election and the resignation of John Major. It will assess Major's strategy of immediate resignation in the light of criticism from Conservative MPs who would have preferred him to continue long enough for the party to analyse the reasons for its defeat. The chapter will then examine the qualities of those candidates who were unable or unwilling to take part in the 1997 leadership election, before moving on to outline the merits of the candidates who did contest the election. It will then cover the three rounds of ballots, which culminated in William Hague becoming Conservative leader.

The chapter will then examine William Hague's leadership of the Conservative Party. This analysis will begin by looking at the constraints to Hague's leadership; the size, inexperience and low morale of the parliamentary party, together with the manner in which Hague acquired the party leadership. The chapter will then look at Hague's poor personal relations with some senior colleagues, especially Michael Portillo and Hague's lack of experience and poor personal and political judgement. It will then look the development of Conservative Party policy under Hague. It will focus on Hague's early dalliance with social liberalism and offer an explanation for his change of course and adoption of a socially conservative agenda from 1999. The first section of this chapter will conclude with an account of the 2001 general election defeat and the subsequent resignation of William Hague.

The second section of this chapter will take the same form as the first; it will begin by noting those senior Conservatives that were either unable or unwilling to enter the 2001 leadership contest, before describing the qualities of the candidates that did enter the race to become Conservative leader. The chapter will then offer an account of the three rounds of balloting that led to Iain Duncan Smith and Kenneth Clarke going forward to a ballot of the entire Conservative Party and the subsequent election of Iain Duncan Smith. It will then look at the constraints upon Duncan Smith's leadership; that he was the favoured choice of party activists, rather than the parliamentary party, his lack of charisma and the implications of his record as a Maastricht rebel during John Major's last administration. The chapter will then look at the development of party policy under Duncan Smith and then look at the political errors made by the Conservative leader; the demotion of David Davis, Duncan Smith's mishandling of the Adoption and Children Bill and the sacking of Mark MacGregor and Rick Nye, from Central Office, together with the appointment of Barry Legg as Chief Executive. This section will conclude with an account of the events that culminated in Duncan Smith losing a vote of no confidence in his leadership.

3.2 The Resignation of John Major

The result of the 1st May 1997 general election was a catastrophic defeat for the Conservative Party. John Major had inherited 376 MPs from Margaret Thatcher, but carnage of election night cut the Conservatives' representation to a mere 165 MPs, the party's lowest total since 1906. The swing from Conservative to Labour (10%) was the largest since 1946 and the government's majority of 179 seats was the largest since 1935 (Butler & Kavanagh, 1997: 244) and the Conservative Party's share of the vote (31%) was the lowest since 1832 (Geddes & Tonge, 1997). The Conservatives were wiped out in Scotland, Wales and most of urban England; the party that traditionally claimed to defend the Union and to represent 'one nation' had become the party of rural and suburban England (Butler & Kavanagh, 1997: 244-245). The result was a personal disaster for John Major and a damning indictment of his government.

The Conservative Party is a leader centred party, with the leader responsible for delivering electoral victory. Consequently the clear implication and historical precedent suggested that Major should take responsibility for defeat and resign. The

question was when? Should Major go immediately, or should he announce a caretaker leadership to allow the party time to reflect on their defeat and choose a new leader accordingly? Major had no doubt which course of action he should take; he would resign immediately:

When the curtain falls it is time to get off the stage, and that I propose to do. I shall advise my parliamentary colleagues to select a new leader of the Conservative Party. (Major, 1999: 726)

Robert Cranborne knew Major was reconciled to losing the election and tried to dissuade Major from resigning his position immediately, but Major believed that:

...it was the only possible course. After eighteen years the Conservatives needed a new start, and I knew the baggage of my years in Downing Street would make an easy target for the new government. I considered staying on for a while, but if I did, it was obvious the party would riven by the leadership campaigns of the would-be successors. (Major, 1999: 721)

Major had one further reason for resigning immediately; fourteen years as a minister, followed by the near impossible challenge of keeping his fractious party together between 1992 and 1997 had left him worn out; he wanted a rest (Major, 1999:721). However, Major was not without his critics, who argued that he was negligent to leave the party leaderless at such a time. They pointed to the example of Douglas Home who stayed on for nine months to oversee the transition to electing a new leader. Alderman states that some of the parliamentary party were ready to accept a caretaker leader, who could give the party a breathing space before choosing their next leader and that Tom King was ready to perform such a role (Alderman, 1998: 3).

3.3 The Conservative Party Leadership Election of 1997

Consequently the 1997 Conservative Party leadership election began the day after the party's general election defeat. The election was carried out under the Douglas Home rules, which had remained largely unchanged since they were introduced in 1965¹. Under these rules the electorate consisted solely of members of the PCP and whilst constituency associations could give their MP advice, they could not compel him or her to vote for any particular candidate. However, the scale of party's recent defeat by New Labour increased the pressure for an extension of the franchise; the already

¹ For an account of the Douglas Home rules refer to chapter 2

exclusive electorate was at its smallest ever size – just 165 MPs, none of whom represented a Scottish or Welsh constituency. Consequently, the National Union of Conservative and Unionist Associations demanded a 20% share in a new electoral college. (Alderman, 1998: 3). The 1922 Committee rebuffed any attempt to extend the franchise claiming it would take two years to put the necessary measures in place. However, the committee agreed to canvass and publish the opinions of constituency associations and Conservative peers (Wheatcroft, 2005: 238). The 1997 leadership election was the first since Edward Heath's victory in 1965 that did not involve a challenge to an incumbent leader. However, two of the Major Cabinet's big hitters were absent from the ballot; Michael Heseltine was admitted to hospital, suffering from angina, two days after the general election, whilst Michael Portillo was one of several high profile MPs to lose his seat in the general election.

Michael Heseltine served in the Heath Government as Minister for Aerospace between 1972 and 1974. Margaret Thatcher promoted him to the cabinet in 1979 as Secretary of State for the Environment. He went on to become Defence Secretary in 1983 and then resigned in 1986 after a bitter battle with Margaret Thatcher over the future of Westland Helicopters. He remained on the backbenches until 1990, when he challenged Margaret Thatcher for the leadership of the Conservative Party. He inflicted enough damage to force her to withdraw, but was beaten by John Major in the second round. He returned to the cabinet as President of the Board of Trade and then Deputy Prime Minister. Heseltine was a europhile and interventionist wet; as Environment Secretary he was responsible for regeneration in Liverpool after the Toxteth riots and the repeal of the poll tax (Williams, 1998: 249-250)².

On the other hand Michael Portillo came from the Thatcherite wing of the Conservative Party and was seen by his biographer Michael Gove (1995) to be, 'the future of the right'. His first cabinet post came in 1992 as Chief Secretary to the Treasury. Between 1994 and 1995 he was Employment Secretary and in 1995 became Defence Secretary (Williams, 1998: 257). He was one of the three eurosceptic Cabinet Ministers that John Major, in an unguarded moment, referred to as 'bastards'.

² Heseltine remains proud of his time in Merseyside as an example of one nation Conservatism in action, "In Liverpool I had an opportunity to put into practice a philosophy I had all my political life, in other words good enlightened capitalism – paternalism if you like. Noblesse oblige. I believe strongly that those with power and privilege have responsibilities." (Hatterstone, 2/5/2001)

According to Gove, Portillo was publicly anointed as Mrs. Thatcher's latest heir apparent at his 40th birthday party when she announced, "We brought you up, we expect great things of you, you will not disappoint us." (Gove, 1995: 264) His political judgement was called into question after John Redwood challenged Major in 1995, for although Portillo had chosen not to resign and challenge Major news leaked that BT engineers were installing extra telephone lines at the house of a close friend in readiness for a second round (Wheatcroft, 2005; 228).

The absence of Heseltine and Portillo denied MPs the opportunity of a straight two-way fight between left and right that may have cleared the air and given the Conservative Party a clearer sense of direction. Moreover, many other major players were absent through enforced or voluntary retirement. Apart from Portillo six other cabinet members lost their seats at the election; Ian Lang, Tony Newton Michael Forsyth, William Waldegrave, Roger Freeman and Malcolm Rifkind (Major, 1999: 724). Ian Lang was Secretary of State for Scotland from 1990-1995 and then trade and Industry Secretary from 1995-1997. Tony Newton was Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster from 1988-1989, Social Security Secretary between 1989-1992 and Leader of the House of Commons from 1992-1997. Michael Forsyth was the last Conservative Secretary of State for Scotland, serving from 1995-1997. William Waldegrave held several posts under John Major including; Health Secretary (1990-1992), Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (1992-1994) and Minister of Agriculture (1994-1997). Roger Freeman was the last Conservative Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster from 1994-1997. Malcolm Rifkind was Defence Secretary from 1992-1995 and Foreign Secretary from 1995-1997.

Another enforced absentee, although not from the cabinet, was Norman Lamont; Lamont managed John Major's leadership campaign in 1990 and was rewarded with the job of Chancellor of the Exchequer. He presided over 'Black Wednesday'² and resigned³ in 1993. He backed John Redwood against Major in 1995 (Williams, 1998: 253). The most notable voluntary retiree was Douglas Hurd. Hurd contested the 1990 leadership election after Mrs. Thatcher's withdrawal, coming third with fifty-six

² On 'Black Wednesday, 16th September 1992 Britain was forced out of the Exchange Rate Mechanism at a cost of £10 billion

³ Lamont was demoted to Environment Secretary in the May 1993 cabinet reshuffle; he refused to accept the post and resigned

votes. He was Foreign Secretary from 1989 until he retired from the cabinet in 1995; he chose not to seek re-election in 1997. All these former MPs could have played an influential role in the forthcoming leadership contest, even if we cannot say for certain if any of them would have run for the vacancy. However, Malcolm Rifkind's interest in the vacancy created by Michael Howard's departure in 2005 is a strong indicator that he would have been a candidate in the 1997 contest, had he been in parliament.

3.31 The candidates

The scale of the Conservative Party's defeat in 1997 combined with the absence of an incumbent leader produced a dichotomous situation. The 1997 Conservative Party leadership election attracted an unusually large field for the first round, but it was also one with a greatly restricted range of talent; five candidates put their names forward; Michael Howard, Peter Lilley, John Redwood, Kenneth Clarke and William Hague.⁴ Michael Howard sought to portray himself as the senior right-wing candidate and Major loyalist, who could match Blair at the despatch box (Pierce, 1997). Under Mrs. Thatcher Howard was responsible for introducing the unpopular Community Charge or Poll Tax. Under John Major Howard was a hard line Home Secretary, often stating his belief that 'prison works'; he removed suspects' right to silence and called for mandatory minimum sentences for burglars' convicted for the third time. Although his populist stance was welcomed within the Conservative Party, he remained unpopular with the wider electorate (Williams, 1998: 253). In addition, Ann Widdecombe, who had served under Howard as Prisons Minister, fatally undermined his chances. In 1995 Howard and Widdecombe disagreed over Howard's decision to sack the head of the Prisons Service, Derek Lewis. Their disagreement became public when Widdecombe used a parliamentary debate to attack Howard's integrity; there was she said, "...something of the night" in his character and that when under pressure he would, "...do things that are not always sustainable" (White, 1997: 8).

Peter Lilley joined the cabinet as Secretary of State for Trade and Industry in 1990. After the 1992 general election he became Secretary of State for Social Security and was one the third 'bastard' in John Major's cabinet. He suggested that the party could avoid intra-party disputes if they voted for him. He claimed that he was the 'unity

⁴ Stephen Dorrell also announced his candidacy, but withdrew before the first ballot and gave his support to Kenneth Clarke.

candidate' and promised to institute a thorough policy review (Pierce, 10/6/97). Lilley came from right of the Party and was a respected conciliator, but lacked charisma (White, 5/5/97: 1). Alan Clark believed that Lilley "...should be leader, but hasn't got the oomph – white rabbit in the teapot at the Mad Hatter's party." (Trewin, 2002: 223).

John Redwood was another right-winger, who had served as Welsh Secretary between 1993 and 1995 when he resigned to challenge John Major for the Conservative Party leadership. Redwood portrayed himself as a clean pair of hands, who having challenged Major for the party leadership in 1995 bore no responsibility for the electoral disaster that had just occurred (Williams, 1998: 187). However, many Conservative MPs saw Redwood as disloyal and as one of those responsible for damaging John Major's government (Brown, 6/5/97: 10); as Williams states:

The irony of Redwood's position was that every time he spoke he reminded too many MPs of John Major and his failures – so indissoluble was the connection between his visage and the wrecked fortunes of Majorism. (Williams, 1998: 188)

In addition, Redwood had something of an image problem; Mathew Parris had caricatured Redwood as a Vulcan in *The Times*. Although the article was published in 1989 the image of Redwood as an alien persisted and caused him great damage (Williams, 1998: 94). Two other events, captured by television and subsequently replayed, contributed to an image of Redwood being slightly unhinged. The first was his risible attempt to sing the Welsh national anthem at a Welsh Conservative Party Conference when he did not know the words. The second was the press conference held to launch Redwood's challenge to John Major in 1995 Redwood; appeared with the majority of the 'whipless wonders'⁵ behind him including the flamboyantly dressed Teresa Gorman and Tony Marlow. Wheatcroft quotes an insult by a character in *Brideshead Revisited*, which could have easily described the dress sense of the Redwood's supporters:

⁵ The whipless wonders were eight Conservative MPs thrown out of the party for abstaining on the European (Communities) Finance Bill 1994; Tony Marlow, Teresa Gorman, Nick Budgen, Richard Body, John Wilkinson, Richard Shepherd, Christopher Gill and Teddy Taylor.

Your present get-up seems an unhappy compromise between the correct wear for a theatrical party at Maidenhead and a glee-singing competition in a garden suburb (Wheatcroft, 2005: 228)

Kenneth Clarke had been the last Conservative Chancellor of the Exchequer. He was the most experienced candidate on offer; by 1997 he had been in the cabinet continuously for twelve years including spells as Secretary of State for Health, Secretary of State for Education, and Home Secretary, before he became Chancellor (Williams, 1998: 244). Clarke’s other strengths were, his handling of the economy during the final years of the Major government and that he was a big hitter who could stand up to Blair. He was also able to claim that he was the most popular candidate with the Conservative Party in the country and the wider electorate; a *Daily Telegraph* / Gallup survey asked the question, “Now that Mr. Major has resigned as Conservative leader, which if any of the following people would you like to see succeed him?” (see Table 3.1 below). The poll gave Clarke a clear lead, both amongst Conservative supporters and all voters (Shrimley & King, 25/5/1997). Clarke’s weakness was his enthusiasm for Europe, which made him a divisive figure in what was now perceived to be a mainly eurosceptic party (Brown, 6/5/97: 10). Clarke sought to deflect criticism of his support for Europe and the single currency by promising a free vote on the matter, should it arise (Wintour & McSmith, 4/5/97: 1).

Table 3.1: Daily Telegraph / Gallup Conservative leadership poll 1997
Now that Mr. Major has resigned as Conservative leader, which, if any of the following would you most like to succeed him?

	All voters		Conservative Voters
Kenneth Clarke	27%	Kenneth Clarke	30%
None of them	15%	William Hague	19%
William Hague	12%	John Redwood	10%
Don’t Know	12%	Michael Howard	10%
John Redwood	10%	Don’t know	9%
Michael Howard	9%	Peter Lilley	7%
Stephen Dorrell	5%	None of them	6%
Any of them / other	2%	Any of them / other	0%

Source: Shrimley & King (25/5/1997)

William Hague had been an MP for just eight years; he succeeded John Redwood as Secretary of State for Wales, his first and only cabinet post, making him the most

inexperienced of the five candidates. Hague had first come to prominence when, aged just sixteen years old, he addressed the 1977 Conservative Party Conference telling delegates that, “Half of you may not be here in fifteen years, but I will and I want to be free.” (Wheatcroft, 2005: 240) Youth was both Hague’s weakness and his main strength. The prospect of Hague becoming the party’s youngest leader since Pitt led some of his less charitable critics to call him ‘William Squitt’ (Garnett, 2003: 49). However, although Hague had little parliamentary or ministerial experience, his supporters claimed that he could match the youthful appeal of Tony Blair. Moreover, the improbability of the Tories winning the next general election made the idea of skipping a generation appeal to many within the Party (Alderman, 1998: 5). Hague launched his campaign under the slogan ‘A Fresh Start’ (Seldon & Snowdon, 2005: 250) and used his lack of ministerial experience to portray himself as a clean break with the Majorite past, with which Clarke, Howard and Lilley were all strongly associated (Collings & Seldon, 2001: 625). However, Hague had to overcome an initial controversy; supporters of Michael Howard claimed that Hague had made a firm agreement to support Howard’s leadership bid, in return for the posts of Deputy Leader and Party Chairman, a charge denied by the Hague camp (Alderman, 1998: 5).

3.32 The ballots

The result of the first round ballot, held on 10th June, proved inconclusive in that there was no outright winner. However, two candidates: Lilley with 24 votes and Howard with 23, were forced to retire and switched their support to Hague, (see Table 3.2 below) leaving the three front-runners; Clarke (49), Hague (41) and Redwood (27) to continue the fight. Whilst Clarke was the overall leader, he was only eight votes in front of Hague. Many observers did not believe that this was enough for Clarke, the only europhile, to maintain his position against two eurosceptic opponents and it appeared that Hague was now in the best position to ultimately claim the leadership (Alderman, 1998: 10).

Table 3.2: *Changes in support between rounds, 1997*

	Round 1	Round 2	Change	Round 3	Change
Hague	41	62	(+21)	92	(+30)
Clarke	49	64	(+15)	70	(+6)
Redwood	27	38	(+11)	-	-
Lilley	24	-	-	-	-
Howard	23	-	-	-	-

Source: Cowley & Stuart, 2003: 68

The second ballot was held a week later and resulted in the elimination of John Redwood, who trailed in third with thirty-eight votes. Clarke (64) was only narrowly ahead of Hague (62) and therefore failed to win the overall majority necessary to win outright, consequently Hague and Clarke now contested a third ballot, held on the 19th June. Both candidates now needed the votes of John Redwood's thirty-eight supporters, a situation that favoured the eurosceptic Hague somewhat better than the europhile Clarke. However, in an attempt to garner the necessary votes, Clarke made a tactical alliance with Redwood, in which Redwood would become Shadow Chancellor if Clarke became leader. The European single currency, the issue that divided them most was fudged; the agenda, they claimed was not in their hands, although they believed that Britain's early participation in the single currency was unlikely. If the issue did arise they would have further discussions and allow PCP members a free vote on the matter (Williams, 1998: 218). However this move backfired badly, Mrs. Thatcher intervened touring the Commons tearoom and telephoning the undecided. She appeared in public with Hague telling the assembled press:

I am supporting William Hague. Now, have you got the name? William Hague for the same kind of principled government which I led, vote for William Hague on Thursday. Have you got the message? (Campbell, 2003, 788)

Moreover, the idea played badly in much of the Conservative supporting media; *The Times* called it Redwood's 'Munich', whilst *The Sunday Telegraph* described Redwood as, "...a careerist posing as a man of integrity." (Williams, 1998: 223) Norman Tebbit likened the deal to the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact and Peter Tapsell described the arrangement as, "...one of the most contemptible and discreditable actions by a senior British politician that I can recall during 38 years in the Commons." (Watkins, 1998: 197). Consequently, Redwood could only deliver eight

of his supporters⁶ and some Clarke supporters, including John Major who disliked Redwood, now voted for Hague, who won by ninety-two votes to seventy (Williams, 1998: 225-226).

3.4 The leadership of William Hague

William Hague became leader of the Conservative Party on 19th June 1997. His leadership suffered from structural constraints that would limit his room for manoeuvre in the four years running up to the 2001 general election; the size, inexperience and psyche of the PCP, the manner in which he acquired the leadership and the state of popular and party opinion during his leadership. The first of these constraints was the size of the Conservative defeat and the psychological state of the parliamentary party; a party with only 165 MPs could do little against a government with a majority of 179. Moreover, seventy-two Tory MPs chose to retire before the general election, a quarter of the PCP was new to Parliament, and just 36 Conservative MPs had experience of opposition. Hague's Conservative party was, "...one of the smallest and least experienced group of parliamentarians ever to constitute Her Majesty's Official Opposition." (Cowley & Stuart, 2003: 66) Hague also inherited a party that was suffering from denial. In some quarters defeat was not taken seriously; there was a temptation to believe that New Labour was a temporary phenomenon and that the electoral cycle would soon swing in the Conservatives' favour. An alternative explanation was that defeat was entirely due to the personal failings of John Major and that the party would quickly recover with a new leader. Consequently there was no attempt to seriously analyse the reasons for defeat (Seldon & Snowdon, 2005: 248-249).

The second constraint centred on the manner in which Hague acquired the leadership. As has previously been noted the two heavyweight candidates of the right and left, Portillo and Heseltine, were absent. Consequently there was a danger that anyone chosen in 1997 would be seen as a 'second division' leader. Indeed Hague's position was always in question once Michael Portillo returned to parliament, after the Kensington & Chelsea by-election in November 1999 (Walters, 2001: 202). It has also been suggested that Hague won the 1997 election by default. He was less

⁶ Julian Brazier, Andrew Robathan, Howard Flight, Theresa Gorman, John Wilkinson, Marion Roe and David Wilshire.

ideologically objectionable than either the arch europhile Clarke or the ultra eurosceptic Redwood. Hague was a moderate right-winger, backed by those on the right who did not think Redwood was capable of leading the party. Hague therefore seems to have acquired the leadership, because like John Major he was not clearly identified with any one faction; like John Major his personal authority suffered as a consequence of being the party's 'default leader' (Norton, 1998: 13. Seldon & Snowdon, 2005: 250).

In particular Hague's relationships with senior members of the parliamentary party were strained after the return of Michael Portillo. Hague reshuffled his shadow cabinet in February 2000 to accommodate Portillo, a mere two months after the latter's re-election, however Hague handled the reshuffle badly angering those senior Conservatives who were sacked or moved to make way for Portillo⁷. In addition, Hague struggled to control the feud between his head of media, Amanda Platell on the one hand and Portillo and Francis Maude on the other. Platell alleged that aides to Portillo and Maude, with or without their knowledge were briefing against Hague. She believed that Portillo wanted to destroy her as a preparatory step to removing Hague. In turn Portillo believed that Platell was trying to destroy him, because she saw him as a threat to Hague's continued tenure as Conservative leader (Walters, 2001: 184). Hague had another thing in common with John Major; he was Mrs. Thatcher's anointed successor and this also served to undermine his authority. Hague's actions as leader were scrutinised to ensure that he did not 'betray' Thatcher's legacy. This made it difficult for any senior figures to move on to a post-Thatcherite agenda, as Peter Lilley was to discover; Lilley delivered the Butler Memorial Lecture in April 1999, which unfortunately coincided with the 20th anniversary of Mrs. Thatcher's first election victory. The speech was portrayed in some quarters as a repudiation of Thatcherism and caused a storm of controversy. Consequently, Lilley was sacked when Hague reshuffled his shadow cabinet in June (Walter, 2001, 116-118). The Thatcher connection also made Hague an easy target for the Labour Party. One Labour poster portrayed Hague with Mrs. Thatcher's hair superimposed on his head, to imply that voting Conservative would mean a return to Thatcherism.

⁷ John Redwood (Environment) and John Maples (Foreign Affairs) were sacked, whilst Francis Maude was moved from Shadow Chancellor to Foreign Affairs.

Hague's lack of experience and poor personal judgement also worked against him. Garnett argued that Hague's first misjudgement was to stand for the leadership in the first place, given the Conservative Party's propensity for disposing of leaders who fail to win elections; firstly, at thirty-six years old Hague would have plenty of opportunities to run for leader in the future. Secondly, Hague needed New Labour and the Liberal Democrats to implode, whilst the Conservatives rapidly recovered their electoral vigour to stand any chance of achieving a respectable result at the next general election (Garnett, 2003: 52-53). Another example of Hague's poor judgement was to give an interview to *GQ* magazine in August 1999 in which he tried to rebuff his nerdy image. Hague recalled his youthful holiday job working as a driver's mate for his family's soft drinks firm in Rotherham and boasted of drinking fourteen pints a day. His boast was derided in much of the media and one Rotherham pub landlord branded him, "... a lying little toad." (Walters, 2001: 64). Worse was Hague's judgement on Jeffrey Archer; in October 1999 Archer won the nomination to become the Conservatives' candidate for Mayor of London despite senior Conservatives calling for Hague to block Archer's candidacy⁸. After Archer's election Hague backed him describing him as a man of "...probity and integrity." (Millar, 2/10/1999) Later the *News of the World* published allegations that Archer had committed perjury during his 1987 libel trial against the *Daily Star* newspaper, forcing Archer to withdraw his candidacy (Walters, 2001: 51).

In addition to the Archer affair Hague was also dogged by two aftershocks from the sleaze of the Major years. In November 1999 former Conservative trade minister sued Mohammed Fayed over allegations that Fayed had paid Hamilton to ask questions in parliament. After a three week trial the jury sided with Fayed (Wells et. al., 22/12/1999). The second case involved Jonathan Aitken who lost a libel trial against *Granada Television* and the *Guardian* in June 1997. As a result of events during that trial Aitken was later charged with perjury and perverting the course of justice, he pleaded guilty and was jailed for eighteen months in June 1999 (Harding et. al., 9/6/1999). Although these two events were not Hague's responsibility and were

⁸ Archer had a colourful past. He'd been forced to resign from parliament in 1974 because of bankruptcy. He later returned to parliament, only to resign as Party Chairman in 1986 to fight a successful libel action against the *Daily Star* newspaper. The *Star* had accused him of having sex with a prostitute and then sending her £2,000 to leave the country.

outside his control they served to remind the electorate why they had so emphatically rejected the Conservatives in 1997.

The Conservative Party had problems putting forward a coherent set of policies throughout the Hague era for a number of reasons. Firstly, there were two conflicting explanations of the 1997 defeat. One view was that 1997 had signalled a decisive shift in the mood of the British electorate and was proof that the party needed to discover a more compassionate form of conservatism. The opposing school of thought argued that New Labour was built on shallow foundations and, its popularity would soon wane and then the electorate would return to the tried and trusted policies of the Conservative Party (Dorey, 2003: 125). Second, the Conservatives had a problem identifying government weaknesses that they could target and thereby articulate a Conservative alternative. The policy agenda had swung away from the traditional Conservative strengths of tax cuts and privatisation to improving public services and quality of life, areas in which Labour had an advantage (Seldon & Snowden, 2005; 253). In addition, the benign performance of the economy and New Labour's adoption of much of the Conservative Party's free market thinking gave the party little room to attack the government (Dorey, 2003: 127).

Hague began by emphasising socially liberal values, but then swung back towards traditional Thatcherite social authoritarianism. Hague first outlined his idea of 'Fresh Conservatism' in July 1997; this had two elements economic and social liberalism. There would be a continued emphasis on Thatcherite free market economics – more privatisation and strong opposition to joining the Euro. Hague hardened the party's eurosceptic position on Europe, ruling out joining the single currency for the lifetime of the next two parliaments. However, this alienated Europhiles, whilst still not satisfying the hard-line sceptics; two pro-European MPs, David Curry and Ian Taylor resigned from the shadow cabinet in protest, whilst a major Conservative Party donor Paul Sykes announced he was joining the Referendum Party because, "I cannot stomach it any longer. We must rule out a single currency forever. If you are a true Conservative you cannot relinquish control of your economy." (Jones & Copley, 30/10/1997; Wastell & Baldwin, 2/11/1997). Another pro-European, Stephen Dorrell left the cabinet in June 1998, whilst the backbencher Peter Temple-Morris lost the Conservative whip in November 1997 and subsequently crossed the floor of the

House to sit on the government benches as and ‘Independent Conservative’. Hague’s new policy also provoked criticism from several heavyweight Europhiles including Michael Heseltine, Kenneth Clarke, Lord Howe, Lord Hurd and Chris Patten - all former ministers (Lynch, 2003; 156). The parliamentary party’s internal wrangling over Europe, whilst not as bad as the Major years, perpetuated the electorate’s impression, of the Conservatives, as a deeply divided party.

In addition to promoting traditional Thatcherism Hague also wanted to see the Thatcherite concept of ‘small government’ applied to the social sphere and tried to reach out to social groups previously ignored or even demonised by the Thatcherite Conservative Party; single parents, homosexuals and ethnic minorities (Kelly, 2001; 197-198). However, by 1999 ‘Fresh Conservatism’ had given way to social authoritarianism; the PCP strongly opposed the government’s attempt to repeal Section 28 of the 1988 Local Government Act⁹ and forced the government to abandon its legislation (Dorey, 2003: 135). Hague was again beset by high profile dissent as Shaun Woodward defected to Labour and said that the Conservatives “...have become increasingly less tolerant and our attitudes seem to be based more on prejudice than reason.” (Murphy & Cracknel, 19/12/1999) Hague’s new harder edge was reflected in *The Common Sense Revolution* published in 1999, which evolved into the party’s draft manifesto *Believing in Britain* (2000) (Kelly, 2001: 199).

Believing in Britain pledged the Conservatives to support “...common sense values, including personal responsibility, family and marriage.” The party also promised to, “Reintroduce recognition of marriage into the tax and benefits system. We will reintroduce the married couples’ allowance.” Lone parents whose youngest child had begun secondary school would be expected to seek work (The Conservative Party, 2000: 21-22). The document also promised an overhaul of the asylum system and claimed that, “...the great majority of asylum claims are unfounded and are made to get round the usual immigration controls.” (The Conservative Party, 2000: 20) Whilst Hague’s switch pleased the social conservatives inside the parliamentary party the *Common Sense Revolution* stirred more controversy inside the party. Shadow Home Secretary Ann Widdecombe made a speech at the 2000 Conservative Party

⁹ Section 28 was the clause that prohibited the ‘promotion of homosexuality’ in schools.

Conference in which she promised £100 fines and criminal records for possession of the smallest amount of cannabis. Four days later the *Mail On Sunday* revealed that seven members of Hague's shadow cabinet had smoked cannabis when they were younger¹⁰. The row again exposed divisions within the party and arguably ended any ambitions Widdecombe harboured of becoming leader in the future (Jenkins, 2001: 78-82).

Another damaging dispute blew up in March 2001, when Conservative MP John Townend condemned mass immigration for undermining "...our homogenous Anglo-Saxon society." He equated asylum seekers with illegal immigrants and said Enoch Powell had been right to be hostile towards Commonwealth immigration (White, 28/3/2001). Townend made further inflammatory comments in another two speeches, however Hague initially did nothing despite calls to remove the whip from Townend; Hague claimed that as Townend was retiring shortly it would be a mere 'gesture'. However, black Conservative peer Lord Taylor threatened to resign from the party unless Hague took action and in a withering attack said that:

The leader of the Conservative party prides himself on his judo and 14 pints a day macho image. Now is his chance to demonstrate real macho leadership by withdrawing the whip from Mr Townend and booting him out of the Conservative party. (Perkins & Wainwright 28/4/2001)

Finally, a month after Townend had made his first comments Hague finally forced him to issue an apology. However, the row coming on the eve of the general election caused further damage to the Conservative Party; the party was accused of being racist and Hague looked like a weak leader who could not control his MPs.

Why did Hague retreat from his vision of Fresh Conservatism? The answer lies in the state of opinion, both within the Conservative Party and within the wider electorate. Hague's brand of social liberalism was deeply unappealing to many Conservatives from the parliamentary party and the grassroots. Kelly notes that:

At the 1998 Forum attended by over 1,800 activists, speakers from the floor sneered at any attempt to 'steal Labour's clothes' by adopting multiculturalism and moral relativism. Eight months later the Conservative women's

¹⁰ The seven were; Francis Maude, Archie Norman, Bernard Jenkin, Peter Ainsworth, Oliver Letwin, David Willetts and Lord Strathelyde. Tim Yeo 'outed' himself a day later.

conference was equally dismissive of ‘Tory feminism’ and ‘permissive Conservatism’, insisting on ‘normal family values’ and the ‘centrality of marriage’. (Kelly, 2001: 201)

Moreover, it also appeared that opinion outside the party was not impressed by the Conservatives’ newly found inclusiveness. The party’s ‘Listening to Britain’ exercise conducted between 1998 and 1999 found that people were more concerned about education, welfare and law an order than social liberalism. This was supported by suggestions sent to the party’s *Common Sense Revolution* website; contributors wanted ‘tougher’ policies on law and order, school discipline and asylum (Kelly, 2001: 200).

Hague may also have been swayed by the party’s desperately poor showing in the opinion polls, which showed the Conservatives almost constantly ‘flat lining’ below 30% from June 1997 to December 1999¹¹ (see Table 3.8 below). However, even after Hague’s tack to the right the polls remained bleak reading for the Conservative Party. Despite populist policies designed to enthuse traditional Conservative voters, the party remained deeply unpopular. Only once, during the fuel crisis of September 2000 did the Conservatives come close to mounting a challenge to the government in the polls (see Table 3.3 below). Whilst the opinion polls were almost unremittingly bad the party scored a notable success in the 1999 European elections, when it won 36 seats to Labour’s 29 and the Liberal Democrats’ 10, albeit on a record low turnout of 24% (Butler & Kavanagh, 2002: 14-15). However, this proved to be a false dawn and by the time of the June 2001 general election Hague’s Conservatives had done little or nothing to recapture ground ceded to New Labour in 1997 and the scene was set for another electoral drubbing.

¹¹ The only month the party reached 30% during this period was February 1999 (www.mori.com)

Table 3.3: *Monthly Mori polls for main party voting intentions June 1997 to May 2001(%)*

	Cons.	Lab.	Lib. Dems.
1997			
June	24	58	15
July	23	57	15
August	28	54	15
September	25	59	13
October	24	60	12
November	24	56	16
December	26	55	15
1998			
January	28	54	14
February	28	52	15
March	28	53	14
April	27	55	14
May	26	55	14
June	27	56	13
July	28	53	14
August	28	52	14
September	24	56	15
October	26	53	16
November	29	53	13
December	27	54	12
1999			
January	24	56	14
February	30	51	14
March	27	54	13
April	25	56	13
May	28	52	14
June	28	51	13
July	28	51	14
August	27	49	17
September	25	52	17
October	28	56	11
November	25	55	14
December	28	54	13
2000			
January	30	50	15
February	29	50	15
March	29	50	14
April	27	51	15
May	32	48	15
June	33	47	13
July	33	49	12
August	29	51	15
September	35	37	21
October	32	45	17
November	33	48	13
December	34	46	14
2001			
January	31	50	14
February	30	50	14
March	31	50	14
April	30	50	13
May	28	54	12

Source: www.mori.com

Note: The percentages do not add up to 100 because 'minor' parties are excluded

3.5 The general election of 2001 and the resignation of William Hague

William Hague's leadership of the Conservative Party was plagued by many of the same problems that beset his predecessor, John Major. Intra-party divisions over Europe, sleaze, low poll ratings and allegations of weak leadership all combined to undermine Hague's position. Consequently the 2001 general election was another disaster for the Conservatives. The overall swing from Labour to Conservative was a mere 1.8% and the party gained just one seat¹² (Butler & Kavanagh, 2002: 251). The election was the first time the party had lost by consecutive landslides and at 8.3 million, the total number of votes the Conservatives received was the lowest since 1929, when there was a much smaller electorate (Butler & Kavanagh, 2002: 254). In an echo of the party's 1997 general election defeat, Hague resolved, like John Major, to resign immediately. Senior party members tried to persuade him to stay on and allow the party time to reflect¹³, but Hague would not be swayed by their arguments. He felt that:

Whatever I do, the leadership election is going to start now. I can't stop it, and if I'm not careful the focus will all be on me and I don't want that to happen. The party will tear itself apart if I stay on. It must start talking about what it must do to put things right, not agonise over whether I should remain. (Walters, 2003: 2-3)

3.6 The leadership election of 2001

William Hague's resignation on 8th June triggered another leadership election. The contest was the first to be contested under the new rules devised by William Hague. These differed substantially from the old Douglas-Hume rules and allowed the membership the final decision for the first time. The role of the PCP was to hold a series of primary ballots in and choose two candidates to go forward to the final, one member one vote ballot¹⁴.

¹² Peter Duncan won Dumfries & Galloway from Labour.

¹³ Andrew Mackay, Ann Widdecombe, Iain Duncan Smith and Lord Strathclyde met Hague at Central Office and asked him to remain as leader.

¹⁴ See chapter 2 for a detailed explanation of the Hague rules.

3.61 The candidates

As in 1997 some senior Tories were absent from the contest, notably Michael Heseltine, Peter Lilley, Michael Howard and John Redwood. Michael Heseltine had retired from parliament; the health scare that ruled him out of the leadership election in 1997 had also ended his interest in front line politics. Peter Lilley was no longer seen as a serious challenger for two reasons; his poor showing in the 1997 leadership election, together with his ill timed speech in April 1999, that led to his sacking. Michael Howard announced his intention to retire from frontline politics in March 1999, saying he wanted the freedom to speak on a wider range of issues (Jones, & Shrimpsley, 9/3/1999) and left the shadow cabinet in William Hague's June reshuffle. John Redwood's credibility was undermined by losing two successive leadership contests and many on the Eurosceptic right, Redwood's natural constituency, did not regard him as a plausible leader. Consequently, five candidates formally entered the contest; Michael Portillo, Ken Clarke, Iain Duncan Smith, Michael Ancram and David Davis¹⁵.

Portillo was the bookies' favourite and the person many people felt would already be leader, if he hadn't lost his seat in the 1997 general election (Alderman & Carter, 2002: 572). A poll prior to the 2001 general election showed him to be the popular choice to replace Hague with both conservative and non-Conservative voters (Ipsos Mori, 3/6/2001). He was forty-eight, still relatively young but had the experience of three cabinet posts; Chief Secretary to the Treasury, Secretary of State for Employment, before moving to Defence in 1995. He lost his Enfield Southgate seat in 1997, but returned to parliament in 1999, winning the Kensington & Chelsea by-election caused by the death of Alan Clark. During his period in government Portillo was seen as a pure Thatcherite and was one of John Major's 'bastards'. However, following the 1997 election Portillo had undergone something of a transformation. He worked for a short period as a hospital porter, then just prior to the Kensington & Chelsea by-election he admitted to having a brief homosexual relationship whilst at university (Mardell, 17/2/2001). Then at the 2000 Conservative conference, speaking

¹⁵ Ann Widdecombe took soundings from colleagues but decided not to run when she found she had no support. (Tempest, 18/6/2001)

the day after Ann Widdecombe's hard-line speech Portillo made a plea for tolerance and inclusivity, telling delegates:

We are for people whatever their sexual orientation. The Conservative Party isn't merely a party of tolerance; it's a party willing to accord every one of our citizens' respect. Why should people respect us if we withhold respect from them? (Walters, 2003: 76)

Portillo's campaign was based on the need for the Party to fundamentally reform all aspects of policy (Watt, 10/7/01). However, Portillo's campaign was poorly run and he was accused of disloyalty to former leader William Hague by Hague's Head of Media, Amanda Platell and also by Michael Howard's nemesis, Ann Widdecombe (Walters, 2002: 214-215). The damage done by the disloyalty accusation was acknowledged by a source close to the Portillo campaign, although the same source also denied that Portillo had been plotting to take the leadership and that if he had he would have been, "...battering people up over the previous two years, instead of systematically annoying them." (Private information).

Ken Clarke was again the only candidate who was not from the Eurosceptic wing of the party. He had spent the last four years as a backbencher and had enraged William Hague by joining Michael Heseltine in sitting next to Tony Blair at a Britain In Europe¹⁶ news conference (Walters, 2003: 52). He told the Party to forget about its European obsession and to concentrate on electorally significant issues, such as improving public services. He based his campaign on his personal qualities, experience and his high public profile and popularity (Alderman & Carter, 2002: 576).

Iain Duncan Smith was unashamedly from the right of the party, pro-hanging and corporal punishment and anti-section 28 (Tempest, 17/7/01). He entered parliament in 1992 and first rose to prominence, within the parliamentary party, as one of the Maastricht rebels. Although he was not one of the 'whipless wonders' he voted against the government eleven times, abstained forty-seven times and voted with the government on just four occasions, during the course of the Maastricht Treaty's ratification (Walters, 2003: 220). He was the campaign manager for John Redwood's

¹⁶ Britain In Europe was a cross-party coalition to promote closer ties to the European Union.

1997 leadership bid, but refused to go along with the Redwood-Clarke pact and voted for Hague in the final round (Williams, 1998: 226). He served in William Hague's shadow cabinet, as Shadow Social Security Secretary from 1997 to 1998, when he became Shadow Defence Secretary. His appearance led some to liken him to a 'Hague Mk II' or 'Hague without the jokes' (Walters, 2001: 225). However, like Hague he portrayed himself as someone who could break the link with past mistakes whilst holding on to Conservative principles (Duncan Smith, 19/6/01).

Michael Ancram held a number of junior ministerial positions during the Thatcher and Major years; he served at the Scottish Office from 1983 until 1987, he lost his Edinburgh South seat in the 1987 election and returned to parliament in 1992 representing Devizes. He served at the Northern Ireland Office from 1993 to 1997. After the 1997 election he served William Hague as Constitutional Affairs spokesman until he was appointed Party Chairman in 1998, a post he held until after the general election. Ancram portrayed himself as the unity candidate and in the statement announcing his candidacy took aim at Portillo's social liberalism by telling the party that:

This is no time to seek to match spin with spin, or stardust with stardust. It is not time to strike out against the grain of our party and its traditions. (Ancram, 21/6/2001).

However, Ancram's social background was a disadvantage. He was the Earl of Ancram and heir to the 12th Marquess of Lothian. If the party elected him Ancram would become the first hereditary peer to lead the Conservatives since Alec Douglas Home. His critics argued that the Party would seem even more out of touch if it made him their leader (Sylvester & Jones, 22/6/01).

David Davis entered parliament in 1987, he was PPS to Francis Maude, before joining the whips office from 1990-1993. Between 1993 and 1994 he served as Parliamentary Secretary at Office of Public Service and Science and then moved Minister of State at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office where he stayed until the Conservatives lost power (www.conservatives.com). However he really came to prominence, within the parliamentary party, during Hague years when he chaired the House of Commons Public Accounts Committee. Davis was another right wing candidate who also urged the Party to concentrate on reforming public services, arguing that Labour's failure to

deliver improvement rendered it vulnerable (Watt, 10/7/2001). Although he was a Eurosceptic he was clear that the party, "...must not be obsessed with this issue, nor should the majority's view on it be a test of party loyalty." (Davis, 19/6/2001)

An Ipsos Mori poll (see Table 3.4 below), published in June 2001 indicted that once again Kenneth Clarke was the most popular candidate both with Conservative voters and with the wider electorate. Portillo was the second most popular candidate whilst the eventual winner, Duncan Smith just beat Michael to third place.

Table 3.4: Popularity of the candidates

Regardless of which party you support, which of these, if any, do you think would do the best job as leader of the Conservative Party?

	All voters (%)	Cons. voters (%)
Kenneth Clarke	32	29
Davis Davis	4	5
Iain Duncan Smith	7	13
Michael Portillo	17	25
Michael Ancram	6	12
Other	5	3
None of these	6	5
Don't know	24	8

Source: Ipsos Mori (28/6/2001)

The same poll also made a direct comparison between Kenneth Clarke and Michael Portillo and also between Iain Duncan Smith and Michael Portillo (see Tables 3.5 & 3.6 below), which confirmed that both Conservative voters and the wider electorate preferred Clarke over Portillo and Portillo over Duncan Smith.

Table 3.5: Comparison between Kenneth Clarke and Michael Portillo

	All voters (%)	Cons. voters (%)
Kenneth Clarke	51	49
Michael Portillo	25	39
Neither	7	5
Don't know	17	5

Source: Ipsos Mori (28/6/2001)

Table 3.6: Comparison between Michael Portillo and Iain Duncan Smith

	All voters (%)	Cons. voters (%)
Michael Portillo	34	46
Iain Duncan Smith	25	39
Neither	12	8
Don't know	24	10

Source: Ipsos Mori (28/6/2001)

3.62 The ballots

There were three ballots spread over a period of seven days from Tuesday 10th July to Tuesday 17th July (see Table 3.4). The first round of balloting saw Davies and Ancram tied in last place, however there were no provisions for a tie in the rules. Neither candidate was willing to stand down necessitating a rerun of the first round. Consequently after another ballot Ancram was eliminated and Davis withdrew shortly thereafter. Surprisingly, in the third ballot of the PCP, the early favourite Portillo came last with 53 votes; therefore Clarke (59) and Duncan Smith (54) went forward to a final ballot of the entire party.

Table 3.7: *Changes in support between rounds, 2001*

	Round 1	Round 2	Change	Round 3	Change
Portillo	49	50	(+1)	53	(+3)
Clarke	36	39	(+3)	59	(+20)
Duncan Smith	39	42	(+3)	54	(+12)
Ancram	21	17	(- 4)	-	-
Davis	21	18	(- 3)	-	-

Source: Alderman & Carter, 2002: 579

The campaign for the support of party members lasted until the ballot closed on the 10th September. As time wore on the contest became increasingly acrimonious; Clarke dismissed Duncan Smith's supporters as 'headbangers', whilst Duncan Smith suggested that:

It would have been reassuring to hear from Ken Clarke about some mistakes, which led the party to the greatest defeat in its history (Walters, 2001: 221).

In another sign of the divisive nature of the contest Mrs. Thatcher backed Duncan Smith, whilst John Major backed Clarke and castigated Duncan Smith for being

...one of a number of colleagues who voted night after night with the Labour Party in the Labour lobby with the purpose of defeating the Conservative government (Walters, 2001: 221)

In August Duncan Smith's campaign was nearly derailed when it was discovered that Edgar Griffin, father of BNP leader Nick Griffin, was a member of his campaign team. Duncan Smith immediately sacked Griffin and called for his expulsion from the party. Clarke published an NOP poll, which showed he was more likely to win back

former Conservative voters¹⁷ (Clarke, 2001: 1). Nevertheless and despite being the front-runner amongst the PCP Clarke was defeated by, Iain Duncan Smith with 155, 933 votes to Clarke's 100, 864 Duncan Smith therefore became the fourth person to lead the Conservative Party in eleven years (Walters, 2001: 230).

3.7 The leadership of Iain Duncan Smith

Like Hague Duncan Smith's leadership was constrained in several ways; in common with Hague, Duncan Smith was constrained by the manner of his election. He was the first Conservative leader chosen to by the party's rank and file and this should have secured his position. However, some activists were unhappy that they were only given a choice of two candidates and felt they were forced to vote for Duncan Smith because of their distaste for Clarke's pro European views (Kelly, 2004: 2). In this sense it could be argued that Duncan Smith was yet another default leader. Moreover the final ballot of the PCP showed that he was not the parliamentary party's favoured choice; less than a third (32½%) of Duncan Smith's parliamentary colleagues had voted for him. He had come second to Clarke and beaten Michael Portillo by the less than decisive margin of one vote. This low level of parliamentary support was unprecedented, previous systems for selecting the party leader were designed to ensure that winning candidate had the support of a good majority of the party's MPs. In another quirk of the Hague rules, Duncan Smith owed his election to the party's activists, but the responsibility for removing him if he proved inadequate was left to the parliamentary party.

Throughout his leadership Duncan Smith struggled to raise his profile. Two days before he was declared leader Al-Qaeda launched its attack on the World Trade Centre in New York. The event completely overshadowed Duncan Smith's election and gave Tony Blair the chance to exercise his role of international statesman, an opportunity denied to the Leader of the Opposition (Seldon & Snowden, 2005: 263). The new leader's low profile was compounded by his lack of charisma; he was the first Conservative leader not to have his likeness in Madame Tussaud's waxworks because he was "...too dull and lifeless." (McDermott, 30/10/2003) Duncan Smith tried to turn his low profile to his advantage during the 2002 party conference telling

¹⁷ The Poll showed 63% supported Clarke, whilst 37% supported Duncan Smith

his audience, “Do not underestimate the determination of a quiet man.” (Duncan Smith, 10/10/2002)

This lack of charisma was compounded by Duncan Smith’s lack of political experience; he was the least experienced candidate of the 2001 leadership, or indeed any Conservative Party leadership election never holding any government post. Hague at least masked his inexperience, to a certain extent, by frequently discomfiting Tony Blair at the dispatch box. However, this feat was beyond the uncharismatic Duncan Smith, who *Guardian* sketch writer Simon Hoggart likened to the *Fast Show*’s Bob Fleming, “...who couldn’t utter a sentence without a coughing fit.” (Hoggart, 29/11/2001). Duncan Smith was also faced with his legacy as a Maastricht rebel. Even at the start of Duncan Smith’s tenure was by no means clear if he could demand unconditional loyalty from some of his colleagues, when he had done so much to undermine them during the last Conservative administration. Indeed, when John Major refused to pledge his loyalty to Duncan Smith it was perhaps a sign of trouble ahead (Walters, 2001: 221). Duncan Smith was at least free of the hindrance of Mrs. Thatcher views on his leadership; the former Prime Minister was forced to quit public life in March 2002 after suffering a series of small strokes (Ward, 23/3/2002).

In terms of the party’s image and policies there were initial signs that Duncan Smith was adopting Michael Portillo’s agenda of social liberalism. He appointed modernisers such as Mark MacGregor and Dominic Cummings to important posts within Central Office¹⁸ (Kelly, 2004: 2) In October 2001 he ordered three Conservative MPs¹⁹ to quit the right-wing Monday Club and explained that:

I am tired of the Conservative Party being diverted by the activities of one or two individuals when they are totally at odds with what we are working for. I will have no truck with racism in the Conservative Party. (White, 8/10/2001)

Duncan Smith also said he would not join the Carlton Club as long as it refused to admit women as full members on the same terms as men. He became the first Conservative leader to turn down the traditional invitation to become an honorary member since the club’s inception in 1832²⁰ (Anon., 27/12/2001). Duncan Smith also

¹⁸ Chief Executive and Director of Strategy respectively

¹⁹ The three were; Andrew Hunter, Angela Watkinson and Andrew Rossindell

²⁰ Margaret Thatcher was admitted as an honorary member despite her gender.

took action against Ann Winterton, who was reported to have told a racist joke at a rugby club dinner. In a marked contrast to Hague's indecision over John Townend, Winterton was ordered to resign from the shadow cabinet or be sacked and Duncan Smith again expressed his desire to rid his party of racism:

When I looked at those remarks and discussed them with Ann Winterton, I believe that they were offensive, and I believe they were offensive to a large number of people. (Watt, 6/5/2002)

Duncan Smith also backed junior foreign affairs spokesman Alan Duncan who revealed he was gay in a newspaper interview; the leader promised Duncan his personal support and pledged that the admission would not affect his career progression (Brogan, 30/7/2002).

Duncan Smith ordered a complete policy overhaul, which was to be developed in three phases; identifying problem areas and learning from other countries, putting forward proposals through consultation documents and elaborating policy long before the next general election (Seldon & Snowden, 2005: 260). Much of the policy review concentrated on the area of public services, an area the party agreed New Labour were vulnerable. The Conservative Party developed a threefold critique of the government's handling of the public services. Firstly the party argued that New Labour's obsession with targets led to huge unproductive bureaucracies leading to a 'commend state'. Secondly the party talked about devolving control of hospitals and schools down to institutional level. Thirdly the Conservatives sought to introduce a choice agenda to empower consumers and force schools and hospitals to improve their services (Dorey, 2004: 374). This critique was published in 2002 as *Leadership with a Purpose: A Better Society* in which the party promised to take action against:

Failing schools, crime, sub-standard healthcare, child poverty and growing dependence, and insecurity in old age – the five giants blighting Britain today. (The Conservative Party, 2002: 4)

The document also benefited from the innovative approach of shadow Home Secretary Oliver Letwin (Seldon & Snowden, 2005: 260). Letwin argued that the party would tackle 'The Conveyor Belt to Crime' by supporting parents, introducing neighbourhood policing and a vastly increased programme of treatment and rehabilitation for drug addicts, as well as the traditional Conservative prescription of tougher prison sentences (The Conservative Party, 2002: 27)

However, despite the Conservatives' more innovative approach to policy development under Duncan Smith the party still made little progress, 'flat lining' in the polls during 2001 and 2002. However, the Conservatives managed to close the gap between themselves and Labour during the latter part of 2003 (see Table 3.5, below), as the government became more unpopular, although this was due in part to support switching from Labour to the Liberal Democrats (Broughton, 2004: 350). The party was unable to increase their representation in the Commons and failed to win any of the three by-elections held between 2001 and 2003²¹ (Broughton, 2004: 350-352). The result of the Brent East by-election was particularly disappointing as the Liberal Democrats leapfrogged the Conservatives from third place to take the seat from Labour. However, the Conservatives made some progress in the local elections; it came second to Labour in 2002, but was the largest party in local government after the 2003 elections²², gaining 600 seats (Watt, 3/5/2003). The party's improved performance in the 2003 local elections arguably saved Duncan Smith from an immediate leadership challenge; on the eve of the elections Crispin Blunt resigned from the front bench²³ saying that:

We carry the handicap of a leader whom Conservatives in parliament and outside feel unable to present to the electorate as a credible alternative prime minister. (White & Watt, 1/5/2003)

The Conservative Party under Duncan Smith suffered from continued disunity, much of which was caused by a series of errors of judgement by Duncan Smith. The first of these errors concerned the manner in which Duncan Smith demoted Party Chairman David Davis²⁴. The *Daily Telegraph* alleged that Davis was lazy, blocking Duncan Smith's plans to modernise the party and plotting to take his job (Jones & Brogan, 23/6/2002). Unfortunately Duncan Smith chose to move Davis whilst the latter was on holiday in Florida and out of contact with Central Office. The move looked cowardly and an angry Davis had to be dissuaded from resigning from the shadow cabinet (Brogan, 25/7/2002).

²¹ Labour held Ipswich (November 2001) and Ogmere (February 2002). The Lib Dems took Brent East (September 2003) from Labour.

²² 2002; Lab. 35%, Cons. 32%, Lib Dems. 24%. 2003: Cons. 35%, Lab. 33%, Lib Dems. 21%.

²³ Blunt was a shadow trade minister and MP for Reigate since 1997.

²⁴ Davis was moved to shadow Deputy Prime Minister John Prescott, he was replaced at Central Office by Theresa May.

Table 3.8: *Monthly polling averages for main party voting intentions, September 2001 to October 2003*

	Cons.	Lab.	Lib. Dems.
2001			
September	28	49	18
October	27	52	16
November	27	51	17
December	29	44	20
2002			
January	29	48	18
February	29	49	17
March	31	44	19
April	29	47	17
May	32	43	19
June	32	42	19
July	31	43	20
August	33	41	21
September	31	40	21
October	30	41	22
November	30	41	22
December	30	39	23
2003			
January	31	39	23
February	32	27	24
March	32	39	22
April	30	42	21
May	33	39	21
June	35	37	20
July	35	36	21
August	35	35	22
September	32	35	26
October	34	36	23

Source: adapted from Broughton 2004: 351

Duncan Smith's next mistake, in November 2002, was a calamitous political misjudgement over the Adoption and Children Bill²⁵. Rather than treat the Bill as an issue of conscience and give his MPs a free vote, Duncan Smith imposed a three-line whip compelling Conservative MPs to vote against the Bill. Then after disquiet in the parliamentary party, the Chief Whip, David Maclean told MPs that they could safely miss the vote without facing disciplinary action (Brogan, 2/11/2002). However, this did not satisfy some of the party's social liberals and John Bercow resigned from his job as shadow pensions minister so he could vote in favour of the Adoption Bill. When Parliament voted on the Bill, seven others Conservatives, including Michael Portillo and Kenneth Clarke joined Bercow, prompting speculation of a challenge to

²⁵ The Bill would allow unmarried couples to adopt children.

Duncan Smith's leadership²⁶ (Watt, 5/11/2002). The next day Duncan Smith made the situation worse by issuing a personal statement in which he challenged his party to 'unite or die' and claimed that:

Over the last few weeks a small group of my parliamentary colleagues have decided, consciously, to undermine my leadership. (Tempest, 5/11/2002)

To which Kenneth Clarke's response was that:

It would be much easier to unite as a party if Iain Duncan Smith would refrain from imposing three-line whips on subjects, which have always been left to the judgment of individual MPs. (Tempest, 5/11/2002)

The episode served to make Duncan Smith look weak, politically inept and somewhat ridiculous. His speech was seen as a complete overreaction to the actions of eight MPs over what should have been an issue of conscience. Moreover, as commentators were quick to point out, because Duncan Smith defied the party line on numerous occasions during the Major administration, he was not well qualified to demand that the party now 'unite or die'. (Wheatcroft, 2005: 262).

Duncan Smith's next misjudgement concerned the sacking of two staff in Central Office in February 2003; Mark MacGregor and Rick Nye, both supporters of Michael Portillo. It was reported that the party Treasurer Stanley Kalms was ordered to sack the pair by Duncan Smith against the formers wishes and against the wishes of the party board. Moreover, in an unhappy echo of the Davis affair MacGregor was on holiday when he learnt of his dismissal (Tempest, 17/2/2003). Duncan Smith then appointed his friend and former MP Barry Legg as Chief Executive and Duncan Smith's Chief of Staff. The appointment outraged the party board, which should have been consulted and who felt Duncan Smith had overreached his authority. The crisis deepened when the *Guardian* newspaper revealed that the very eurosceptic Legg had held three exploratory meetings with the UK Independence Party to discuss defecting from the Conservatives to UKIP (White, 20/2/2003). Then in May the *Guardian* revealed that Legg had been involved in Westminster Council's 'homes for votes scandal', during the 1980s²⁷. In the row that followed Legg was forced to resign, a

²⁶ The eight Conservatives who voted against the party line were; Michael Portillo, Kenneth Clarke, David Curry, Francis Maude, John Bercow, Julie Kirkbride, Andrew Mackay and Andrew Lansley.

²⁷ As a member of Westminster city council, Legg was involved in housing homeless families in a tower block riddled with asbestos.

move seen as a victory for the party board and MPs against Duncan Smith (Watt & Hencke, 8/5/2003).

By now Duncan Smith's continued leadership of the party was constantly being called into question and his authority undermined. The Legg fiasco was followed in June by the resignation of the Conservative Party Treasurer, the multimillionaire Sir Stanley Kalms after he reportedly fell out with Duncan Smith over Legg's appointment leading to blazing rows between the leader and his treasurer (Watt, 18/6/2003). In September, the party then came a poor third in the Brent East by-election, a constituency where they came second in the 2001 general election.

By October events were rapidly spinning beyond the control of Duncan Smith and his future was becoming increasingly insecure; allegations surfaced that Duncan Smith improperly paid his wife, Betsy £18, 000 pounds for secretarial work she had not done. Almost as damaging were the splits revealed in Central Office as Vanessa Grearson, a deputy director at Central Office claimed that staff were bullied into signing a rebuttal of the 'Betsygate' allegations²⁸ (Wintour, 18/10/2003). The party conference the following week offered a final chance for Duncan Smith to reassert his fractured authority. In his leader's speech he pronounced that, "...the quiet man is here to stay and his turning up the volume." Party activists enthusiastically cheered the speech, constantly interrupting the speech with nineteen standing ovations, in an orchestrated show of support that came over badly on television and appalled the parliamentary party (Wheatcroft, 2005: 264). On the 22nd October the Conservatives' largest donor, Stuart Wheeler called for the parliamentary party to remove Duncan Smith.

On the 27th October Derek Conway announced that he had sent a letter to Sir Michael Spicer, Chairman of the 1922 Committee requesting a ballot of no confidence in Duncan Smith's leadership.²⁹ The leader's response was to give his critics forty-eight hours to act, saying that:

²⁸ An investigation by the parliamentary commissioner for standards later completely exonerated the Duncan Smiths of any impropriety.

²⁹ Conway was the second MP to write to Sir Michael. Crispin Blunt requested a no confidence vote when he resigned in May.

...if, by Wednesday night, the chairman of the 1922 committee is in receipt of 25 names, I will seek to win a vote of confidence in my leadership. Equally, if the 25 names are not forthcoming, I will expect my party to call a halt to this most damaging episode. (White & Hall, 28/10/2003)

The next morning Francis Maude and John Greenway announced that they too had written to Sir Michael to ask for a ballot. Then in the afternoon Sir Michael confirmed that he had received the necessary twenty-five requests and that a ballot would be held the next day (Katz & Happold 28/10/2003). Iain Duncan Smith vowed to fight on, rather than step down, but lost the ballot by 90 votes to 75 and resigned as leader of the Conservative Party.

3.8 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to offer a narrative account of the circumstances surrounding the leadership elections of 1997 and 2001 and the state of the Conservative Party between 1997 and 2003. When we analyse the elections of William Hague and Iain Duncan we can discern a number of common factors, despite the very different procedures of the Home and Hague election systems.

Firstly we can say that neither candidate was the preferred choice of the parliamentary party; Hague was a default leader in the absence of Heseltine and Portillo. Conservative MPs who wished to stop Ken Clarke becoming leader or who were repelled by the Clarke-Redwood pact had no choice but to vote for Hague. There were no 'Hagueites' in the parliamentary party, as there were 'Portillistas' and consequently Hague's authority was undermined almost as soon as Michael Portillo returned to parliament. Hague's leadership was also dogged by plots, either real or imagined, to overthrow him and replace him with Portillo. However, at least Hague could point to the support of 56% of the parliamentary party, a clear majority in the final ballot against Clarke. Duncan Smith was elected with the support of barely one third of his colleagues coming second in the final ballot of the parliamentary party and he consequently struggled to assert his authority throughout his eighteen-month tenure as leader. Hague and Duncan Smith also suffered from an image problem; Hague never shook off the perception of him as a 'geeky' sixteen year old telling the 1977 Conservative Party conference that he wanted to be free. Duncan Smith tried and failed to make light of his low profile and lack of charisma and low profile by styling

himself as a man of quiet determination. Neither ever looked like a credible alternative Prime Minister to Tony Blair and their party's electoral fortunes suffered as a consequence.

Both leaders were inexperienced and consequently made mistakes that more seasoned politicians may have avoided. Hague had been an MP for eight years and his two years in the relatively junior post of Welsh Secretary was his only cabinet experience. Duncan Smith was even more unschooled in the arts of high politics; an MP for nine years he sat out the final spell of Conservative government on the backbenches. His only frontline experience was in Hague's shadow cabinet covering social security and then defence. Hague's poor judgement led him to boast about drinking fourteen pints a day and to describe Jeffrey Archer as a man of integrity. Hague also let the John Townend affair drag on too long and the dispute with Lord Taylor created adverse press coverage on the eve of a general election. Duncan Smith's inexperience led him into picking an unnecessary fight with one section of his party over the Adoption and Children Bill and to use his powers of patronage so ineptly that he undermined rather than enhanced his leadership; Duncan Smith's demotion of David Davis whilst the latter was on holiday was unfortunate and created disquiet within the party, yet Duncan Smith repeated the mistake with the dismissal of the vacationing Mark MacGregor from Central Office and then inflamed a delicate situation by appointing Barry Legg over the heads of the party board.

Both leaders were also the preferred candidates of Margaret Thatcher, although this arguably hurt Hague more than Duncan Smith. The need to remain loyal to the Thatcher legacy was a constraint on Conservative policy development during Hague's tenure, as he felt unable to move on from Thatcherism and sacked Peter Lilley for making an ill-timed speech that was seen in some quarters to be a repudiation of Mrs. Thatcher's work. Hague tried to move the Conservative Party towards a new agenda of social liberalism characterised as *Fresh Conservatism*, however, the unease this created within the party combined with any sign of a revival in the Conservative's electoral fortunes pushed Hague back towards mainstream Thatcherism and the adoption of a more populist agenda encapsulated by *Common Sense Revolution* and *Believing in Britain*. However, the passage of time, together with Lady Thatcher's withdrawal from public life arguably allowed Duncan Smith more room for

manoeuvre than his predecessor. Moreover because Duncan Smith's Thatcherite credentials were never in doubt he was able to begin the search for a new and distinctive policy agenda. *Leadership with a Purpose* showed clear signs of such a move. Ideas such as the enhanced programme of treatment and rehabilitation for drug marked a clear break from the traditional Thatcherite view that 'prison works'.

Ultimately, neither Duncan Smith's innovation nor Hague's more traditional Thatcherite approach could lift the party in the polls and threaten Tony Blair and New Labour's continued dominance. The party failed to win a single by-election under either leader and suffered an unprecedented second consecutive electoral drubbing under Hague. Hague, at least had the opportunity to fight a general election and to resign with a degree of honour. Duncan Smith suffered the same fate as his patron Lady Thatcher; the first Conservative party leader to be elected by the whole party was unceremoniously removed by his parliamentary colleagues, when they perceived that they had no chance of electoral recovery under his leadership.

Chapter 4

The Social Background and Political Attributes of the PCP

4.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to analyse a number of non-ideological factors that affect the composition of the parliamentary Conservative Party and may be applied to all its members. The Cowley & Garry (1998) study of the 1990 Conservative Party leadership election identified four separate factors and hypothesised that each influenced the decisions of Conservative MPs when they elected John Major. The four factors identified by Cowley & Garry were the social background of Conservative MPs, their electoral vulnerability, their age and experience and their career status (Cowley & Garry, 1998: 475-478). Consequently, this chapter will explore each of these variables and seek to explain how each affects the composition of the parliamentary Conservative Party between 1997-2001 and 2001-2003. The significance of these non-ideological variables is examined in relation to the three ideological variables (economic policy, European policy, social / moral policy) in chapter six, contributing to a methodologically rigorous analysis of leadership elections.

The chapter will begin by examining the social background of all Conservative MPs. Whilst work on the social composition of the PCP has been done before, notably Baker, Gamble & Ludlam (1992), Baker & Fountain (1996) and Cowley & Garry (1998), it needs to be updated. This section will commence with a discussion on the relevance of social background to contemporary democratic political parties. It will then provide an overview of the changes that have occurred in the social composition of the parliamentary party during the course of the 20th century, focusing on the education of MPs and their occupation prior to entering Parliament, together with institutional changes within the party that may have affected its social composition. This section will conclude with a study of the social composition of the parliamentary party for the 1997 and 2001 parliaments and will analyse whether this constitutes continuity or change.

The chapter will then examine the electoral vulnerability of the parliamentary party. Electoral vulnerability may be relevant for two reasons; firstly individual MPs may

adopt the following attitudinal stance; that the choice of the leader may impact upon the popularity of individual MPs. Secondly an MP's electoral vulnerability may affect his / her career progression through the parliamentary party, with MP's from marginal seats being excluded from cabinet or shadow cabinet positions due to electoral insecurity. One example of how electoral vulnerability may affect outcomes can be seen in the election of John Major as Conservative Party leader in 1990. Major's main rival, Michael Heseltine had already managed to dethrone Margaret Thatcher and based his campaign upon his electoral popularity, especially compared to Mrs. Thatcher's unpopularity. In his autobiography Heseltine wrote that, "...my most powerful card had been my public support, showing I could bring lost votes back to the party." (Heseltine, 2001: 373). Subsequently, Heseltine's appeal was neutered by the revelation that John Major was just as popular with the wider electorate (Cowley, 1996: 201)

Therefore we can hypothesise, firstly that MPs holding more marginal seats would vote for the candidate with the best popularity rating in opinion polls as this would give them a better chance of retaining their seat and achieving promotion. We can also hypothesise, like Cowley & Garry, "...that MPs in relatively safe seats would be more willing to vote for the least popular candidate..." (Cowley & Garry, 1998: 477), as this would not impact upon their own electoral or promotion chances. Taken together we are assuming that the choice of candidate could be influenced by the electoral vulnerability variable. In order to support this hypothesis this section will analyse the composition of Conservative Party cabinets and shadow cabinets between 1951 and 2002 in relation to the electoral vulnerability of the MPs who served in those cabinets.

Finally the chapter will examine why the career status of MPs is relevant to leadership elections, both for the leadership contenders and their electorate inside the Parliamentary Conservative Party.

4.2 Social Background

4.21 Historical Background

The PCP has traditionally drawn from Britain's social elite; in 1935 no less than 172 out of 415 Conservative MPs were drawn from the aristocracy. A 1939 study revealed that 145 of the party's MPs were linked together in a web of family relationships,

which was sometimes called the 'Cousinhood' (Baker & Fountain, 1996: 86). Moreover, it was estimated that, in a remarkable display of nepotism, thirty-five out of eighty-five of Harold Macmillan's 1958 government were related to him by marriage (Davis, 1996: 124). Over the course of the 20th century, the elitist nature of the PCP has been diluted to a certain extent, however, the PCP is still not representative of the electorate. Moreover, whilst the Conservative Party is dependent on working class electoral support,¹ working class Conservatives have been largely absent from Parliament; instead the aristocratic elite has been largely replaced by MPs from middle-class professions such as business, law, education and financial services (Greenwood, 1998: 456-457).

However, it is arguable that the dominance of the middle and upper middle-class is not necessarily problematic. The electorate mainly judge a party by the policies it offers, rather than by the social background of the candidates the party fields. Moreover, it does not follow that someone who was educated at Eton and Oxbridge holds unrepresentative views. For instance Lord Woolton was one of the party's leading moderates, whilst some of the most strident right-wingers in the party, such as Norman Tebbit, have relatively modest social backgrounds. Finally, it has been argued that the only personality who really matters to voters is the party leader (Butler & Pinto-Duschinsky, 1980: 198-199). Therefore, it can be argued that the social background of the Parliamentary Party is now an irrelevance; since the institution of party leadership elections in 1965 all Conservative leaders have come from modest middle-class backgrounds and were all educated in grammar schools, rather than private fee paying institutions.

However, the opposite argument is that social composition does matter. In this view general attitudes and beliefs about parties are more important than specific policies in determining voter choice. Consequently, the impression that a political party favours a particular class or excludes certain social groups may alienate some sections of the electorate and cost the party votes. Furthermore, in the closed world of Westminster, the attitudes of the party leader will inevitably be affected by those around them. Consequently, although the leader may not have gone to a public school he or she is

¹ One third of the manual working-class has historically supported the party at elections (Coxall & Robins, 1998: 76)

under pressure to adopt the upper middle-class values, which dominate the Parliamentary Party. Finally social exclusivity may act as a brake on policy formulation, by giving the Conservatives too narrow a frame of reference (Butler & Pinto-Duschinsky, 1980: 200-203).

Crucially, Conservative Central Office has long held the opinion that the narrow social background of its MPs is problematic. Specific measures to promote working-class candidates were first made in 1919 with the formation of the Unionist Labour Movement. This was superseded by the Conservative Trade Unionists' Organisation in 1947. Both organisations attempted to rectify the shortage of working-class candidates through training and financial support. Financial support was crucial to working-class candidates, as local constituency associations usually demanded hefty donations from their prospective MPs, which in effect meant that safe seats were auctioned to the highest bidder (Clarke, 1998: 271). The issue of donations and candidates' election expenses was addressed by Sir David Maxwell-Fyfe's 1947 inquiry into the Party's organisation. The inquiry was prompted by the 1945 Labour landslide, which Conservative strategists blamed, in part, on the elitist nature of the PCP (Greenwood, 1988, 458-466). The reforms introduced by Maxwell-Fyfe made the constituency associations, rather than parliamentary candidates, responsible for election expenses. In addition, constituency associations were prohibited from raising the question of financial contributions from any prospective candidate until after they had been selected and limiting contributions that a candidate could make to £25 a year² (Taylor & Evans, 1996: 77). Whilst these reforms may have addressed the power of money in candidate selection they did not lead to an immediate change in the social composition of the PCP (Criddle, 1994: 156). The main obstacle to selecting working-class candidates was with the individual constituency associations who were still reluctant to choose candidates who were not from a middle-class, professional background. Despite concerted pressure from Central Office on constituency associations, the few working-class or trades unionist candidates that were selected were generally doomed to fight solidly Labour seats (Greenwood, 1988: 461). It was not until the 1955 general election that the first Conservative trades unionist, Ray Mawby, was elected. Although Central Office held up Mawby as a

² £50 for MPs

shining example of the modern Conservative Party, neighbouring MP Charles Williams opposed his candidacy and complained that, “Devon and Cornwall should be the preserve of gentlemen and trades unionists should not be selected. (Criddle, 1994: 157-158)

Whilst the social composition of the bulk of the PCP remained largely immune to institutional changes in candidate selection, the introduction of leadership elections arguably made the PCP seem less elitist and more inclusive. Prior to the election of Edward Heath in 1965 Conservative leaders were not selected through a formal election process. Rather, senior party members canvassed their colleagues in the parliamentary party, a practice that became known as “the customary processes of consultation” (Bogdanor, 1994: 69). The new leader would then be appointed Prime Minister by the monarch³. Heath came from a lower-middle class background⁴ and was grammar school educated, rather than from public school. This contrasted well with previous aristocratic public school educated leaders such as Home, Macmillan and Churchill. Heath’s successor Margaret Thatcher had middle class, rather than aristocratic roots. In addition, she was the first woman to lead a major political party and the first female Prime Minister. When she became Conservative leader Mrs. Thatcher was acutely aware that voters the electorate could turn against the Conservatives, simply on account of her gender. However, she skilfully turned both her gender and her upbringing above a corner shop to her advantage; she portrayed herself as a thrifty housewife, in touch with an electorate struggling with inflation, and who possessed common sense remedies to the nation’s economic ills. Mrs. Thatcher’s successor, John Major also used his humble origins to portray himself as a man of the people in a party political broadcast for the 1992 general election; directed by John Schlesinger *The Journey* saw Major retrace his early years in Brixton (Seldon, 1997: 277). Major tried to reinforce this ‘man of the people’ image through his vision of a ‘classless society’ and allowing the public to suggest worthy candidates for honours (Baker & Fountain, 1996: 88).

³ Heath was the first Tory leader since Bonar Law to take charge whilst the party was in opposition

⁴ His father was a carpenter

4.22 Academic work on the PCP and social background

4.22.1 Education

There is a large body of work on the social background of the PCP, this comes both from both work specifically related to the Conservative Party and also from various Nuffield College election studies. Arguably the most wide ranging study is that by Byron Criddle (1994), which covers the periods from 1900 to the 1935 election and from 1945 to the 1992 election. Criddle's study shows the dominance of Eton and the Oxbridge educated MPs during the years prior to the Great War (see Table 4.1 below). However, the influx of 'new money' (and a consequent dilution of the elitist nature of the party) can be seen in the lower proportion of public school educated MPs after the landslide victories of 1918, 1924, 1931 and 1935 (Criddle, 1994: 151).

After 1945 the educational background of Tory MPs remained fairly stable until the 1979 election, when the public school contingent began to steadily decline (see Table 4.2 below). In addition, the number of Old Etonian's within the PCP fell across the post-war period; from one in four in 1945 to one in ten⁵ by 1992 (Criddle, 1994: 161). In addition, the party's more meritocratic nature was reflected in the rise in the proportion of graduates within the PCP, many of who came from universities other than Oxford or Cambridge (Criddle, 1994: 161). These trends become even more obvious through the analysis of cohorts of Tory MPs entering Parliament for the first time (see Table 4.3 below). Criddle highlights how the 1945 intake, concentrated in safe seats, was predominantly (80%) public school educated. However, by the 1970s the proportion of new MPs educated at public school had fallen to an average of 62% and fell below 60% during the 1980's (Criddle, 1994: 161).

⁵ Thirty-four out of 336

Table 4.1 *Education of Conservative MPs 1900-1935*

Year	Public School				University				Public School and Oxford or Cambridge	Total MPs
	Eton	Harrow	Other	All public school	Oxford	Cambridge	Other	All university		
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(N)
1900	29	10	22	61	28	20	10	58	58	402
1906	35	7	25	67	28	15	10	53	40	156
1910 (Jan.)	33	10	31	74	30	16	9	55	44	272
1910 (Feb.)	34	9	32	75	31	16	9	56	45	272
1918	19	8	26	53	23	16	14	53	40	382
1922	22	9	26	57	24	17	11	52	36	344
1923	25	10	27	62	27	16	11	54	38	258
1924	23	7	27	57	24	18	14	56	35	412
1929	27	9	26	62	26	19	17	62	38	260
1931	22	7	27	56	25	18	15	58	36	470
1935	26	7	30	63	29	19	12	60	44	387

Source: Criddle, 1994: 152

Table 4.2 *Education of Conservative MPs 1945-1992*

Year	Public School				University				Public School and Oxford or Cambridge	Total MPs
	Eton	Harrow	Other	All public school	Oxford	Cambridge	Other	All university		
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(N)
1945	29	6	41	76	29	22	11	62	48	210
1950	26	6	43	75	31	21	10	62	50	298
1951	24	7	43	74	31	21	10	62	49	321
1955	23	6	47	76	31	22	10	63	50	345
1959	20	5	47	72	28	22	10	60	46	365
1964	22	6	47	75	30	22	11	63	48	304
1966	22	6	53	81	33	24	10	67	51	253
1970	18	4	52	74	30	22	12	64	45	330
1974 (Feb)	18	4	52	74	29	24	14	67	48	297
1974 (Oct)	17	4	54	75	29	27	13	69	47	277
1979	15	2	55	72	27	23	19	69	43	339
1983	12	3	55	70	26	22	23	71	42	397
1987	11	2	55	68	24	20	26	70	37	376
1992	10	2	50	62	25	20	28	73	32	336

Source: Criddle, 1994: 162

Table 4.3 *Education of New Conservative MPs 1945-1992*

Year	Public school (%)	Eton (%)	Public school and Oxford or Cambridge (%)	Total New MPs (N)
1945	84	28	41	71
1950	70	23	45	119
1951	75	25	46	41
1955	75	14	50	49
1959	73	16	35	71
1964	85	15	56	41
1966	61	16	44	18
1970	63	10	37	100
1974 (Feb.)	81	15	45	53
1974 (Oct.)	60	–	33	10
1979	61	13	30	86
1983	52	6	25	101
1987	59	6	30	53
1992	55	5	33	63

Source: Criddle, 1994; 163

These findings are largely confirmed Burch & Moran's (1985) study of the British political elite. They found that the social composition of the PCP remained largely stable between 1945 and 1974, but became more meritocratic from 1979 onwards. Burch & Moran were concerned that the large number of new Tory MPs elected in the landslide victory of 1983 may have distorted the picture. They argued that the old pattern of recruiting well-connected Tories for safe seats might have been hidden by large numbers of more meritocratic MPs, who would not ordinarily have been elected. To test this theory Burch & Moran measured the educational characteristics of the 1983 cohort against the marginality of their seats (see Table 4.4 below). If the hypothesis were true then the best educated MPs would be in the safest seats. However, the proportion of public school / Oxbridge MPs in the safest seats was the same as for the party as a whole, whilst the proportion of Old Etonians and ex public school MPs is almost identical to that of the PCP as a whole (Burch & Moran, 1985: 6). Therefore Burch & Moran concluded that the increasingly meritocratic nature of the PCP was based on real change and was not a temporary distortion caused by the abnormally large intake of 1983 (Burch & Moran, 1983: 6).

However, Burch & Moran noted that the rise of the meritocrats was largely confined to the rank and file of the PCP (see Table 4.5 below). Despite the election of Ted Heath and Margaret Thatcher, both grammar school products from relatively humble backgrounds, Conservative cabinets remained dominated by a public school / Oxbridge educated elite. Whilst there was a decline in the aristocratic and upper middle-class element within the Cabinet, this was not matched by a corresponding rise in state school educated meritocrats (Burch & Moran, 1985: 8-9).

Baker, Gamble & Ludlam (1992), updated and expanded on the work of Burch & Moran. Baker et. al. studied the social background and ideological position of both new MPs and ministers from 1987 to 1992. In addition they used the same methods as Burch & Moran by plotting the social backgrounds of the 1987 and 1992 cohorts of the PCP and comparing them against that of 1983. Baker et al.'s results show that the broadening of the social base of new Conservative MPs, evident in Burch & Moran, was halted or even reversed in the 1987 and 1992 intakes. Furthermore, Baker et. al. found evidence that suggested the Conservative Party was reverting to type (see Table 4.6 below), in that those with a more traditional educational background dominated the selection for safe seats (Baker et. al., 1992: 659). Analysis of the educational background of cabinet members between 1987 and 1992 (see Table 4.7 below) revealed that the numbers of state educated cabinet ministers rose, from 14% in 1979 to 24% in 1992. However, those from a public school Oxbridge background remained fairly stable. In addition, those who did not attend university fell from 29% in 1983 to only 10% in 1992. Therefore Baker et. al. largely confirmed the conclusions of Burch & Moran, concluding that there was no evidence that the higher echelons of the Conservative Party were becoming more meritocratic (Baker et. al., 1992: 661).

Table 4.4 *Background of New Conservative MPs 1983, Allowing for Marginality of Seat (%): Difference from Figure for All New MPs in Brackets*

	All	5% Plus Majorities	10% Plus Majorities	15% Plus Majorities
All Public Schools	47.0	53.6 (+ 6.6)	51.9 (+ 4.9)	46.9 (- 0.1)
Eton	6.0	7.2 (+ 1.2)	5.8 (-0.2)	6.25 (+ 0.25)
Oxbridge	35.0	37.7 (+2.7)	36.5 (+ 1.5)	31.25 (-3.75)
Public / Oxbridge	25.0	29.0 (+ 4.0)	26.9 (+ 1.9)	25.0 (0.0)
Elem. / Sec. Only	12.0	13.0 (+ 1.0)	15.4 (+3.4)	21.9 (+ 9.9)
State sec. / Univ.	30.0	24.6 (- 5.4)	25.0 (- 5.0)	28.1 (- 1.9)
Number	100	69	52	32

Source: Burch & Moran , 1985: 14

Table 4.5: *Background of Cabinet Ministers (%)*

	1916 – 1955	1955 – 1984
All Public Schools	76.5	87.1
Eton / Harrow	5.9	36.3
Oxbridge	63.2	72.8
Elem. / Sec. Only	4.0	2.5
All Universities	71.4	81.6
Aristocrat	31.6	18.1
Middle Class	65.3	74.0
Working Class	3.0	2.6
No Data	–	4.0
Number	98	77

Source: Burch & Moran, 1985: 15

Table 4.6 *New MPs from 1983-1992 grouped by educational background and marginality of seat. Percentage of newly occupied seats with certain majorities won by MPs of various educational backgrounds*

	Year	All New MPs	5% + Maj	10% + Maj	15% + Maj
Public School	92	66%	45%	50%	72%
	87	65%	65%	66%	71%
	83	47%	54%	52%	47%
Eton	92	5%	9%	0	6%
	87	6%	7%	7%	9%
	83	6%	6%	7%	6%
Oxbridge	92	43%	27%	17%	53%
	87	42%	42%	42%	44%
	83	35%	38%	37%	31%
Public / Oxbridge	92	39%	18%	17%	50%
	87	37%	37%	39%	41%
	83	25%	29%	27%	25%
St. Sec / Uni	92	18%	36%	33%	14%
	87	14%	12%	10%	12%
	83	30%	30%	25%	28%
State Sec / HE*	92	25%	45%	33%	19%
	87	28%	30%	20%	24%
	83	-	-	-	-
Elem / Sec	92	5%	0	0	8%
	87	8%	9%	7%	6%
	83	12%	13%	15%	22%
Number	92	61	53	42	36
	87	52	43	41	34
	83	100	69	52	32

Source Baker et. al., 1992: 660

*includes all forms of higher / further education

Table 4.7 *Educational Background of Cabinet Ministers by Cabinet Cohort from 1979 – 1992*

Cabinet Cohort*	1979	1983	1987	1990	1992
<hr/>					
Education					
Private Secondary	86%	71%	71%	77%	76%
State Secondary	14%	29%	29%	23%	24%
Oxbridge	82%	81%	67%	77%	71%
Other University	18%	10%	14%	9%	19%
No University	14%	29%	29%	23%	10%
Number	22	21	21	22	21

* Post-election cabinets in 1979, '83, '87, and '92 and John Major's first cabinet in 1990

Source Baker et. al., 1992: 661

4.22.2 Occupation

In terms of occupation, Criddle's (1994) study observed that up to 1939 the PCP was dominated by a plutocratic elite, drawn from landowners, the military, the professions and business. However, this research also highlights the decline in the ascendancy of the landowning class after the carnage of World War I and as professionals and businessmen joined the Conservatives (see Table 4.8 below) rather than the declining Liberal Party (Criddle, 1994: 165).

Table 4.8 *Occupation of Conservative MPs 1900-1935*

Year	Land ⁶ (%)	Military ⁷ (%)	Professions ⁸ (%)	Business ⁹ (%)	Total MPs (N)
1900	26	13	29	32	402
1906	28	11	25	36	156
1910 (Jan.)	27	12	33	27	272
1910 (Dec.)	27	12	33	27	272
1918	15	14	33	38	382
1922	14	14	37	35	344
1923	16	12	36	36	258
1924	12	15	40	33	412
1929	14	17	37	32	260
1931	11	12	41	36	470
1935	10	15	36	40	387

Source: Criddle, 1994: 147

The post-war Nuffield election studies divided occupational categories into professions, business, miscellaneous and manual, (see Table 4.9 below) although the last category was largely irrelevant, as it consisted of a sole MP first elected in 1964. The further decline of the landed gentry and the military is demonstrated by their relegation to components of the 'miscellaneous' category. The balance between the other three categories remained fairly stable throughout the post war period and reflected the switch of electoral power from the shires to the suburbs (Criddle, 1994: 160-161).

⁶ Owners of land and their heirs

⁷ Army, Navy or Air Force Officers

⁸ Essentially the Bar, and lesser numbers of solicitors, civil servants, diplomats, medics, academics, journalists and publishers

⁹ MPs engaged in commerce, finance and industry

Table 4.9 *Occupation of Conservative MPs 1945-1992*

Year MPs	Professions ¹⁰ (%)	Business ¹¹ (%)	Miscellaneous ¹² (%)	Manual (%)	Total (N)
1945	48	27	25	—	210
1950	43	41	16	—	298
1951	41	37	22	—	321
1955	46	29	24	—	345
1959	46	31	23	—	365
1964	48	26	25	1	304
1966	46	30	23	1	253
1970	45	30	23	1	330
1974 (Feb.)	45	32	23	1	297
1974 (Oct.)	46	32	21	1	277
1979	45	34	20	1	339
1983	45	36	19	1	397
1987	42	37	20	1	376
1992	39	38	22	1	336

Source: Criddle: 1994, 160

The research of Criddle, Burch & Moran and Baker et. al. has revealed a slow but steady transition of the Conservative Party from being a party dominated by the aristocracy to one overwhelmingly made up of the professional middle classes. However, their research also demonstrated that the PCP remained socially exclusive and unrepresentative. My research in this area aims to show whether the PCP has become more inclusive or whether it has remained a bastion of elitism.

4.3 Social Background of the PCP 1997-2001

4.31 Education

The PCP of 1997 was slightly more elitist than those of the preceding two parliaments, however this was reversed in 2001 (see Table 4.10 below). The proportion of Old Etonians and Old Harrovians in the PCP has continued to fall, whilst the proportion of privately educated MPs rose in 1997 (67%), but then fell back again in 2001 (61%). Again, the number of Oxbridge graduates in the PCP rose in 1997 (50%), but fell back in 2001 (46%). In another sign of continuity, Oxford

¹⁰ Barristers, solicitors, doctors, architects, surveyors, engineers, accountants, military officers, civil servants, lecturers and teachers.

¹¹ Company directors and executives in commerce, finance and industry

¹² Farmers and landowners, publishers, journalists, political organisers and housewives

graduates still outnumber their colleagues from Cambridge. One noticeable trend is the rise in the proportion of MPs who have had some form of higher education; this has increased from 73% in 1992 to 92% in both 1997 and 2001. This is possibly a consequence of the retirement of many of the older members of the PCP and a reflection of the wider trend for more people to be university educated. Examination of the new intake of Tory MPs elected in 1997 shows that public school and public school / Oxbridge educated MPs were more likely to be selected for safest seats, whilst those who received a state secondary school and a non-Oxbridge university more likely to be selected for the most marginal seats (see Table 4.10 below). MPs with a state secondary and Oxbridge education were over-represented in the group of second safest seats. All of the new intake were university educated. Study of the 2001 cohort reveals that those MPs who went to state secondary schools and non-Oxbridge universities were again over-represented in the most marginal seats. By contrast those who attended state secondary schools, but who attended one of the Oxbridge universities are over-represented in the safest seats (see Table 4.11 below).

However, my research also shows that the highest ranks of the PCP are becoming more inclusive and meritocratic (see Table 4.12 below). Baker et. al. found that from 1979-1992 cabinet positions were overwhelmingly taken up by privately educated MPs (on average 76%). However, this figure dropped to 58% for the 1997 Shadow Cabinet and 54% in 2001. The 1997 Shadow cabinet conformed to type, in that Oxbridge graduates (79%) far outnumbered contemporaries from less prestigious universities. However, the first 2001 Shadow Cabinet a significant shift with Oxbridge graduates in a minority (42%), compared to their colleagues from other universities (50%).

4.32 Occupation

My research shows that the social composition of the PCP has remained more or less static. The PCP is still drawn overwhelmingly from business and the professions (see table 4.8 below), the dominant profession being law.

Table 4.10 *Education of Conservative MPs 1979-2001*

Year	Public School			University				Public School and Oxford or Cambridge	Total MPs	
	Eton	Harrow	Other	All public school	Oxford	Cambridge	Other			All university
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(N)	
1979	15	2	55	72	27	23	19	69	43	339
1983	12	3	55	70	26	22	23	71	42	397
1987	11	2	55	68	24	20	26	70	37	376
1992	10	2	50	62	25	20	28	73	32	336
1997	9	1	57	67	28	22	42	92	40	165
2001	8	-	54	61	25	21	46	92	35	166

Sources: Criddle, 1994: 162, Dod's Parliamentary Companion 1997-2001, Websites of individual MPs

Table 4.11 *Background of New Conservative MPs 1997, Allowing for Marginality of Seat (%): Difference from Figure for All New MPs in Brackets*

	All	Under 5% Maj	5% + Maj	10% + Maj	15% + Maj
All Public Schools	58.0	53.5 (- 4.5)	57.2 (- 0.8)	50.0 (- 8.0)	63.2 (+ 5.2)
Eton	7.0	11.1 (+ 4.1)	14.3 (+ 7.3)	0.0	5.3 (- 1.7)
Public / Oxbridge	30.2	33.3 (+ 3.3)	28.6 (- 4.7)	12.5 (-17.7)	36.8 (+ 6.6)
Public / Univ	25.6	22.2 (- 3.4)	28.6 (+ 3.0)	25.0 (- 0.6)	26.3 (+ 0.7)
State Sec. Oxbridge	14.0	11.1 (- 3.1)	0.0	37.5 (+ 23.5)	10.5 (- 3.5)
State Sec. / Uni.	28.0	44.4 (+16.4)	28.6 (+ 0.6)	25.0 (- 3.0)	21.1 (- 6.9)
Elem. / Sec. Only	0	-	-	-	-
Number	43	9	7	8	19

Source: Dod's Parliamentary Companion 1998, Websites of individual MPs

Table 4.12 *Background of New Conservative MPs 2001, Allowing for Marginality of Seat (%): Difference from Figure for All New MPs in Brackets**

	All	Under 5% Maj	5% + Maj	10% + Maj	15% + Maj
All Public Schools	63.6	33.3 (- 30.3)	100.0 (+ 33.4)	50.0 (-16.6)	60.0 (-6.6)
Eton	18.0	0	33.3 (+ 14.3)	0	30.0 (+ 11.0)
Public / Oxbridge	22.7	0	33.3 (+ 9.5)	0	40.0 (+ 16.2)
Public / Univ	40.9	33.3 (- 7.6)	66.6 (+23.7)	50.0 (+7.1)	30.0 (- 12.9)
State Sec. Oxbridge	4.5	0	0	0	100.0 (+95.2)
State Sec. / Uni.	31.8	66.6 (+ 34.8)	0	33.3 (+ 1.5)	30.0 (+1.8)
Number	22	3	3	6	10

Sources: Dod's Parliamentary Companion 2002, individual MPs' websites.

* Two MPs (John Baron and Andrew Selous have chosen not to reveal their secondary education and have been excluded from this study

Table 4.13 *Educational Backgrounds of Shadow Cabinet Ministers by Cabinet Cohort from 1997 – 2001*

Cabinet Cohort*	1997	2001
Education		
Private Secondary	58%	54%
State Secondary	42%	46%
Oxbridge	79%	42%
Other University	16%	50%
No University	5%	8%
Number	19	26

Sources: Dod's Parliamentary Companion 1998 – 2002, Individual MPs' websites

* Post election shadow cabinets in 1997 and 2001

Table 4.14 *Occupation of Conservative MPs 1979-2001*

Year MPs	Professions ⁸ (%)	Business ⁹ (%)	Miscellaneous ¹⁰ (%)	Manual (%)	Total (N)
1979	45	34	20	1	339
1983	45	36	19	1	397
1987	42	37	20	1	376
1992	39	38	22	1	336
1997	34	32	33	1	165
2001	35	32	32	1	166

Source: Criddle: 1994, 160, Dod's Parliamentary Companion, 1997-2001, Websites of individual MPs

The research presented in this chapter shows that the PCP, by its own standard, has become more inclusive, a process that accelerated after 1979 and that this trend has continued, despite a 'blip' in 1997 probably caused by the scale of the party's defeat at the hands of New Labour.

However it is still a long way from being representative of the nation as a whole where 79% are state educated, 5% attend grammar schools and 13% are privately schooled (<http://www.statistics.gov.uk>). Moreover, whilst 44% of school leavers attend university (<http://www.dfes.gov.uk>), over 90% of the PCP passed through the

⁸ Barristers, solicitors, doctors, architects, surveyors, engineers, accountants, military officers, civil servants, lecturers and teachers.

⁹ Company directors and executives in commerce, finance and industry

¹⁰ Farmers and landowners, publishers, journalists, political organisers and housewives

higher education system. The proportion of the PCP that is Oxbridge educated is even greater; 50% (1997) or 48% (2001) of Conservative MPs went to either Oxford or Cambridge compared to a mere 2% of the general public. In addition, the PCP still contains a small contingent drawn from the ranks of the aristocracy; Archie Hamilton and Peter Brooke sat in the 1997 Parliament, whilst Michael Ancram, Douglas Hogg, Nicholas Soames and George Young served in both the 1997 and 2001 Parliaments. Eighteen Tory MPs who sat in the 1997 Parliament had knighthoods and ten knights were elected as Tory MPs in 2001¹². Thirteen Conservative MPs from the 1997 Parliament had relatives who had previously either been Conservative MPs or who had served in earlier Conservative administrations, this figure fell to ten MPs in the 2001 session¹³. By contrast, the PCP of 1997 contained only thirteen women and the PCP of 2001 had just fourteen.

4.33 Gender

The low number of female Conservative MPs in the 1997 and 2001 parliaments is not unusual. However, it is surprising given that the post-war Conservative Party has been the beneficiary of a political ‘gender gap’; evidence suggests that between 1945-1979 women were much more likely to vote Conservative, rather than Labour. This is highly significant, had there been no women’s franchise Labour would have been in office almost continuously from 1945 to 1997 (Lovenduski et. al., 1994: 615). The party also gave women the vote on the same terms as men in 1928, it was the first and to date only British political party to be led by a woman who went on to become the country’s first and only female Prime Minister. Nevertheless, the party’s record in producing female MPs has been poor. The post-war Conservative Party has consistently selected fewer female candidates than the Labour Party (see Table 4.15 below). Furthermore, the last time the Conservative Party selected more women than the Liberal Democrats (and their predecessors) was 1970, although the Conservatives have a better record than the Liberal Democrats when it comes to ‘converting’ female candidates into MPs.

¹² 1997; Ray Whitney, Richard Body, Peter Emery, Norman Fowler, Edward Heath, Geoffrey Johnson-Smith, Nicholas Lyell, David Madel. 1997 & 2001; Sydney Chapman, Patrick Cormack, Michael Spicer, John Stanley, Peter Tapsell, Teddy Taylor, Alan Haselhurst, Brian Mawhinney, John Butterfill, Michael Lord

¹³ 1997; David Prior, Peter Brooke, David Faber, Peter Temple Morris. 2001; Andrew Mitchell, Bill Wiggin. 1997 & 2001; Michael Ancram, Francis Maude, Douglas Hogg, Nicholas Soames, Geoffrey Clifton-Brown, David Heathcoat-Amory, Bernard Jenkin, James Arbuthnot, Dominic Grieve

The main problem appears to be that a culture of overt sexism is still rife within the Conservative Party. Aspiring women candidates interviewed for research by the Fawcett Society felt that:

...there is a widespread assumption within the Conservative Party that MPs should be white, male, professional, middle aged with a family. (Fawcett Society, 2004: 2)

The worst offenders in this culture of sexism are the older members, both male and female and the problem is arguably exacerbated by the elderly profile the Conservative grassroots members. In 1998 women under the age of forty five comprised a mere 2% of the Conservative Party's membership and Baroness Buscombe, a former party vice chairman with responsibility for women claimed that "...the Conservative Party was not a place where women under sixty could feel comfortable." (Buscombe, 30/8/2001)

Table 4.15 *Women candidates and elected MPs 1945 – 1997*

Year	Conservative		Labour		Liberal ¹⁴	
	Candidates	Elected	Candidates	Elected	Candidates	Elected
1945	14	1	41	21	20	1
1950	29	6	42	14	45	1
1951	25	6	41	11	11	0
1955	33	10	43	14	14	0
1959	28	12	36	13	16	0
1964	24	11	33	18	24	0
1966	21	7	30	19	20	0
1970	26	15	29	10	23	0
1974 Feb	33	9	40	13	40	0
1974 Oct	30	7	50	18	49	0
1979	31	8	52	11	52	0
1983	40	13	78	10	76	0
1987	46	17	92	21	105	2
1992	63	20	138	37	143	2
1997	67	13	154	101	122	5
2001	94	14	149	95	132	5

Sources: Dods's Parliamentary Companion 1998 – 2002, Lovenduski et. al., 1994: 626, The Family Policy Studies Centre 1997, The Fawcett Society 2002

¹⁴ Including all Alliance candidates in 1983 and 1987 and Liberal Democrats in 1992

3.34 Race

If the party's record on female candidates and MPs is poor, its record on ethnic minorities is even worse. The Conservative Party's only Asian MP Nirj Deva lost his seat in the 1997 Labour landslide (Criddle, 1997: 199). Consequently there were no ethnic minority Conservative MPs between 1997 and 2005. Only fourteen candidates at the 2001 election were black or Asian and of those only two were in winnable seats. Shadow cabinet member Andrew Lansley admits there is endemic racism within the Party and that:

I know a number of prospective candidates who, if they were not from ethnic minorities, would have been selected in safe seats and would be Conservative MPs today. There are people who, if they simply had a different name, would have been interviewed many times, are immensely impressive and would have been selected. (Sylvester & Johnston, 1/9/2001)

Baroness Buscombe believes that the way the party treats people from ethnic minorities mirrors the way the party treats women:

I remember one party at Central Office, which was billed as a Caribbean evening. The guests were black Britons who, almost without exception, had been born in this country and had left their desks in the City in order to attend the event. They were served fried plantains and there was a steel band playing. I nearly died. They were all really enthusiastic about the Conservative party, and completely baffled. (Buscombe, 30/8/2001)

4.4 Political Attributes

4.4.1 Electoral vulnerability

Once elected most members of Parliament regard the Commons as a career and consequently give it up with great reluctance (Adonis, 1993: 53). The commentator Noel Malcolm referred to, "...the deepest need of Tory backbenchers: the need to retain one's seat at a general election." (Davies, 1995: 121) Therefore it is reasonable to hypothesise that constituency or electoral marginality can be identified as a salient variable upon leadership elections, even if it is not the most important variable. The constituency marginality of individuals within the PCP is salient as it magnifies the perception of vulnerability for MPs in marginal constituencies, which potentially constrains them and can hinder their career. On the other hand it can be an enabling

dynamic for MPs with large majorities as it empowers them and can enhance their prospects for promotion.

MPs in marginal constituencies are constrained by a number of factors; firstly there is a relationship between the marginality of a seat and turnout, with turnout being stronger in marginal seats. One explanation is that individual voters may feel that they have a chance of affecting the outcome and are therefore more motivated to vote. Another explanation is that party's campaign more extensively in marginal seats, compared to safe seats and that this heightened campaigning persuades voters to turn out (Whiteley et. al., 1988: 191) Consequently, MPs may feel compelled to devote an above average amount of time to constituency matters and working on behalf of their constituents. Philip Norton has identified seven constituency roles that an MP has to fulfil:

- 1 *safety valve*, allowing constituent to express their views;
- 2 *information provider*, giving information or advice to those constituents that seek it;
- 3 *local dignitary*, attending local events;
- 4 *advocate*, giving support to a particular cause;
- 5 *benefactor*, providing benefits to a particular constituents who seek them;
- 6 *powerful friend*, intervening in a particular dispute on behalf of a constituent;
- 7 *promoter of constituency interests*, advancing the case for collective interests (such as employment) in the constituency (Norton, 2002: 21).

MPs might hope that by working in this way they could build up a degree of personal, rather than party support. Although constituency work is not thought to persuade many voters to switch allegiance it may well serve to retain support that would otherwise drain away (Norton, 2002: 34). This could be vital in holding the seat at an election if the popular mood was running against the political party that an MP represented. Michael Portillo's perceived indifference towards his constituents in his Enfield South seat has been cited as a major factor that led to his dismissal at the 1997 general election (Paxman, 2003: 132).

A second strategy an MP with a marginal majority might feel compelled to take is to rebel against their party over certain issues. In this case the MP might hope that by defying the party line over an unpopular issue their constituents would see them as

independent of party and concerned to properly represent their constituents. This feeling could again be translated into a ‘personal’, rather than ‘party’ vote at election time.

Whilst both these strategies may enable an MP to hang on to their marginal seat whilst the tide is against their party, the downside is that both may curtail their rise up the party and governmental ladder. MPs that have to devote a considerable amount of time to ‘nursing’ their constituencies have less time to devote to speaking in parliament, working in committees and getting noticed by their party’s whips and are therefore often overlooked for promotion. Whilst poor parliamentary performance may result in an MP being overlooked for promotion, a rebellious MP will get noticed, but for all the wrong reasons. Rebellion against ones’ party is not taken lightly and rebellious MPs can expect to miss out on trips abroad, membership of parliamentary committees and of course ministerial office. Rebellious MPs may also face trouble from within their local association who hold the ultimate sanction of deselection, as Sir Anthony Meyer wrote, “The price of liberty, for an independent minded MP, is eternal coffee mornings.”¹⁵ (Davies, 1995: 120) Finally, an MP for a marginal constituency may find their party and governmental career is curtailed by the insecurity of tenure. It would be reasonable to hypothesise that the party leader would be unwilling to promote an MP who is likely to lose their seat at the next general election.

Evidence that Conservative MPs in marginal constituencies are less likely to attain high office is provided in Table 4.16 (below). This analyses the composition of Conservative Party cabinets and shadow cabinets in relation to electoral vulnerability. The table shows every Conservative cabinet and shadow cabinet formed immediately after a general election, since 1951 together with every Conservative cabinet and shadow cabinet that preceded the next general election. These are broken down into four groups, ranging from those in the most marginal seats (majorities under 5%) to those in normally safe seats (majorities of 15% and above). The table clearly demonstrates the adverse affect that holding a marginal constituency can play upon a

¹⁵ In the end Meyer’s rebellious streak cost him his job, when his local association deselected him for challenging Mrs. Thatcher for the leadership of the party in 1989.

Conservative MP's career aspirations. Over a period of fifty years only 26 MPs (5.8%) from the most marginal seats have attained cabinet (or shadow cabinet) rank from the 26 cabinets and shadow cabinets analysed.

By contrast the largest group 299 MPs (66.4%), who attained cabinet (or shadow cabinet) rank sat in the safest seats. This group is by far the largest of the three comprising 2/3rd of the total number of MPs who have served in Conservative cabinets and their shadow equivalents. The table also shows the effect how the Conservative Party's fluctuating electoral fortunes are reflected in the composition of cabinets according to marginality. Thus when the party has been at the peak of its electoral success during the One Nation and Thatcher periods no MPs from the most marginal constituencies made it into the cabinet. Indeed, Mrs. Thatcher's first cabinet after her 1983 landslide election victory contained no one with a majority smaller than 15%. Conversely, the periods in which MPs with the most marginal seats are most numerous coincide with some of the Party's leanest years; Heath 1966-1970, Hague 1997-2001 and Duncan Smith 2001-2002. This is conceivably due to the distorting effect of the electoral cycle; when the party is at a peak of electoral popularity individual MPs majorities will increase accordingly, then the most marginal seats the party holds will be those that it would not normally expect to win. Consequently these will be held by relatively inexperienced MPs would not be eligible for high-ranking jobs. Conversely, when the party is in a trough of electoral unpopularity even relatively safe seats may become marginal¹⁶, thus a Conservative shadow cabinet may include experienced and able MPs who find themselves in marginal constituencies.

¹⁶ Extremely adverse electoral conditions can result in the loss of what were apparently ultra-safe seats; thus in 1997 Michael Portillo lost Enfield Southgate despite winning a 31% majority at the 1992 general election

Table 4.16 *Conservative cabinet members' majorities 1959-2003*

Cabinet	Under 5%	5%+	10%+	15%+	N
Churchill Oct. 1951 - Sept. 1953	1	1	2	6	10
Churchill Oct. 1954 - April 1955	1	1	4	8	14
Eden May 1955 – Dec. 1955	0	1	4	9	14
Macmillan Jan. 1958 – Oct. 1959	0	2	1	12	15
Macmillan Oct. 1959 – July 1960	0	1	1	13	15
Home April 1964 – Oct. 1964	0	2	4	14	20
Home Oct. 1964 – July 1965*	1	3	3	10	17
Heath July 1965 – March 1966*	1	3	4	10	18
Heath March 1966 – Oct. 1967*	3	2	6	4	15
Heath Oct. 1969 – June 1970*	3	1	5	5	14
Heath June 1970 – July 1970	0	0	4	11	15
Heath Jan 1974 – Feb 1974	0	0	3	14	17
Heath Feb 1974 – Oct 1974*	0	1	7	12	20
Heath Oct 1974 – Feb 1975*	1	5	6	7	19
Thatcher 1979*	3	4	4	9	20
Thatcher 1979	1	2	3	13	19
Thatcher Jan 1983 – June 1983	0	1	4	14	19
Thatcher Jun 1983 – Oct 1983	0	0	0	19	19
Thatcher May 1986 – June 1987	0	0	1	18	19
Thatcher June 1987 – Oct 1987	1	1	0	17	19
Major Nov 1990 – April 1992	1	2	2	15	20
Major April 1992 – Sept. 1992	0	2	2	16	20
Major July 1995 – May 1997	1	2	2	16	21
Hague June 1997 – June 1998*	3	0	4	10	17
Hague Sept. 2000 – July 2001*	3	2	3	10	18
Duncan Smith Sept 2001 – July 2002*	2	3	5	9	19
Total	26	42	84	301	453
%age	5.8	9.3	18.5	66.4	100.0
Average	1.0	1.6	3.2	11.5	17.3

Sources: Dod's Parliamentary Companion 1951 – 2002, Butler & Butler, 1994: 33 – 44, 131-132

*Denotes a shadow cabinet

4.42 Age and Experience

Members of Parliament are the public face of major British political parties. The age and experience of a party's MPs and their leader can affect public perceptions of that party in the same way as social background. Rosenbaum argues that one of the most common goals of politicians is to seem authoritative and experienced (Rosenbaum, 1997: 179), it is therefore of value to examine the age and experience of the Parliamentary Conservative Party and its leaders. The Conservative Party's first three post-war leaders; Churchill, Eden and Macmillan all possessed over thirty years parliamentary experience upon their accession to the leadership. (See Table 4.17 below). Conservative leaders of the early post-war period also tended to be older than their modern counterparts, reflecting their wealth of experience. Eden was at fifty-eight the only leader of the period under sixty; his predecessor Churchill assumed the leadership at the age of sixty-six. The trend towards younger, less experienced leaders coincided with the introduction of the formal system of leadership elections. Edward Heath who took control of the party at the relatively youthful age of forty-nine and with fifteen years experience in parliament. This was arguably a sign of Conservative MPs' desire to ditch their old-fashioned 'grouse moor' image and appear modern and relevant. Consequently, Heath represented a sea change in the type of leader the party chose because of his youth, as well as his lower-middle class background. By contrast Margaret Thatcher had been in the Commons nearly twenty years when she became leader and was the most experienced of all the elected leaders. This may be no coincidence as it is arguable that Thatcher's gender slowed her rise through the ranks of the parliamentary party. Nevertheless she had still spent much less time in parliament than any of her predecessors who 'emerged'. Thatcher's successor, John Major had only been an MP for eleven years when he replaced Mrs. Thatcher in 1990. Major enjoyed a meteoric ascent through the party hierarchy; one commentator claimed he had 'risen without trace' (Wheatcroft, 2005: 185) and one of his senior civil service advisers, Judith Chaplin wondered whether he was experienced enough to be Prime Minister (Seldon, 1997: 130). Major was also younger than all his predecessors, the first post-war Conservative leader under fifty. William Hague was even younger and less experienced than Major, arguably the consequence of the

dearth of quality candidates available in the 1997 leadership election and of the parliamentary party's desire to skip a generation¹⁷.

The age and experience of Conservative cabinets is analysed in Table 4.18 below. It should be noted that this study is confined to Conservative MPs, members of the House of Lords who have served in conservative cabinets and shadow cabinets are excluded as the thesis as a whole deals solely with the motivation and behaviour of the elected element of the Parliamentary Party. This shows that the overall age of Conservative cabinets and shadow cabinets has remained relatively stable over the post-war period. The oldest being Churchill's final cabinet (av. 56.6), whilst the youngest is Hague's final cabinet (av. 47.3). However, the parliamentary experience of Conservative cabinets has declined substantially; Churchill's final cabinet was populated by seasoned politicians with an average of 23.5 years of parliamentary experience, however the members of William Hague's final cabinet had less than half the collective experience of Churchill's (10.1) average. Arguably this is another reflection of the decimating affect of the 1997 general election defeat upon the Conservative Party.

Table 4.17 The Age and Experience Of Conservative Party Leaders

Leader	Age	Years in Parliament
Churchill	66	32
Eden	58	32
Macmillan	63	31
Home	60	27*
Heath	49	15
Thatcher	50	19
Major	47	11
Hague	36	8
Duncan Smith	47	9

* 15 years in the Commons and 12 in the Lords

Source:

¹⁷ See chapter three for an account of the 1997 Conservative Party leadership contest

Table 4.18 *The Age and Experience of Conservative Cabinets 1951-2002 (Excluding members of the House of Lords)*

Cabinet	Age		Experience	
	Mean	Median	Mean	Median
Churchill Oct. 1951 - Sept. 1953	56	55.5	21.9	23.5
Churchill Oct. 1954 – Apr. 1955	56.6	57	23.5	25
Eden May 1955 – Dec. 1955	55.4	56.5	21.4	24.5
Macmillan Jan. 1958 – Oct. 1959	52.7	54	16.7	15
Macmillan Oct. 1959 – Jul. 1960	52.6	54	15.9	14
Home Apr. 1964 – Oct. 1964	52.1	51	18.1	16.5
Home Oct. 1964 – Aug. 1965*	52.1	52	18.1	14
Heath Jul. 1965 – Mar. 1966*	52.4	52.5	18.5	15
Heath Mar. 1966 – Oct. 1967*	49.1	49	15.7	16
Heath March 1969 – June 1970*	51.6	51.5	18.5	18.5
Heath Jun. 1970 – Jul. 1970	51.1	50	16.4	15
Heath Jan. 1974 – Feb. 1974	53.9	54	18.7	19
Heath Feb. 1974 – Oct. 1974*	51.3	50	16.4	15
Heath Oct. 1974 – Feb. 1975*	50.2	50	15.2	15
Thatcher 1979*	53.1	52.5	16.2	15
Thatcher 1979	53.7	53	16.6	16
Thatcher Jan. – Jun. 1983	53.6	52	17.5	17
Thatcher Jun. Oct. 1983	53	52	17.1	17
Thatcher May – Jun. 1987	52.9	54	18.5	16
Thatcher Jun. – Oct. 1987	53.1	53	17.6	17
Major Nov. 1990 – Apr. 1992	50.7	49.5	14.9	14.5
Major Apr. 1992 – Sep. 1992	50.9	50	14.9	13
Major Jul. 1995 – May 1997	53.5	54	18.1	18
Hague Jun. 1997 – Jul. 2001	50.3	52	14.1	14
Hague Sep. 2000 – Jul. 2001	47.3	46.5	10.1	8
Duncan-Smith Sep. 2001 – Jul. 2002	48.3	45	10.5	9

Source: Adapted from Dod's Parliamentary Companion 1951 - 2000

4.43 Career Status

The career status of MPs' may be a significant determinant of Conservative Party leadership elections. Cowley & Garry (1998) suggested that the career status of Conservative MPs' could be analysed by utilising a threefold typology made famous in John Major's 'bastards' comment. This categorised MPs as either 'possessed'; those with a government post, 'dispossessed'; backbenchers who once had a government job or 'never possessed'; backbenchers who have never served in any government post¹⁸. Cowley & Garry referred to the possessed as 'insiders', whilst the dispossessed and the never possessed were collectively referred to as 'outsiders'. They suggested that the dispossessed and the never possessed would be inclined to support Heseltine because they blamed Mrs. Thatcher, for thwarting their ambitions and political careers (Cowley & Garry, 1998: 476).

The importance, for aspirant leaders, of being an insider can be clearly seen in the career paths of post-war Conservative leaders; all were insiders immediately before becoming party leader¹⁹. However, this has not stopped outsiders from making a virtue of their status and challenging for the leadership. When Michael Heseltine stood against Mrs. Thatcher, he claimed that his four-year absence from the cabinet meant that he was not tainted by recent government failures (Foley, 2002: 20). John Redwood relinquished his insider status by challenging John Major in 1995. John Redwood later echoed Heseltine, when during the 1997 leadership election Redwood claimed that because he was an outsider between 1995 and 1997 he bore no responsibility for the Conservatives' 1997 election defeat (Williams, 1998: 187).

Therefore, despite coming from different wings of the Parliamentary Party, both Heseltine and Redwood tried to use their position to distance themselves from the some Conservative policies²⁰, which they argued had caused the party electoral difficulties. They claimed that as outsiders they could give the party a fresh appeal and offered a better chance of electoral success. By contrast Clarke sought to play down his outsider status and instead emphasised his popularity with the wider

¹⁸ This typology can also be applied to the party in opposition, with reference to senior party positions.

¹⁹ Churchill and to a lesser extent Eden both spent time amongst the dispossessed before regaining their insider status

²⁰ In the case of Heseltine this was the poll Tax, whilst Redwood argued that the tax rises of March 1993 were a betrayal of both Conservative principles and voters.

electorate that did not vote Conservative in 1997 and 2001. Clarke's desire to play down his outsider status was understandable; he joined the ranks of the dispossessed, when he refused to serve in Hague's Shadow Cabinet and later appeared on the same platform as Tony Blair to launch the *Britain in Europe Campaign* in 1999.

All three outsiders discussed above ultimately failed in their attempt to become leader. One explanation is that outsiders can be extremely divisive figures and that as Foley states, "The party's hierarchical ethos and internal discipline are widely seen as being the necessary concomitants to electoral success." (Foley, 2002: 24). Michael Heseltine acquired his outsider status by abruptly walking out of the government in the middle of a cabinet meeting²¹ (Wheatcroft, 2005: 126). He then compounded this disruptive behaviour by challenging and wounding the incumbent leader and Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher. Although Heseltine was popular with one section of the parliamentary party, his role in Thatcher's downfall meant he also made many implacable enemies. If the party had chosen Heseltine it risked further instability and perhaps fracture (Foley, 2002: 25). John Redwood also challenged an incumbent Prime Minister. Moreover, Redwood was publicly backed by many of the parliamentary party's hard-line eurosceptics, some of whom had only just been readmitted to the party following their expulsion for breaching party discipline. Once again Redwood's disloyalty together with the rebellious nature of some of his supporters made him a divisive figure within the Westminster party. Finally Clarke's reason for becoming an outsider, his pro-European views, meant that he was regarded with deep suspicion or even hostility by his fellow conservative MPs, who believed that the party may split under his leadership.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter set out to analyse four sets of non-ideological factors that shape the composition and nature of the parliamentary Conservative Party; social background, electoral vulnerability, age and experience and finally career status. The chapter demonstrates that both social background and age and experience variables have changed over time, whilst the electoral vulnerability and career status variables have

²¹ Heseltine's resignation concerned the future of the ailing Westland helicopter company; he wished to see it taken over by a European consortium, whilst Mrs. Thatcher favoured a buyout by the American *Sikorsky* company.

shown a degree of continuity. The social background of the parliamentary party has undergone significant change over the course of the 20th century. The parliamentary party initially had large contingents of Old Etonians and Harrovians, together with a significant cohort of Oxbridge educated MPs. However, the alumni of Eton and Harrow began a slow decline after the Great War, a process that continued as the century progressed. This has been mirrored by a rise in MPs both from less prestigious public schools and also from grammar schools. This evolution in the educational background of the parliamentary party has coincided with a corresponding change in the occupational background of the party's MPs. Prior to the Great War Conservative MPs were drawn from the ranks of the landowning aristocracy and the military, together with MPs with business and professional backgrounds. The landowning and military classes within the party declined during the inter-war years, consequently the party came to be dominated by business and the professions, whose ascendancy was confirmed following the 2nd World War.

The social background of the party's leaders also changed in the latter half of the 20th century, coinciding with the introduction of a formal process of leadership election in 1965. Prior to this date Conservative Party leaders tended to be drawn from the public schools and have strong links, either through birth or marriage, to the aristocracy. The election of Edward Heath in 1965, a grammar school educated son of carpenter, therefore marked a significant departure from the previous norm for Conservative leaders. It was not just Heath's social background that was significant, but also his relative youth. Heath's predecessors had all (with the exception of Eden) been over sixty when they became party leader, whereas Heath was a mere forty-nine. Taken together Heath's background and age made a statement about the more meritocratic nature of the Conservative Party and about its dynamism and modernity, which were in tune with the spirit of the mid-sixties. Heath's relative youth and his inexperience, compared to his unelected predecessors is a feature common to all his elected successors, which reached its apogee with William Hague, at thirty-nine, the party's youngest leader since Pitt.

If Hague was abnormally young to be leading his party, then he did at least have something in common with all his predecessors, he had the luxury of a relatively safe seat. The chapter has demonstrated that the career prospects of a Conservative MP are

considerably enhanced by the possession of a seat with a majority of over 15%. Conversely that an MP in a marginal seat with a majority of under 5% can expect it to have a detrimental effect on their chances of holding a senior position within the parliamentary party. Of course this is not to say that ineffective Conservative MPs in safe seats are guaranteed promotion nor that talented MPs in marginal constituencies are doomed to spend their days on the backbenches, but electoral vulnerability does play a part in career progression. A further constant is the career status of Conservative leaders prior to their ascendancy: all possessed cabinet rank and could therefore be classed as insiders. While non-ideological factors clearly have a role to play the central proposition of this thesis is the role of ideology in recent leadership elections as an expression of the general trajectory of the Conservative party. Consequently the next chapter will explore the ideological evolution of the post-War PCP and analyse the ideological composition of the parliamentary party between 1997 and 2003.

Chapter 5

The Ideological Evolution of the PCP 1945 to 2003

5.1 Introduction

Traditional accounts of the Conservative Party have characterised it as united and loyal to the leader. However, Barnes argues that:

Because Conservatism is not a fully worked-out ideology, it lays itself open to ideological projects of one kind or another and to the possibility of factionalism. (Barnes, 1994: 340)

Furthermore, Barnes argues that organisations like the Tariff Reform League, the Tory Reform Group, the Suez Group, are equivalent to modern groupings such as the No Turning Back Group and Conservative Way Forward and therefore evidence that factionalism has been endemic within the Conservative Party (Barnes, 1994; 342-343). Consequently the purpose of this chapter is to give an account of the ideological development of the modern Conservative Party and to analyse the ideological disposition of the parliamentary Conservative Party between 1997 and 2003. The chapter will firstly give an overview of academic typologies of the Thatcherite and post-Thatcherite parliamentary party, beginning with the seminal work of Norton (1990) then two-dimensional typologies (Dunleavy, 1993; Baker et. al. 1991, 1993, 2002; Sowemimo, 1996) and finally three-dimensional typologies (Garry, 1995; Cowley & Garry, 1998; Heppell, 2002). The chapter will then move on to discuss the historical development, changes to ideological thought and important factional disputations within the modern Conservative Party. Finally the chapter will provide an analysis of the ideological disposition of the parliamentary Conservative Party between 1997 and 2003 and will utilise three ideological variables in the discussion; economic policy, (wet / dry) national identity, (europhile / eurosceptic) and social / moral policy (liberal / conservative). The key argument is that ideological factionalism plays an important role in the outcome of Conservative Party leadership elections. Consequently, we must understand the ideological composition of the parliamentary party in order to explain the leadership elections of 1997 and 2001.

5.2 The ideological composition of the PCP

Given the wide scope covered by the dispositions and tenets of conservatism and the inherent tensions therein, it is hardly surprising that the membership of the PCP constitutes a broad church. Furthermore, some issues will evoke widely differing responses from individual MPs according their interpretation of the disposition and tenets of conservatism. However, these differences have often been obscured by the Conservative Party's traditional emphasis on the necessity of unity. Indeed, the PCP has traditionally been thought of as a party of tendencies, rather than a party of factions. This classification originated from Richard Rose's (1964) study of the internal ideological alignment of the Labour and Conservative Parliamentary parties. Rose defined a political tendency as:

...a stable set of attitudes, rather than a stable group of politicians. It may be defined as a body of attitudes expressed in Parliament about a broad range of problems; the attitudes are held together by a more or less coherent political ideology...The number of MPs who adhere to a tendency varies from issue to issue. Adherents are often not self-consciously organised in support of a single policy and they do not expect, nor are they expected, to continue to operate as a group supporting the same tendency through a period of time. (Rose, 1964: 37-38)

Rose argued that the PCP was a party of tendencies and identified the four prime ones as; reaction, defence of the *status quo*, amelioration and reform. However, Rose also argued that the fluidity and transitory nature of many of the alignments within the PCP, allowed the Party leader considerably more scope for manoeuvre than his Labour counterpart, who had to contend with a factionalised party (Rose, 1964: 40). A party made up of factions, Rose contended, was harder for the leader to deal with because factions were individual MPs who sought to promote certain policies through, "consciously organised political activity." Factions differed from tendencies because:

...factions are self-consciously organised as a body, with a measure of discipline and cohesion thus resulting. Identification with a faction usually increases an individual's commitment to a programme, as well as creating the expectation that the politician will consistently take the same side in quarrels within an electoral party. (Rose, 1964: 37)

Although Rose classified the PCP as a party of tendencies and identified what he believed to be the major tendencies within the PCP, he made no attempt to categorise the ideological position of individual MPs.

5.3 One-dimensional typologies

The first attempt to categorise the ideological belief of individual MPs was made by Philip Norton (1990)³. Norton's taxonomy divides the PCP into four subsections, with further subdivisions, giving seven groups in total. These are; (1) *Thatcherites – Economic Liberals* and the *Tory Right*, (2) the *Party Faithful – Thatcher Loyalists* and *Party Loyalists*, (3) *Populists* and (4) *Critics – Damps and Wets* (Norton, 1990: 49-50).

5.31 Thatcherites

Economic liberals favoured minimal government involvement in economic matters and were generally hostile to the EU. They were also by and large in favour of the death penalty and of more open government. By contrast, their colleagues of the Tory Right were more concerned with morality and law and order. They were pro-hanging and mostly opposed to more open government (Norton, 1990: 49). Norton's study categorised 72 members of the 1979-89 PCP as being Thatcherites (Norton, 1990: 52).

5.32 Party Faithful

This group, according to Norton comprised the bulk of the PCP, with 217 members, 58% of the Parliamentary Party (Norton, 1990: 52). Thatcher Loyalists had no strong ideological beliefs, but did have a strong personal allegiance to Margaret Thatcher and her style of leadership. By contrast Party Loyalists were loyal to the Party, rather than to any personality or ideology. Whilst mostly loyal to the leader, some members of this sub-group could be rebellious (Norton, 1990: 49).

³ Earlier, less comprehensive, typologies include; Harris (1972), Greenleaf (1973), Gamble (1974), Norton & Aughey (1981) and Crewe & Searing 1988

5.33 Populists

This section of the PCP took right-wing positions on law and order, whilst being left-wing on economic and social issues. Populists were either sceptical of or opposed to Europe (Norton, 1990: 49). Norton that found a mere 17 members (5%) of the PCP took the Populist position (Norton, 1990: 52).

5.34 Critics

This left-wing group had 67 members, 18% of Conservative MPs (Norton, 1990: 52). Wets were 'One Nation' Conservatives and pro-Europe. Damps were similar to Wets, but less likely to rebel against the government than their Wet counterparts (Norton, 1990: 50).

Norton's study was significant not only because it was the first to attempt to classify the ideology of all the members of the PCP, but also because it demonstrated that the PCP was not Thatcherite in nature. This finding goes some way to explaining why Mrs. Thatcher's position as leader was not secure despite her three election victories. An updated version of this typology was used by Cowley & Norton to assess backbench Conservative dissent in the 1992 parliament (Cowley & Norton, 1999: 84-105).

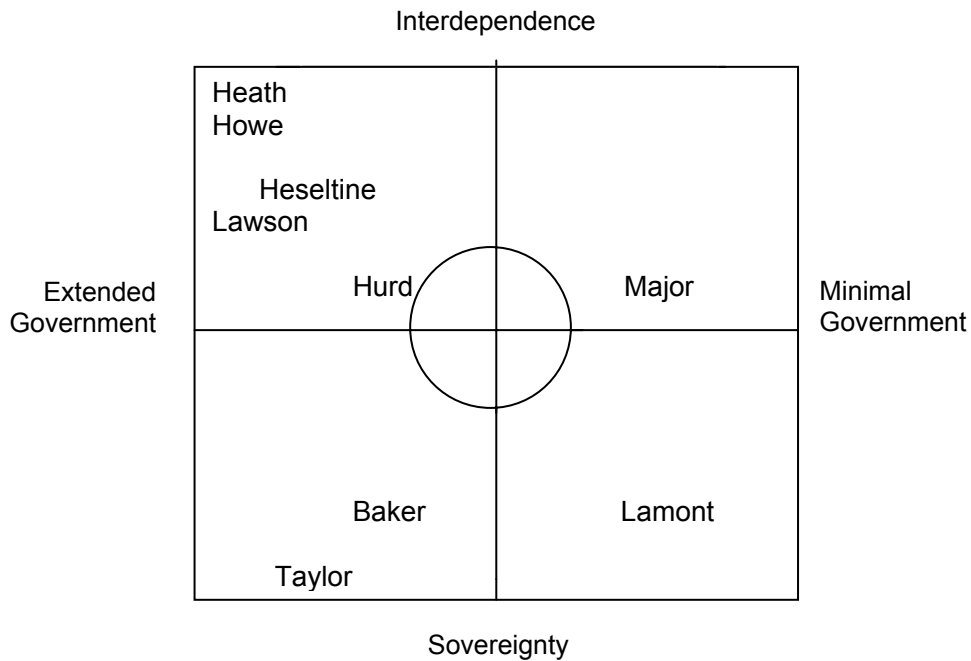
5.4 Two-dimensional typologies

Dunleavy (1993) criticised Norton for classifying the PCP along a one-dimensional left / right axis Dunleavy (1993: 125). Consequently, Dunleavy created a more sophisticated two-dimensional typology, although he did not attempt to place individual MPs within it (Dunleavy, 1993: 126-129). This typology consists of a left / right split between those who accepted the welfare state and those who rejected the welfare state and were inegalitarian. Cutting across this left / right divide is another split between those MPs who adhered to traditional Conservative belief in the primacy of the British nation state and those who saw the individual as the most important political consideration. The left / right divide combined with the nation-state / individualist split gives four basic groupings; *the traditional far right, Tory paternalists, Tory technocrats* and *market liberals*. *The traditional far right* believed in strong government and the defence of hierarchy and tradition, whilst *Tory*

paternalists represented the ‘one nation’ tradition within the Party, *Tory technocrats* were strongly committed to Europe and an interventionist government industrial policy aimed at promoting efficiency, *market liberals* were committed to a new right platform of free market economics and rolling back the state (Dunleavy, 1993: 126-129).

The Conservative’s deep divisions over Europe were more explicitly addressed by Gamble (1990), Baker, Gamble & Ludlam (1991, 1993). These studies have led to the development of a two-dimensional map of attitudes within the PCP (table 5.1 below) along two axes; *extended government / limited government* and *interdependence / sovereignty* (Baker et al., 1993: 426). The authors argue that the debate over Europe was primarily about Britain’s place in the world political economy. Consequently there were echoes of the debates and divisions over the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 and over Tariff Reform in 1903, both of which led to splits in the Party (Baker et. al., 1993: 421-422). These splits occurred after three thresholds were crossed; firstly, cabinets divided and ministers resigned; second, a distinct coalition materialised, voting against the government; and thirdly, there emerged separate extra-parliamentary electoral organisations. The authors claimed that under John Major the Conservative Party had crossed the first two thresholds, but not the last (Baker, et. al., 1993: 431-433). However, the map illustrates how pro and anti European sentiment was spread amongst all sections of the Party, making the issue so contentious for the PCP (Baker et. al., 1993: 425). Whilst Baker et. al. suggest ideological positions for some prominent members of the PCP they make no attempt to categorise the whole Parliamentary Party on the lines of Norton.

Table 5.1: *Two Dimensional Map of Conservative positions on EC*



(Source: Baker et. al., 1993: 426)

There are two further typologies which are influenced by the work of Baker et. al.; Sowemimo (1996) and Baker, Gamble & Seawright (2002). Sowemimo's typology identified three groups within the Thatcherite Conservative Party; *Thatcherite nationalists*, *neo-liberal-integrationists* and *interventionist-integrationists*. The Thatcherite nationalists were analogous to those Conservative MPs who saw European integration as an obstacle to the pursuit of their domestic free-market agenda and as a threat to British sovereignty and national independence. Neo-liberal integrationists shared the free market ideology of the Thatcherite nationalists and opposed the EU's social agenda. However, they saw other aspects European integration, including the single currency as an opportunity to promote the free-market across Europe. The third grouping in Sowemimo's typology were the Interventionist-integrationists, corresponding to those who Mrs. Thatcher disparagingly labelled wets; essentially a Heathite rump. interventionist-integrationists sought further powers for the European Parliament, reductions in the national veto and some were even willing to countenance Britain's adoption of the social chapter (Sowemimo, 1996: 84-86). Despite being influenced by Baker et. al. Sowemimo makes no reference to any category that relates to the Eurosceptic but economically wet grouping:

This is a limitation in typological design, as it implies that Euroscepticism within contemporary British Conservatism in the immediate post-Thatcherite era was exclusively the preserve of the economic dry neo-liberals and that all economic wets were pro-European. (Heppell & Hill, 2005: 347)

The typology advanced by Baker, Gamble & Seawright (2002) analysed attitudes to European integration in the post-2001 Conservative Party through the lens of globalisation and categorised three possible Conservative positions; *hyperglobalism*, *intergovernmentalism* and *open regionalism*. Which category Conservatives' belonged in depended upon their beliefs on globalisation; how far globalisation had advanced and what the implications were for the British economic performance in the world economy (Baker et. al., 2002: 399-428). Advocates of hyperglobalism believed that globalisation was now so complete that individual nation states could do little, in the way of economic management, except keep inflation, spending and regulation low. Consequently, hyperglobalists viewed the regulatory frameworks of the European Union as a threat to British competitiveness in the global marketplace and advocated the renegotiation of European treaties and in some cases total withdrawal from the EU (Baker et. al., 2002: 409-410). The second grouping, the intergovernmentalists reject the globalisation thesis advanced by the hyperglobalist colleagues. Intergovernmentalists saw the world economy as international, rather than global and this still allowed nation-states some degree of economic autonomy. Accordingly, intergovernmentalists believed that the EU played a positive role in boosting British influence in world affairs and in the world markets, but opposed further integration including economic and monetary union on the grounds that national independence was still important (Baker et. al., 2002: 411-412). By contrast open regionalists accepted the globalisation thesis, advanced by the hyperglobalists, although they disagree about the consequences. Open regionalists argue that Britain's traditional economic objectives are best pursued collectively, through the EU and they therefore favoured joining the single currency. (Baker et. al., 2002: 413-415)

5.5 Three-dimensional typologies

The two-dimensional typologies outlined above have largely analysed the ideological footprint of the Parliamentary Conservative Party along the axes of European

integration / national sovereignty and economic intervention / liberalism. However, some writers have argued for the inclusion of a third axis of moral and social conservatism / liberalism (Garry, 1995: Cowley and Garry, 1998: Heppell, 2002), which identifies eight ideological groupings across three dimensions (see Table 5.2 below). This is arguably a more sophisticated way of analysing the ideological disposition of the parliamentary Conservative Party as it encompasses all shades of possible opinion, from traditional one nation conservatives (economic interventionist, europhile, socially liberal) to pure Thatcherites (economic liberal, eurosceptic, socially conservative).

The Garry (1995) typology was used with survey data⁴ to assess the size and relative importance of policy divisions within the Parliamentary Conservative Party and concluded that the issue of Europe had become “...the party’s most powerful and polarising policy divide.” (Garry, 1995: 185) A three dimensional typology was also used to analyse the impact of ideology on voting behaviour in the second round of the 1990 Conservative Party leadership election (Cowley & Garry, 1998: 473-499). This again highlighted the saliency of the European policy divide within the PCP, with Eurosceptics backing John Major, whilst pro-Europeans supported Michael Heseltine (Cowley & Garry, 1998: 495-496). The Heppell typology was used to map the ideological disposition of every Conservative MP from the 1992-1997 parliaments and thereby analyse the importance of policy divisions within the PCP (Heppell, 2002: 299-323). Heppell also highlights the importance of Europe and states that, “...the question of Europe was *the* ideological determinant of Conservatism.” (Heppell, 2002: 320). The Heppell typology was also used by Alderman & Carter (2001) to inform their analysis of the 2001 Conservative Party leadership election (Alderman & Carter, 2002: 569-585; Heppell & Hill, 2005: 352)

⁴ Collected between November and December 1991

Table 5.2: A Three Dimensional Typology of Conservatism

<u>Economic policy</u>	<u>European policy</u>	<u>Social and moral policy</u>
Interventionist wets	Pro-European	Socially liberal
Interventionist wets	Pro-European	Socially conservative
Thatcherite dries	Pro-European	Socially liberal
Thatcherite dries	Pro-European	Socially conservative
Interventionist wets	Eurosceptic	Socially liberal
Interventionist wets	Eurosceptic	Socially conservative
Thatcherite dries	Eurosceptic	Socially liberal
<u>Thatcherite dries</u>	<u>Eurosceptic</u>	<u>Socially conservative</u>

Source: Garry (1995), Heppell, (2002), Heppell & Hill, (2005)

5.6 Factions or tendencies?

Richard Rose (1964) asserted that the PCP was a party of tendencies, rather than factions. However, the ‘party of tendencies’ thesis has been increasingly challenged following the overthrow of Mrs. Thatcher and Conservative Party’s fractious debate over European integration between 1992 and 1997. Cowley & Norton (1999) still argued that:

...the party remained one of tendencies, albeit well organised and cohesive tendencies rather than factions.” (Cowley & Norton, 1999: 84). Dunleavy (1993) argued that factionalism was low except for the vexed question of Europe (Dunleavy, 1993: 134).

However Baker et. al. (1993) argued that:

Conservative behaviour over the European Union suggests that the possibility of a split is real, even if so far party managers have succeeded in preventing it at incalculable cost to the party’s authority and image. (Baker et. al., 1993: 428)

Garry (1995) found evidence of factionalism when comparing members of the Fresh Start Group to the rest of their colleagues in the PCP and argued that, “...the former should be regarded as a separate group within the party, being substantially and significantly different from their colleagues.” (Garry, 1995: 185). Sowemimo also identified the Fresh Start Group as the vehicle that the PCP’s Euro rebels used to organise themselves (Sowemimo, 1996: 83). In addition, Heppell (2002) has concluded that:

...such was the dominance of the European ideological policy divide it consumed the other two ideological policy divides: factionalism evolved on the basis of members' Europhilia or Euroscepticism. (Heppell, 2002: 321)

John Barnes has gone even further, denying the existence of a 'golden age' of harmonious tendencies. Rather, Barnes argues that the very nature of conservatism has caused frequent bouts of factionalism within the PCP and cites as evidence the activities of a variety of groups from The Tariff Reform League to Conservative Way Forward (Barnes, 1996: 340-343). Over recent years, the increasingly factional nature of the party has placed increasing demands on the leader both in keeping the Party united and in securing the loyalty of his backbenchers.

5.7 Economic Policy

Attitudes within the Conservative towards economic policy have undergone considerable change in the last sixty years. The party moved from the one nation tradition from 1945 until its apotheosis under Macmillan, through a transitional period of uncertainty under Heath to become the party of free-market liberalism under Mrs. Thatcher. The Conservative Party accepted the Attlee settlement after 1945 out of a mixture of ideology and pragmatism. The party, especially at elite level, accepted that a major factor in their defeat was the electorate's association of the party, with the mass unemployment of the inter-war period. Moreover the Conservatives realised they would have to take positive steps to reverse their image and reassure the electorate if the party was to win power again. One manifestation of this belief was the work of the Conservative Research Department (CRD) led by Rab Butler (Fisher, 1977: 63). Butler believed in the Disraelian One Nation tradition and admired Baldwin's strategy of class conciliation (Charmley, 1996: 113). Under Butler's supervision the CRD produced two publications that played a crucial role in repositioning the party within the post war political climate; *The Industrial Charter* (1947) and *The Right Road for Britain* (1949). *The Industrial Charter* advocated the removal of unnecessary controls on industry and spending cuts to finance reductions in taxation. Whilst it opposed nationalisation in principle it accepted the nationalisation of coal, the railways and the Bank of England and accepted existing industrial relations law (Evans & Taylor, 1996: 81-82). The purpose of the *Charter* was twofold; firstly to destroy the perception of the Conservatives as the party of

poverty and mass unemployment, whilst the second purpose was to provide an alternative to socialism without turning the clock back to the inter-war period (Willetts, 2005: 181). *The Right Road for Britain* was more neo-liberal in tone than *The Industrial Charter* it nevertheless accepted the welfare state and full employment (Evans & Taylor, 1996: 90). *The Right Road for Britain* was the basis for the general election manifesto, *This is the Road* published in 1950 (Willetts, 2005: 186).

Future Prime Minister Harold Macmillan was another influential figure within revisionist tendency of the post war Conservative Party. Macmillan had helped to write *The Industrial Charter*, but his publication *The Middle Way* (1937) arguably went further than either *The Industrial Charter* or *The Right Road for Britain*; *The Middle Way* advocated the nationalisation of the Bank of England and the coal industry and argued that that the railways, gas, electricity and water were already effectively in public ownership (Green, 2002: 171). Macmillan's brand of One Nation Conservatism was strongly influenced by his experiences in the trenches during the First World War. Moreover, he had been an MP for Stockton during the inter-war years and was acutely conscious of the human misery caused by mass unemployment and was determined to avoid a recurrence (Green, 2002: 158).

The general election of 1951 gave the Conservatives twenty-six seats more than Labour and but with fewer votes (48% compared to Labour's 48.8); Labour's share of the popular vote was barely reduced since 1945 and the Conservatives owed much of their success to the collapse in Liberal support. Consequently, the party could hardly claim a mandate for wholesale change. (Clarke, 1996: 408). Moreover, whilst the mood in the country favoured moderate reform there was little support for a return to the Britain of the 1930s (Jenkins, 2002: 853) In addition, the Conservative majority of seventeen made it necessary to contemplate the possibility of another election in the near future and Churchill made it clear that his priorities were, "...houses and meat and not being scuppered" (Roberts, 1994: 252). To this end Churchill appointed the emollient Walter Monckton as Minister of Labour, with strict instructions not to antagonise the trades' union movement¹² (Jenkins, 2002: 853). In addition the

¹² Monckton was so adept at avoiding conflict he acquired the nickname of 'the old oil can' (Roberts, 1994: 243)

Churchill government did little to undo their Labour predecessor's nationalisation programme; only the iron and steel industry was denationalised in 1953 followed by the road haulage industry the following year (Dorey, 1995: 45).

One nation Conservatism reached its high water mark under the premiership of Harold Macmillan between 1957 and 1963. The end of the Korean War in 1953 saw an increase in world trade and the growth of mass prosperity in Britain to the electoral benefit of the Conservative Party (Evans & Taylor, 1996: 108). The Conservatives were returned again under Eden in 1955; after Macmillan succeeded Eden in 1957 his government continued to reap the electoral benefits of affluence and remained committed to full employment and the welfare state. However, concerns were growing over the underlying state of Britain's economic performance, in particular rising inflation and worsening industrial relations. The Macmillan government sought to counter inflation by announcing a seven month 'pay pause' for public sector workers in 1961 and sought to draw the trades union movement into the policy making process through the National Economic Development council (NEDC); a tripartite body comprising the government, employers and trades unions. It was hoped the NEDC could bring all three parties together to discuss the economic problems facing Britain and work through mutually acceptable solutions (Dorey, 1995: 72). However the NEDC was hamstrung as the unions refused to participate after 1962 angered by the government's pay pause (Clarke, 1996: 335).

Some Conservatives had already begun to voice their doubts over the long-term viability of the British economy. In 1958 Macmillan's entire Treasury team of Peter Thorneycroft, Enoch Powell and Nigel Birch resigned over Macmillan's refusal to combat inflation by curbing public expenditure (Turner, 1996: 329). Moreover, worsening industrial relations led to increasing pressure within the party for legal curbs on the trades unions. However, as the Conservatives' lost the 1964 general election the party would have to wait until 1970 to attempt to resolve the question of trades union power (Dorey, 1995: 73). The 1964 defeat led some Conservatives to reappraise One Nation Conservatism questioning the efficacy of state intervention in the economy and seeking to return the party to *laissez-faire* economic liberalism (Evans & Taylor, 1996: 142). Enoch Powell was one of the chief exponents of this

critique of One Nation Conservatism and was supported by a small number of young Conservative MPs such as John Biffen and Nicholas Ridley. Powell made an unsuccessful bid for the party leadership in 1965 advocating free-market policies and rejecting state planning and intervention in the economy, but only garnered fifteen votes. However, Powell's vote was damaged by the closeness of the battle between Reginald Maudling and the eventual winner Edward Heath and it is arguable that Powell's influence upon the party was greater than his vote suggested (Evans & Taylor, 1996: 145-146).

Under Edward Heath the Conservative Party seemed to take on some of Powell's ideas. The Party's manifesto for the 1970 general election promised cuts in income tax and public spending, reduced inflation, an end to nationalisation and new industrial relations laws to promote 'responsible trades unions' (The Conservative Party, 1970). However, once in government Heath made a series of 'U turns' and abandoned or failed to achieve many of its manifesto commitments. In line with the Conservative Party's manifesto promise to curb union power the Heath government passed the Industrial Relations Act, which became law in August 1971. Although the Act enjoyed strong public support it was bitterly opposed by the trades union movement; unions refused both to register under the Act and to recognise the new Industrial Relations Court. Moreover the number of working days lost through strike action was not cut by the Act, but actually increased dramatically; eventually the Act was ignored by employers as well as unions and became virtually inoperable (Kavanagh, 1996; 370). Heath's industrial relations policies were a disaster and eventually led to the downfall of his government. In October 1973 the miners went on strike in pursuit of a pay claim. The strike dragged on into the next year and Heath's response to the seemingly intractable situation was to call a general election, which the Conservative Party lost on the theme of 'Who rules Britain?' (Charmley, 1996: 194)

The Heath government also reneged on its manifesto commitment to end further industrial nationalisation; the government nationalised the aero engine manufacturer, Rolls Royce when it was faced with bankruptcy and intervened to bail out the loss making Upper Clyde Shipbuilders (Dorey, 1995: 119). Moreover, when faced with

rising unemployment the government massively increased public spending, including wide scale state assistance to industry. In order to deal with the subsequent inflation caused by huge rises in spending the Heath administration resorted to a statutory prices and incomes policy, despite a manifesto pledge not to pursue such a policy (Kavanagh, 1996: 373). In mitigation Heath's supporters claim he faced an unprecedented set of circumstances. At the beginning of 1972 unemployment reached its highest level since 1947, which was deemed to be politically unacceptable. Not only did the public hold the government accountable for high unemployment, but also ministers believed it was their responsibility to maintain full employment. Furthermore, Keynesian methods of economic management were still universally accepted at elite level (Kavanagh, 1996; 373-374). Finally the outbreak of the Yom Kippur War in 1973, between Israel and Egypt, Syria and Jordan, led to the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) quadrupling oil prices, leading to the end of the long post-war boom (Dorey, 1996: 124).

However, Heath's policy U turns caused considerable disquiet within the Conservative Party. One sign of disapproval was the formation of the Selsdon Group in 1973. The Selsdon Group took their name from a shadow cabinet meeting at the Selsdon Park Hotel in 1970, which hammered out the contents of that year's general election victory. Members of the group were committed market liberals appalled at Heath's failures and who believed that:

The function of government should not be to provide services, but to maintain the framework within which markets operate. (Seyd, 1980: 235-236)

Another critic was Heath's fellow contender for the leadership in 1965, Enoch Powell; Powell was a vociferous critic of the government's U turns and after it introduced prices and incomes policy asked Heath in the Commons if he had taken leave of his senses by pursuing policies he had specifically ruled out in the manifesto (Kavanagh, 1996: 373). However, Powell decided not to seek re-election in 1974 and left the Conservative Party.

In Powell's absence Keith Joseph took up the critique of Heath administration, demanding free market policies and advancing a monetarist analysis of the causes of inflation. Joseph criticised both himself and every other post-war Conservative

government, for betraying the true principles of conservatism, saying that, “It was only in April 1974 that I was converted to Conservatism.” (Kavanagh, 2005: 223). Joseph’s critique was not new, there was always disquiet about the post-war settlement within some sections of the Conservative Party. However, whilst the free market right were once seen as extremists, Joseph found his colleagues increasingly receptive to his ideas. Dissatisfaction with Heath’s management of the party led to demands for change and in February 1975 Margaret Thatcher challenged Heath for the party leadership. The conventional explanation of Heath’s downfall was that it was a non-ideological ‘peasants’ revolt’ motivated by two factors; firstly Heath had lost three out of four elections and secondly Heath’s rudeness and poor interpersonal skills alienated many of his would-be supporters. However, Thatcher did have the support of a cohesive group of right-wing MPs and although this was not large enough to be a decisive factor it was nevertheless an indication of an emerging left-right split on the economy (Cowley & Bailey, 2000: 628-629).

This left-right split was apparent in the composition of Mrs. Thatcher’s first cabinet as Prime Minister. Despite her election victory Mrs. Thatcher was not strong enough to exclude senior One Nation Conservatives from office. However, she placed her supporters in the key economic departments¹³ (Gilmour & Garnett, 1997: 308). Both Mrs. Thatcher and her economic ministers saw reducing inflation, rather than maintaining full employment, as their prime economic objective. In order to reduce inflation the government attempted to put economic theory of monetarism into practice. Monetarism was defined by Nigel Lawson as:

...a new name for an old maxim, formerly known as the quantity theory of money...It consists of two basic propositions. The first is that changes in the quantity of money determines, at the end of the day, changes in the general price level; the second is that government is able to determine the quantity of money. (Dell, 1997: 451)

However, the Thatcher administration’s commitment to monetarism fluctuated; from May 1979 to early 1981 the government used M3¹⁴ as its key target indicator. Yet, by mid 1980 pressures from the strong pound and deepening recession began to grow and

¹³ Geoffrey Howe, John Biffen and Nigel Lawson at the Treasury: Keith Joseph at Industry: John Nott, Trade: Angus Maude: Paymaster-General

¹⁴ The money supply including cash and bank current and deposit accounts.

eventually forced the government to row back from its strict targets as interest rates were cut, despite the money supply growing above the desired level (Riddell, 1991: 18).

The Thatcher administration's determination to tackle inflation despite the economy's slump into recession, together with the emergence of mass unemployment caused deep rifts within the first Thatcher cabinet. Jim Prior believed that:

We must have been the most divided cabinet ever. There was a deep division on economic and social policy. (Prior, 1986: 134)

Mrs Thatcher labelled her critics as 'wet'¹⁵, meaning that they lacked the courage to implement the tough policies necessary to defeat inflation and revive the British economy. Consequently those Conservative MPs who concurred with Mrs. Thatcher's economic policies were labelled 'dry' and the battle for the soul of the party between the One Nation wing and the Thatcherites was characterised as 'wets versus dries'. As Mrs. Thatcher became more securely entrenched as leader she used her 1981 cabinet reshuffle to remove or marginalise many of the wets (Dorey, 1995: 170).

The concept of a property-owning democracy has long been popular within the Conservative Party. The Thatcher governments sought to put this ideal into practice through the extension of the house owner-occupancy and through the sale of shares in state owned companies. In terms of extending owner-occupancy the most important factor was the 'right to buy' legislation that allowed council house tenants of three years or longer to purchase their houses at substantial discount. In addition mortgage tax relief was increased to encourage home ownership. By 1988 home ownership had gone up by 3 million since Mrs. Thatcher came to power, over 1/3rd of which was the result of the sale of council houses (Ridell, 1991; 114-115).

In addition to their belief in a property owning democracy Thatcherite Conservatives believed in reducing state intervention in the economy. To this end the second Thatcher administration privatised a number of previously state owned industries¹⁶. Despite Harold Macmillan's criticism that it was akin to 'selling the family silver',

¹⁵ The wets included Ian Gilmour, Norman St John Stevas, Jim Prior and Peter Walker.

¹⁶ British Telecom (1984), British Gas (1986), British Airways (1987)

privatisation was less controversial within the Conservative Party than monetarism (Gilmour, 1992: 95). According to Dunn & Smith (1990) privatisation policy involved three main areas:

1. de-nationalisation – by the sale of publicly owned assets and equity (shares) to the private sector, e.g. British Rail hotels, British Telecom, British Gas.
2. ‘contracting-out’ subcontracting the provision of government financed goods and services to private contractors, e.g. refuse collection, hospital cleaning.
3. ‘de-regulation’ - removing inhibitions and regulatory restrictions on enterprise and competition, e.g. the opticians’ dispensing monopoly, coach transport regulations. (Dunn & Smith, 1990; 34)

Privatisation bestowed a number of financial and governing benefits upon the Thatcher administration. Firstly the government was spared the need to subsidise loss making state industries. Secondly, the money saved, together with the money raised from the privatisation process could be used to fund electorally popular tax cuts. Finally, privatisation relieved government from the responsibility for wage negotiation for a number of large industries. This process had been problematical during the 1970s as wage negotiations routinely turned into a political battle between the trades unions and the government of the day. Therefore, privatisation can be seen as a crucial component of the fight to restore autonomy of the central government. The privatisations conducted before 1987 were successful, politically popular and strengthened the British economy. However, Gilmour & Garnett (1997) argue that later privatisations were problematical, because they fell into three categories:

...natural monopolies, truly crippled ducks like nuclear power, or absurd nurseries of free enterprise like prisons. (Gilmour & Garnett, 1997: 330)

Another plank of the Thatcher administration’s economic policy was the marginalisation of the trades’ union movement. In line with monetarist theory the government also rejected any form of prices and incomes policies, arguing that employers and unions were entitled to negotiate high pay settlements, but had to accept the consequences in terms of possible bankruptcies and higher unemployment.

Consequently the Thatcher governments refused to negotiate or deal with the Trades Union Congress (TUC) or individual union leaders, unlike previous Conservative administrations, which had tried to include organised labour in the governance of the country. Furthermore the Conservatives now sought to reduce the power of trades unions through legislation. In contrast to Heath's large and complex Industrial Relations Act, which sought to totally redraw the industrial relations map, the Thatcher government introduced legislation piecemeal (Riddell, 1991: 45). This incremental approach, denied union leaders the opportunity to persuade their members that the legislation constituted an all out attack on union rights and consequently avoided a major confrontation with the unions (Dorey, 1996; 174). Altogether the Thatcher government introduced five acts; the 1980 Act outlawed secondary picketing, restricted closed-shops and made public funds available for union ballots. The 1982 increased protection for non-union members in closed shops, required closed shop reviews by secret ballot, made unions liable for damages for unlawful industrial action and made disputes with third parties unlawful. The 1984 Act required senior union leaders to be elected by secret ballot of all members at least every five years and that secret ballots be held before industrial action. In addition the act required all unions with political funds to seek approval by secret ballot every ten years. The 1988 act gave union members the right to take court action to stop their union calling them out on strike and a right not to be disciplined for not joining a strike (Riddell, 1991; 47-48). Finally the 1990 Employment Act made all secondary or sympathy action unlawful and made it unlawful for an employer to turn down a job applicant who refused to join a union (Dorey, 1996: 175).

When John Major replaced Margaret Thatcher in 1990 Conservative economic policy continued along broadly the same lines as it had done before Mrs. Thatcher's fall. Another piece of trades' union legislation, The 1993 Trade Union Reform and Employment Act was made law. Amongst the Act's provisions were, the abolition of Wages Councils and minimum wages, the right for employers to offer incentives to employees to give up their union membership, unions were made to give employers seven days notice of strike action and customers of public services were given the right to seek injunctions to prevent unlawful action by public service employees (Dorey, 1996: 249). The Major government also extended the privatisation

programme into new areas, selling off the British Rail, the remains of British Coal, arguably extending privatisation into areas that Mrs. Thatcher dare not tread. Free market reforms were also pushed through in health and education. The Major government's continuation of the Thatcherite economic agenda aroused minimal parliamentary dissent and demonstrated that the wet / dry dispute had been settled in favour of the dries (Ludlam, 1996: 117, Heppell, 2002: 309). However, even before Major became leader another and far more damaging factional disputation had already burst into the open; this was the dispute over European integration between the europhile and eurosceptic wings of the party.

5.8 Europe

Attitudes towards Europe within the Conservative Party have undergone considerable change during the last sixty years; from detached superiority in the immediate post-war period, the Conservatives then became the 'party of Europe' under Heath and the early years of Margaret Thatcher's leadership, before turning sceptical or even hostile towards many aspects of the European project. Prior to 1945 the Conservative Party utilised a discourse of Imperialism and stout defence of the national interest, however in the aftermath of the Second World War, this claim began was looking increasingly threadbare. The Conservative Party's association with the inter-war depression and the appeasement of Hitler and Mussolini, together with Labour's positive record during the War meant the Conservative's could no longer claim to be the undisputed champions of patriotism. Furthermore the Conservative's traditional narrative of nationhood and patriotism was further challenged by world events; the ebbing away of Britain's great power status, the retreat from Empire and the impact of New Commonwealth immigration (Lynch, 1999: 22) The culmination of these events occurred when the illusion of great power status was shattered by the Suez Crisis of 1956, when Britain was forced to abandon its invasion of Egypt due to financial and diplomatic pressure from the United States. Consequently, the realisation of Britain's diminished power and influence in the world, together with emerging concerns over the state of the British economy prompted a rethink that led the Macmillan government to apply to join the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1960 (Ball, 1998: 142-143).

The parliamentary debate and vote on Macmillan's application revealed unease within the Conservative Party, so recently the party of Empire, with the European project. At least one hundred Tory MPs had concerns and forty were convinced opponents, although only one Conservative voted against and 29 abstained (Lynch, 1999: 25). Evans & Taylor saw this as the moment when "...the European virus was injected into the Conservative Party." (Evans & Taylor, 1996: 12) Macmillan's application was ultimately vetoed by France's General De Gaulle in 1963, on the grounds that the UK was too closely linked with the United States, would act as a Trojan horse for American influence and would be a less than wholehearted member. Britain finally joined the EEC under the leadership of Edward Heath in 1973. Macmillan saw membership as an opportunity to modernise British industry. Heath shared this view and also had a deep commitment to European integration, which he believed was necessary to prevent another war. However, joining the EEC revealed deep splits in both the Conservative and Labour parties. According to Geddes, the Conservative MP and sceptic Michael Spicer has identified four strands of eurosceptic opinion within the parliamentary party; die-hard anti-marketeters, such as Teddy Taylor who voted against joining the EEC under Heath and were still hostile towards the EU. Then there were neo-liberals who feared the reintroduction of regulation that the Thatcher government had swept away. A third group consisted of nationalists and patriots who saw the EU as a threat to national identity and finally there were constitutionalists who argued that the EU was a threat to parliamentary sovereignty and self-government (Geddes, 2005: 127).

The concept of sovereignty has come to define the European rift within the Conservative Party. In its simplest sense sovereignty can be defined as in supreme command over civil society, in Britain this power is vested in the Queen in Parliament (Scruton, 1996; 522-523). The key division that opened up in the Conservative Party was between those who believed that sovereignty is indivisible and those who believed that sovereignty can be 'pooled' with other countries. Enoch Powell saw sovereignty as indivisible and:

Though XYZ may be formed from a combination of X and Y and Z, it is not the same as any of those three and none of them enjoys independence or

possesses sovereignty if it accepts the overriding authority of XYZ; they are not governed by themselves but by others. (Lynch, 1999: 40).

In addition, Powell pointed to the fact that:

The law of the Community overrides the law of parliament; it does for the most part automatically and silently without so much as the formality of debate or vote; and those that make the law wield the power. (Lynch, 1999: 40) Powell's views were in sharp contrast to the man who took Britain into Europe, Edward Heath. Heath believed that Europe enabled its member states to 'pool' sovereignty and act together for the greater good of the Community as a whole. As Heath told Parliament in 1975:

Sovereignty is not something to be hoarded, sterile and barren carefully protected by the Right Honourable Member for Down South [Powell]...Sovereignty is something for us as custodians to use in the interests of our country...It is a judgement which we have to make, and I answer without hesitation that the sacrifice of sovereignty, if it may be put in that extreme form, or the sharing of sovereignty, the transfer of sovereignty or the offering of sovereignty is fully justified. Indeed were we not to do so in the modern world, I believe that as a Parliament, as a party and as a government we should be culpable in the eyes of history. (Lynch, 1999: 30)

Despite Powell's misgivings the Conservative Party came to be perceived as the 'party of Europe', partly due to Heath's personal commitment to the issue, but also because of the rejectionist stance of the Labour Party at the time (Berrington, 1998; 5). Moreover, the Conservative Party remained committed to constructive engagement in Europe for the first two terms of Mrs. Thatcher's premiership, indeed she told the 1983 party conference that, "We are not half-hearted members of the Community. We are here to stay." (Campbell, 2003: 302). Lynch (1999) analysed the Thatcherite Conservative Party's relations with Europe in three periods; the budgetary dispute (1979-1984); the making of the Single European Market (1984-1988); and the rejection of moves towards 'ever closer union' (1988-1990). Relations with Britain's European partners were marred by an acrimonious dispute over Britain's budget contribution that was eventually settled in June 1984 (Campbell, 2003: 304). However, the next four years marked a far more positive attitude from Mrs. Thatcher,

who saw moves towards completing the single European market, with its emphasis on free trade between partner states as complementary to her own domestic programme of economic liberalisation (Lynch, 1999: 68). Indeed she believed that moves towards the completing the single market would export her vision of deregulation and free enterprise to an over governed continent. However, she failed to realise the implication that creating the single market involved not just deregulation, but also the harmonisation of regulations across nation states, which carried implications for the sovereignty of the nation state (Campbell, 2003: 308-209). Moreover, whilst Mrs. Thatcher saw the Single European Act as the final piece of the European jigsaw her fellow leaders viewed it merely as a stepping stone towards further integration that included a single currency and a European foreign policy (Lynch, 1999: 69). When the implications of the SEA finally became clear Mrs. Thatcher entered her third phase, which was marked by increasingly strident euroscepticism from 1988 until her defenestration in 1990¹⁷

This third phase was marked by Margaret Thatcher's famous (or infamous) speech to the College of Europe in Bruges in September 1988, in which she explicitly rejected any further moves towards integration and argued that:

We have not successfully rolled back the frontiers of the State in Britain, only to see them re-imposed at a European level with a European superstate exercising a new dominance from Brussels. (Campbell, 2003: 605)

The Bruges speech was a seminal moment in Conservative party politics and according to Geddes the speech:

...reconfigured the boundaries of discourse about Europe within the Conservative Party by legitimising Euroscepticism from the top, and impelled a huge and divisive internal debate within the Party to which ideas about the state, the nation and sovereign authority were crucial. (Geddes, 2005: 125)

Consequently Europe grew to be *the* critical policy divide within the Conservative Party. (Garry, 1995: 170; Heppell, 2002). Furthermore, disputes over Europe led to the departure of several of Mrs. Thatcher's cabinet, before she too was ousted. Michael Heseltine walked out of a cabinet meeting due to a dispute over the future of

¹⁷ Out of office she continued to make eurosceptic speeches and statements, much to the chagrin of her successor, John Major.

Westland helicopters; Nigel Lawson resigned in 1989 believing he was being undermined by Mrs. Thatcher's Eurosceptic economic adviser Alan Walters, Nicholas Ridley was forced out in 1990 after giving an ill-judged interview to the *Spectator*, in which he claimed that European monetary policy was, "...all a German racket designed to take over the whole of Europe." and that, "You might as well just give it to Adolf Hitler." (Young, 1993: 572). Finally Geoffrey Howe resigned in 1990 over differences with Margaret Thatcher's European policy and intemperate language (Young, 1993: 577-578). Howe's departure and his resignation speech in which called for a challenge to Mrs. Thatcher's leadership triggered Michael Heseltine's challenge and Mrs. Thatcher's subsequent downfall (Campbell, 2003: 720).

The question of European integration was also an important factor in the subsequent election of Mrs. Thatcher's successor, John Major. Major received strong backing from the eurosceptic wing of the Parliamentary Conservative Party, whilst the europhiles supported Major's closest rival, Michael Heseltine (Cowley & Garry, 1998: 492 – 498). For a while John Major's leadership and his unexpected victory in the general election of April 1992 seemed to have drawn the poison from the internal Conservative debate over Europe. However, this situation was not to last as:

The development of the EU persisted in being the issue on which Major was tested, monitored and evaluated. It had become a litmus test that divided the party and fuelled both explicit and clandestine disloyalty (Foley, 2002: 58)

Moreover, the potential for division was accentuated because the pro and anti European factions were of similar size and because the European cleavage was cross-cutting. Although there were correlations between economic interventionism and europhilia and between economic liberalism and euroscepticism these were not absolute (Heppell, 2002: 316-317).

The period of uneasy calm within the parliamentary party that followed the 1992 general election was shattered four months later by Britain's ejection from the Exchange Rate Mechanism (ERM). Britain had entered the ERM in October 1990, during the dog days of Mrs. Thatcher's leadership and Major, her Chancellor of the Exchequer, was personally associated with the currency. The ERM was intended to be a first step towards economic and monetary union, it linked and stabilised Europe's

currencies. Britain entered at the rate of 2.95 Deutchmarks to the pound, which it was hoped would deliver, falling inflation and interest rates together with increased economic growth (Williams, 1998: 28). However, on the 16th September currency speculators started a run on the pound that forced Britain to withdraw from the ERM, although not before interest rates reached 15% and a large part of Britain's currency reserves were wasted in a futile attempt to keep sterling within its ERM margins. The day was dubbed 'Black Wednesday', although eurosceptics called it 'White Wednesday' believing it presaged the end of any further moves towards economic union (Wheatcroft, 2005; 197).

Consequently, the ERM debacle had the effect of emboldening some of the Eurosceptic wing of the parliamentary party, with adverse consequences for the effectiveness of the government and the cohesion of the Conservative Party that again highlighted the salience and divisiveness of the European policy divide; nowhere was this more clearly demonstrated than in the tortuous parliamentary ratification of the Maastricht Treaty during 1993 (Garry, 1995: 185). Maastricht was intended to be the next step on from the SEA and pursued further moves towards political and economic integration. Major had negotiated British exemptions from the single currency and the 'social chapter' (Wheatcroft, 2005; 192). However, despite these 'opt-outs' Major faced stiff opposition from Eurosceptics within his own party. Some of this dissent was open; significant party figures including Mrs. Thatcher, and three former party chairmen, Norman Tebbit, Cecil Parkinson and Kenneth Baker all announced their opposition to the treaty (Ludlam, 1996; 111). However, Major was also undermined by the tacit support given by serving cabinet ministers who Foley argues:

...manoeuvred behind the scenes to pursue an ideological and political agenda at variance to that of the government. Although there were many variants of euroscepticism, they collectively constituted a network of dissent and in many respects an alternative power base within the party (Foley, 2002: 57).

The consequence of this network of dissent was a rebellion over the Maastricht Treaty on the 22nd July that resulted in the worst defeat ever sustained by a 20th century Conservative government and which Major only reversed by playing Russian Roulette with his backbenchers by calling a vote of confidence, daring them to risk electoral

defeat and a pro-European Labour Government (Ludlam, 1996: 101). Europe again impacted upon the cohesion of the Parliamentary Conservative Party when Major withdrew the whip from eight MPs¹⁸ who abstained from a vote on European (Communities) Finance Bill 1994, leaving Major leading a minority administration. The nine rebel MPs were allowed back into the parliamentary party, without any form of apology and later went on to lend their support to Welsh Secretary, John Redwood when he resigned from the cabinet in order to challenge John Major for the party leadership (Heseltine, 2001: 476).

Redwood's leadership bid came about because John Major resigned the party leadership and stood for the self-created vacancy, claiming that, "...for the last three years I've been opposed by a small minority in our party." and challenging his critics to, "...put up or shut up." (Major, 1999: 626). Major embarked on this high-risk strategy, partly through frustration at the lack of intra-party cohesion that the European issue was causing but also to stem constant speculation about a possible challenge to his leadership in November (Foley, 2002: 127). Whilst Major won the battle with Redwood (Table 5.3 below), his strategy was not completely successful. When he held his resignation press conference Major talked of being opposed by a small minority within the parliamentary party, however it was now clear that 109 of his MPs, fully 1/3rd of his parliamentary party did not support his leadership. Moreover, Redwood's candidature demonstrated that the extent of the dissent reached right inside John Major's cabinet. Finally, Major's support base had changed since his victory in 1990, when he won the leadership with the support of the eurosceptic right. However, this faction now supported Redwood, whilst Major's votes now came from the pro-European wing of the parliamentary party.

Table 5.3: The Conservative Party leadership election 1995

John Major	218
John Redwood	89
Abstentions	8
Spoilt Ballots	12

Source: Major, 1999; 645

¹⁸ The eight were; Tony Marlow, Teresa Gorman, Nick Budgen, Richard Body, John Wlkinson, Richard Shepherd, Christopher Gill and Teddy Taylor. A ninth MP, Richard Body voluntarily resigned the whip in sympathy.

John Major's re-election did little to stop the internecine warfare over Europe within the Conservative Party and the BSE crisis provided further evidence of division and the impact of Europe on the ability of the Conservative government to control the domestic agenda. Scientists established a link between Bovine Spongiform Encephalopathy (BSE) in cattle and Creutzfeldt-Jakob Disease (CJD) in humans. In March 1996 the European Commission responded by banning the export of British beef on a worldwide basis (Williams, 1999; 155). To the delight of his eurosceptic MPs, Major announced a policy of non-cooperation with Europe and vetoed seventy European measures (Williams, 1999: 156). The standoff was eventually resolved with the government agreeing to an extensive cattle-slaughtering programme supervised by the EU. Major failed to achieve an automatic end to the beef export ban or even a timetable leading to an end of the ban. Consequently the result was widely perceived to have been a climbdown and further divided the Conservative Party (Seldon, 1998: 652-653).

As the Major government neared the end of its political life, Major was faced with an awkward balancing act as he tried to frame the Conservative Party's policy for the forthcoming general election. The Conservatives faced a challenge from Sir James Goldsmith's Referendum Party, which campaigned for a referendum on continued British membership of the EU. Major had to balance the threat of the Referendum Party and the demands of the Eurosceptics for a tough line against the Euro with the wishes of pro-Europeans for a more conciliatory approach. Consequently Major had adopted a policy of 'wait and see' on the Euro. Britain would only join the single currency if and when the conditions were right and this decision would be subject to a referendum. However, many Conservative MPs, including two junior ministers¹⁹ used their election addresses to voice their outright opposition to the single currency. This prompted Major to make an extraordinary speech at an election press conference in which he appealed to his MPs "Like me or loathe me, do not bind my hands when I am negotiating on behalf of the British nation (Major, 1999: 715). The speech highlighted the depth of Conservative divisions at the height of a general election campaign. Whilst Conservative MPs grew to be obsessed by Europe, voters regarded

¹⁹ Jim Paice and John Horam

it as a side issue, which arguably only increased the harm it caused to the Conservative Party. As Ivor Crewe succinctly states:

The government was deeply damaged by the European issue. It preoccupied and distracted the Prime Minister, demoralised backbenchers and party activists, and alienated the public, for whom the issue was both baffling and boring. What repelled voters was not the substance of the government's European policy but the conspicuous disunity in its ranks that it exposed (Crewe, 1996; 431).

Crewe's observations were borne out by the 1997 general election results which made it clear that the electorate did not care which position Conservative candidates took on Europe leading John Major to observe that, "Candidates who had defied the party line fared as well – or as badly – as those who had abided by it." (Major, 1999; 724)

However, the Major government marked the high water mark of Conservative battles over Europe. Many pro-European MPs retired at the 1997 election and the new intake was younger and more Eurosceptic than the retirees. Consequently the balance of power in the party tilted decisively in favour of the Eurosceptics. However, as the divisions over Europe died down, another conflict began to emerge; between those who espoused traditional conservative social and moral values and those who thought the party should recognise and accept the social diversity of modern Britain (Redwood, 2004: 143).

5.9 Morality

As Norton outlined there is an inherent tension at the heart of conservatism centred upon the values of individual liberty and authority. Some conservatives emphasise the importance of individual freedom, whilst others highlight the necessity of authority and respect (Norton, 1990: 44). This dichotomy became more pronounced as the influence of the New Right grew within the party as the Thatcher governments adopted the policies of economic liberalism and social conservatism, which advocated increased powers for the police and stressed the importance of the traditional family unit. Conservatism has traditionally stressed the importance of authority and the centrality of institutions in society, the foundation of which is the family. Gilmour argues that:

The family is the natural social unit, and the primary support of the individual. Man is a member of a family before he is the member of anything else. The family the centre of affections and the transmitter of traditions. (Gilmour, 1977: 148)

The type of family envisaged by Gilmour is one of a married man and woman with children; many conservatives find other types of family unit (single parent families, same sex couples) deeply unsatisfactory and therefore Scruton argues that:

It hardly needs saying...that the support and protection of this institution [marriage] must be central to the conservative outlook, and that changes in the law which are calculated to loosen or abolish the obligations of family life, or which in other ways facilitate the channelling of libidinal impulse away from that particular form of union, will be accepted by conservatives only under the pressure of necessity. (Scruton, 2001: 129).

Many Conservatives believe these values to have been under attack for many years, despite eighteen years of Conservative Party hegemony. Many Conservative politicians are clear about what caused this breakdown in standards; the liberal values of the 1960s. The sixties were the decade when, according to Margaret Thatcher,

The fashionable theories and permissive claptrap set the scene for a society in which the old fashioned virtues of discipline and self-restraint were denigrated. (Edgar, 1986: 55)

Despite the misgivings of Mrs. Thatcher and her supporters the Conservative Party mounted no serious opposition to the liberalisation of Britain's laws during the sixties. Even though many Conservative MPs opposed the liberalisation of laws governing abortion and homosexuality, there were also Conservatives who supported such liberalisation (Pilbeam, 2005: 162). Margaret Thatcher opposed the abolition of the death penalty and always supported its reintroduction and opposed the 1968 liberalisation of the divorce laws. However, she also supported the legalisation of homosexuality and also voted for David Steel's Abortion Bill (Campell, 2000: 192).

However, despite a great deal of rhetoric that extolled the virtues of the traditional family and denigrated 'alternative' lifestyles it is arguable that the Thatcher government made little serious effort to reverse the alleged permissiveness of the

sixties (Durham, 1989; 58). During Mrs. Thatcher's first term the government passed legislation to allow parents to check teaching materials used for sex education classes, but refused to allow parents to withdraw their children from such lessons (Durham, 1989: 59). Moreover, David Alton's 1988 private members bill to limit abortion failed due to a lack of government support despite the backing of many Conservative MPs²⁰ (Durham, 1989: 60). Furthermore, the government's treatment of the AIDS crisis of the 1980s was one of neutrality, concentrated on the dissemination of a public health message, which promoted condom use and 'safe sex', rather than a sermon on the morality of homosexuality. This led to criticism from social conservatives such as Digby Anderson from the Social Affairs Unit who claimed the government's AIDS campaign was a, "...second best message, which will destroy the very morality needed to avoid AIDS and social degeneracy." (Isaac, 1990; 219) The Thatcher government also bent its own rules to allow Rupert Murdoch's Sky TV to take over its only rival, BSB in 1988. The deregulation of television has arguably increased the quantity of offensive material available on British television, as pornography is beamed down from Sky's satellite (Campbell, 2003: 573).

The deregulation of television and the emergence of BskyB highlights the tension between free-markets and deregulation on the one hand and concern for a 'moral society' on the other highlighted by Lord Harris of High Cross who argued that the free market would provide whatever consumers wanted, "...from prayer books and communion wine to pornography and hard liquor." (Isaac, 1990: 212). In addition Thatcherite economic policies arguably contributed to the breakdown of traditional family life, as families were hit by high unemployment, whilst government policy made it more attractive for companies to employ part-time female workers, taking women away from traditional child rearing and homemaking activities. Consequently the Thatcher government undermined the traditional conservative concept of the patriarchal family of a male breadwinner and female homemaker (Abbott & Wallace, 1990: 85). The reality was that by 1988 despite nine years of Conservative government and pro-family rhetoric family life in Britain had been seriously eroded. As Kenneth Baker pointed out:

²⁰ Alton was a Liberal MP. Mrs Thatcher refused to support the Bill

The figures for divorce and illegitimate births keep rising and Britain has the highest number of divorces per thousand existing marriages of any country in the European community. Around one in five of all registered births is illegitimate and in some parts of the country it is as high as one in three... (Isaac, 1990; 218)

However, the Thatcher governments did make one serious attempt to impose their moral agenda upon society; this was Section 28 of the 1988 Local Government Act, which forbade local authorities from promoting intentionally homosexuality (Pilbeam, 2005: 167). This echoed Margaret Thatcher's belief, articulated at the 1987 Party Conference, "...children who needed to be taught respect and traditional moral values were being taught that they had an inalienable right to be gay (Isaac, 1990: 218).

If the Thatcher governments made little serious attempt to remoralise society, one must ask why some ministers articulated strident socially conservative rhetoric. I would suggest there were two motives behind this language. The first was that blaming the liberal values of the 1960s for current social ills deflected criticism of the present government's social and economic policies and the strain they put on some families. Secondly, it is arguable that socially conservative rhetoric was driven by the government's desire to save money and cut benefit payments. Consequently, in 1988 Social Security Minister John Moore told the Party Conference that state benefits might affect behaviour, to the extent that unmarried women deliberately became pregnant in order to secure a guaranteed income and a council house (Isaac, 1990: 217). Moore's view were echoed in 1993 by another Social Security Minister, Peter Lilley, who delighted activists at the 1993 party conference by rewriting the lyrics of Gilbert & Sullivan's Lord High Executioner:

I've got a little list of benefit offenders who I'll soon be rooting out, young ladies who get pregnant to jump the housing list, and dads who won't support the kids of ladies they have kissed! (Lilley, 1992)

Lilley's speech highlighted another target of the Conservatives' moral wrath, absent fathers who refused to contribute financially towards the cost of raising their children. These concerns led to the creation of the Child Support Agency (CSA) in 1993. The

Agency's purpose was to assess, review, enforce and collect child maintenance payments from absent parents. Again despite the moral tone of some Conservative rhetoric an obvious attraction of the CSA was in cutting the social security bill, as benefits could be cut pound for pound for every payment recovered. However, the Agency was dogged by problems including an appalling level of errors, overcharging, and inefficiency, which left the CSA £112m short of its £530m collection target in its first year (Anon., 18/1/2006). Consequently the Agency arguably became an electoral liability for the Major government.

However, the electoral repercussions of the failure of the CSA were minor compared to the moral quagmire opened up by John Major's 'Back to Basics' speech at the 1993 Conservative Party Conference. Back to Basics was Major's attempt to relaunch his government and present a 'big idea' that was exclusively his, rather than something inherited from his predecessor. According to Major these basics included:

“...sound money; free trade; traditional teaching; respect for the family and the law.” (Major, 1999: 555).

Major's speech was billed in some sections of the media as a rolling back of the liberal tide that had swept the country since the 1960s, in part thanks to a briefing from central office spin-doctor (later MP) Tim Collins who suggested that Back to Basics contained a moral element (Sergeant, 2005: 291). Moreover, both Peter Lilley and John Redwood had recently attacked parenthood outside marriage, but in his autobiography Major denied he had been trying to launch a moral crusade, claiming:

“...my 'back to basics' was not about bashing single mothers or preaching sexual fidelity at private citizens.” (Major, 1999: 555)

We now know Major had good reason not to preach sexual fidelity at private citizens after his parliamentary colleague Edwina Currie revealed in her *Diaries* (2002) that they conducted an extra-marital affair between 1984 and 1988 (Currie, 2002: 236-7)²¹. It is arguable that had this come to public attention in the febrile aftermath of Back to Basics that it would have cost Major his job and even caused the government to fall.

²¹ In her diaries Currie refers to Major as 'B'

Whilst Major's Back to Basics speech was hugely popular with the delegates at the party conference, Chief Whip Richard Ryder and his colleagues in the whips' office were less than pleased. They knew about the human frailties of some Conservative MPs and feared that any hint of moralising would give the press an excuse to expose those MPs who did not live up to the moral right's rhetoric (Selsdon, 1998: 403). Ryder was justifiably worried; in January 1994, Environment Secretary Tim Yeo was forced to resign because he had fathered an illegitimate child and David Ashby was revealed to have shared a bed with another man whilst on holiday. In addition the wife of Conservative peer, Lord Caithness committed suicide because she feared he was about to leave her for another woman. In February Stephen Milligan was found dead, the victim of bizarre sexual practices that went wrong and Hartley Booth, Mrs. Thatcher's successor in Finchley, resigned as a PPS, having written love poems to a female researcher (Williams, 1998: 64). Whilst sexual scandals are not necessarily harmful to a party's public image, in the context of Back to Basics they made the Conservative Party seem deeply hypocritical.

In addition to sexual scandal the party began to be dogged by accusations of individual financial impropriety. Alan Duncan was forced to resign over the purchase and resale of a Westminster council house. The affair was made worse because Conservative controlled Westminster Council was already under investigation over its council house sales policy (Seldon, 1998: 433). In 1995 Neil Hamilton and Graham Riddick were both accused of taking cash in brown envelopes for asking parliamentary questions on behalf of Mohammed Fayed. In addition, Jonathan Aitken resigned from the cabinet to fight a libel action against the *Guardian* newspaper, which had accused him of conducting dodgy arms deal with Arabs²² (Wheatcroft, 2005; 226). The succession of personal and financial scandals involving Conservative MPs became collectively known as 'sleaze'. Sleaze was seen, both by the media and the electorate as an exclusively Conservative phenomenon and became one of the defining characteristics of the Major government and as Alan Clark wrote:

Combined with their evident incompetence, and their staleness, it caused the Conservative Party to forfeit that most valuable of all political currencies in a democratic society – respect. (Clark, 1998: 510)

²² Aitken lost his libel action and was subsequently convicted of perjury and imprisoned.

5.10 The Ideological Composition of the PCP 1997 & 2001

Phillip Norton (1990) argued that it was possible to analyse the political stance of every Conservative Member of Parliament, by using a number of indicators, including voting behaviour and membership of particular groups (Norton, 1990: 41).

5.10.1 Methodology

In order to analyse the ideological disposition of the Parliamentary Conservative Party I have chosen to use three policy divides; economic policy, attitudes to Europe and sexual and moral policy. The analysis of the ideological composition of the PCP will be in two sections; the first section will group MPs according to the ideological stance in each of the three policy areas to produce a one-dimensional typology. The second section will then categorise MPs according to their position to each of the three policy areas combined, producing a more sophisticated three dimensional typology. Both these typologies can then be applied to the final round of the 1997 leadership election and to the final Westminster round of the 2001 leadership election to analyse the connection between and the voting behaviour of Conservative MPs²³. The methodology used to ascertain the ideological disposition of individual MPs is taken from Norton's (1990) groundbreaking work on the ideological composition of the Parliamentary Conservative Party. Consequently this study will utilise votes in Parliament, Early Day Motions (EDMs), membership of ginger groups and public statements.

5.10.1.1 Division Lists

Division lists are the record of votes taken in Parliament. Norton argues that these provide 'hard data', bald statements of fact, whose contents cannot be subject to dispute (Norton, 1990: 47). However, care must be taken with regard to division lists to distinguish between free votes where an MP is free to vote according to his or her

²³ Shaun Woodward was elected as a Conservative MP in 1997, but defected to Labour in 1999. Consequently there is little data, with which to position Woodward within the typology. He has therefore been excluded from this study

conscience and whipped votes when MPs come under (sometimes severe) pressure to toe the party line.

5.10.1.2 Early Day Motions

Berrington & Hague (1998) define EDMs as:

...motions put down by backbenchers; their subject matter covers a wide range of topics, some politically controversial. While some EDMs are designed as mere demonstrations by one member or a handful of MPs, others attract many signatures (Berrington & Hague, 1998: 44-45)

EDMs can be regarded as a valuable source of data because they are attitudinal indicators. They may reveal an MP's true feelings on a given subject that may not be apparent from division lists, when backbenchers come under pressure to conform to the party line (Heppell, 2002: 308).

5.10.1.3 Group Membership

Group membership provides, "...an MP's self-ascription as to his or her political stance." (Norton, 1990: 43). Group membership may provide evidence of a particular stance on economic policy; the interventionist Tory Reform Group (TRG) or the neo-liberal Conservative Way Forward (CWF). Pro European groupings include the Conservative Group for Europe (CGE) and the Tory Euro Network. It should be noted that some groups are dual purpose; for example the TRG is both economically wet and europhile, whilst the CWF is both economically dry and eurosceptic. Groups utilised to determine the socially liberal / conservative divide Party comprise both party and cross-party groupings. These include the All Party Parliamentary Pro-Choice and Sexual Health Group. On the socially conservative side groups include the Conservative Christian Fellowship (CCF), the All Party Parliamentary Pro-Life Group.

5.10.1.4 Public Statements

Public statements by MPs are another valuable source of data. This information has been derived from both primary sources (MPs' websites and Hansard) and secondary sources, notably comments and interviews in the press.

5.10.1.5 Location of MPs

The process of ascertaining the ideological disposition of any given MP starts with the assumption that the said MP is ideologically 'neutral' and has an ideological 'score of zero. If an MP is a member of a dry economic group they are given a score of +1, conversely if they are a member of a wet group they are given a score of -1. This method of scoring is then repeated for public and private comment; a statement supporting a dry position scores +1, whilst a statement supporting a wet position scores -1. The same process is applied to EDMs and division lists, MPs with a score above zero are regarded as economically dry, those with a score below zero are wet, whilst those with a score of zero can be considered to be neutral. For example, John Redwood is the Honorary President of the dry Selsdon Group and therefore scores +1. In addition he has said that:

Keeping taxes low and few in number is the best way to make a people well off. Cutting taxes and tax rates can increase total revenue, because it is likely to increase the overall prosperity of the society promoting those lower taxes. (Redwood, 2002)

This dry statement gives him a further score of +1 and places him in the economic 'dry' category. The same method can be applied to determine if an MP is eurosceptic or europhile, socially liberal or socially conservative.

5.10.1.6 The Economy

The collection of data that demonstrates the wet / dry policy divide between 1997 and 2001 has proved methodologically challenging because the Conservatives were no longer in power. Whilst many public statements by Conservative can be found about the economy these can be considered of the type that the Conservatives often make when they are in opposition; that taxes under Labour are too high and that the Labour government is inefficient and wastes taxpayer's money. For example a paper published by the 'wet' Tory Reform Group in 2003 asserted that:

Conservative Governments will seek to extract less tax than Labour ones. Essentially the task is to use the tax revenue most efficiently to ensure high-quality public services. (Green & Taylor, 2003)

Moreover economic policy has arguably become the least salient ideological division within the Conservative Party, in that although it was the dominant schism of British

conservatism during the late 1970s and early 1980s, it was superseded by the question of European integration and the emerging divide between social liberals and social conservatives.

Consequently, I have made two assumptions about the economic disposition of Conservative MPs between 1997 and 2001. Firstly, I have used evidence from Heppell (2002) to locate the ideological position of MPs who entered parliament before 1997, unless there is clear evidence that they have changed their views since the 1997 general election. Secondly, I have assumed that those MPs who entered parliament since 1997 would have undergone their political socialisation during the Margaret Thatcher era. These MPs have therefore been classified as dry, unless there is clear evidence to the contrary.

5.10.1.7 Europe

The question of European integration was the defining issue for the Conservative Party during the later part of the 20th century. One strong indicator of an MP's position on Europe is the membership of various party and non-party groups. Perhaps due to the bitterness with which this disputation was fought, there is a plethora of pro and anti EU groups and as with the economic variable, many MPs are members of several organisations. Europhile groups include; The Action Centre for Europe, the Conservative Group for Europe, the Tory Euro Network and the Tory reform Group. On the eurosceptic side groups include Conservatives Against a Federal Europe (CAFE), Conservative Way Forward, the European Foundation, the European Research Group and the Freedom Association. Because of the contentious nature of the European debate, there are no shortage of speeches, newspaper articles and statements on individual MPs' websites. A third source of data on Europe is Early Day Motions²⁴ and finally, one parliamentary division list was utilised; the European Communities Amendment Bill 1997, which ratified the Amsterdam Treaty.

²⁴ Eurosceptic EDMs include calls for the repatriation of control over UK fishing grounds and for the government to produce a white paper on ...'the constitutional, economic and political implications of the United Kingdom joining the European single currency', which was signed by eighty-two Conservative MPs. Conversely an EDM welcoming 'Europe Day', as a chance to celebrate Britain's membership of the EU, was signed by a lone Tory MP; Robert Jackson.

The 1997 defeat should have taken some of the heat out of the European issue; the decision on EMU was no longer the Conservatives' to take and indeed Hague's more eurosceptic position satisfied most of his party. However, three pro European shadow cabinet members resigned; Ian Taylor and David Curry in October 1997, followed by Stephen Dorrell in June 1998 (Lynch, 2003: 148). In addition, Peter Temple-Morris defected to Labour in 1998 and Hague's policy was criticised by several high profile Conservative ex-ministers (Lynch, 2003: 158). Nevertheless, the party has become significantly more eurosceptic; many europhile MPs have been have either retired and been replaced by eurosceptics or lost their seats to other parties. Furthermore, a number of Conservative MPs have become more eurosceptic as a result of what they see as the consequences of further integration. A survey of Conservative MPs by Baker, Gamble and Seawright conducted in 1998 found that 75% of respondents believed that joining the Euro would 'signal the end of the UK as a sovereign nation' and 80% favoured an Act to establish the ultimate supremacy of Parliament and 26% advocated withdrawal from the EU (Lynch, 2003: 155).

5.10.1.8 Sexual & Moral Issues

This has been another difficult area to research because of the paucity of divisions in Parliament over issues of social, sexual and moral policy. The totemic issue of the death penalty, which used to come before Parliament every five years, has been permanently abolished with the passage of the Human Rights Act. Corporal punishment in schools was abolished in the 1998 School Standards and Framework Bill. The vote was taken at 5.38am; only 18 Conservative MPs took part, one in favour and seventeen against. (Hansard, 1998: Col. 395) One issue that offered scope for research was that of hunting with dogs. However, this too has proved problematic. Firstly, is the defence of the right to hunt socially conservative or liberal? At first glance it is easy to categorise those who defend hunting as socially conservative; they seek to perpetuate a traditional country pursuit – and the defence of tradition is at the heart of conservative ideology. However, it could also be argued that the abolition of hunting is an example of the tyranny of the majority and an infringement of individual liberty and many socially liberal Tories defend hunting on precisely these grounds. Then there is the question of cruelty – is hunting foxes with dogs a cruel and outdated practice, or the most humane and efficient method of pest control? Finally, the

hunting issue is not a typical representation of ideological division within the PCP. Only seven Conservative MPs support an outright ban on hunting with dogs and of these, four; Ann Widdecombe, Sir Teddy Taylor, David Amess and David Atkinson are from the socially conservative wing of the parliamentary party. Consequently, I have decided not to use the hunting issue in this study, because it is not clear that it is a reliable indicator of socially liberal / conservative behaviour.

To categorise Conservative MPs as socially liberal or Conservative I looked at three areas; reproductive issues - abortion and embryo research, gay rights and euthanasia. 'Life issues' like abortion, voluntary euthanasia and embryo research are hugely important for many social conservatives, like Ann Widdecombe, Ann Winterton, David Amess and other MPs who are members of the Conservative Christian Fellowship. There is a broad range of positions, within the PCP on these issues, ranging from the aforementioned Christian conservatives to pro-choice liberals. MPs' opinions are generally consistent, but there are exceptions; David Davis is in favour of voluntary euthanasia, but opposes embryo research. Conversely, Edward Garnier is typical of many Tories who are in favour of Embryo research, but oppose voluntary euthanasia. Michael Portillo is an exceptional case, because he has never voted on a life issue during his entire Parliamentary career. However, life issues, whilst important to many MPs do not have the totemic significance of gay rights.

Gay rights have been a significant issue within the PCP as the Conservatives try to shake off their 'nasty party' image. Two pieces of legislation have been particularly problematic for the Tories the Adoption and Children Bill and the repeal of 'Section 28'. The passage of the Adoption and Children Bill, allowed gay couples adopt and this caused a massive rift within the PCP, after IDS ordered his MPs to vote against the bill and imposed a three-line whip. This prompted John Bercow to resign from the Shadow Cabinet and he together with Michael Portillo, Ken Clarke and five others defied IDS by voting for the Bill, prompting IDS to tell his party they had to, "unite or die"²⁵. IDS avoided making the same mistake twice and MPs were given a free vote over the repeal of Section 28 of the Local Government Act, which bans the promotion

²⁵ MPs were told that they could miss the vote if they did not wish to vote against the Bill

of homosexuality in schools. However, Duncan Smith joined Ann Widdecombe, Bill Cash and seventy other Tories in voting to retain Section 28. As with life issues, opinions within the PCP are varied, ranging from relaxed to homophobic. Again MPs are generally consistent, over a range of gay issues, however there are exceptions; Mark Field voted against the Adoption and Children Bill (arguably because it was a whipped vote), but supported the abolition of section 28. Another oddity is Andrew Lansley who opposed the Sexual Offences (Amendment) Bill, which reduced the age of consent for gays, but supported the Adoption and Children Bill.

5.11 Ideological Disposition of the PCP 1997-2001 (One Dimensional)

Table 5.4: *Limited state (dry)* (n = 112)

David Amess	Michael Ancram	James Arbuthnot
David Atkinson	Peter Atkinson	Greg Barker
John Bercow	Crispin Blunt	Richard Body
Graham Brady	Julian Brazier	Angela Browning
William Cash	Christopher Chope	Alan Clark
Michael Clark	Tim Collins	Michael Colvin
James Cran	David Davis	Iain Duncan Smith
Alan Duncan	Peter Emery	Nigel Evans
David Faber	Michael Fabricant	Michael Fallon
Howard Flight	Eric Forth	Liam Fox
Christopher Fraser	Roger Gale	Edward Garnier
Nick Gibb	Christopher Gill	Cheryl Gillan
Teresa Gorman	James Gray	John Greenway
Dominic Grieve	William Hague	Archie Hamilton
Philip Hammond	John Hayes	David Heathcoat Amory
Charles Hendry	John Horam	Michael Howard
Gerald Howarth	Andrew Hunter	Robert Jackson
Bernard Jenkin	Julie Kirkbride	Eleanor Laing
Andrew Lansley	Edward Leigh	Oliver Letwin
Julian Lewis	David Lidington	Peter Lilley
Peter Lloyd	Michael Lord	Tim Loughton
Peter Luff	John MacGregor	Andrew Mackay
David Maclean	Humfrey Malins	John Maples
Francis Maude	Brian Mawhinney	Theresa May
Anne McIntosh	Piers Merchant	Malcom Moss
Patrick Nicholls	Archie Norman	James Paice
Owen Patterson	Eric Pickles	David Prior
John Redwood	Andrew Robathan	Laurence Robertson
Marion Roe	David Ruffley	Jonathan Sayeed
Gillian Shephard	Richard Shepherd	Keith Simpson
Caroline Spelman	Michael Spicer	Nick St. Aubyn
Anthony Steen	Gary Streeter	Desmond Swayne
Peter Tapsell	Teddy Taylor	John Townend
David Treddinick	Andrew Tyrie	Charles Wardle
Nigel Waterson	Bowen Wells	Ray Whitney
John Whittingdale	Ann Widdecombe	John Wilkinson
David Willetts	David Wilshire	Ann Winterton
Nicholas Winterton		

Table 5.5: *Economic agnostic* (n = 13)

Ian Bruce	Simon Burns	Peter Brooke
James Clappison	Geoffrey Johnson-Smith	Patrick McLoughlin
John Major	Richard Ottaway	Richard Spring
Robert Syms	Michael Trend	Peter Viggers
Robert Walter		

Table 5.6: *Extended state (wet)* (n = 39)

Peter Ainsworth	Tony Baldry	Paul Beresford
Timothy Boswell	Peter Bottomley	Virginia Bottomley
John Butterfill	Sydney Chapman	Kenneth Clark
Geoffrey Clifton-Brown	Patrick Cormack	David Curry
Quentin Davies	Steven Day	Stephen Dorrell
Norman Fowler	Alistair Goodlad	Damian Green
John Gummer	Alan Haselhurst	Nick Hawkins
Oliver Heald	Edward Heath	Douglas Hogg
Michael Jack	Robert Key	Tom King
Nicholas Lyell	David Madel	Michael Mates
Richard Page	Andrew Rowe	Nicholas Soames
John Stanley	Ian Taylor	John Taylor
Peter Temple-Morris	Tim Yeo	George Young

Table 5.7: *Eurosceptic* (n = 140)

Peter Ainsworth	David Amess	Michael Ancram
James Arbuthnot	David Atkinson	Peter Atkinson
John Bercow	Sir Paul Beresford	Crispin Blunt
Sir Richard Body	Tim Boswell	Peter Bottomley
Graham Brady	Julian Brazier	Peter Brooke
Angela Browning	Ian Bruce	Simon Burns
John Butterfill	William Cash	Sydney Chapman
Christopher Chope	James Clappison	Alan Clark
Michael Clark	Geoffrey Clifton-Brown	Tim Collins
Michael Colvin	James Cran	Stephen Day
David Davis	Iain Duncan Smith	Alan Duncan
Peter Emery	Nigel Evans	David Faber
Michael Fabricant	Howard Flight	Eric Forth
Liam Fox	Norman Fowler	Christopher Fraser
Roger Gale	Edward Garnier	Nick Gibb

Cheryl Gillan	Christopher Gill	Teresa Gorman
James Gray	John Greenway	Dominic Grieve
William Hague	Archie Hamilton	Philip Hammond
John Hayes	Nick Hawkins	David Heathcoat-Amory
Oliver Heald	Douglas Hogg	John Horam
Michael Howard	Gerald Howarth	Andrew Hunter
Michael Jack	Bernard Jenkin	Geoffrey Johnson-Smith
Robert Key	Tom King	Julie Kirkbride
Eleanor Laing	Andrew Lansley	Edward Leigh
Oliver Letwin	Julian Lewis	David Lidington
Peter Lilley	Sir Peter Lloyd	Michael Lord
Tim Loughton	Peter Luff	John MacGregor
Andrew Mackay	David Maclean	David Madel
John Major	Humfrey Malins	John Maples
Michael Mates	Francis Maude	Piers Merchant
Theresa May	Anne McIntosh	Patrick McLoughlin
Malcolm Moss	Patrick Nicholls	Archie Norman
Richard Ottaway	Richard Page	James Paice
Owen Paterson	Eric Pickles	David Prior
John Randall	John Redwood	Andrew Robathan
Laurence Robertson	Marion Roe	Andrew Rowe
David Ruffley	Jonathan Sayeed	Gillian Shephard
Richard Shepherd	Keith Simpson	Nicholas Soames
Michael Spicer	Richard Spring	John Stanley
Nick St. Aubyn	Anthony Steen	Gary Streeter
Desmond Swayne	Robert Syms	Peter Tapsell
John Taylor	Teddy Taylor	John Townend
David Tredinnick	Michael Trend	Andrew Tyrie
Peter Viggers	Charles Wardle	Nigel Waterson
Bowen Wells	John Whittingdale	Ann Widdecombe
John Wilkinson	David Willets	David Wilshire
Ann Winterton	Nicholas Winterton	

Table 5.8: *European agnostic* (n = 12)

Tony Baldry	Virginia Bottomley	Patrick Cormack
Anthony Grant	Damian Green	Nicholas Lyell
Brian Mawhinney	Caroline Spelman	Robert Walter
Ray Whitney	Tim Yeo	George Young

Table 5.9: *Europhile* (n = 12)

Kenneth Clarke	David Curry	Quentin Davies
Stephen Dorrell	Alistair Goodlad	John Gummer
Edward Heath	Alan Haselhurst	Michael Heseltine
Robert Jackson	Ian Taylor	Peter Temple-Morris

Table 5.10: *Socially conservative* (n = 122)

Peter Ainsworth	David Amess	Michael Ancram
James Arbuthnot	David Atkinson	Peter Atkinson
Tony Baldry	Paul Beresford	Peter Bottomley
Graham Brady	Julian Brazier	Angela Browning
Ian Bruce	Simon Burns	John Butterfill
William Cash	Sydney Chapman	Christopher Chope
James Clappison	Alan Clark	Tim Collins
Michael Colvin	Patrick Cormack	James Cran
David Davis	Stephan Day	Iain Duncan Smith
Alan Duncan	Nigel Evans	David Faber
Michael Fallon	Howard Flight	Eric Forth
Norman Fowler	Liam Fox	Christopher Fraser
Roger Gale	Edward Garnier	Christopher Gill
Cheryl Gillan	James Gray	Damien Green
John Greenway	Dominic Grieve	John Gummer
William Hague	Archie Hamilton	Phillip Hammond
Nicholas Hawkins	John Hayes	Oliver Heald
David Heathcoat-Amory	Douglas Hogg	John Horam
Michael Howard	Gerald Howarth	Andrew Hunter
Michael Jack	Bernard Jenkin	Geoffrey Johnson-Smith
Tom King	Eleanor Laing	Edward Leigh
Oliver Letwin	Julian Lewis	David Liddington
Peter Lilley	Michael Lord	Timothy Loughton
Peter Luff	Nicholas Lyell	David Maclean
David Madel	Humfrey Malins	Michael Mates
Brian Mawhinney	Theresa May	Anne McIntosh
Patrick McLoughlin	Patrick Mercer	Piers Merchant
Malcom Moss	Patrick Nicolls	Richard Page
James Paice	Owen Paterson	Eric Pickles
David Prior	John Redwood	Laurence Robertson
Andrew Robathan	Marion Roe	David Ruffley
Jonathan Sayeed	Gillian Shephard	Richard Shepherd
Keith Simpson	Caroline Spelman	Michael Spicer
Richard Spring	Nick St. Aubyn	Anthony Steen
Gary Streeter	Desmond Swayne	Robert Syms
Peter Tapsell	John Taylor	Teddy Taylor

Michael Trend	Andrew Tyrie	Peter Viggers
Robert Walter	Charles Wardle	Nigel Waterson
Bowen Wells	Ray Whitney	John Whittingdale
Ann Widdecombe	John Wilkinson	David Wilshire
Ann Winterton	Nicholas Winterton	

Table 5.11: *Socially Agnostic* (n = 13)

Virginia Bottomley	Peter Brooke	Michael Clark
Peter Emery	Michael Heseltine	John Macgregor
John Major	John Maples	Nicholas Soames
John Stanley	David Tredinnick	David Willetts
George Young		

Table 5.12: *Socially liberal* (n = 29)

John Bercow	Crispin Blunt	Richard Body
Tim Boswell	Kenneth Clarke	Geoffrey Clifton Brown
David Curry	Quentin Davies	Stephen Dorrell
Michael Fabricant	Nick Gibb	Alistair Goodlad
Teresa Gorman	Alan Haselhurst	Edward Heath
Robert Jackson	Robert Key	Julie Kirkbride
Andrew Lansley	Peter Lloyd	Andrew Mackay
Francis Maude	Archie Norman	Richard Ottoway
Andrew Rowe	Ian Taylor	Peter Temple Morris
John Townend	Tim Yeo	

5.12 Ideological Disposition of the PCP 2001 – 2005 (One Dimensional)

Table 5.13: *Limited state (dry)* n = (121)

David Amess	Michael Ancram	James Arbuthnot
David Atkinson	Peter Atkinson	Richard Bacon
Greg Barker	John Baron	John Bercow
Crispin Blunt	Graham Brady	Julian Brazier
Angela Browning	David Cameron	William Cash
Christopher Chope	Tim Collins	Derek Conway
James Cran	David Davis	Jonathan Djanogly
Iain Duncan Smith	Alan Duncan	Peter Duncan
Nigel Evans	Michael Fabricant	Michael Fallon

Mark Field	Howard Flight	Adrian Flook
Eric Forth	Liam Fox	Mark Francois
Roger Gale	Edward Garnier	Nick Gibb
Cheryl Gillan	Paul Goodman	James Gray
Chris Grayling	John Greenway	Dominic Grieve
Phillip Hammond	William Hague	John Hayes
David Heathcoat-Amory	Charles Hendry	Mark Hoban
John Horam	Michael Howard	Gerald Howarth
Andrew Hunter	Bernard Jenkin	Boris Johnson
Julie Kirkbride	Eleanor Laing	Andrew Lansley
Edward Leigh	Oliver Letwin	Julian Lewis
Ian Liddell-Grainger	David Lidington	Peter Lilley
Michael Lord	Timothy Loughton	Anne McIntosh
Andrew Mackay	David Maclean	Humfrey Malins
John Maples	Francis Maude	Brian Mawhinney
Theresa May	Patrick Mercer	Andrew Mitchell
Malcolm Moss	Andrew Murrison	Archie Norman
George Osbourne	James Paice	Owen Patterson
Michael Portillo	Mark Prisk	Eric Pickles
John Randall	John Redwood	Andrew Robathan
Hugh Robertson	Laurence Robertson	Marion Roe
Andrew Rosindell	David Ruffley	Jonathan Sayeed
Andrew Selous	Gillian Shephard	Richard Shepherd
Mark Simmonds	Keith Simpson	Caroline Spelman
Michael Spicer	Robert Spink	Anthony Steen
Gary Streeter	Desmond Swayne	Hugo Swire
Peter Tapsell	John Taylor	Teddy Taylor
David Tredinnick	Andrew Turner	Andrew Tyrie
Nigel Waterson	Angela Watkinson	John Whittingdale
Ann Widdecombe	Bill Wiggin	John Wilkinson
David Willetts	David Wilshire	Ann Winterton
Nicholas Winterton		

Table 5.14: *Economic agnostic* (n = 11)

Simon Burns	James Clappison	Patrick Cormack
Greg Knight	Patrick McLoughlin	Richard Ottoway
Richard Spring	Robert Syms	Michael Trend
Peter Viggers	Robert Walter	

Table 5.15: *Extended state (wet)* (n = 34)

Peter Ainsworth	Tony Baldry	Henry Bellingham
Paul Beresford	Tim Boswell	Peter Bottomley
Virginia Bottomley	Alistair Burt	John Butterfill
Sidney Chapman	Kenneth Clarke	Geoffrey Clifton-Brown
David Curry	Quentin Davies	Stephen Dorrell
Damian Green	John Gummer	Alan Haselhurst
Nick Hawkins	Oliver Heald	Douglas Hogg
Michael Jack	Robert Jackson	Robert Key
Jacqui Lait	Peter Luff	Michael Mates
Stephen O'Brien	Richard Page	Nicholas Soames
John Stanley	Ian Taylor	Tim Yeo
George Young		

Table 5.16: *Eurosceptic* (n = 149)

Peter Ainsworth	David Amess	Michael Ancram
James Arbuthnot	David Atkinson	Peter Atkinson
Richard Bacon	Greg Barker	John Baron
Henry Bellingham	John Bercow	Paul Beresford
Crispin Blunt	Timothy Boswell	Peter Bottomley
Graham Brady	Julian Brazier	Angela Browning
Simon Burns	John Butterfill	David Cameron
William Cash	Sydney Chapman	Christopher Chope
James Clappison	Geoffrey Clifton-Brown	Tim Collins
Derek Conway	James Cran	David Davis
Jonathan Djanogly	Alan Duncan	Peter Duncan
Iain Duncan Smith	Nigel Evans	Michael Fabricant
Michael Fallon	Mark Field	Howard Flight
Adrain Flook	Eric Forth	Liam Fox
Mark Francois	Roger Gale	Edward Garnier
Nick Gibb	Cheryl Gillan	Paul Goodman
James Gray	Chris Grayling	John Greenway
Dominic Grieve	William Hague	Philip Hammond
Nicholas Hawkins	John Hayes	Oliver Heald
David Heathcoat-Amory	Charles Hendry	Mark Hoban
Douglas Hogg	John Horam	Michael Howard
Gerald Howarth	Andrew Hunter	Michael Jack
Bernard Jenkin	Boris Johnson	Robert Key
Julie Kirkbride	Greg Knight	Eleanor Laing
Jacqui Lait	Andrew Lansley	Edward Leigh
Oliver Letwin	Julian Lewis	Ian Liddell-Grainger
David Lidington	Peter Lilley	Michael Lord

Timothy Loughton	Peter Luff	Andrew Mackay
David Maclean	Humphrey Malins	John Maples
Michael Mates	Francis Maude	Teresa May
Anne McIntosh	Patrick McLoughlin	Patrick Mercer
Andrew Mitchell	Malcolm Moss	Andrew Murrison
Archie Norman	Stephen O'Brien	George Osborne
Richard Ottaway	Richard Page	James Paice
Owen Paterson	Eric Pickles	Michael Portillo
Mark Prisk,	John Randall	John Redwood
Andrew Robathan	Hugh Robertson	Lawrence Robertson
Marion Roe	Andrew Rosindell	David Ruffley
Jonathan Sayeed	Andrew Selous	Gillian Shephard
Richard Shepherd	Mark Simmonds	Keith Simpson
Nicholas Soames	Caroline Spelman	Michael Spicer
Robert Spink	Richard Spring	John Stanley
Anthony Steen	Gary Streeter	Desmond Swayne
Hugo Swire	Robert Syms	Peter Tapsell
John Taylor	Teddy Taylor	David Tredinnick
Michael Trend	Andrew Turner	Andrew Tyrie
Peter Viggers	Nigel Waterson	Angela Watkinson
John Whittingdale	Ann Widdecombe	Bill Wiggin
John Wilkinson	David Willetts	David Wilshire
Ann Winterton	Nicholas Winterton	

Table 5.17: *European agnostic* (n = 9)

Tony Baldry	Virginia Bottomley	Alistair Burt
Patrick Cormack	Damian Green	Brian Mawhinney
Robert Walter	Timothy Yeo	George Young

Table 5.18: *Europhile* (n = 8)

Kenneth Clarke	David Curry	Quentin Davies
Stephen Dorrell	John Gummer	Alan Haselhurst
Robert Jackson	Ian Taylor	

Table 5.19: *Socially conservative* (n = 133)

Peter Ainsworth	David Amess	Michael Ancram
James Arbuthnot	David Atkinson	Peter Atkinson
Richard Bacon	Tony Baldry	Greg Barker
John Baron	Henry Bellingham	Paul Beresford
Peter Bottomley	Graham Brady	Julian Brazier
Angela Browning	Simon Burns	Alistair Burt
John Butterfill	David Cameron	William Cash
Sydney Chapman	Christopher Chope	James Clappison
Tim Collins	Derek Conway	Patrick Cormack
James Cran	David Davis	Jonathan Djangoly
Alan Duncan	Iain Duncan Smith	Nigel Evans
Michael Fallon	Mark Field	Howard Flight
Adrian Flook	Eric Forth	Liam Fox
Mark Francois	Roger Gale	Edward Garnier
Cheryl Gillan	Paul Goodman	James Gray
Chris Grayling	Damian Green	John Greenway
Dominic Grieve	John Gummer	William Hague
Philip Hammond	Nicholas Hawkins	John Hayes
Oliver Heald	David Heathcoat-Amory	Mark Hoban
Douglas Hogg	John Horam	Michael Howard
Gerald Howarth	Andrew Hunter	Michael Jack
Bernard Jenkin	Greg Knight	Eleanor Laing
Jaqui Lait	Edward Leigh	Oliver Letwin
Julian Lewis	Ian Liddell-Grainger	Davis Lidington
Peter Lilley	Michael Lord	Timothy Loughton
Peter Luff	David MacLean	Humfrey Malins
Michael Mates	Brian Mawhinney	Teresa May
Anne McIntosh	Patrick McLoughlin	Patrick Mercer
Malcom Moss	Andrew Murrison	Stephen O'Brien
George Osbourne	Richard Page	James Paice
Owen Paterson	Eric Pickles	Michael Prisk
John Randall	John Redwood	Andrew Robathan
Hugh Robertson	Laurence Robertson	Marion Roe
Andrew Rosindell	David Ruffley	Jonathan Sayeed
Andrew Selous	Gillian Shephard	Richard Shepherd
Mark Simmonds	Keith Simpson	Caroline Spelman
Michael Spicer	Robert Spink	Richard Spring
Anthony Steen	Gary Streeter	Desmond Swayne
Hugo Swire	Robert Syms	Peter Tapsell
John Taylor	Teddy Taylor	Michael Trend
Andrew Turner	Andrew Tyrie	Peter Viggers
Robert Walter	Nigel Waterson	Angela Watkinson
John Whittingdale	Ann Widdecombe	Bill Wiggin
John Wilkinson	David Wilshire	Ann Winterton
Nicholas Winterton		

Table 5.20: *Socially agnostic* (n = 9)

Virginia Bottomley	Peter Duncan	John Maples
Andrew Mitchell	Nicholas Soames	John Stanley
David Tredinnick	David Willetts	George Young

Table 5.21: *Socially liberal* (n = 24)

John Bercow	Crispin Blunt	Timothy Boswell
Kenneth Clarke	Geoffrey Clifton-Brown	David Curry
Quentin Davies	Stephen Dorrell	Michael Fabricant
Nick Gibb	Alan Haselhurst	Charles Hendry
Robert Jackson	Boris Johnson	Robert Key
Julie Kirkbride	Andrew Lansley	Andrew Mackay
Francis Maude	Archie Norman	Richard Ottaway
Michael Portillo	Ian Taylor	Tim Yeo

5.13 Ideological Composition 1997 – 2001 (Three Dimensional)

Table 5.22: *Wet, Europhile, Socially liberal* (n = 8)

Kenneth Clarke	David Curry	Quentin Davies
Stephen Dorrell	Alistair Goodlad	Alan Haselhurst
Edward Heath	Ian Taylor	Peter Temple-Morris

Table 5.23: *Wet, Europhile, Socially conservative* (n = 1)

Damian Green

Table 5.24: *Dry, Europhile, Socially liberal* (n = 1)

Robert Jackson

Table 5.25: *Dry, Europhile, Socially conservative (n = 0)*

Table 5.26: *Wet, Eurosceptic, Socially liberal (n = 5)*

Timothy Boswell	Geoffrey Clifton-Brown	Robert Key
Andrew Rowe	Nicholas Soames	

Table 5.27: *Wet, Eurosceptic, Socially conservative (n = 17)*

Peter Ainsworth	Paul Beresford	Peter Bottomley
John Butterfill	Sydney Chapman	Steven Day
Norman Fowler	John Gummer	Nick Hawkins
Oliver Heald	Douglas Hogg	Michael Jack
David Madel	Michael Mates	Richard Page
John Taylor		

Table 5.28: *Dry, Eurosceptic, Socially liberal (n = 13)*

John Bercow	Richard Body	Michael Fabricant
Nick Gibb	Charles Hendry	Teresa Gorman
Julie Kirkbride	Andrew Lansley	Peter Lloyd
John MacGregor	Andrew Mackay	Francis Maude
Archie Norman	John Townend	

Table 5.29: *Dry, Eurosceptic, Socially Conservative* (n = 86)

David Amess	Michael Ancram	James Arbuthnot
David Atkinson	Peter Atkinson	Greg Barker
Crispin Blunt	Graham Brady	Julian Brazier
Angela Browning	William Cash	Christopher Chope
Tim Collins	Michael Colvin	James Cran
David Davis	Iain Duncan Smith	Alan Duncan
Nigel Evans	David Faber	Michael Fallon
Howard Flight	Eric Forth	Liam Fox
Christopher Fraser	Roger Gale	Edward Garnier
Christopher Gill	Cheryl Gillan	James Gray
John Greenway	Dominic Grieve	William Hague
Archie Hamilton	Philip Hammond	John Hayes
David Heathcoat Amory	John Horam	Michael Howard
Gerald Howarth	Andrew Hunter	Bernard Jenkin
Eleanor Laing	Edward Leigh	Oliver Letwin
Julian Lewis	David Lidington	Peter Lilley
Michael Lord	Tim Loughton	Peter Luff
David Maclean	Humfrey Malins	Brian Mawhinney
Theresa May	Anne McIntosh	Piers Merchant
Malcom Moss	Patrick Nicholls	James Paice
Owen Patterson	Eric Pickles	David Prior
John Redwood	Andrew Robathan	Laurence Robertson
Marion Roe	David Ruffley	Jonathan Sayeed
Gillian Shephard	Richard Shepherd	Keith Simpson
Michael Spicer	Nick St. Aubyn	Anthony Steen
Gary Streeter	Desmond Swayne	Peter Tapsell
Teddy Taylor	Andrew Tyrie	Charles Wardle
Nigel Waterson	Bowen Wells	Ray Whitney
John Whittingdale	Ann Widdecombe	John Wilkinson
David Wilshire	Ann Winterton	Nicholas Winterton

5.14 Ideological Composition 2001 – 2005 (Three Dimensional)

Table 5.30: *Wet, Europhile, Socially liberal (n = 5)*

Kenneth Clarke	David Curry	Quentin Davies
Stephen Dorrell	Alan Haselhurst	Ian Taylor

Table 5.31: *Wet, Europhile, Socially conservative (n = 4)*

Tony Baldry	Damian Green	John Gummer
Michael Jack	Michael Mates	

Table 5.32: *Dry, Europhile, Socially liberal (n = 0)*

Table 5.33: *Dry, Europhile, Socially conservative (n = 0)*

Table 5.34: *Wet, Eurosceptic, Socially liberal (n = 3)*

Tim Boswell	Geoffrey Clifton-Brown	Robert Key
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Table 5.35: *Wet, Eurosceptic, Socially conservative (n = 15)*

Peter Ainsworth	Henry Bellingham	Paul Beresford
Peter Bottomley	John Butterfill	Sidney Chapman
Nick Hawkins	Oliver Heald	Douglas Hogg
Jaqui Lait	Peter Luff	Richard Page
Stephen O'Brien	Nicholas Soames	

Table 5.36: *Dry, Eurosceptic, Socially liberal (n = 9)*

John Bercow	Crispin Blunt	Michael Fabricant
Charles Hendry	Boris Johnson	Julie Kirkbride
Andrew Lansley	Andrew Mackay	Francis Maude
Archie Norman	Michael Portillo	

Table 5.37: *Dry, Eurosceptic, Socially Conservative (n = 98)*

David Amess	Michael Ancram	David Atkinson
James Arbuthnot	Peter Atkinson	Richard Bacon
John Baron	Graham Brady	Julian Brazier
Angela Browning	David Cameron	William Cash
Christopher Chope	Tim Collins	Derek Conway
James Cran	David Davis	Jonathan Djanogly
Iain Duncan Smith	Alan Duncan	Nigel Evans
Michael Fallon	Mark Field	Howard Flight
Adrian Flook	Eric Forth	Liam Fox
Mark Francois	Christopher Fraser	Roger Gale
Edward Garnier	Cheryl Gillan	Paul Goodman
James Gray	Chris Grayling	John Greenway
Dominic Grieve	William Hague	John Hayes
David Heathcoat-Amory	Mark Hoban	John Horam
Michael Howard	Gerald Howarth	Bernard Jenkin
Eleanor Laing	Edward Leigh	Oliver Letwin
Julian Lewis	Ian Liddell-Grainger	David Lidington
Peter Lilley	Timothy Loughton	Anne McIntosh
David Maclean	Humfrey Malins	Theresa May
Patrick Mercer	Malcolm Moss	Andrew Murrison
James Paice	Owen Patterson	Mark Prisk
Eric Pickles	John Randall	John Redwood

Andrew Robathan	Hugh Robertson	Laurence Robertson
Marion Roe	Andrew Rosindell	David Ruffley
Jonathan Sayeed	Andrew Selous	Gillian Shephard
Richard Shepherd	Mark Simmonds	Keith Simpson
Michael Spicer	Robert Spink	Anthony Steen
Gary Streeter	Desmond Swayne	Hugo Swire
Peter Tapsell	John Taylor	Teddy Taylor
Andrew Turner	Andrew Tyrie	Nigel Waterson
Angela Watkinson	John Whittingdale	Ann Widdecombe
Bill Wiggin	John Wilkinson	David Wilshire
Ann Winterton	Nicholas Winterton	

This data can be compared to the findings of Heppell (2002) to see if the ideological composition of the Parliamentary Conservative Party has changed between 1992 and 2001. Table 5.38 shows that the Parliamentary Party became markedly more right wing after the 1992 general election. The ratio of dries to wets increased as did the ratio of social conservatives to social liberals, whilst the proportion of eurosceptic MPs grew by over a quarter, leaving a europhile rump of just 12 MPs. This trend was confirmed after the 2001 general election when dries, eurosceptics and social conservatives all grew as a proportion of the Parliamentary Party.

Table: 5.38 Changes in the ideological disposition of the PCP 1992-2001

	1992* (331)	1997 (164)	2001 (166)
Dry	56.0% (188)	68.3% (112)	72.9% (121)
Agnostic	9.4% (31)	7.9% (13)	6.6% (11)
Wet	33.8% (112)	23.8% (39)	20.5% (34)
Eurosceptic	58.0% (192)	85.4% (140)	89.8% (149)
Agnostic	12.4% (41)	7.3% (12)	5.4% (9)
Europhile	29.6% (98)	7.3% (12)	4.8% (8)
S. conservative	69.5% (230)	74.4% (122)	80.1% (133)
Agnostic		7.9% (13)	6.6% (11)
S. liberal	30.5% (101)	17.7% (29)	13.3% (22)

*Source: Heppell, 2001: 309-312

Arguably, much of this change was due to the high numbers of older Conservative MPs who retired in 1997, many of whom would have been replaced by younger MPs who became politically aware during the Thatcher era. This new breed of Conservative MP is possibly influenced by Mrs. Thatcher's three election victories

and is therefore more ideologically driven than their predecessors. However, the rise in the number of social conservatives is perhaps surprising, given that the early days of the Hague regime were about promoting a more socially liberal agenda for the Conservative Party and the prominence of the modernising tendency, who argued that the party had to change the way it looked and acted if it were to regain power

5.15 Conclusion

The Conservative Party has undergone significant ideological change since 1945. Most accounts of the Conservative Party, prior to the ascent of Margaret Thatcher, emphasise the party's pragmatism and ideological flexibility. This pragmatism is reflected in Rose's (1964) description of the Conservatives as a party of tendencies, rather than of factions. Consequently the Conservative Party was able to come to terms with the Attlee settlement of 1945, accepting the idea of a government committed to maintaining full-employment, the welfare state, conciliation with the trades union movement and keeping major industries under state control. The Conservative Party's commitment to the Attlee settlement reached its zenith under the leadership of Harold Macmillan. However, growing disillusion with the deteriorating state of the British economy and ever worsening industrial relations led to Edward Heath trying, but failing to make significant reforms to modernise the British economy. Heath's rhetoric about not supporting loss making industries and his attempts to reform trades union law were seen as an early form of Thatcherism, although Heath ultimately failed because he maintained a very un-Thatcherite desire to avoid mass unemployment. However, Mrs. Thatcher learnt from Heath's experiences and successfully abandoned much of the Attlee settlement by reforming trades union law and privatising much of the large state sector.

Despite Mrs. Thatcher's success the Parliamentary Conservative Party did not immediately become a Thatcherite party. Norton's seminal (1990) research on the ideological composition of the Conservative Party also remains faithful to the idea that the Parliamentary Conservative Party was more concerned with gaining and holding power, rather than with ideological purity. Whilst the Norton typology shows some intra-party groups that could be a source of factionalism, such as the *Critics* and the *Tory Right*, Norton highlights that the majority of the PCP was made up of the

Party Faithful who had no strong ideological beliefs, but were loyal to the Conservative Party or its leader.

However, Norton's research was carried out before the European issue exploded within the PCP during the 1990s. Both Labour and Conservatives largely ignored membership of the EEC in the early post-War period; however the success of the six founding members, together with Britain's relative economic decline led Macmillan to bid for membership in 1961. Although the bid to join was scuppered by General De Gaulle it revealed many conservative MPs were deeply unhappy about Britain joining the European project. Twelve years after Macmillan's bid was rejected Edward Heath finally took Britain into the EEC, however, Heath needed the support of Labour rebels to push the necessary legislation through parliament. The Conservative Party was split over Europe from the first days of membership, however, these splits did not damage the cohesion of the PCP and were not electorally damaging. The party's leadership was united in support for the EEC and the rejectionist Labour Party was even more divided than the Conservatives, consequently Europe never re-emerged as a significant and divisive issue until the latter days of Mrs. Thatcher's leadership.

Indeed, Mrs. Thatcher remained committed to Europe for the first two terms of her premiership, despite the budget dispute that ran until 1984. Mrs. Thatcher was an enthusiastic supporter of the Single European Act, believing that it mirrored the free market reforms she was introducing in Britain. However, she failed to realise the full implications, especially the growth of regulation from Brussels, of the SEA until the Act was passed. When the consequences of the SEA became clear, she became an outspoken critic of the European project, which she now saw as a threat to her economic reforms and a way for socialism to re-emerge through the back door. This outright hostility towards the EC was marked by her 1988 Bruges speech that legitimated backbench Euroscepticism, by signalling the PCP elite were no longer committed pro-Europeans.

The deepening Conservative rift over Europe was reflected in two-dimensional typologies of the PCP (Dunleavy, 1993; Baker et. al. 1991, 1993). Baker et. al. explicitly addressed the European question by dividing the party on two axes;

extended government / limited government and interdependence / sovereignty and showed that the European divide cut across the traditional wet / dry economic divide. Consequently whilst some neo-liberals shared Mrs. Thatcher's view that the EU was a threat to British sovereignty and the Thatcherite programme, other neo-liberals saw European integration, including the single currency as a way to push the free-market across Europe.

The PCP's rifts over Europe triggered by Mrs. Thatcher's Bruges Speech worsened to the point that they proved to be a major contributory factor to her downfall from Michael Heseltine's leadership bid in November 1990. The divisions within the PCP only temporarily healed by the election of John Major as Mrs. Thatcher's successor and hostilities were resumed following Britain's ejection from the Exchange Rate Mechanism in September 1992. The ERM fiasco emboldened the Eurosceptic wing of the party, many of whom rebelled against the government during the various stages of the Maastricht Treaty ratification, culminating in the worst parliamentary defeat suffered by a Conservative government. Divisions over Europe were also reflected in John Redwood's challenge to Major's leadership in 1995; whereas Major had been supported by Eurosceptics in 1990, in 1995 he was reliant on the votes of pro-European MPs to defeat Redwood. The European rift effectively destroyed John Major's government and was a major factor in the Conservatives' massive defeat in 1997. This unprecedented degree of backbench dissent was reflected in the Garry (1995), Garry & Cowley (1998) and Heppell (2002) typologies. These typologies utilised a three-dimensional approach and demonstrated the importance and divisiveness of the European divide in Conservative politics, indeed Cowley and Garry (1998) demonstrated that it was the decisive in the election of John Major as Mrs. Thatcher's successor. Heppell also showed that Europe was the defining issue of Conservative parliamentarians between 1992 and 1997. Heppell's typology also demonstrates the ideological fragmentation of the PCP and provides evidence of factionalism within the parliamentary party.

The Garry (1995), Garry & Cowley (1998) and Heppell (2002) typologies also throw light on tensions within conservatism, between the values of authority (social conservatism) and individual liberty (social liberty). Whilst this tension has always

been present it has only recently become problematical. Under Mrs. Thatcher's leadership the party was avowedly socially conservative, although its record on implementing socially conservative policies was mixed. For whilst Thatcherites bemoaned the corrosive effects of the permissive society ushered in during the 1960s, the Thatcher governments made little attempt to reverse any of the reforms they thought so harmful. Section 28 of the Local Government Act forbade local authorities from 'promoting of homosexuality', but the AIDS crisis was treated as an issue of public health rather than personal morality and regulation concerning television broadcasting were relaxed, rather than tightened. Consequently the issue of social morality was never really a problem for Mrs. Thatcher's Conservative Party, but that was to change under John Major. Major's Back to Basics campaign was seen in the light of socially conservative rhetoric from right-wing ministers and interpreted as a morality campaign based on family values. However, Back to Basics turned into a political disaster when a number of sexual and financial scandals beset, making the Conservatives seem sleazy and deeply hypocritical.

Following the 1997 election the PCP has become more socially conservative than it was under Major, it was also more dry and more Eurosceptic. Moreover, this drift rightwards was maintained after the 2001 general election. In part this may explain the failure of Hague's flirtation with social liberalism between 1997 and 1999 and the failure of 'modernisers' within the party to secure any major changes in the selection process to pick parliamentary candidates who are more reflective of modern Britain. However, as the Parliamentary Conservative Party has moved to the right it has become more ideologically cohesive, with the wets and Europhiles reduced to an almost insignificant rump. However, the social liberal / conservative disputation has continued to cause controversy, especially, new leader David Cameron's recent move to introduce an 'A' list, designed to boost the number of women and ethnic minority parliamentary candidates. These have been denounced by one right wing MP who claimed that:

The idea that we can parachute insubstantial and untested candidates with little knowledge of the local scene into key seats to win the confidence of people they seek to represent is the bizarre theory of people who spend too much time

with the pseuds and posers of London's chi-chi set and not enough time in normal Britain (White, 30/5/2006)

The drive to modernise the Conservative Party may yet prove to be a test of the party's desire for power. So far, although some of the social conservatives in the PCP have criticised Cameron's reforms, many have kept their counsel and pragmatically accepted reform as a necessary precursor to electoral success. However, the ideological composition of the parliamentary party has become ever-more Thatcherite since the 1997 general election: consequently there may be limits to this pragmatism if the party continues to trail New Labour in the opinion polls. The Conservative Party's subordination of electoral pragmatism, in favour of ideological purity was evident in both the leadership election of 1997 and that of 2001 as we shall see in the next chapter.

Chapter 6

Voting Behaviour in the 1997 and 2001 Conservative Party Leadership Elections: The Impact of Social Background, Political Attributes and Ideological Disposition

6.1 Introduction

The goal of this chapter is to present an in depth analysis of the 1997 and 2001 Conservative Party leadership elections. The first section of the chapter will explain the methodology employed to ascertain who voted for whom in 1997 and 2001 and justify its validity through comparison with Cowley & Garry (1998). The second section of the chapter will present a detailed breakdown of who voted for the candidates in the final rounds of the 1997 (Clarke and Hague) and the final parliamentary round of the 2001 (Clarke, Portillo and Duncan Smith) elections. The third section of the chapter will combine this data together with data from the preceding chapters to analyse the impact of social background, political attributes and ideological disposition on the final outcomes of the two leadership elections.

6.2 Methodology

The Parliamentary Conservative Party has been described by *The Guardian* newspaper as the most sophisticated electorate in the world and also as one of the most ‘slippery and duplicitous’ (Tempest, 20/8/2001). Consequently, the machinations of Tory MPs together with the anonymity afforded by the secret ballot make it difficult to work out who voted for whom in every case. However, it is possible to ascertain the voting intentions of a good majority of the PCP by using a variety of sources. These include lists of candidates’ supporters published in newspapers and other related newspaper articles, books and published interviews which enabled individual MPs to be placed into one of four classifications; definite, probable, speculative and unclassified. MPs in the ‘definite’ category have been identified by three or more different sources as voting for a particular candidate, the probable category consists of MPs who have been identified by two sources, whilst the speculative category consists of one source, the unclassified category contains the MPs about whose intentions nothing has been discovered or about whom there is

contradictory data. These unclassified MPs have been omitted from this analysis and there has been no attempt to deduce for whom they were likely to have voted¹.

Occasionally MPs have stated who they voted for, after the event, in published interviews and have been classified as 'definite'. Finally, I have written to the MPs of whom I knew little about, asking them for whom they voted. Those that answered have also been included in the 'definite' category. Although this may seem like a leap of faith given *The Guardian's* view of Tory MPs' probity, Cowley & Garry found that there was little need to publicly lie about ones' support when there was no threat to an incumbent leader and that lying did not constitute a methodological problem (Cowley & Garry, 1998: 498-499). Altogether it is possible to classify 60% of the PCP as 'definite' in the 1997 election and when the 'probable' MPs are added this total rises to 84%. In the 2001 leadership election 74% of the PCP can be classed as 'definite', rising to 76% when the 'probable' MPs are added to the total².

This data was then analysed using the chi square test of independence to provide bivariate breakdowns of the candidates' support in an attempt to test the hypotheses derived from the work of Cowley & Garry (1990). This procedure leads to multiple significance tests but provides no method to assess higher order interactions. This led me to attempt to use log linear modelling on those hypotheses that the chi square tests had shown to be significant, in order to assess interaction effects as well as the effects of variables. However, the unavoidably small sample size, combined with the large number of variables gave unreliable results. For example very small populations of one or two MPs were flagged up as significant groups, whilst larger populations were not. Consequently the results have not been included in the thesis.

¹ Cowley & Garry (1998) admit that not all of their data was backed by hard evidence, "...a few were nearer to being guesswork, albeit educated guesswork." (Cowley & Garry, 1998: 498).

² Cowley & Garry (1998) found "...firm evidence on the intentions of 60 per cent of the electorate; and good evidence on over 90 per cent." (Cowley & Garry, 1998: 499)

6.3 Who voted for whom

Table 6.1: *William Hague's Supporters 1997*

Definite

Peter Ainsworth	David Amess	Michael Ancram
James Arbuthnot	David Atkinson	Peter Bottomley
Graham Brady	Ian Bruce	Simon Burns
Bill Cash	Christopher Chope	James Clappison
Michael Clark	Geoffrey Clifton-Brown	James Cran
Stephan Day	Alan Duncan	Iain Duncan-Smith
Nigel Evans	Michael Fallon	Liam Fox
Roger Gale	Christopher Gill	Cheryl Gillan
James Gray	Dominic Grieve	William Hague
Nick Hawkins	David Heathcoat-Amory	Michael Howard
Bernard Jenkin	Julie Kirkbride	Eleanor Laing
Peter Lilley	Tim Loughton	Nicholas Lyell
Humfrey Mallins	John Maples	Francis Maude
Malcolm Moss	Patrick Nicholls	Richard Page
James Paice	Owen Patterson	David Prior
David Ruffley	Jonathan Sayeed	Gillian Shepherd
Michael Spicer	Richard Spring	Desmond Swayne
Robert Syms	Teddy Taylor	John Townend
David Tredinnick	Bowen Wells	John Whittingdale
David Willets (58)		

Probable

Crispin Blunt	Tim Collins	Michael Colvin
David Faber	Christopher Fraser	Nick Gibb
Phillip Hammond	John Hayes	Oliver Heald
Gerald Howarth	Andrew Hunter	Robert Key
David Maclean	John Major	Andrew Mackay
Archie Norman	Peter Tapsell	Michael Trend
Tim Yeo (19)		

Possible

Eric Forth	David Liddington	Teresa May
Patrick McLoughlin	Richard Shephard	Andrew Tyrie (6)

Total 83 / 92

Table 6.2: *Kenneth Clarke's Supporters 1997*

Definite

Peter Atkinson	Paul Beresford	Tim Boswell
John Butterfill	Kenneth Clarke	David Curry
David Davis	Stephan Dorrell	Peter Emery
Michael Fabricant	Norman Fowler	Teresa Gorman
Damien Green	John Greenaway	Michael Heseltine
Douglas Hogg	John Horam	Michael Jack
Robert Jackson	Geoffrey Johnson-Smith	Andrew Lansley
Oliver Letwin	Peter Luff	John MacGregor
Michael Mates	Eric Pickles	Andrew Robathan
Nicholas Soames	Keith Simpson	Anthony Steen
Gary Streeter	Ian Taylor	John Taylor
Peter Temple-Morris	Robert Walter	Charles Wardle
Ray Whitney	Ann Widdecombe	John Wilkinson
Shaun Woodward	George Young (41)	

Probable

Tony Baldry	Richard Body	Virginia Bottomley
Angela Browning	Patrick Cormack	Quentin Davis
Howard Flight	Edward Garnier	Alistair Goodlad
John Gummer	Alan Haselhurst	Edward Heath
Tom King	Peter Lloyd	David Madel
Anne MacIntosh	Richard Ottoway	John Redwood
Andrew Rowe	John Stanley	Peter Viggers (21)

Possible

Julian Brazier	Archie Hamilton	Edward Leigh
Michael Lord	Brian Mawhinney	Piers Merchant
Caroline Spelman	Nick St Aubyn (8)	

Total 70 / 70

Table 6.3: *Others*

Abstained

Alan Clark, Julian Lewis (2)

Unclassified

John Bercow	Peter Brooke	Sydney Chapman
Laurence Robertson	Marion Roe	Nigel Waterson
David Wilshire	Ann Winterton	Nicholas Winterton (10)

Table 6.4: *Kenneth Clarke's Supporters 2001*

Definite

Peter Atkinson	Tony Baldry	Timothy Boswell
Simon Burns	Alistair Burt	James Clappison
Kenneth Clarke	Derek Conway	Patrick Cormack
David Curry	Quentin Davies	John Greenway
John Gummer	Oliver Heald	Douglas Hogg
John Horam	Robert Jackson	Boris Johnson
Greg Knight	Jaqui Lait	Humfey Malins
John Maples	Michael Mates	Andrew Mitchell
James Paice	Anthony Steen	Ian Taylor
Andrew Tyrie	Robert Walter	Ann Widdecombe
George Young (31)		

Probable

Michael Jack	Anne McIntosh (2)	
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Possible

Peter Bottomley	Virginia Bottomley	Graham Brady
Sydney Chapman	Alan Haselhurst	Peter Luff (6)

Total 39 / 59

Table 6.5: *Michael Portillo's Supporters 2001*

Definite

Peter Ainsworth	David Atkinson	Greg Barker
John Bercow	John Butterfill	David Cameron
Stephan Dorrell	Alan Duncan	Nigel Evans
Michael Fabricant	Mark Field	Howard Flight
Adrian Flook	Liam Fox	Edward Garnier
Nick Gibb	Cheryl Gillan	Chris Grayling
Damian Green	Philip Hammond	David Heathcoat-Amory
Mark Hoban	Robert Key	Julie Kirkbride
Oliver Letwin	David Liddington	Peter Lilley
Timothy Loughton	Andrew Mackay	Francis Maude
Teresa May	Malcolm Moss	Andrew Murrison
Archie Norman	George Osbourne	Richard Ottaway
Michael Portillo	Mark Prisk	Andrew Robathan
Hugh Robertson	David Ruffley	Keith Simpson
Nicholas Soames	Gary Streeter	Robert Syms
Nigel Waterson	John Wilkinson	David Willetts
Tim Yeo (49)		

Probable

Nicholas Hawkins (1)

Possible

James Arbuthnot Patrick McLoughlin (2)

Total 52 /53

Table 6.6: *Iain Duncan Smith's Supporters 2001*

Definite

Michael Ancram	Richard Bacon	John Baron
Crispin Blunt	Julian Brazier	Angela Browning
William Cash	Christopher Chope	Tim Collins
David Davis	Jonathan Djangoly	Peter Duncan
Iain Duncan Smith	Michael Fallon	Eric Forth
Mark Francois	Paul Goodman	James Gray
Dominic Grieve	John Hayes	Michael Howard
Gerald Howarth	Andrew Hunter	Bernard Jenkin
Eleanor Laing	Edward Leigh	Julian Lewis
David Maclean	Patrick Mercer	Stephan O'Brien
Owen Patterson	Eric Pickles	John Redwood
Laurence Robertson	Andrew Rosindell	Andrew Selous
Richard Shepherd	Mark Simmonds	Desmond Swayne
Hugo Swire	Peter Tapsell	Teddy Taylor
Andrew Turner	Angela Watkinson	Bill Wiggin (45)

Probable

William Hague (1)

Possible

David Amess	James Cran	Marion Roe
Robert Spink	John Whittingdale	David Wilshire
Ann Winterton	Nicholas Winterton (11)	

Total 54 / 54

Table 6.7: Unknown 2001

Henry Bellingham	Paul Beresford	Geoffrey Clifton-Brown
Roger Gale	Alan Haselhurst	Charles Hendry
Andrew Lansley	Ian Liddell-Grainger	Michael Lord
Brian Mawhinney	Richard Page	John Randall
Jonathan Sayeed	Gillian Shephard	Caroline Spelman
Michael Spicer	John Stanley	John Taylor
David Treddinick	Michael Trend	Peter Viggers (21)

6.4 Accounting for voting behaviour

Cowley and Garry (1998) put forward seven hypotheses in three broad types to account for the voting behaviour of Conservative MPs in the 1990 party leadership election. They hypothesised that voting could be driven by socio economic factors;

the educational and occupational background of MPs. The leadership candidates studied by Cowley and Garry (1998) were from clearly different backgrounds; Douglas Hurd was educated at Eton and Cambridge and had been a career diplomat before becoming an MP. Heseltine was also educated at a public school (Shrewsbury) and Oxford and was a businessman. By contrast Major attended Rutlish Grammar School and left at sixteen with three 'O' levels and eventually joined Standard Chartered Bank. Norton argued that Major was representative of a growing number of self-made men and women in the PCP and that these MPs "...voted for one of their own" (Norton, 1993: 59). Cowley and Garry therefore hypothesised that MPs may have voted for a candidate with a similar educational or professional background. Secondly they argued that voting may be influenced by political characteristics; age and parliamentary experience, career status and electoral vulnerability. Finally they hypothesised that voting behaviour was driven by the ideological positions of MPs; views on the economy, Europe and social and moral issues (Cowley & Garry, 1998: 475). All bivariate analysis was done using the Chi-square test of association.

6.5 Voting behaviour in the 1997 leadership election

6.5.1 The socio economic hypothesis

There was a difference in the social backgrounds of Hague and Clarke in the 1997 leadership election, although this was not as stark as that between Major and his rivals in 1990. Hague attended a comprehensive school, whilst Clarke was educated at a grammar school³. However both candidates were Oxbridge educated, Hague at Oxford, Clarke at Cambridge, where both became President of the respective unions. After university Hague went to work for Shell UK, before joining McKinsey and Company in 1983; Clarke became a lawyer and was called to the bar in 1963 (Dods, 1998: 555, 607). Table 6.8 shows the educational background of the PCP at the time of the 1997 leadership.

³ Wath-on-Deerne Comprehensive and Nottingham High School respectively

Table 6.8: Social Background of the Conservative MPs 1997

	<i>N</i>	%
Private	110	67.1
Grammar	31	18.9
State	23	14.0
Oxbridge	83	50.6
Other University	67	40.9
No University	14	8.5
Business	54	32.9
Professional	57	34.8
Miscellaneous	53	32.3

Neither Clarke (grammar) nor Hague (state) had the same educational background as the majority of the PCP who were privately educated. However, both candidates attended Oxbridge, in common with a small majority of their colleagues. Table 6.8 (above) shows that both candidates received most of their support from privately educated MPs, however this is hardly surprising, given that 67% of Conservative MPs were privately educated.

Table 6.9: Secondary educational background and voting behaviour

	Clarke		Hague	
	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%
State school	7	33.3	14	66.7
Grammar school	16	57.1	12	42.9
Public School	46	44.7	57	55.3

Table 6.9 also shows that Clarke garnered greater support from those MPs who attended grammar school, whilst Hague attracted 2/3rds of the former state school MPs. However, bivariate analysis shows that there is no statistical significance to this and therefore the hypothesis is not supported (Chi-Square = 2.814, df = 2, p = 0.245).

A small majority of the PCP attended Oxbridge universities, as did Clarke and Hague. Support is fairly evenly split, with Hague having an advantage in all three categories (see table 6.10 below), however this advantage is roughly in line with the predicted outcome. Analysis shows that the hypothesis of university education affecting voting behaviour is not supported (Chi-Square = 0.947, df = 2, p = 0.623).

Table 6.10: Higher educational background and voting behaviour

	Clarke		Hague	
	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%
University	28	44.4	35	55.6
Oxbridge	37	48.1	40	51.9
None	4	33.3	8	66.7

The third variable of the social economic hypothesis is that of previous career. Conservative MPs are reasonably evenly spread across the three career categories, with the PCP containing a small plurality of professionals. It can be hypothesised that Clarke’s background as a lawyer would be more likely to attract support from MPs who had also worked in the professions before entering parliament. Similarly, it is possible to hypothesise that Hague’s business background would be attractive to those MPs with a similar career history. Table 6.11 (below) shows that whilst a plurality of Clarke’s support came from MPs with a background in the professions Hague attracted an equal number of former professionals to his cause. Hague also attracted more support than Clarke from those in the business and miscellaneous categories.

Table 6.11: Previous career and voting behaviour

	Clarke		Hague	
	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%
Professional	27	50.0	27	50.0
Business	21	43.8	27	56.2
Miscellaneous	21	42.0	29	58.0

However, analysis shows that there is no statistical significance (Chi-Square = 0.747, df = 2, p = 0.688) therefore the hypothesis of a link between an MP’s former career influencing them to vote for a candidate with a similar career background has been disproved.

6.5.2 The political characteristics hypothesis

This hypothesis argues that MPs will vote for candidates with similar political characteristics to their own. At the time of the 1997 election Clarke was 57 years old and had been in parliament for twenty-seven years. If the hypothesis were proved Clarke would have benefited from being a member of the largest age group in the PCP (see table 6.12 below). Hague was at 37, much younger than Clarke and a member of

the smallest age group within the PCP. However, with only eight years in parliament his relative inexperience could have been beneficial as 69 of his colleagues, a plurality of the PCP, had less than nine years service. Clarke was also closest to the median Conservative MP who was aged 50.

Table 6.12: The age and service of the PCP 1997

<i>Age</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Service</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>
30 – 39	17	10.4	0 – 9	70	42.7
40 – 49	61	37.2	10 – 19	63	38.4
50 – 59	62	37.8	20 – 29	25	15.2
60 +	24	14.6	30 +	6	3.7

The median age of Clarke supporters was 53, whilst the median age of Hague supporters was 45. These figures are reflected in table 6.13 (below), which shows that Clarke was more popular amongst older MPs, scoring more votes than Hague in the 50 – 59 and 65 + age groups. Conversely younger MPs (aged between 30 and 49) were more likely to vote for Hague.

Table 6.13: Age and voting behaviour

<i>Age</i>	Clarke		Hague	
	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>
30 – 39	1	6.7	14	93.3
40 – 49	22	37.9	36	62.1
50 – 59	33	55.9	26	44.1
60 +	13	65.0	7	35.0

Analysis of these figures shows that relationship between the ages of two candidates and the ages of their electorate may have played a role in the voting behaviour of Conservative MPs during the 1997 leadership election and therefore supports the hypothesis (Chi-Square = 16.124, df = 3, p = 0.001).

The next variable of the political experience hypothesis is length of service. In this case the hypothesis is that the more inexperienced MPs, with the shortest length of service backed Hague (eight years in parliament), whilst the more experienced MPs voted for Clarke (twenty-seven years in parliament). The effects of the 1997 election defeat and the unusually high number of retiring MPs is shown in table 6.12 (above).

The median Conservative MP had been in parliament for ten years, whilst the median Hague supporter had nine years service. The median Clarke voter had fourteen years experience. Table 6.14 (below) shows that Hague attracts a majority amongst MPs with 0 – 9 years service and 10 –19 years, whilst Clarke is more popular with the most experienced MPs, who have more than twenty years service.

Table 6.14: Years in parliament and voting behaviour

<i>Years</i>	Clarke		Hague	
	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>
0 – 9	20	30.8	45	69.2
10 - 19	28	48.3	30	51.7
20 - 29	17	77.3	5	22.7
30 +	4	57.1	3	42.9

Analysis of the variables supports the hypothesis that there is a relationship between years of service and voting behaviour. Less experienced MPs tended to vote for Hague, whilst their longer serving colleagues supported Clarke (Chi-Square = 15.062, df = 3, p = 0.002).

Another aspect of the political characteristics hypothesis is government experience. The PCP was relatively evenly divided between those who had previously been in government (76) and those who had not (89), both candidates had been in the previous Major administration. However, Clarke was the senior figure and had a wealth of experience; he been a cabinet minister for twelve years, and had headed four ministries, including two of the most senior departments of state, the Home Office and Treasury. By contrast Hague had just two years of cabinet experience, which he spent exclusively at the relatively junior Welsh Office. We can hypothesise that Conservative MPs who had previously held government posts would be inclined to support Clarke with his broad depth of governing experience. Conversely we can hypothesise that those MPs who had not been in government would be more inclined to vote for the inexperienced Hague. Table 6.15 (below) shows that just over half the MPs who had previously been in government voted for Clarke, whereas most of Hague’s support came from MPs who had never been in government. However analysis shows that this relationship is not statistically significant (Chi-Square = 2.915, df = 1, p = 0.088) and that therefore the hypothesis is not supported.

Table 6.15: Government experience and voting behaviour

	Clarke		Hague	
	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%
Govt. experience	37	52.9	33	47.1
No govt. experience	32	39.0	50	61.0

The next hypothesis to be tested is the insider / outsider hypothesis: insiders are defined as those MPs who had been in John Major's final government. Outsiders are defined as those MPs who were not in that government; who had either never held office or who had held office at some time, but had either been sacked or forced to resign. At the time of the 1997 leadership election there were 43 insiders and 122 outsiders. Both Clarke and Hague were insiders, however Hague was a relatively junior and unimportant member of Major's cabinet, whereas Clarke was a senior and highly influential figure; one of a small coterie of ministers upon whom Major was dependent (Foley, 2002: 34). Therefore we can hypothesise that outsiders may have blamed Clarke for their marginal status, or believed that their career progression would be further stymied under a future Clarke leadership and would therefore have supported Hague. Conversely, we can hypothesise that the insiders, who had held government posts under Major, would be more likely to vote for Clarke, in the belief that Clarke victory would choose more of his fellow insiders for senior opposition posts.

Table 6.16: Insider / outsider and voting behaviour

	Clarke		Hague	
	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%
Insider	22	51.2	21	48.8
Outsider	47	43.1	62	56.9

However analysis shows that there is no significant relationship between voting behaviour and an MP's status as an insider or outsider (Chi-Square = 0.805, df = 1, p = 0.370). Consequently the insider / outsider hypothesis is not supported.

6.5.3 The electoral vulnerability hypothesis

Electoral vulnerability has been shown to be an important factor in an MP's career. Maximising one's majority is not only good for an MP's job security, but it is also an

important factor in promotion; Conservative MPs with a healthy majority are more likely to attain high office than their colleagues in marginal constituencies. Consequently the constituency marginality hypothesis is that MPs in marginal constituencies would vote for the leadership candidate who is most popular with the wider electorate, in the hope of picking up extra votes at election time. As Kenneth Clarke was clearly more popular than Hague amongst Conservatives as well as non-Conservatives, MPs in marginal constituencies may have been more likely to support Clarke. However, the median Hague MP had a majority of 11.6%, whilst the median Clarke MP a majority of 12.3%. Indeed the candidates' support is fairly evenly spread across the range of majorities (table 6.17 below). Furthermore, analysis shows that there is no relationship between the size of MPs' majorities and their voting behaviour (Chi-Square = 3.549, df = 5, p = 0.616).

Table 6.17: Electoral vulnerability and voting behaviour

<i>Majority %</i>	Clarke		Hague	
	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>
0 – 4	15	53.6	13	46.4
5 – 9	10	40.0	15	60.0
10 - 14	14	37.8	23	62.2
15 - 19	15	53.6	13	46.4
19 –24	11	47.8	12	52.2
24 +	4	36.4	7	63.6

Having dealt with hypotheses that consider socio economic factors and explanations that consider political characteristics of the candidates and voters, we can turn to possible evidence that ideological factors influence voting behaviour. Three ideological variables were used; based on economic policy (wet / dry), European policy (europhile / eurosceptic) and social and moral policy (socially liberal / socially conservative).

6.5.4 The economic policy hypothesis

The economic policy divide was a significant feature of Conservative Party politics during the early 1980s. Subsequently this debate was settled in favour of those who believed in a laissez-faire economic policy and a minimal state (dries) at the expense of those Conservative MPs who believed in a more interventionist style of economic

policy and an expanded state (wets). However, there was still a ‘rump’ of wet MPs that accounted for nearly a quarter of the 1997 PCP. The economic policy hypothesis therefore suggests that wet MPs would support Kenneth Clarke, a traditional one-nation Conservative. Conversely, dry MPs would vote for William Hague, a moderate Thatcherite. Table 6.18 (below) confirms that Clarke was the choice of three-quarters of the wets, whilst nearly two-thirds of the dries preferred Hague. Although agnostics also favoured Hague, the margin was close to that predicted by the Chi-square test.

Table 6.18: Economic policy and voting behaviour

	Clarke		Hague	
	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%
Wet	28	75.7	9	24.3
Dry	37	35.9	66	64.1
Agnostic	4	33.3	8	66.7

However, the Chi-square test indicates that there is strong association between the wet / dry dichotomy and voting behaviour, which supports the hypothesis (Chi-Square = 18.119, df = 2, $p < 0.0001$).

6.5.5 The European policy hypothesis

For nearly a decade divisions had wracked the Conservative Party over European policy. Europe had been a contributory factor in Mrs. Thatcher’s defenestration and was also a decisive factor in the election of her successor, John Major. Therefore it would be surprising if European policy was not a factor in the 1997 leadership election. The European policy hypothesis postulates that the pro-European MPs would support the Europhile Clarke, whilst Eurosceptic MPs would prefer their fellow sceptic, Hague. Given that, following the 1997 general election, the PCP contained a preponderance of eurosceptic MPs this should have benefited Hague. Indeed, Clarke’s unlikely pact with John Redwood showed that Clarke recognised he was unlikely to win because of his past pro-European positions. Table 6.19 (below) shows that Clarke received the support of all his europhile colleagues and most of the agnostic MPs. More than 2/3rds of the eurosceptics supported Hague. Analysis shows that there is an

association between the European policy variable and voting behaviour⁴ (Chi-Square = 22.377, df = 2, p < 0.0001).

Table 6.19: European policy and voting behaviour

	Clarke		Hague	
	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%
Europhile	12	100	0	0.0
Eurosceptic	49	37.7	81	62.3
Agnostic	8	80.0	2	20.0

6.5.6 The social and moral policy hypothesis

The debate on the future direction of the Conservative Party's social and moral policy did not really take hold during the 1997 leadership election and neither candidate made it a key plank of their election strategy. However, we can hypothesise that Clarke as a social liberal would draw support from likeminded MPs, whilst Hague as the Thatcher backed candidate could have expected socially conservative MPs to vote for him. Clarke was supported by nearly 2/3rds of the socially liberal MPs, whilst a similar proportion of socially conservative MPs voted for Hague (table 6.20 below). Even though the social and moral policy divide did not dominate the story of the 1997 leadership election is a significant relationship between social and moral policy and voting behaviour⁵ (Chi-Square = 7.498, df = 2, p = 0.024).

Table 6.20: Social and moral policy and voting behaviour

	Clarke		Hague	
	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%
Liberal	19	65.5	10	34.5
Conservative	44	38.9	69	61.1
Agnostic	6	60.0	4	40.0

The effects of the three ideological variables together can be seen in table 6.21 (below). There are twenty-seven possible ideological positions of which seventeen are actually populated by MPs voting for either Clarke or Hague. Clarke's support is broad but shallow, spread across fourteen groups, whilst Hague's support was narrower, spread across nine groups.

⁴ 1 cell had an expected count of less than 5

⁵ 1 cell had an expected count of less than 5

Table 6.21: Multi-dimensional ideology and voting behaviour

Economy	Europe	Social / Moral	Clarke		Hague	
			Count	%	Count	%
Wet	Europhile	Liberal	9	13.0	0	0.0
		Agnostic	2	2.9	0	0.0
		Conservative	1	1.4	0	0.0
	Agnostic	Liberal	0	0.0	1	1.2
		Agnostic	2	2.9	0	0.0
		Conservative	3	4.3	1	1.2
	Euro sceptic	Liberal	3	4.3	1	1.2
		Agnostic	2	2.9	0	0.0
		Conservative	7	10.1	6	7.2
Agnostic	Europhile	Liberal	-	-	-	-
		Agnostic	-	-	-	-
		Conservative	-	-	-	-
	Agnostic	Liberal	-	-	-	-
		Agnostic	-	-	-	-
		Conservative	1	1.4	0	0.0
	Euro sceptic	Liberal	-	-	-	-
		Agnostic	0	0.0	1	1.2
		Conservative	2	2.9	7	8.4
Dry	Europhile	Liberal	1	1.4	0	0.0
		Agnostic	-	-	-	-
		Conservative	-	-	-	-
	Agnostic	Liberal	-	-	-	-
		Agnostic	-	-	-	-
		Conservative	2	2.9	0	0.0
	Euro sceptic	Liberal	6	8.7	8	9.6
		Agnostic	0	0.0	3	3.6
		Conservative	28	40.6	55	66.2

6.6 Voting behaviour in the 2001 leadership election

The final, parliamentary, round of the 2001 leadership election differed from the 1997 election in that it was not the final overall ballot and therefore there were three candidates, rather than two. In some respects this made it more like a second round ballot under the previous rules. Consequently, some MPs may have been trying to second-guess the result and voted to stop the candidate they least wanted, rather than voting for the candidate they preferred. For example, both Portillo and Duncan Smith were eurosceptics, whereas Clarke was a europhile. It was believed that grassroots Conservatives, who voted in the final ballot, were strongly eurosceptic; therefore it was in the interests of Portillo and Duncan Smith to face the europhile Clarke in the final ballot, rather than their fellow eurosceptic. Arguably this may have led some MPs to vote tactically for Clarke, if they felt their preferred candidate was assured of progression into the last round. Whilst the possibility of this type of tactical voting

cannot be discounted there is no anecdotal evidence that it took place and the closeness of the ballot also suggests that it would be unlikely to have happened. Therefore, the methodology for analysing the 2001 election remains the same as for the 1997 leadership election, even though the circumstances of the ballot were slightly different.

6.6.1 The socio economic hypothesis

The educational profile of the 2001 candidates was slightly different from that of 1997; Clarke, Portillo and Duncan Smith were all former grammar school pupils. As the PCP was still dominated by MPs who had been to public school, rather than grammar or state schools, it is reasonable to expect that the candidates' secondary education would make no difference to the voting behaviour of the PCP. The secondary educational profile of Portillo and Duncan Smith was roughly the same, whereas Clarke polled poorly amongst those MPs who went to state secondary schools (table 6.22 above). However, Chi-square analysis shows that there are no significant relationships between secondary education and voting behaviour (Chi-Square = 4.393, df = 4, p = 0.355)

Table 6.22: Secondary educational background and voting behaviour

	Portillo		Clarke		IDS ⁴	
	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%
State school	11	44.0	3	12.0	11	44.0
Grammar school	10	33.3	11	36.7	9	30.0
Public school	31	35.2	25	28.4	32	36.4

The second element of the socio economic hypothesis is higher education and voting behaviour. Clarke went to Oxford, whilst Portillo went to Cambridge. However, Duncan Smith's CV is slightly hazy; his entry in Dod's Parliamentary Companion, 2002 states that he attended the University of Perugia, one of Italy's most prestigious universities (Dod's, 2002: 146), however the BBC's Newsnight programme later revealed that he actually went to Perugia's Università per Stranieri, an Italian language school where he spent just three months (McDermott, 30/10/2003).

⁴ Two MPs who voted for Iain Duncan Smith, John Baron and Andrew Selous, have not disclosed their secondary education and have been excluded from these figures

However, this was not known at the time of the 2001 leadership election. Therefore we can hypothesise that Oxbridge educated Conservative MPs would support Clarke or Portillo, whilst MPs who went to less prestigious universities would support Duncan Smith. Table 6.23 (below) shows that Duncan Smith polled poorly amongst Oxbridge educated MPs, whilst getting the majority of his support from MPs who went to ‘ordinary’ universities. The Chi-square test shows that there is a significant relationship between the candidates’ higher education and the voting behaviour of their supporters and this supports the hypothesis (Chi-Square = 13.448, df = 4, p = 0.009).

Table 6.23: Higher educational background and voting behaviour

	Portillo		Clarke		IDS	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
University	17	26.2	14	21.5	34	52.3
Oxbridge	31	44.2	23	32.9	16	22.9
None	4	40.0	2	20.0	4	40.0

The final element of the socio-economic hypothesis is that of former career: Clarke had been a lawyer, before entering parliament. Portillo spent most of his pre-parliamentary career working for the Conservative Research Department and then as government adviser in Mrs. Thatcher’s first administration; he also had a brief spell working for Kerr-McGee oil. Iain Duncan Smith served with the Scots guards before working in business, first with GEC Marconi and then with a publishing company. With a candidate in each of the three categories it can be hypothesised that former professionals would vote for Clarke, whilst MPs with a business background would support Duncan Smith, finally we can hypothesise that those who fell into the miscellaneous category would support Portillo. Table 6.24 (below) shows that contrary to what was predicted Portillo did best amongst the professionals, whilst Clarke received more support from the miscellaneous category than his rivals. However, Duncan Smith’s support outpolled the other candidates amongst MPs who had previously been in business. Nevertheless, analysis of the figures shows that there is no relationship between candidates’ and MPs’ former career and voting behaviour (Chi-square = 9.858, df = 4, p = 0.43).

Table 6.24: Previous career and voting behaviour

	Portillo		Clarke		IDS	
	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%
Professional	21	39.6	15	28.3	17	32.1
Business	18	38.3	6	12.8	23	48.9
Miscellaneous	13	28.9	18	40.0	14	31.1

6.6.2 The political characteristics hypothesis

This hypothesis argues that MPs will vote for candidates with similar political characteristics to their own. At the time of the 2001 election, Duncan Smith was the youngest candidate, aged forty-seven; Portillo was just one year older at forty-eight, whilst Clarke was the senior candidate again, now aged sixty-one; the median Conservative MP was forty-nine years old. If the hypothesis is correct, Portillo and Duncan Smith should benefit from their membership of the largest single age group (40 – 49) within the parliamentary party (table 6.25 below). The median Portillo supporter was forty-five, whilst the median Duncan Smith voter was slightly older, at forty-eight; the median Clarke supporter was fifty-six.

Table 6.25: The age and service of the PCP 2001

<i>Age</i>	<i>N</i>	%	<i>Service</i>	<i>N</i>	%
30 – 39	23	13.9	0 – 9	88	53.1
40 – 49	62	37.3	10 – 19	52	31.3
50 – 59	55	33.1	20 – 29	17	10.2
60 +	26	15.7	30 +	9	5.4

Portillo was the most popular candidate amongst the younger MPs, whilst the 40 – 49 age group was fairly evenly split between Portillo and Duncan Smith. Clarke polled poorly with MPs under fifty, but led the other two candidates amongst the over fifties. However, Duncan Smith was also popular amongst the over sixties, Portillo was the most unpopular candidate, with this final group.

Table 6.26: Age and voting behaviour

	Portillo		Clarke		IDS	
	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%
30 – 39	12	52.2	2	8.7	9	39.1
40 – 49	24	44.4	8	14.8	22	40.8
50 – 59	13	27.1	20	41.7	15	31.2
60 +	3	15.0	9	45.0	8	40.0

Testing the data shows that there is a significant relationship between the age of the candidates and the voting behaviour of Conservative MPs, therefore the hypothesis is supported (Chi-Square = 0.04, df = 6, p = 0.004).

The next political characteristic to be examined is length of service. This hypothesis suggests that MPs voted for the candidate with a similar record of service to themselves. As in 1997 Clarke was the senior candidate, first elected to in 1970, Clarke had been in parliament continuously for thirty-one years. Next was Portillo, who had been in parliament for fifteen years. The candidate with the shortest service as an MP was Duncan Smith, who had been an MP for nine years. The median Clarke voter had been in parliament for fourteen years, whilst the median length of service of Portillo and Duncan Smith supporters was nine years. Portillo did best amongst MPs who had served the least time in parliament, closely followed by Duncan Smith. In the group who had served 10 – 19 years Duncan Smith was the most popular, followed by Clarke. Clarke was the most popular candidate amongst the longest serving MPs, whilst Portillo was the most unpopular (table 6.27, below)

Table 6.27: Years in parliament and voting behaviour

	Portillo		Clarke		IDS	
	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%
0 – 9	37	46.8	11	13.9	31	39.3
10 – 19	11	23.9	17	37.0	18	39.1
20 – 29	3	27.3	6	54.5	2	18.2
30 +	1	11.1	5	55.6	3	33.3

Testing the data shows that there is a significant association between length of service and voting (Chi-Square =20.035, df = 6, p = 0.03).

The next variables to be tested are government experience and voting behaviour. Clarke was again the most experienced candidate. Portillo was given his first ministerial post in 1988 and joined John Major's cabinet in 1992, initially as Chief Secretary to the Treasury and later held the portfolios of Employment and Defence. By contrast Duncan Smith had no previous ministerial experience and had been a Maastricht rebel, during the Major government. If the hypothesis is true then we can expect those MPs with government experience to support either Clarke or Portillo, whilst those MPs who had not served in government would support Duncan Smith. Clarke was the most popular candidate amongst those MPs who had government experience, whilst Duncan Smith was the least popular. Conversely, Duncan Smith was the most popular with those MPs who had not served in government, whilst Clarke was the most unpopular candidate with MPs from this group (table 6.28 below). Analysis of these figures shows that there is a strong association between government experience and voting behaviour (Chi-Square = 20.623, df = 2, P < 0.0001).

Table 6.28: Government experience and voting behaviour

	Portillo		Clarke		IDS	
	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%
Govt. experience	19	33.9	26	46.5	11	19.6
No govt. exp.	33	37.1	13	14.6	43	48.3

Part of the political characteristics hypothesis suggests that the career status of the candidates and their electorate may influence voting behaviour. MPs who are 'insiders' are hypothesised to have voted for 'insider' candidates, whilst outsider MPs are hypothesised to have voted for 'outsider' candidates. Insiders are defined as those who served in William Hague's last frontbench team or in the whips' office, whilst outsiders are defined as those who served on the backbenches. Although Clarke had been an insider in 1997, he was an outsider in 2001, having refused to serve in William Hague's shadow cabinet. Portillo and Duncan Smith were both insiders; Portillo had been Shadow Chancellor since 2000 and was the most senior figure in the shadow cabinet after Hague, whilst Duncan Smith had been Shadow Secretary of State for Social Security (1997-1999) and then Defence (1999 –2001). Portillo was clearly the most popular candidate amongst the insiders, whilst Duncan Smith polled

the highest number of outsiders. Analysis of the data shows that there is a relationship between career status and voting behaviour (Chi-Square = 13.595, df = 2, p = 0.001)

Table 6.29: Career status and voting behaviour

	Portillo		Clarke		IDS	
	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%
Insider	32	53.3	12	20.0	16	26.7
Outsider	20	23.5	27	31.8	38	44.7

6.6.3 The electoral vulnerability hypothesis

The final political characteristic is electoral vulnerability; this hypothesis suggests that MPs in marginal constituencies would vote for the leadership candidate who is the most popular with the general public, in the hope that a popular leader would boost the party's overall share of the vote at a general election. Clarke was again the most popular candidate with the ordinary voters, whilst Portillo was also a high profile and charismatic figure. By contrast Duncan Smith was an uncharismatic figure, who was barely known outside the Conservative Party. If the hypothesis is true both Clarke and Portillo should have attracted the support of MPs in marginal constituencies at the expense of Duncan Smith. The median Portillo supporter had a majority of 15.1%, whilst the median Clarke voter had a majority of 13.5%. The median Duncan Smith backer had a 14.7% majority. Surprisingly, the grey and unknown Duncan Smith was most popular candidate amongst Conservative MPs with the most marginal seats, under 5% (table 6.30 below). However, analysis of the data shows that there is no relationship between electoral vulnerability and voting behaviour (Chi-Square = 13.955, df = 10, p = 0.175).

Table 6.30: Electoral vulnerability and voting behaviour

<i>%age Majority</i>	Portillo		Clarke		IDS	
	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%
0 – 4	2	14.3	2	14.3	10	71.4
5 – 9	6	25.0	10	41.7	8	33.3
10 – 14	17	48.6	8	22.8	10	28.6
15 - 19	11	35.5	8	25.8	12	38.7
19 – 24	9	37.5	8	33.3	7	29.2
24 +	7	41.2	3	17.6	7	41.2

The 1997 leadership election gave Conservative MPs a straight ideological choice between the Thatcherite Hague and the one-nation Clarke. However, the 2001 leadership election offered MPs a wider ideological spectrum from which to choose.

6.6.4 The economic policy hypothesis

Former chancellor, Kenneth Clarke was the sole representative of the wet side of the economic debate. Both Portillo and Duncan Smith were from the majority dry wing of the party. The hypothesis predicts that Clarke would be the most popular candidate amongst the wets, whilst Portillo and Duncan Smith would be the favoured choice of dry MPs. As predicted Clarke polled well amongst the wet MPs, but also did well amongst economic agnostics (table 6.31 below). Portillo picked up just over a quarter of the wet votes available and over a third of the votes of dry MPs. All Duncan Smith's backers were dry apart from one wet MP, Stephan O' Brien. When the data is analysed it points to a highly significant relationship between the economic policy variable and voting behaviour (Chi-Square = 44.489, df = 4, $p < 0.0001$).

Table 6.31: Economic policy and voting behaviour

	Portillo		Clarke		IDS	
	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%
Wet	8	27.6	20	69.0	1	3.4
Dry	41	37.6	15	13.8	53	48.6
Agnostic	3	42.9	4	57.1	0	0.0

6.6.5 The European policy hypothesis

The next ideological variable is European policy; Clarke was the only pro-European candidate, both Portillo and Duncan Smith were eurosceptics. However, it is arguable that Duncan Smith, as a Maastricht rebel, was more associated with the eurosceptic cause than Portillo. The hypothesis predicts that Clarke would be supported by europhile MPs, whilst eurosceptics would vote for either Portillo or Duncan Smith. Table 6.32 (below) shows that Clarke was the choice of europhile and agnostic MPs, however, he also picked up 1/5th of the eurosceptic vote. Portillo was heavily favoured by eurosceptics, but also managed to collect 1/5th of the europhile vote. Duncan Smith's support was exclusively eurosceptic. Analysis of the data shows there to be a

strong relationship between the European policy variable and voting behaviour (Chi-Square = 31.978, df = 4, p < 0.0001)

Table 6.32: European policy and voting behaviour

	Portillo		Clarke		IDS	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Europhile	2	22.2	7	77.8	0	0.0
Eurosceptic	50	38.5	26	20.0	54	41.5
Agnostic	0	0.0	6	100.0	0	0.0

6.6.6 The social and moral policy hypothesis

The final element of the ideological hypothesis is social and moral policy. Duncan Smith was a social conservative, whilst Clarke was socially liberal, as was Portillo. However, Portillo made social liberalism a central plank of his campaign, whereas Clarke did not. The hypothesis predicts that social liberals would support Clarke or Portillo, whilst social conservatives would support Duncan Smith. More than half the socially liberal Conservative MPs supported Portillo and Clarke also polled well amongst this group. Just one socially liberal MP, Crispin Blunt supported Duncan Smith⁵. The rest of Duncan Smith's support was made up of socially conservative MPs; nearly 1/3rd of social conservatives voted for Portillo, whilst 1/5th supported Clarke (table 6.33 below). Analysis of the data shows that there is a significant relationship between social and moral policy and voting behaviour (Chi-Square = 17.318, df = 4, p = 0.002)

Table 6.33: Social and moral policy and voting behaviour

	Portillo		Clarke		IDS	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Liberal	10	55.6	7	38.9	1	5.6
Conservative	39	32.8	27	22.7	53	44.5
Agnostic	3	37.5	5	62.5	0	0.0

The combined effect of the three ideological variables upon voting behaviour can be seen in table 6.34 (below). There are twenty-seven possible ideological groupings, of which fourteen are populated by MPs voting for one of the three candidates. As in

⁵ Blunt later said it had been a mistake to vote for Duncan Smith and called for the party to remove him.

1997 Clarke support covers a broad cross-section of the PCP drawing support from twelve out of the fourteen groups. Portillo's support is nearly as broad covering ten groups. However, Duncan Smith's support covers just three groups and 96% of his support is concentrated in just one group of dry, eurosceptic, socially conservative MPs.

Table 6.34: Multi-dimensional ideology and voting behaviour

			Clarke		Portillo		IDS	
Economy	Europe	Social / Moral	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Wet	Europhile	Liberal	5	12.8	1	1.9	0	0.0
		Agnostic	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
		Conservative	2	5.1	1	1.9	0	0.0
	Agnostic	Liberal	0	0	1	1.9	0	0.0
		Agnostic	2	5.1	0	0.0	0	0.0
		Conservative	2	5.1	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Eurosceptic	Liberal	1	2.6	1	1.9	0	0.0
		Agnostic	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
		Conservative	8	20.5	4	7.7	1	1.9
Agnostic	Europhile	Liberal	-	-	-	-	-	-
		Agnostic	-	-	-	-	-	-
		Conservative	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Agnostic	Liberal	-	-	-	-	-	-
		Agnostic	-	-	-	-	-	-
		Conservative	1	2.6	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Eurosceptic	Liberal	0	0.0	1	1.9	0	0.0
		Agnostic	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
		Conservative	3	7.7	2	3.8	0	0.0
Dry	Europhile	Liberal	-	-	-	-	-	-
		Agnostic	-	-	-	-	-	-
		Conservative	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Agnostic	Liberal	-	-	-	-	-	-
		Agnostic	1	2.6	0	0.0	0	0.0
		Conservative	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Eurosceptic	Liberal	1	2.6	6	11.5	1	1.9
		Agnostic	2	5.1	3	5.8	0	0.0
		Conservative	11	28.2	32	61.5	52	96.2

6.7 Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter set out to establish how Conservative MPs voted in the 1997 and 2001 leadership elections and to analyse MPs' voting behaviour to see if any discernable patterns emerged that might explain the results. Consequently three motivational hypotheses of voting behaviour were tested; *socio economic factors* (the educational and occupational background of MPs), *political characteristics*; age and parliamentary experience, career status and electoral vulnerability) and *ideological beliefs* (the economy, Europe and social / moral issues). The research combined data

on MPs whose voting behaviour is known together with data about their social background, political characteristics and ideological beliefs. The study identified 153 of the 164⁵ eligible voters (92.3%) in the third round of the 1997 leadership election and 145 out of the 166 eligible voters (92.3%) in the 2001 leadership election. The hypotheses used to account for voting behaviour were the same for both elections and were based on the work of Cowley & Garry (1998). These hypotheses were socio economic factors (secondary education, higher education and previous career), political characteristics (age and service, government experience, career status and electoral vulnerability) and ideology (economic policy, European policy and social / moral policy).

Bivariate analysis of the various hypotheses shows that both the 1997 and 2001 elections may have been influenced by non-ideological as well as ideological factors. The non-ideological factors in 1997 were age and parliamentary service; whilst in 2001 they were higher education, career status and government experience. In 1997 Clarke was fifty-seven years old and had been in parliament for twenty-seven years. The median Clarke supporter was fifty-three years old and had been in parliament for ten years. By contrast, Hague was thirty-seven and had been an MP for eight years. The median Hague supporter was forty-five and had been in parliament for nine years. These results arguably reflect the candidates' campaigns in which Clarke's appeal was his experience and political gravitas and Hague sought to portray himself as the 'fresh start' candidate who could match Tony Blair's youthful energy.

In 2001, unlike 1997 one elements of the socio-economic hypothesis proved statistically significant; higher education. Portillo was the most popular candidate amongst Oxbridge educated MPs followed by Clarke, whilst Duncan Smith was favourite candidate with MPs who attended non-Oxbridge universities. The political characteristics of age and service were also significant in the 2001 leadership election; Clarke was again a popular candidate amongst the older MPs aged over fifty, Portillo did well amongst MPs in their thirties and forties, IDS also did well amongst these groups, but also picked up nearly 1/3rd of the votes of MPs in their fifties. As in 1997 the length of parliamentary service also was also statistically significant. Portillo

⁵ Piers Merchant has been excluded

polled best amongst the newest MPs, consistent with his appeal to the younger end of the party. Clarke was most popular amongst those who had been MPs for the longest, consistent with his appeal to the older end of the party, whilst Duncan Smith polled well across the first two groups of MPs. Two other elements of the political characteristics hypothesis proved significant in the 2001 leadership election; government experience and career status. Clarke was the most popular candidate with those who had experience of government, whilst Duncan Smith was the least popular. Conversely, Duncan Smith was the most popular choice with MPs who had not served in government, whilst Clarke polled the fewest votes. Portillo was the most popular candidate amongst insiders, whereas Clarke was the least popular candidate. Duncan Smith performed best with the outsiders, whilst Portillo did the worst.

These results seem to suggest that Clarke was the candidate of the 'old guard' he was the preferred choice of older, longer serving MPs who had previous experience of government. Portillo was arguably the 'establishment' choice whose modernising agenda also appealed to the younger end of the PCP; he was most popular amongst Oxbridge educated MPs, insiders and with MPs in their thirties and forties. Finally, Duncan Smith can be seen as the outsider candidate, who appealed to backbench MPs with MPs with no government experience.

The three ideological hypotheses tested were shown to be statistically significant in both 1997 and 2001. In the 1997 leadership election Clarke was the most popular candidate amongst wet MPs, whilst Hague was the clear choice of the dries. Clarke collected the votes of all the europhile MPs, whilst Hague was the choice of nearly 2/3rds of Eurosceptics. The social/moral policy divide is not as clear cut as the economic and European divides, however, Clarke polled better amongst social liberals, whilst Hague was the most popular candidate amongst social conservatives. Overall Clarke's support was broad but shallow, whilst Hague's was narrow but deep. Therefore we can say that Clarke was the candidate of the wet/europhile/socially liberal left, whilst Hague was the candidate of the dry/eurosceptic/socially conservative right. Unfortunately for Clarke the dry/eurosceptic/socially conservative MPs made up the largest ideological bloc and Clarke's failure to appeal to these MPs through the pact with John Redwood ultimately cost him the leadership election.

In 2001 Iain Duncan Smith was the only candidate to attract a cohesive ideological vote. His supporters were exclusively eurosceptic and overwhelmingly socially conservative. Portillo's support was also overwhelmingly eurosceptic in nature, only two MPs; Damien Green and Stephen Dorrell were not from the eurosceptic camp. However, Dorrell's liberalism on social issues may account for his support of Portillo. Whilst Portillo attracted higher than average numbers of social liberals, they constitute only a small percentage of the PCP he had to rely on the support of social conservatives. Likewise, Ken Clarke was reliant on the votes of eurosceptic MPs, because the europhile wing of the PCP is so small. Both Clarke and Portillo did remarkably well in the final ballot when we consider that both men's defining ideological positions (pro-Europeanism and social liberalism) were shared by so few of their colleagues. Consequently, the ability of Clarke and Portillo to attract significant support from outside their natural ideological constituencies suggests that many of their supporters may have motivated by pragmatism, rather than ideology. Both Clarke and Portillo were experienced, high profile, charismatic, ex-ministers and arguably either man stood a better chance at reversing the party's ill fortune than the inexperienced, unknown and rather grey IDS.

However, Iain Duncan Smith attracted the support of the third of the party, who possibly were more concerned with finding an ideologically acceptable, rather than an electable leader and this was enough to see him through to the final ballot and eventual victory. Had one more person voted for Portillo, then Portillo and Clarke would have gone forward to the final ballot. Consequently, it is arguable that the majority of the PCP were more concerned with choosing an electorally appealing leader, than one who was ideologically 'pure', unfortunately, for the Conservative Party, they could not agree on a single candidate.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

The Conservative Party's humiliating defeat at the hands of New Labour in 1997 and again in 2001 left the party shell-shocked and struggling to reinvent itself as a relevant political force. The rationale for the thesis was to shed light upon the related crises of ideology, leadership and electability that beset the Conservative Party between 1997 and 2003. It has done this by using the 1997 and 2001 Conservative Party leadership elections as a lens that could focus upon the ideological disposition of the parliamentary party and the consequential factional disputations. This has been done through a detailed analysis of the 1997 and 2001 leadership elections based on a hypothesis on the motivational basis of voting behaviour:

This argued that voting in leadership elections is influenced by social background (education and former occupation); it is influenced by political attributes (electoral vulnerability, age and experience and career status); and centrally that it is determined by ideological disposition (economic policy, European policy and social policy).

Consequently the research has examined the social background of the post-war parliamentary Conservative Party; the educational and occupational background of Conservative parliamentarians, together observations about gender and race issues within the parliamentary party. The thesis has also examined how political characteristics (electoral vulnerability, age and experience and career status) can enhance or diminish a Conservative MP's career both within the party and government. In addition, the thesis has conducted a detailed analysis of the ideological composition of the parliamentary Conservative Party of 1997-2001 and 2001-2005. Finally this data on social background, political characteristics and ideological disposition was combined with data on voting behaviour to explain the motivational influences on voting behaviour in the 1997 and 2001 Conservative party leadership elections.

The thesis has found that the social background of the parliamentary party has evolved during the course of the 20th century. This evolution has in many respects mirrored the social changes of society as a whole, although it has moved at a much slower pace. The Conservative Party during the early 20th century was dominated by

the landowning aristocracy and ex-military men, however their dominance was greatly reduced after First World War, when the number of MPs from business and the professions began to increase and after 1945 came to dominate the parliamentary party. Similarly the number of MPs educated at the elite public schools of Eton and Harrow declined during the inter-war years and after the Second World War the party came to be dominated by MPs from lesser public schools and grammar schools. The party's leaders continued to have close connections with the aristocracy and the elite public schools until the election of Edward Heath in 1965. Heath was a mould-breaking Conservative leader; he was the first to be formally elected, he was from a lower middle-class background and he was relatively young. By 1965 the public image of a Conservative leader was an old aristocrat shooting grouse. Consequently, Heath's youth signalled that the Conservative Party was reinvigorated and more in tune with the zeitgeist of the mid-sixties. Since Heath's election it is arguable that youth and lack of parliamentary experience have not been a serious bar to the leadership; Hague at 39 was the youngest leader of the party since Pitt, whilst Duncan Smith was the most inexperienced with just nine years in parliament. Whilst youth and inexperience do not disqualify prospective leaders, it would seem that they need to have a reasonably safe seat and be a party insider.

The research on the ideological development of the Conservative Party has shown that the party has changed markedly since 1945. Under Churchill's leadership the party accepted the Attlee settlement and committed itself to maintaining full employment, the welfare state, a mixed economy and conciliation with the trades unions. However, as signs of economic stagnation became apparent during the 1960s the Conservatives began to evolve a new approach towards the economy under Edward Heath, which initially rejected the Attlee settlement, in favour of less government intervention in the economy and legislation to curb the power of the trades unions. Heath's attempt to change the direction of British politics failed, but provided valuable lessons for Mrs. Thatcher, who successfully reformed the trades unions and privatised most of the state owned industries. The party's attitude to Europe similarly underwent an evolution; the Conservatives, like Labour began the immediate post-war period as detached observers of early moves towards European integration. However, as the British economy began to run into difficulties some in the party began to see membership of

the EEC in a positive light and Heath negotiated British membership in 1973. The Conservatives portrayed themselves as ‘the party of Europe’ until Mrs. Thatcher’s 1988 Bruges speech marked a commitment to euroscepticism at the highest level of the party.

Academic work has charted the evolution of Conservative Party ideology in the Thatcherite and post Thatcherite period with a number of typologies that show the centre of gravity within the parliamentary party has moved away from the advocates of extended government and interdependence and towards those who support minimal government and sovereignty. This thesis has confirmed that the parliamentary Conservative Party that was elected in 1997 and 2001 has become more economically liberal, more eurosceptic and more socially conservative than its counterpart elected in 1992. The Conservative Party’s ideological shift has been the consequence of a battle within the party that began under Mrs. Thatcher, gathered pace during the Major years and carried on under Hague and Duncan Smith and which was the outstanding feature of Conservative Party politics from 1990. Ideological differences led to Mrs. Thatcher sacking her Chancellor and Foreign Secretary⁵; events that ultimately led to Michael Heseltine’s challenge for the leadership. John Major’s success, in the contest that followed Mrs. Thatcher’s resignation was largely down to the belief that he was eurosceptic (Cowley & Garry, 1998: 495-496). The subsequent internecine strife within the PCP was largely due to the realisation by the eurosceptics that Major was not ‘one of them’; consequently the issues of Europe and tax cuts were at the heart of John Redwood’s unsuccessful challenge to Major’s leadership in 1995. This thesis has shown that ideology continued to play a key role in the selection of Conservative Party leaders; in 1997 Hague was supported by a largely cohesive block of Thatcherite MPs as was Duncan Smith in 2001. Therefore we can say that the dominant determinant in Conservative leadership elections has been the question of ideology, which has largely subsumed other considerations that should influence leadership selection.

Potential leaders should arguably possess four key qualities; they should possess electoral appeal – an ability to win the trust of the wider electorate and convert this

⁵ Nigel Lawson and Geoffrey Howe respectively.

into votes at election time. Secondly they should be able to demonstrate administrative competence – to be seen as a ‘safe pair of hands’ and thus as a potential future Prime Minister. Thirdly, potential leaders should be feared by other political parties. Finally, potential leaders should possess the capacity to unify their party, as unity is a key feature of any potential party of government (Norton, 1998: 75-112). This task requires the leader to unite both right and left, whilst still appealing to the moderate centre ground of the wider electorate. In 1997 the candidate that possessed most of these qualities was Kenneth Clarke – he was clearly the favourite with the electorate, ‘Ken the Bloke’ was a rare example of a politician who the general public regarded as a normal person. By contrast Hague was remembered as the teenage boy lecturing the Conservative conference in 1977, giving him the image of a political ‘anorak’. Clarke had demonstrated his competence across government and was regarded as a successful Chancellor of the Exchequer and although Hague was not regarded as incompetent Clarke was clearly the superior candidate. Clarke was also the candidate that the Labour Party most feared; whereas Hague’s image and Mrs. Thatcher’s endorsement of him made him an easy target for Labour propagandists.

Clarke’s only weakness was that because he was a europhile in a largely eurosceptic party many MPs believed he would be a force for division rather than unity. Clarke clearly recognised this weakness and tried to remedy it through his pact with John Redwood. Hague’s credentials as a moderate Thatcherite with few enemies made him seem to be a better bet as a unity candidate. However, Hague’s election failed to bring unity to the party; within months of Hague taking over Peter Temple-Morris had crossed the floor of the House of Commons to sit as an Independent One Nation Conservative and in 1999 Shaun Woodward defected to Labour. Moreover the return to Parliament of Michael Portillo in 1999 triggered a prolonged low level civil war within both Conservative Central Office and the Parliamentary party.

In 2001 both Clarke and Portillo fulfilled the criteria of electoral appeal, competence and they were both feared by Labour; however, neither was seen as having the

capacity to unify the party; Clarke because of his europhilia⁶ whilst Portillo was distrusted by many in the PCP for his advocacy of social liberalism, his alleged disloyalty towards Hague and his youthful homosexuality. Iain Duncan Smith did not possess any of the qualities needed for a successful leader. He had no electoral appeal, he lacked charisma and most of the general public had not heard of him until he became leader. He'd never demonstrated administrative competence in government and had only been in Hague's Shadow Cabinet since 1998 and he was not feared by Labour. Duncan Smith also had little claim to be a unifying influence within the party. His chief claim to fame before standing for the party leadership was as one of the MPs who rebelled against John Major over the Maastricht Treaty and contributed to the disunity of the 1992-1997 parliamentary party. This made him an inappropriate candidate for leader as he could not demand the loyalty of his colleagues without appearing to be a hypocrite. Indeed, Duncan Smith's previous disloyalty towards Major would come back to haunt him in the future; when he demanded that the party 'unite or die' and was ignored it made him seem to be both a hypocrite and an impotent leader.

Consequently, we can say that ideology overshadowed all other considerations when the Conservative Party chose its leaders in 1997 and 2001. The dominance of ideology was a consequence of the removal of Margaret Thatcher and the ideological legacy of Thatcherism and that this adversely affected the party's ability to compete in the political arena. Problems arose because Michael Heseltine did not defeat Margaret Thatcher when he challenged her; Mrs. Thatcher actually had a majority of fifty-two over Heseltine, however her majority of 13.7% was just below the 15% threshold required for outright victory. She initially intended to run in the second round, but withdrew when her cabinet advised her that they did not think she could win. Instead she threw her support behind John Major as the candidate most able to defeat Heseltine.

The Conservative Party went on to win the 1992 general election under Major; however this success masked a number of negative consequences of the coup against

⁶ Since 1997 Clarke had committed the cardinal sin of joining Tony Blair on the platform of Britain In Europe.

Mrs. Thatcher. Firstly it left a legacy of bitterness and ill feeling within the parliamentary party; the party's preferred leader was not Major – it was Mrs. Thatcher and many of her supporters felt she had been betrayed by the pro European supporters of Heseltine. Secondly the manner of her removal undermined the security of future Conservative leaders. Mrs. Thatcher had been the Conservatives' most successful post-war leader, she had won three elections in a row and overturned much of the Attlee settlement. Yet when the parliamentary party believed she had become an electoral liability she was ruthlessly overthrown. The Conservatives' defenestration of a sitting Prime Minister showed any future could be threatened with removal and stimulated intra-party debate about the position of the current incumbent leader. The Parliamentary party became 'culturally schizophrenic', becoming less deferential and demanding a greater say over policy, whilst still remaining wedded to the idea of strong leadership (Peele, 1997: 105).

Major and Duncan Smith both faced leadership challenges, whilst Hague's future was a matter of much speculation and debate. Finally, Mrs. Thatcher's involvement in internal Conservative politics did not end when she left office. Just as she backed Major to beat Heseltine in 1990, so she backed Hague and Duncan Smith in 1997 and 2001 respectively to beat Kenneth Clarke. If Mrs. Thatcher could no longer lead the party she and her supporters could at least protect her ideological 'legacy'; this entailed her intervening against the non-Thatcherite candidate (Heseltine in 1990, Clarke in 1997 and 2001). Consequently Major, Hague and Duncan Smith were not just elected as party leader, but also appointed as the (sometimes reluctant) guardians of pure Thatcherism. Thus Mrs. Thatcher's successors were elected with the support of the Thatcherite wing of the party and were therefore expected to maintain faith with Thatcherism. John Major's troubles over the ratification of the Maastricht Treaty were the result of a series of rebellions by Thatcherite Eurosceptics, with Mrs. Thatcher's backing.

The negative consequences of ideology could be seen in both the 1997 and 2001 leadership elections which ended with the party choosing, for electoral purposes at least, the wrong candidate as leader. The 1997 election boiled down to a straight fight between eurosceptics and europhiles; Hague was supported by nearly 2/3rds of the

parliamentary party's eurosceptics and none of its europhiles. The small europhile vote went entirely to Clarke, who also picked up most of the votes of the European policy agnostics. Although Hague was endorsed by Mrs. Thatcher, this endorsement did not come until it was clear that Clarke had a chance of winning and it is arguable that Hague was not Mrs. Thatcher's first choice as leader. Consequently, Hague suffered from being a default leader with a weak 'anybody but Clarke mandate'. Hague failed to heal the Conservative Party's deep divisions over Europe, alienating many pro-Europeans, whilst being insufficiently hard-line for some of his eurosceptic MPs. Furthermore Hague was forced to sack Peter Lilley, when Lilley seemingly suggested it was time to move on from Thatcherism. Hague also tried to take the party in a new direction and dabbled with social liberalism under the guise of 'Fresh Conservatism', but was forced to draw back, partly as result of Thatcherite disquiet, within both the parliamentary party and the wider membership; Hague reverted to Thatcherite social conservatism with his *Common Sense Revolution*. Because Hague was Mrs. Thatcher's chosen successor it was easy for Labour to argue that the Conservative Party had not changed, but was still stuck in the past and was not ready to meet the challenges of the future.

The seductive power of ideology was also apparent in the 2001 leadership election, however, unlike 1997 this can be seen as a two stage ideological battle; the first stage was a battle between Portillo's social liberalism and Duncan Smith's social conservatism, whilst the second stage was another fight between europhiles and eurosceptics, this was further complicated by the new rules, which removed the final decision from the parliamentary party. Duncan Smith was elected because the parliamentary party could not stomach the idea of Portillo as leader, whilst the wider membership could not tolerate the concept of Clarke leading the party. Again Mrs. Thatcher waited to interfere until it seemed that Clarke might snatch the prize and again she appeared unconvinced about Duncan Smith's ability. A further consequence of this two stage battle was that a majority of the parliamentary party opposed Duncan Smith's leadership and it uncovered an inconsistency within the Hague rules. Duncan Smith's mandate came from the membership, but he could be removed by the parliamentary party, most of whom had voted against him.

This inconsistency was tested in 2003, when Duncan Smith's competence as leader was being increasingly questioned by his parliamentary colleagues. The Hague rules were intended to strengthen the position of the leader and put an end to debilitating speculation over leadership challenges of the kind suffered by Hague and Major. The rules allow for one challenge every parliament, rather than an annual election. There is no requirement for a challenger; instead 15% of the parliamentary party have to write to the Chairman of the 1922 committee requesting a vote of confidence in the leader. When this threshold is reached a vote is held and decided by a simple majority. If the leader loses they must step down and cannot take part in the subsequent election to choose a successor. Arguably the confidence vote made a challenge easier than before because no one had to risk the wrath of their colleagues and constituency parties by stepping forward as a contender. Once a confidence vote was triggered the odds were stacked against Duncan Smith; to remain as leader he was required to win a simple majority - in this case eighty three votes, however this was twenty-nine more than he polled when he won the leadership. Although, Duncan Smith lost by 90 votes to 75 and was forced to resign, it is arguable that Duncan Smith did quite well, in that he increased his vote by twenty-one from his position in the 2001 leadership election.

Hague and IDS may have been ideologically acceptable leaders but they were electorally disastrous for the Conservative party. The unopposed election of Howard suggested that the Party began to learn from its mistakes and began to rectify those errors. David Davis issued a statement within minutes of Duncan Smith losing the confidence vote; this declared that although Davis believed he could win the forthcoming leadership election he had decided to stand aside in favour of Michael Howard in the hope of uniting the party (Davis, 30/9/2003). Shortly after Davis made his statement Stephen Dorrell, Oliver Letwin and Liam Fox issued a joint statement that called on Michael Howard to stand for the vacant position. Letwin argued that the Conservative Party had to, "...above all demonstrate two things: unity, and that we have a leader who is unchallengably competent and capable of persuading anybody that he could be an effective prime minister." (Letwin, 30/10/2003). Other senior Conservatives including Michael Portillo, Kenneth Clarke and Michael Ancram also announced that they would not seek the leadership. On 31st October, just two days after Duncan Smith's defenestration, a list of ninety two Howard supporters, from all

wings of the parliamentary party, was published. Events moved so quickly that Howard was forced to deny that there was a plot within the parliamentary party to remove Duncan Smith in favour of Howard. Six days later Howard was elected leader unopposed, his candidacy was not put to a ballot of rank and file Conservatives, but instead was put to an ‘informal consultation’ with party members over the following weekend (Tempest, 6/11/2003).

Faced with the prospect of another long and divisive leadership battle and the prospect of electing the wrong leader again the parliamentary party reverted to the practices of a bygone era as Howard emerged to unanimous acclamation. Howard was everything that Duncan Smith and Hague had not been; he was a heavyweight politician, with a degree of electoral appeal. A Mori poll conducted just before he was made leader showed that 30% of their respondents felt Howard was ready to be Prime Minister, compared to 15% for Duncan Smith (Ipsos-Mori, 4/10/2003). He was clearly able to unify the parliamentary party, as evidenced by the manner of his election. Consequently he was feared by the Labour Party, especially as he soon demonstrated that he was a match for Blair in parliament. Ironically Howard had come last in the 1997 leadership contest and as one Conservative moderniser said:

If someone had told me in 1997 that six years later Michael Howard would be hailed as the great healing candidate I would have wept. (Freedland, 30/10/2003)

The Conservative Party under Howard achieved a degree of success that had eluded both Hague and Duncan Smith; the 2005 general election campaign was largely free of the discord and disciplinary problems that had plagued both John Major in 1997 and Hague in 2001.⁷ The party secured a 3% swing from Labour, gained thirty three seats; Labour saw its majority cut from one hundred and sixty-seven to sixty-six (Anon. (1), 6/5/2005). Cabinet minister Peter Hain acknowledged Howard’s achievement saying that, “...he has made them into a more professional fighting machine and therefore a harder opponent for the Labour Party.” (Anon. (2), 6/5/2005)

⁷ Deputy Chairman Howard Flight was sacked and prevented from standing for re-election as a Conservative after he suggested that the true extent of the party’s plans for spending cuts was being concealed until after polling day (Jones & Sparrow, 26/3/2005)

However, Howard recognised that the Conservative share of the vote needed to be significantly greater if they were to achieve power and that he would be too old to lead the party into the next general election. He therefore announced that he would resign ‘sooner rather than later’, but that he would wait to give the party time to see if it wished to change the leadership rules again (Jones & Helm, 7/5/2005). The delay between Howard’s announcement of his resignation and his actual departure did not lead to changes in the rules governing leadership elections. However, it allowed the Conservative Party to have the extended debate about its future that it was denied in 1997 and 2001. It also turned that year’s party conference in Blackpool into a modern day rerun of the fateful conference in 1963 that led to Douglas Home assuming the party leadership in controversial circumstances and which led to the introduction of formal leadership elections. Whilst the prospective leaders of 1963 campaigned covertly and unofficially, their modern day counterparts were allotted fifteen minutes each in order to convince the membership of their merits. Whilst the front runner David Davis gave a poor speech and flopped, by contrast David Cameron’s optimistic vision of the future, delivered without notes, won over the activists in the hall.

The Blackpool conference sent Conservative MPs a clear signal, before the MPs ballot, that Cameron was the activists’ clear choice. When the parliamentary party voted they whittled the choice down to Davis, who fought off a strong challenge from Liam Fox, representing the traditional Conservative right and Cameron, who had made a Portilloesque journey from the traditional right to the modernising centre and social liberalism. Unlike the final 2001 ballot in which the three contenders’ polled roughly a third of the vote each there was a clear winner in 2005 (table 7.1 below). The result of the membership ballot was almost a foregone conclusion and Cameron beat Davis by 134, 446 to 64, 398 (Tempest, 6/11/2005).

Table 7.1: Final MPs’ Ballot 2005 CP Leadership Election

	No. votes	%age
Cameron	90	45.5
Davis	57	28.8
Fox	51	25.7

Source: White, 21/11/2005

Whilst lacking experience, Cameron has other leadership qualities. So far he has proved to be competent, he is a force for unity, he is pragmatic and Labour have reason to fear a Cameron led Conservative Party. In an effort to heal past wounds he brought William Hague back into the Shadow Cabinet and gave Iain Duncan Smith and Kenneth Clarke roles in a new policy development process. Moreover, Cameron has played down traditional Conservative issues, such as immigration, law and order and tax cuts. Instead, he has stressed the importance of public services, the environment and quality of life issues. Whilst there has been some disquiet about Cameron's abandonment of traditional Thatcherite Conservatism, Cameron is not under serious threat and may even welcome some opposition as a visible sign that he is forcing his party to modernise. Cameron's strategy seems to be working; a recent Mori poll showed the Conservatives leading Labour on a number of issues, not just traditional Conservative policy areas such as crime, taxation and immigration, but also education and healthcare – areas that are traditionally thought of as Labour strengths. The poll of peoples' voting intentions showed the Conservatives just one point behind Labour (Ipsos-Mori, 11/9/2006).

Under Cameron's leadership the Conservative Party seems to be abandoning its obsession with ideology and returning to its traditional pursuit of power through pragmatism. Ironically, the party has looked to its more distant, rather than its recent past in order to reinvent itself. The party engineered the emergence of Howard in order to bring unity and discipline whilst his successor is an Old Etonian, related by marriage to the Astors who is more concerned with electability than ideology. However, Cameron has faced internal opposition from the socially conservative Cornerstone Group and there some unresolved ideological contradictions beginning to emerge⁸. Consequently there is nothing to suggest that Cameron will not continue to be vulnerable to the ideologically driven mobilisations that brought about the downfall of Heath, Thatcher and Major.

⁸ There is the potential for future conflict around the green agenda outlined by John Gummer's Quality of Life Policy Group and the programme of deregulation put forward by John Redwood's Economic Competitiveness Group

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Appendix A: Organisation of the Parliamentary Conservative Party 1997-2003

The Parliamentary Conservative Party 1997-2001

Ainsworth, Peter	Faber, David
Amess, David	Fabricant, Michael
Ancram, Michael	Fallon, Michael
Arbuthnot, James	Flight, Howard
Atkinson, David	Forth, Eric
Atkinson, Peter	Fowler, Sir Norman
Baldry, Antony	Fox, Dr Liam
Bercow, John	Fraser, Christopher
Beresford, Sir Paul	Gale, Roger
Blunt, Crispin	Garnier, Edward
Body, Sir Richard	Gibb, Nick
Boswell, Tim	Gill, Christopher
Bottomley, Peter	Gillan, Cheryl
Bottomley, Virginia	Goodlad, Sir Alistair ¹¹
Brady, G.	Gorman, Teresa
Brazier, Julian	Gray, James
Brooke, Peter	Green, Damian
Browning, Angela	Greenway, John
Bruce, Ian	Grieve, Dominic
Burns, Simon	Gummer, John
Butterfill, John	Hague, William
Cash, William	Hamilton, Sir Archibald
Chapman, Sir Sidney	Hammond, Philip
Chope, Christopher	Haselhurst, Sir Alan
Clappison, James	Hawkins, Nick
Clark, Alan ⁹	Hayes, John
Clark, Dr Michael	Heald, Oliver
Clarke, Kenneth	Heath, Sir Edward
Clifton-Brown, Geoffrey	Heathcoat-Amory, David
Collins, Tim	Heseltine, Michael
Colvin, Michael ¹⁰	Hogg, Douglas
Cormack, Sir Patrick	Horam, John
Cran, James	Howard, Michael
Curry, David	Howarth, G
Davies, Quentin	Hunter, Andrew
Davis, David	Jack, Michael
Day, Stephen	Jackson, Robert
Dorrell, Stephen	Jenkin, Bernard
Duncan Smith, Iain	Johnson Smith, Sir Geoffrey
Duncan, Alan	Key, Robert
Emery, Sir Peter	King, Tom
Evans, Nigel	Kirkbride, Julie
	Laing, Eleanor
	Lansley, Andrew

⁹ Died September 1999, replaced by Michael Portillo

¹⁰ Died February 2000, the subsequent by-election was won by the Lib. Dems.

¹¹ Resigned June 1999. He was replaced by Stephen O'Brien

Leigh, Edward
Letwin, Oliver
Lewis, Julian
Lidington, David
Lilley, Peter
Lloyd, Sir Peter
Lord, Michael
Loughton, Tim
Luff, Peter
Lyell, Sir Nicholas
MacGregor, John
Mackay, Andrew
Maclean, David
Madel, Sir David
Major, John
Malins, Humphrey
Maples, John
Mates, Michael
Maude, Francis
Mawhinney, Dr Brian
May, Theresa
McIntosh, Anne
McLoughlin, Patrick
Merchant, Piers¹²
Moss, Malcolm
Nicholls, Patrick
Norman, Archie
Ottaway, Richard
Page, Richard
Paice, James
Paterson, Owen
Pickles, Eric
Prior, David
Redwood, John
Robathan, Andrew
Robertson, Laurence
Roe, Marion
Rowe, Andrew
Ruffley, David
Sayeed, Jonathan
Shephard, Gillian
Shepherd, Richard
Shersby, Sir Michael¹³
Simpson, Keith
Soames, Nicholas

Spelman, Caroline
Spicer, Sir Michael
Spring, Richard
St Aubyn, Nick
Stanley, Sir John
Steen, Anthony
Streeter, Gary
Swayne, Desmond
Syms, Robert
Tapsell, Sir Peter
Taylor, Ian
Taylor, John
Taylor, Sir Teddy
Temple-Morris, Peter¹⁴
Townend, John
Tredinnick, David
Trend, Michael
Tyrie, Andrew
Viggers, Peter
Walter, Robert
Wardle, Charles
Waterson, Nigel
Wells, Bowen
Whitney, Sir Ray
Whittingdale, John
Widdecombe, Ann
Wilkinson, John
Willets, David
Wilshire, David
Winterton, Ann
Winterton, Nicholas
Woodward, Shaun
Yeo, Tim
Young, Sir George

¹² Resigned October 1997. he was replaced by Jacqui Lait

¹³ Died May 1997. he was replaced by John Randall

¹⁴ Resigned from the Conservative Party, November 1997

The Parliamentary Conservative Party 2001-2005

Ainsworth, Peter
Amess, David
Ancram, Michael
Arbuthnot, James
Atkinson, David
Atkinson, Peter
Bacon, Richard
Baldry, Tony
Barker, Greg
Baron, John
Bellingham, Sir Henry
Bercow, John
Beresford, Paul
Blunt, Crispin
Boswell, Timothy
Bottomley, Peter
Bottomley, Virginia
Brady, Graham
Brazier, Julian
Browning, Angela
Burns, Simon
Burt, Alistair
Butterfill, John
Cameron, David
Cash, William
Chapman, Sydney
Chope, Christopher
Clappison, James
Clarke, Kenneth
Clifton-Brown, Geoffrey
Collins, Tim
Conway, Derek
Cormack, Sir Patrick
Cran, James
Curry, David
Davies, Quentin
Davis, David
Djanogly, Jonathan
Dorrell, Stephen
Duncan Smith, Iain
Duncan, Alan
Duncan, Peter
Evans, Nigel
Fabricant, Michael
Fallon, Michael
Field, Mark
Flight, Howard
Flook, Adrian
Forth, Eric
Fox, Liam
Francois, Mark
Gale, Roger
Garnier, Edward
Gibb, Nick
Gillan, Cheryl
Goodman, Paul
Gray, James
Grayling, Chris
Green, Damian
Greenway, John
Grieve, Dominic
Gummer, John
Hague, William
Hammond, Philip
Haselhurst, Sir Alan
Hawkins, Nicholas
Hayes, John
Heald, Oliver
Heathcoat-Amory, David
Hendry, Charles
Hoban, Mark
Hogg, Douglas
Horam, John
Howard, Michael
Howarth, Gerald
Hunter, Andrew
Jack, Michael
Jackson, Robert
Jenkin, Bernard
Johnson, Boris
Key, Robert
Kirkbride, Julie
Knight, Greg
Laing, Eleanor
Lait, Jacqui
Lansley, Andrew
Leigh, Edward
Letwin, Oliver
Lewis, Julian
Liddell-Grainger, Ian
Lidington, David
Lilley, Peter
Lord, Michael
Loughton, Timothy

Luff, Peter
MacKay, Andrew
MacLean, David
Malins, Humfrey
Maples, John
Mates, Michael
Maude, Francis
Mawhinney, Sir Brian
May, Theresa
McIntosh, Anne
McLoughlin, Patrick
Mercer, Patrick
Mitchell, Andrew
Moss, Malcolm
Murrison, Andrew
Norman, Archie
O'Brien, Stephen
Osborne, George
Ottaway, Richard
Page, Richard
Paice, James
Paterson, Owen
Pickles, Eric
Portillo, Michael
Prisk, Mark
Randall, John
Redwood, John
Robathan, Andrew
Robertson, Hugh
Robertson, Laurence
Roe, Marion
Rosindell, Andrew
Ruffley, David
Sayeed, Jonathan
Selous, Andrew
Shephard, Gillian
Shepherd, Richard
Simmonds, Mark
Simpson, Keith
Soames, Nicholas
Spelman, Caroline
Spicer, Michael
Spink, Robert
Spring, Richard
Stanley, Sir John
Steen, Anthony
Streeter, Gary
Swayne, Desmond
Swire, Hugo

Syms, Robert
Tapsell, Sir Peter
Taylor, Ian
Taylor, John
Taylor, Sir Teddy
Tredinnick, David
Trend, Michael
Turner, Andrew
Tyrie, Andrew
Viggers, Peter
Walter, Robert
Waterson, Nigel
Watkinson, Angela
Whittingdale, John
Widdecombe, Ann
Wiggin, Bill
Wilkinson, John
Willetts, David
Wilshire, David
Winterton, Ann
Winterton, Sir Nicholas
Yeo, Timothy
Young, Sir George

Shadow Cabinets 1997-2001

June 1997 – June 1998

Rt. Hon. William Hague
Rt. Hon. Peter Lilley
Rt. Hon. Michael Howard
Rt. Hon. Sir Brian Mawhinney
Rt. Hon. Lord Parkinson
Rt. Hon. Stephen Dorrell
Rt. Hon. Gillian Shephard

Rt. Hon. Viscount Cranborne
Rt. Hon. Sir George Young
Rt. Hon. John Redwood

Rt. Hon. Sir Norman Fowler
Rt. Hon. Michael Ancram
Rt. Hon. David Curry
Rt. Hon. Alastair Goodlad
Rt. Hon. David Heathcoat-Amory
Rt. Hon. Francis Maude
Rt. Hon. Andrew Mackay
John Maples
Rt. Hon. Iain Duncan Smith
Rt. Hon. James Arbuthnot
Rt. Hon. Lord Strathclyde

2nd June 1998 – 2nd December 1998

Rt. Hon. William Hague
Rt. Hon. Peter Lilley
Rt. Hon. Francis Maude

Conservative Party Leader
Shadow Chancellor of the Exchequer
Shadow Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs
Shadow Secretary of State for the Home Department
Chairman of the Conservative Party
Shadow Secretary of State for Education and Eloyment
Shadow Leader of the House of Commons and Shadow Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster
Shadow Leader of the House of Lords
Shadow Secretary of State for Defence
Shadow Secretary of State for Trade and Industry and President of the Board of Trade
Shadow Secretary of State for the Environment, Transport and the Regions
Constitutional Affairs Spokesman, including Scotland and Wales
Shadow Minister of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food
Shadow Secretary of State for International Development
Shadow Chief Secretary to the Treasury
Shadow Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport
Shadow Secretary of State for Northern Ireland
Shadow Secretary of State for Health
Shadow Secretary of State for Social Security
Opposition Chief Whip
Lords Opposition Chief Whip

Conservative Party Leader
Deputy Leader
Shadow Chancellor of the Exchequer

Rt. Hon. Michael Howard	<i>Shadow Foreign Secretary</i>
Rt. Hon. Sir Norman Fowler	<i>Shadow Home Secretary</i>
Rt. Hon. Lord Parkinson	<i>Conservative Party Chairman</i>
David Willets	<i>Shadow Secretary of State for Education and Eloyment</i>
Rt. Hon. Sir George Young	<i>Shadow Leader of the House of Commons and Shadow Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster</i>
Rt. Hon. Viscount Cranborne	<i>Shadow Leader of the House of Lords</i>
John Maples	<i>Shadow Secretary of State for Defence</i>
Rt. Hon. John Redwood	<i>Shadow Secretary of State for Trade and Industry</i>
Rt. Hon. Gillian Shephard	<i>Shadow Secretary of State for the Environment, Transport and the Regions</i>
Dr Liam Fox	<i>Constitutional Affairs spokesman</i>
Tim Yeo	<i>Shadow Minister of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food</i>
Gary Streeter	<i>Shadow Secretary of State for International Development</i>
Rt. Hon. David Heathcoat-Amory	<i>Shadow Chief Secretary to the Treasury</i>
Peter Ainsworth	<i>Shadow Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport</i>
Rt. Hon. Andrew Mackay	<i>Shadow Secretary of State for Northern Ireland</i>
Rt. Hon. Ann Widdecombe	<i>Shadow Secretary of State for Health</i>
Rt. Hon. Iain Duncan Smith	<i>Shadow Secretary of State for Social Security</i>
Rt. Hon. James Arbuthnot	<i>Opposition Chief Whip</i>
Rt. Hon. Lord Strathclyde	<i>Lords Opposition Chief Whip</i>

Changes made June 1998

Peter Lilley moved from *Shadow Chancellor of the Exchequer* to *Deputy Leader of the Conservative Party*

Francis Maude moved from *Shadow Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport* to *Shadow Chancellor of the Exchequer*

Sir Norman Fowler moved from *Shadow Secretary of State for the Environment, Transport and the Regions* to *Shadow Home Secretary*

Gillian Shephard moved from *Shadow Leader of the House of Commons* to *Shadow Secretary of State for the Environment, Transport and the Regions*

Sir George Young moved from *Shadow Secretary of State for Defence* to *Shadow Leader of the House of Commons*

John Maples moved from *Shadow Secretary of State for Health* to *Shadow Secretary of State for Defence*

Peter Ainsworth entered the shadow cabinet as *Shadow Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport*

Liam Fox entered the shadow cabinet as Constitutional Affairs Spokesman
 Gary Streeter entered the shadow cabinet as *Secretary of State for International Development*
 Tim Yeo entered the shadow cabinet as *Shadow Minister of Agriculture Fisheries and Food*
 Ann Widdecombe entered the shadow cabinet as *Shadow Secretary of State for Health*
 Michael Ancram appointed Conservative Party Vice-Chairman
 Sir Alastair Goodlad left the shadow cabinet
 Sir Brian Mawhinney left the shadow cabinet
 David Curry left the shadow cabinet

2nd December 1998 – 15th June 1999

Rt. Hon. William Hague	<i>Conservative Party Leader</i>
Rt. Hon. Peter Lilley	<i>Deputy Leader</i>
Rt. Hon. Francis Maude	<i>Shadow Chancellor of the Exchequer</i>
Rt. Hon. Michael Howard	<i>Shadow Foreign Secretary</i>
Rt. Hon. Sir Norman Fowler	<i>Shadow Home Secretary</i>
Rt. Hon. Lord Parkinson	<i>Conservative Party Chairman</i>
David Willets	<i>Shadow Secretary of State for Education and Employment</i>
Rt. Hon. Sir George Young	<i>Shadow Leader of the House of Commons and Shadow Chancellor of the Duchy of</i>
<i>Lancaster</i>	
Rt. Hon. Lord Strathclyde	<i>Shadow Leader of the House of Lords</i>
John Maples	<i>Shadow Secretary of State for Defence</i>
Rt. Hon. John Redwood	<i>Shadow Secretary of State for Trade and Industry</i>
Rt. Hon. Gillian Shephard	<i>Shadow Secretary of State for the Environment, Transport and the Regions</i>
Dr Liam Fox	<i>Constitutional Affairs spokesman</i>
Tim Yeo	<i>Shadow Minister of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food</i>
Gary Streeter	<i>Shadow Secretary of State for International Development</i>
Rt. Hon. David Heathcoat-Amory	<i>Shadow Chief Secretary to the Treasury</i>
Peter Ainsworth	<i>Shadow Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport</i>
Rt. Hon. Andrew Mackay	<i>Shadow Secretary of State for Northern Ireland</i>
Rt. Hon. Ann Widdecombe	<i>Shadow Secretary of State for Health</i>

Rt. Hon. Iain Duncan Smith
Rt. Hon. James Arbuthnot
Rt. Hon. Lord Henley

Shadow Secretary of State for Social Security
Opposition Chief Whip
Lords Opposition Chief Whip

Changes made December 1998

Lord Strathclyde moved from *Lords Opposition Chief Whip* to *Shadow Leader of the House of Lords*

Lord Henley entered the shadow cabinet as *Lords Opposition Chief Whip*

Viscount Cranborne left the shadow cabinet

15th June 1999 – 2nd February 2000

Rt. Hon. William Hague
Rt. Hon. Francis Maude
Rt. Hon. John Maples
Rt. Hon. Ann Widdecombe
Rt. Hon. Michael Ancram
Rt. Hon. Theresa May
Rt. Hon. Sir George Young

Rt. Hon. Lord Strathclyde
Rt. Hon Iain Duncan Smith
Angela Browning
Rt. Hon. John Redwood
Tim Yeo
Gary Streeter
Rt. Hon. David Heathcoat-Amory
Peter Ainsworth
Rt. Hon. Andrew Mackay
Dr. Liam Fox
David Willetts

Conservative Party Leader
Shadow Chancellor of the Exchequer
Shadow Foreign Secretary
Shadow Home Secretary
Conservative Party Chairman
Shadow Secretary of State for Education and Employment
Shadow Leader of the House of Commons and Shadow Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and Constitutional Affairs spokesman
Shadow Leader of the House of Lords
Shadow Secretary of State for Defence
Shadow Secretary of State for Trade and Industry
Shadow Secretary of State for the Environment, Transport and the Regions
Shadow Minister of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food
Shadow Secretary of State for International Development
Shadow Chief Secretary to the Treasury
Shadow Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport
Shadow Secretary of State for Northern Ireland
Shadow Secretary of State for Health
Shadow Secretary of State for Social Security

Rt. Hon. James Arbuthnot
Rt. Hon. Lord Henley

Opposition Chief Whip
Lords Opposition Chief Whip

Changes made June 1999

Theresa May entered the shadow cabinet as *Shadow Secretary of State for Education and Employment*

Angela Browning entered the shadow cabinet as *Shadow Secretary of State for Trade and Industry*

Ann Widdecombe moved from *Shadow Secretary of State for Health* to *Shadow Home Secretary*

John Maples moved from *Shadow Secretary of State for Defence* to *Shadow Foreign Secretary*

John Redwood moved from *Shadow Secretary of State for Trade and Industry* to *Shadow Secretary of State for the Environment, Transport and the Regions*

Michael Ancram moved from *Conservative Party Vice-Chairman* to *Conservative Party Chairman*

Dr. Liam Fox moved from *Constitutional Affairs Spokesman* to *Shadow Secretary of State for Health*

Iain Duncan Smith moved from *Shadow Secretary of State for Social Security* to *Shadow Secretary of State for Defence*

David Willetts moved from *Shadow Secretary of State for Education and Employment* to *Shadow Secretary of State for Social Security*

Peter Lilley left the shadow cabinet

Sir Norman Fowler left the shadow cabinet

Lord Parkinson left the shadow cabinet

Gillian Shephard left the shadow cabinet

Michael Howard left the shadow cabinet

2nd February 2000 – 26th September 2000

Rt. Hon. William Hague

Rt. Hon. Michael Portillo

Rt. Hon. Francis Maude

Rt. Hon. Ann Widdecombe

Rt. Hon. Michael Ancram

Rt. Hon. Theresa May

Rt. Hon. Sir George Young

Conservative Party Leader

Shadow Chancellor of the Exchequer

Shadow Foreign Secretary

Shadow Home Secretary

Conservative Party Chairman

Shadow Secretary of State for Education and Employment

Shadow Leader of the House of Commons and Shadow Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and Constitutional Affairs spokesman

Rt. Hon. Lord Strathclyde	<i>Shadow Leader of the House of Lords</i>
Rt. Hon Iain Duncan Smith	<i>Shadow Secretary of State for Defence</i>
Angela Browning	<i>Shadow Secretary of State for Trade and Industry</i>
Archie Norman	<i>Shadow Secretary of State for the Environment, Transport and the Regions</i>
Tim Yeo	<i>Shadow Minister of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food</i>
Gary Streeter	<i>Shadow Secretary of State for International Development</i>
Rt. Hon. David Heathcoat-Amory	<i>Shadow Chief Secretary to the Treasury</i>
Peter Ainsworth	<i>Shadow Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport</i>
Rt. Hon. Andrew Mackay	<i>Shadow Secretary of State for Northern Ireland</i>
Dr. Liam Fox	<i>Shadow Secretary of State for Health</i>
David Willetts	<i>Shadow Secretary of State for Social Security</i>
Rt. Hon. James Arbuthnot	<i>Opposition Chief Whip</i>
Rt. Hon. Lord Henley	<i>Lords Opposition Chief Whip</i>

Changes made February 2000

Francis Maude moved from *Shadow Chancellor of the Exchequer* to *Shadow Foreign Secretary*
Michael Portillo entered the shadow cabinet as *Shadow Chancellor of the Exchequer*
Archie Norman entered the shadow cabinet as *Shadow Secretary of State for the Environment, Transport and the Regions*
John Maples left the shadow cabinet
John Maples left the shadow cabinet

26th September 2000 – July 2001

Rt. Hon. William Hague	<i>Conservative Party Leader</i>
Rt. Hon. Michael Portillo	<i>Shadow Chancellor of the Exchequer</i>
Rt. Hon. Francis Maude	<i>Shadow Foreign Secretary</i>
Rt. Hon. Ann Widdecombe	<i>Shadow Home Secretary</i>
Rt. Hon. Michael Ancram	<i>Conservative Party Chairman</i>
Rt. Hon. Theresa May	<i>Shadow Secretary of State for Education and Employment</i>
Angela Browning	<i>Shadow Leader of the House of Commons and Shadow Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and Constitutional Affairs spokesman</i>

Rt. Hon. Lord Strathclyde	<i>Shadow Leader of the House of Lords</i>
Rt. Hon Iain Duncan Smith	<i>Shadow Secretary of State for Defence</i>
Rt. Hon. David Heathcoat-Amory	<i>Shadow Secretary of State for Trade and Industry</i>
Archie Norman	<i>Shadow Secretary of State for the Environment, Transport and the Regions</i>
Tim Yeo	<i>Shadow Minister of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food</i>
Gary Streeter	<i>Shadow Secretary of State for International Development</i>
Rt. Hon. Oliver Letwin	<i>Shadow Chief Secretary to the Treasury</i>
Peter Ainsworth	<i>Shadow Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport</i>
Rt. Hon. Andrew Mackay	<i>Shadow Secretary of State for Northern Ireland</i>
Dr. Liam Fox	<i>Shadow Secretary of State for Health</i>
David Willetts	<i>Shadow Secretary of State for Social Security</i>
Rt. Hon. James Arbuthnot	<i>Opposition Chief Whip</i>
Rt. Hon. Lord Henley	<i>Lords Opposition Chief</i>

Changes made September 2000

Angela Browning moved from *Shadow Secretary of State for Trade and Industry* to *Shadow Leader of the House of Commons and Shadow Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and Constitutional Affairs spokesman*

David Heathcoat-Amory moved from *Shadow Chief Secretary to the Treasury* to *Shadow Secretary of State for Trade and Industry*

Oliver Letwin entered the shadow cabinet as *Shadow Chief Secretary to the Treasury*

Sir George Young left the shadow cabinet

Shadow Cabinets 1997-2003

18th September 2001 – 23rd July 2002

Rt. Hon. Iain Duncan Smith

Rt. Hon. Michael Howard

Rt. Hon. Michael Ancram

Rt. Hon. Oliver Letwin

Rt. Hon. David Davis

Damian Green

Rt. Hon. Eric Forth

Rt. Hon. Lord Strathclyde

Hon. Bernard Jenkin

John Whittingdale

Peter Ainsworth

Theresa May

Caroline Spelman

John Bercow

Tim Yeo

Quentin Davies

Dr. Liam Fox

David Willetts

Jaqui Lait

Nigel Evans

Rt. Hon. David Maclean

Rt. Hon. Lord Cope of Berkeley

Conservative Party Leader

Shadow Chancellor of the Exchequer

Shadow Foreign Secretary and Conservative Party Deputy Leader

Shadow Home Secretary

Conservative Party Chairman

Shadow Secretary of State for Education and Skills

Shadow Leader of the House of Commons and Shadow Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster

Shadow Leader of the House of Lords

Shadow Secretary of State for Defence

Shadow Secretary of State for Trade and Industry

Shadow Minister of Environment, Food and Rural Affairs

Secretary of State for transport, Local Government and the Regions

Shadow Secretary of State for International Development

Shadow Chief Secretary to the Treasury

Shadow Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport

Shadow Secretary of State for Northern Ireland

Shadow Secretary of State for Health

Shadow Secretary of State for Work and Pensions

Shadow Secretary of State for Scotland

Shadow Secretary of State for Wales

Opposition Chief Whip

Lords Opposition Chief

23rd July 2002 – October 2003

Rt. Hon. Iain Duncan Smith

Rt. Hon. Michael Howard

Rt. Hon. Michael Ancram

Conservative Party Leader

Shadow Chancellor of the Exchequer

Shadow Foreign Secretary and Conservative Party Deputy Leader

Rt. Hon. Oliver Letwin	<i>Shadow Home Secretary</i>
Rt. Hon. Theresa May	<i>Conservative Party Chairman</i>
Damian Green	<i>Shadow Secretary of State for Education and Skills</i>
Rt. Hon. Eric Forth	<i>Shadow Leader of the House of Commons and Shadow Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster</i>
Rt. Hon. Lord Strathclyde	<i>Shadow Leader of the House of Lords</i>
Hon. Bernard Jenkin	<i>Shadow Secretary of State for Defence</i>
Tim Yeo	<i>Shadow Secretary of State for Trade and Industry</i>
Rt. Hon. David Davis	<i>Shadow Office of the Deputy Prime Minister</i>
David Lidington	<i>Shadow Minister of Environment, Food and Rural Affairs</i>
Tim Collins	<i>Shadow Secretary of State for Transport</i>
Caroline Spelman	<i>Shadow Secretary of State for International Development</i>
Howard Flight	<i>Shadow Chief Secretary to the Treasury</i>
John Whittingdale	<i>Shadow Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport</i>
Quentin Davies	<i>Shadow Secretary of State for Northern Ireland</i>
Dr. Liam Fox	<i>Shadow Secretary of State for Health</i>
David Willetts	<i>Shadow Secretary of State for Work and Pensions</i>
Jaqui Lait	<i>Shadow Secretary of State for Scotland</i>
Nigel Evans	<i>Shadow Secretary of State for Wales</i>
Rt. Hon. David Maclean	<i>Opposition Chief Whip</i>
Rt. Hon. Lord Cope of Berkeley	<i>Lords Opposition Chief</i>

Changes made July 2003

Tim Yeo moved from *Shadow Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport* to *Shadow Secretary of State for Trade and Industry*

David Davis is moved from *Conservative Party Chairman* to *Shadow Office of the Deputy Prime Minister*

Theresa May moved from *Shadow Secretary of State for Transport, Local Government and the Regions* to *Conservative Party Chairman*

Howard Flight entered the shadow cabinet as *Shadow Chief Secretary to the Treasury*

Tim Collins entered the shadow cabinet as *Shadow Secretary of State for Transport*

David Lidington entered the shadow cabinet as *Shadow Minister of Environment, Food and Rural Affairs*

Peter Ainsworth left the shadow cabinet

John Bercow left the shadow cabinet

Appendix B: Chronology of Events 1997-2003

1997

19th June Hague elected leader

August Hague attends Notting Hill Carnival

1998

6th October Sun calls Hague 'a dead parrot'

1999

20th April Peter Lilley's repudiation of Thatcherism

6th May Modest gains in local elections

13th June Big gains in European elections

20th November Geoffrey Archer quits as candidate for London Mayor

26th November Michael Portillo elected as member for Kensington & Chelsea

18th December Shaun Woodward defects to Labour

2000

1st February Portillo appointed Shadow Chancellor

3rd February Portillo U turn on opposition to minimum wage and Bank of England independence

15th February 1st 'Save The Pound' tour

26th April Hague calls for householder to be given more extensive right to self-defence after Tony Martin case

4th May Some local election gains. Lose Romsey by-election to the Lib-Dems

8th August Hague's fourteen pints boast

4th October Ann Widdecombe announces £100 fines for cannabis possession

8th October Eight cabinet ministers admit to taking drugs

2001

4th March Hague's 'foreign land' speech

28 th March	John Townend say immigrants have ‘undermined Anglo-Saxon society’
20 th March	Portillo refuses to sign CRE anti-racist pledge
27 th April	Lord Taylor attacks Hague for not expelling Townend
1 st May	Hague forces Taylor and Townend to back down over race row
8 th May	General election announced
10 th May	Conservative manifesto launched
14 th May	Oliver Letwin’s £20 billion tax cuts gaffe
22 nd May	Thatcher’s ‘The Mummy Returns’, Plymouth
29 th May	Hague, Major and Portillo attend Brighton rally
31 st May	Hague warns of 2 nd Labour landslide
7 th June	2 nd Labour landslide
13 th September	IDS Elected leader
7 th October	Tells Angela Watkinson, Andrew Rossindell and Andrew Hunter to leave the Monday Club
23 rd November	Conservatives lose Ipswich by-election
27 th December	IDS refuses to join Carlton Club until they give women equal membership
2002	
14 th February	Conservatives come fourth in Ogmere by-election
March	Lady Thatcher forced to quit public life
5 th May	Ann Winterton sacked for making racist joke
23 rd July	Sacks David Davis, whilst Davis is on holiday
28 th July	Alan Duncan confirms he is gay
5 th November	IDS tells party to ‘unite or die’
2003	

14 th February	Sacks Chief executive Mark MacGregor (whilst on holiday. Also sacks head of research Rick Nye (both portillistas)
14 th February	Appoints Barry Legg as Chief Executive and chief of staff
21 st Feb	Michael Portillo accuses IDS of ‘violating’ the Conservative Party
1 st May	Crispin Blunt resigns and calls IDS a ‘liability’
2 nd May	Conservatives gain more than 500 seats in local elections
7 th May	Barry Legg forced to resign
17 th June	Conservative Treasurer, Sir Stanley Kalms resigns
19 th September	Conservatives come third at Brent East by election
22 nd October	Major donor Stuart Wheeler calls for IDS to quit
28 th October	Sir Michael Spicer tells IDS he has received 25 requests for a vote of no confidence in his leadership
29 th October	IDS loses Confidence vote and resigns

Appendix C: Evidence of European Policy Positions

Ainsworth, Peter

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europ hile	Eurosce ptic	Europ hile	Eurosce ptic	Europ hile	Eurosce ptic	Europ hile	Eurosce ptic	
	X		X	-	-	-	-	2

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

EDM: Signed EDM 185 'White Paper on Europe' (14/1/1999)

David Amess

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europ hile	Eurosce ptic	Europ hile	Eurosce ptic	Europ hile	Eurosce ptic	Europ hile	Eurosce ptic	
	X		X	-	-	-	-	2

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

EDM: Signed EDM 1355 'Euro Poll' (9/6/2003)

Ancram, Michael

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X	-	-	-	-		X	2

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

Public Statement: "The EU Constitution will fundamentally change the way in which the British people are governed. It is clearly a great leap towards a single European state. The British government's claim that the Constitution is just a consolidation of the existing treaties is now shown to be absurd. No other European government makes this bizarre claim. You don't consolidate the EU by adding a new President, adding a new EU foreign minister with a diplomatic service, adding a binding charter of fundamental rights, adding vast new powers over asylum and immigration and giving the EU Constitution primacy over our own." (Ancram, 22/10/2003)

Arbuthnot, James

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill
(17/10/2001)

Atkinson, David

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X	-	-	-	-	2

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill
(17/10/2001)

EDM: Signed EDM 185 'White Paper on Europe' (14/1/1999)

Atkinson, Peter

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X	-	-	-	-	2

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill
(17/10/2001)

EDM: Signed EDM 185 'White Paper on Europe' (14/1/1999)

Bacon, Richard

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill
(17/10/2001)

Baldry, Tony

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X	-	-	-	-	X		0

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001) (Three line whip)

Public Statement: “More generally, I am very happy to be described as a Pro European Conservative and I suspect that I would be disappointed if I were not described as a Europhile on your database! [candidlist.com]” (Baldry, 25/8/2000)

Barker, Greg

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

Baron, John

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

Bellingham, Henry

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X	-	-	-	-	2

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

EDM: Signed EDM 1847 ‘Future of the UK Fishing Industry’ (4/11/2002)

Bercow, John

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X		X		X	4

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

EDM: Signed EDM 1249 'Convention on the Future of Europe' (19/5/2003)

Group Membership: Vice President: *Conservatives against a Federal Europe (CAFE)*

Public Statement: "Subsidiarity and proportionality have failed. The growth of EU law making continues unabated. Too much power has been taken over too long a period for too little benefit or justification. It is hardly surprising that there is a pervasive public cynicism about politics as millions of people see the EU developing in a way that they had not expected, that they do not want, but that they are largely powerless to resist." (Bercow, 2003)

Beresford, Sir Paul

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

Blunt, Crispin

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X	-	-	-	-	2

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

EDM: Signed EDM 1847 'Future of the UK Fishing Industry' (4/11/2002)

Body, Sir Richard

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X		X	-	-	3

Division List: Voted for Amendment 65 of the European Communities Amendment Bill 1997 (2/12/1997)

EDM: Signed EDM 185 'White Paper on Europe' (14 /1/1999)

Group Membership: President: *Campaign for an Independent Britain*

Boswell, Timothy

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	X

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

Bottomley, Peter

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
-	-		X	-	-	-	-	1

EDM: Signed EDM 524 'President of the European Commission' (13/4/1999)

Bottomley, Virginia

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

Brady, Graham

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X		X	-	-	3

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10 /2001)

EDM: Signed EDM 524 'President of the European Commission' (13/4/1999)

Group Membership: Member: *Conservative Way Forward*

Brazier, Julian

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X		X	-	-	3

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

EDM: Signed EDM 185 'White Paper on Europe' (14/1/1999)

Group Membership: Vice President: *Conservatives against a Federal Europe (CAFE)*

Brooke, Sir Peter

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Division List: Voted for Amendment 65 of the European Communities Amendment Bill 1997 (2/12/1997)

Browning, Angela

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X	-	-		X	-	-	2

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

Group Membership: Advisory Board Member: *The European Foundation*

Burns, Simon

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

Burt, Alistair

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X	-	-	X		-	-	0

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

Group Membership: Vice President: *Tory Reform Group*

Butterfill, John

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10 /2001)

Bruce, Ian

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X	-	-		X	3

Division List: Voted for Amendment 65 of the European Communities Amendment Bill 1997 (2/12/1997)

EDM: Signed EDM 185 'White Paper on Europe' (14/1/1999)

Public Statement: "The case against Federalism is equally overwhelming. We have a fully integrated Agriculture and Fisheries Policy. I hardly need to say more ! William has now broken the mould and stated clearly that we are going to roll Europe back. I believe he is wholly right and indeed that is the only way that Europe can be made to work in everyone's interests." (Bruce, 13/10/1999)

Cameron, David

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X	-	-	-	-		X	2

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10 /2001)

Public Statement: “I am against transferring further power from Westminster to Brussels. Movement along the road to closer union with Europe is taking place with ever increasing steps. While calls for a referendum on the Constitution are loud and clear from the British people, the Government is taking us towards integration and refuses to ask people what they want in a referendum.” (Cameron, 5/11/2003)

Cash, William

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X		X		X	4

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

EDM: Signed EDM 188 ‘EU Commission’ (14/1/1999)

Group Membership: Chairman: *The European Foundation*

Public Statement: “Although this is now in the past, the need for a re-negotiating policy by the Conservative Party remains paramount in the national and in the European interest. We would then truly lead Europe in the direction of sanity and in line with the profound concerns of the populations of the other member states, including Germany. Variable geometry and the advocacy of so-called flexibility simply allows the other member states to continue to move ahead into a hard core which is rotten on the inside, as the collapse of the European Commission amply demonstrates.” (Cash, 1999)

Chapman, Sir Sydney

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X		X	-	-	3

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

EDM: Signed EDM 185 'White Paper on Europe' (14 /1/1999)

Group Membership: Vice President: *Conservatives against a Federal Europe (CAFE)*

Chope, Christopher

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X	-	-		X	-	-	2

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

Group Membership: Chairman: *Conservative Way Forward*

Clappison, James

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

Clark, Alan

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Division List: Voted for Amendment 65 of the European Communities Amendment Bill 1997 (2/12/1997)

Clarke, Kenneth

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
-	-	-	-	X		X		-2

Group Membership: Advisory Board Member: *Action Centre for Europe*

Public Statement: “I remain a conviction politician and I do not hide my views on the single currency. I believe it will be in Britain's interests to join the single currency when the conditions arise including a sensible exchange rate.” (Clarke, 26/6/2001)

Clarke, Michael

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
-	-		X	-	-	-	-	1

EDM: Signed EDM 185 ‘White Paper on Europe’ (14/1/1999)

Clifton-Brown, Geoffrey

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X	-	-	-	-	2

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

EDM: Signed EDM 188 ‘EU Commission’ (14/1/1999)

Collins, Tim

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X	-	-	-	-		X	2

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

Public Statement: “With the fifth largest economy in the world, Britain can make a success of its own currency, if we want. No-one suggests that much smaller economies like Australia, Canada or Switzerland have to scrap their currencies to survive.” (Collins, 23/2/2000)

Colvin, Michael

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
-	-		X	-	-	-	-	1

EDM: Signed EDM 185 'White Paper on Europe' (14/1/1999)

Conway, Derek

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

Cormack, Patrick

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

Cran, James

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

Curry, David

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
-	-	-	-	X		X		-2

Chairman: *Conservative Group for Europe*

Public Statement: "Well, I fear that we will move towards fighting the Election campaign on a vote Labour and abolish the Pound - vote Conservative and save the Pound, campaign. And, I think that would be very misguided. I think we're moving towards opposition in principle, which I would object to." (Curry, 2/11/1997)

Davies, Quentin

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
-	-	-	-	-	-	X		-1

Public Statement: The prospective attractions of a single currency are momentous. We would have willingly paid a high price indeed for shelter from the currency crises which have beset us intermittently, and very destructively, over the past 30 years when we were experiencing them - though memories are short. No trading nation can for long disinterest itself in the value of its currency in relation to those of its major trading partners, and crises are inevitable from time to time under a regime of fragmented currencies. On the other hand, it can be argued that the Euro would still fluctuate against the US dollar and the yen. But our exposure to such fluctuations would be greatly reduced, partially because from the outset a much reduced proportion of our trade would be exposed to them - less than half - and partially because a large part of EU trade with third countries would most probably over time come to be denominated in the Euro itself. (Davies, 2003)

Davis, David

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X	-	-		X		X	3

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

Group Membership: Vice-President: *Conservatives Against a Federal Europe (CAFE)*

Public Statement: "...it is quite clear that the intention of both the Commission and the Franco-German axis is to create a presumption in favour of everybody joining the inner core eventually. It is also clear that they intend to create a system of rewards and penalties to ensure everyone did eventually follow where they led." (Davies, 2000: p. 5)

Day, Stephan

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

Division List: Teller for the Ayes: Amendment 65 of the European Communities Amendment Bill 1997 (2/12/1997)

Djanogly, Jonathan

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X	-	-	-	-		X	2

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

Public Statement: "I do not support Britain adopting the Euro and the idea that one set of interest rates will suit all countries is as much a nonsense this year as it will be next year." (Djanogly, 10/6/2003)

Dorrell, Stephen

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X	-	-	X		X		-1

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

Group Membership: Advisory Board Member: *Action Centre for Europe*

Public Statement: "I am an unapologetic pro-European. I believe that the United Kingdom was right to join the European Union, that our future is intrinsically tied up with the future of our partner countries in the EU, and that John Major was right when he said that Britain should aim to be at the heart of Europe." (Hansard, 16/ 7/2003)

Duncan, Alan

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X	-	-		X		X	3

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

Group Membership: Vice-President: *Conservatives Against a Federal Europe (CAFE)*

Public Statement: “The single currency is a socialist project dressed up in business language. I want to keep the pound and would vote against the euro.” (Watt, 24/5/2001)

Duncan, Peter

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X	-	-	-	-	2

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

EDM: Signed EDM 532 ‘European Union and the Commonwealth’ (16/1/2003)

Duncan Smith, Iain

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X		X		X	4

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

EDM: Signed EDM 185 ‘White Paper on Europe’ (14/1/1999)

Group Membership: Council Member: *Conservative Way Forward*

Public Statement: “One of the greatest legacies that I leave my party is unity on the question of Europe. This unity was not achieved at the cost of principle. Our position remains firmly anti-federalist. If the Party stays true to the line I laid down... We will repatriate our fisheries and our foreign aid budget. We will never accept a European army or a common foreign policy. We oppose the single currency not just for the moment, but for ever – on principle.” (Duncan Smith, 7/11/2003)

Emery, Sir Peter

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Division List: Voted for Amendment 65 of the European Communities Amendment Bill 1997 (2/12/1997)

Evans, Nigel

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X		X	-	-	3

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

EDM: Signed EDM 185 'White Paper on Europe' (14/1/1999)

Group Membership: Vice-President: *Conservatives Against a Federal Europe (CAFE)*

Faber, David

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X	-	-			2

Division List: Voted for Amendment 65 of the European Communities Amendment Bill 1997 (2 /12/1997)

EDM: Signed EDM 185 'White Paper on Europe' (14/1/1999)

Fabricant, Michael

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X		X		X	4

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

EDM: Signed EDM 185 'White Paper on Europe' (14/1/1999)

Group Membership: Vice-President: *Conservatives Against a Federal Europe (CAFE)*

Public Statement: "According to the analysis undertaken by the US Treasury, the World Trade Organisation gives us access to European markets regardless of whether we are members of the European Union. I have an interesting document produced by the US Treasury about two years ago. It goes into considerable detail about the direct and indirect costs and benefits accruing from our membership of the European Union. Its strange conclusion-it is strange because it runs contrary to everything that we are told-is that the net benefit to the United Kingdom is minus US \$40 billion a year. Putting it crudely, that is equivalent to about £500 for every man, woman and child in this country every year, or to almost doubling our state pension overnight."
(Fabricant, 18/6/2003)

Fallon, Michael

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X	-	-	-	-	2

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

EDM: Signed EDM 185 'White Paper on Europe' (14/1/1999)

Field, Mark

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X	-	-		X	-	-	2

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

Group Membership: Member: *Conservative Way Forward*

Flight, Howard

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X		X	-	-	3

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

EDM: Signed EDM 185 'White Paper on Europe' (14/1/1999)

Group Membership: Member: European Foundation

Flook, Adrian

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X	-	-		X	-	-	2

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

Group Membership: Member: *Conservative Way Forward*

Forth, Eric

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X	-	-		X	-	-	2

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

Group Membership: Member: *European Research Group*

Fowler, Sir Norman

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Division List: Voted for Amendment 65 of the European Communities Amendment Bill 1997 (2/12/1997)

Fox, Liam

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X	-	-		X		X	3

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

Group Membership: Vice-President: *Conservatives Against a Federal Europe (CAFE)*

Public Statement: “The main cost of the euro would be a constitutional one - the UK government would lose the power to determine the priorities for the UK economy. More importantly, we the British voters would lose the power to determine our own economic priorities. That is too high a price to pay.” (Fox, 2003)

Francois, Mark

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X	-	-	-	-	2

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

EDM: Signed EDM 1847 ‘Future of the UK Fishing Industry’ (4/11/2002)

Fraser, Christopher

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X	-	-		X	3

Division List: Voted for Amendment 65 of the European Communities Amendment Bill 1997 (2/12/1997)

EDM: Signed EDM 185 ‘White Paper on Europe’ (14/1/1999)

Personal Statement: “I believe that the British people should be allowed to vote in a referendum on the ratification of the Treaty of Nice before the vote in Parliament and, in the absence of such a referendum, I shall vote against ratification.” (Fraser, 15/1/2001)

Gale, Roger

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
-	-	-	-	-	-		X	1

Public Statement: “Our currency, our customs and our frontiers are part of the heritage that I believe I was elected to protect, to preserve and to hand on with its integrity intact to those who follow. Arguably, we have given away too much already; if so, history will judge us accordingly. This week's publication of the Conservatives draft General Election manifesto, containing as it does a clear pledge to resist further EU intrusions into clearly-defined areas of national policy, will I believe strike a chord not just with the Party faithful but with a much broader constituency, including tomorrow's citizens, who have been waiting for just such clear blue water between the United Kingdom and those from beyond these shores who would in the interests of a bureaucracy that is not ours.” (Gale, 2001)

Garnier, Edward

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

Gibb, Nick

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X	-	-		X	-	-	2

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

Group Membership: Council Member: *Conservative Way Forward*

Gill, Christopher

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X		X		X	4

Division List: Voted for Amendment 65 of the European Communities Amendment Bill 1997 (2/12/1997)

EDM: Signed EDM 185 ‘White Paper on Europe’ (14 /1/1999)

Group Membership: Member: *Conservative Way Forward*

Public Statement: “The fundamental hallmark of a free society, the right to own property, is threatened by the draft EU constitution. We must ensure that those in favour of a federal Europe are called to account for the small print within the constitution. Who will decide what is in the public interest, the unelected EU Commission? The EU should play no part in the sequestration of property freely owned by the British people.” (Gill, 14/10/2003)

Gillan, Cheryl

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X	-	-	-	-	2

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

EDM: Signed EDM 185 ‘White Paper on Europe’ (14/1/1999)

Goodlad, Alistair

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	

Left Parliament 1999 to become High Commissioner to Australia, used data from Heppell 2002

Goodman, Paul

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X	-	-	-	-	2

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

EDM: Signed EDM 1508 'Bruges Pamphlet and EU Spending' (26/6/2002)

Gorman, Teresa

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X		X	-	-	3

Division List: Voted for Amendment 65 of the European Communities Amendment Bill 1997 (2/12/1997)

EDM: Signed EDM 185 'White Paper on Europe' (14/1/1999)

Group Membership: Director: *The Freedom Association*

Gray, James

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X		X	-	-	3

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

EDM: Signed EDM 185 'White Paper on Europe' (14/1/1999)

Group Membership: Vice President: *Conservatives against a Federal Europe (CAFE)*

Grayling, Chris

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Euroseptic	Europhile	Euroseptic	Europhile	Euroseptic	Europhile	Euroseptic	
	X		X	-	-	-	-	2

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

EDM: Signed EDM 1847 'Future of the UK Fishing Industry' (4/11/2002)

Green, Damian

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Euroseptic	Europhile	Euroseptic	Europhile	Euroseptic	Europhile	Euroseptic	
	X	-	-	X		-	-	0

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

Group Membership: Vice President: *Tory Reform Group*

Greenway, John

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Euroseptic	Europhile	Euroseptic	Europhile	Euroseptic	Europhile	Euroseptic	
	X		X	-	-	-	-	2

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

EDM: Signed EDM 185 'White Paper on Europe' (14/1/1999)

Grieve, Dominic

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Euroseptic	Europhile	Euroseptic	Europhile	Euroseptic	Europhile	Euroseptic	
	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

Gummer, John

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
-	-	-	-	X		-	-	-1

Group Membership: Former Chairman: *Conservative Group for Europe*

Hague, William

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X	-	-	-	-		X	2

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

Public statement: “Our policy is that Brussels should do less and do it better. That’s why the next Conservative Government will pass a Reserved Powers Act, to prevent EU law from overriding the will of Parliament in areas which Parliament never intended to transfer to the EU. We want our children and grandchildren to inherit the same freedoms that we enjoy today.” (Hague, 16/5/2001)

Hamilton, Sir Archie

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
-	-	-	-		X	-	-	1

Group Membership: *Member, The European Research Group*

Hammond, Philip

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X	-	-	-	-	2

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

EDM: Signed EDM 185 ‘White Paper on Europe’ (14/1/1999)

Haselhurst, Alan

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

Deputy Speaker, used data from Heppell 2000

Hawkins, Nicholas

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X		X		X	4

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

EDM: Signed EDM 188 'EU Commission' (14/1/1999)

Group Membership: Vice President: *Conservatives against a Federal Europe (CAFE)*

Public Statement: "In many EU countries, if a government signs up to agree to a directive (as they may willingly do) which turns out to be contrary to their national interest, or to the interest of companies based in their country, they then fail to enforce it or turn a blind eye to breaches or never even implement it - and no one bats an eyelid. By contrast, our present Government constantly signs up to directives directly contrary to UK companies' interests and then enforces them to the hilt." (Hawkins, 2003)

Hayes, John

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X		X	-	-	3

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

EDM: Signed EDM 185 'White Paper on Europe' (14/1/1999)

Group Membership: Vice President: *Conservatives against a Federal Europe (CAFE)*

Heald, Oliver

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill
(17/10/2001)

Heath, Sir Edward

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
-	-	-	-	-	-	X		-1

Public Statement: “All too often the anti-Europeans tell us of the nightmare scenarios that will follow if we join the euro. There are those who argue Britain should carry on as we are - in the EU, but outside the euro...they pretend that saying 'Yes to Europe' but 'No to the euro' is a sensible compromise, a cost-free option - a third way if you like. It is not.” (Anon, 30/5/2003)

Heathcoat-Amory, David

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X	-	-		X		X	3

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill
(17/10/2001)

Group Membership: Vice President: *Conservatives against a Federal Europe (CAFE)*

Public Statement: “Fantasy Legislation. Far too frequently, lawmakers legislate for an entire continent in wilful ignorance of the disastrous local application of the law. Whether it is banning safe warm water discharge from whisky distillers (thus expelling established marine life from cold Scottish streams), rules on chocolate, double decker buses, or instructions on how to hold ladders, Brussels is seen as either a joke or a menace.” (Heathcoat-Amory, 20/5/2003)

Hendry, Charles

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Euroseptic	Europhile	Euroseptic	Europhile	Euroseptic	Europhile	Euroseptic	
	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Division List: Teller for the 'noes' - European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

Heseltine, Michael

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Euroseptic	Europhile	Euroseptic	Europhile	Euroseptic	Europhile	Euroseptic	
-	-	-	-	-	-	X		-1

Public Statement: There is an army of men and women in all walks of life, in trade and commerce, in the unions, in politics and a wider world, who will follow a clear commitment that Britain is to join the single currency. There is no need for the five economic tests to have been met for a determined process of persuasion to begin. So it should. Now." (Heseltine, 22/1/2002)

Hoban, Mark

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Euroseptic	Europhile	Euroseptic	Europhile	Euroseptic	Europhile	Euroseptic	
	X		X	-	-	-	-	2

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

EDM: Signed EDM 1847 'Future of the UK Fishing Industry' (4/11/2002)

Hogg, Douglas

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Euroseptic	Europhile	Euroseptic	Europhile	Euroseptic	Europhile	Euroseptic	
	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17 / 10 / 2001)

Horam, John

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X	-	-		X	-	-	2

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

Group Membership: Council Member: *Conservative Way Forward*

Howard, Michael

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X	-	-		X		X	3

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

Group Membership: Member: *New Europe All Party Parliamentary Group*

Public Statement: “For several decades, the governments of Europe have chosen deliberately not to emulate the more liberal economic policies of the United States, but rather to implement a much more regulatory, and in some cases corporatist, approach. They have done so with the laudable aim of seeking to protect the weakest in society. But the result of their approach has, more often than not, been quite the opposite.” (Howard, 3/2/2003)

Howarth, Gerald

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X		X	-	-	3

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

EDM: Signed EDM 185 ‘White Paper on Europe’ (14/1/1999)

Group Membership: Vice President: *Conservatives against a Federal Europe (CAFE)*

Hunter, Andrew

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
-	-		X		X	-	-	2

EDM: Signed EDM 185 'White Paper on Europe' (14/1/1999)

Group Membership: Vice President: *Conservatives against a Federal Europe (CAFE)*

Jack, Michael

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

Jackson, Robert

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
-	-	X		-	-	-	-	-1

EDM: Signed EDM 943 'Europe Day 9th May' (6 / 3 / 2002)

Jenkin, Bernard

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X		X	-	-	3

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

EDM: Signed EDM 185 'White Paper on Europe' (14/1/1999)

Group Membership: Vice President: *Conservatives against a Federal Europe (CAFE)*

Johnson, Boris

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X	-	-	-	-	2

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

EDM: Signed EDM 532 'European Union and the Commonwealth' (16/1/2003)

Johnson-Smith, Sir Geoffrey

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X	-	-	-	-	2

Division List: Voted for Amendment 65 of the European Communities Amendment Bill 1997 (2/12/1997)

EDM: Signed EDM 185 'White Paper on Europe' (14 /1/1999)

Key, Robert

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X	-	-	-	-		X	2

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

Public Statement: "Most European governments are under pressure from their citizens to resist the rush to federalism and economic and monetary union. Governments ignore their citizens at their peril. Conservatives believe in an open, flexible, free-enterprise Europe; a Europe which celebrates diversity. This can be a 'network Europe', a Europe of nation states co-operating together." (Key, 2003)

King, Tom

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X	-	-	-	-	2

Division List: Voted for Amendment 65 of the European Communities Amendment Bill 1997 (2/12/1997)

EDM: Signed EDM 185 'White Paper on Europe' (14/1/1999)

Kirkbride, Julie

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X		X	-	-	3

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

EDM: Signed EDM 185 'White Paper on Europe' (14/1/1999)

Group Membership: Vice President: *Conservatives against a Federal Europe (CAFE)*

Knight, Greg

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X	-	-	-	-	2

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

EDM: Signed EDM 1847 'Future of the UK Fishing Industry' (4/11/2002)

Laing, Eleanor

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X	-	-	-	-	2

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

EDM: Signed EDM 185 'White Paper on Europe' (14/1/1999)

Lait, Jacqui

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X	-	-	-	-	2

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

EDM: Signed EDM 1847 'Future of the UK Fishing Industry' (4/11/2002)

Lansley, Andrew

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X	-	-	-	-	2

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

EDM: Signed EDM 185 'White Paper on Europe' (14/1/1999)

Leigh, Edward

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X		X	-	-	3

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

EDM: Signed EDM 185 'White Paper on Europe' (14/1/1999)

Group Membership: Vice President: *Conservatives against a Federal Europe (CAFE)*

Letwin, Oliver

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X		X		X	4

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

EDM: Signed EDM 185 'White Paper on Europe' (14/1/1999)

Group Membership: Vice President: *Conservatives against a Federal Europe (CAFE)*

Public Statement: "The authors have built into the Constitution the basis upon which, progressively, the combined forces of the Council, of the ECJ, of the Parliament, and of the judiciaries of the Member States, will transfer power over the criminal law from the Member States to the central authorities, and thereby help to establish those central authorities as the primary State. This is not a tidying-up exercise. To transfer power over the criminal law is, on the contrary, one of the most fundamental things that could happen to this country's constitution. It is bad enough that such a thing should be put forward by a Prime Minister of this country. It is unspeakable that he should suggest it is something about which it is not necessary to vote in a referendum and for which it is not necessary to obtain the full-hearted consent of the British people." (Letwin, 2003)

Lewis, Julian

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		x		X		X	4

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

EDM: Signed EDM 185 'White Paper on Europe' (14/1/1999)

Group Membership: Vice President: *Conservatives against a Federal Europe (CAFE)*

Personal Statement: "In other words, the introduction of the euro and the destruction of separate national currencies, is an economic means towards a political end. The euro is a Trojan Horse designed to penetrate the defences of democratic states and to trick them into combining their economies and, inevitably, their countries." (Lewis, 6/4/1999)

Liddell-Grainger, Ian

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill
(17/10/2001)

Lidington, David

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill
(17/10/2001)

Lilley, Peter

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X	-	-	-	-	2

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill
(17/10/2001)

EDM: Signed EDM 1847 'Future of the UK Fishing Industry'
(4/11/2002)

Lloyd, Sir Peter

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Division List: Voted for Amendment 65 of the European Communities
Amendment Bill 1997 (2/12/1997)

Lord, Sir Michael

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

Loughton, Timothy

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X		X	-	-	3

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

EDM: Signed EDM 524 'President of the European Commission' (13/4/1999)

Group Membership: Vice President: *Conservatives against a Federal Europe (CAFE)*

Luff, Peter

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X	-	-		X	3

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

EDM: Signed EDM 185 'White Paper on Europe' (14/1/1999)

Public Statement: "Membership of the single currency and the inability to set interest rates in our own interest would hit jobs and incomes. To safeguard people's living standards, we need to keep control of our economic policy – setting the interest rates that are right for us. Throwing that flexibility away would undermine economic stability, putting jobs at risk." (Luff, 28/5/2003)

Lyell, Sir Nicholas

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

John Macgregor

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Division List: Voted for Amendment 65 of the European Communities Amendment Bill 1997 (2/12/1997)

MacKay, Andrew

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

MacLean, David

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X	-	-		X	-	-	2

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

Group Membership: Vice President: *Conservatives against a Federal Europe (CAFE)*

Madel, Sir David

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Division List: Voted for Amendment 65 of the European Communities Amendment Bill 1997 (2/12/1997)

Malins, Humfrey

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X	-	-	-	-	2

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

EDM: Signed EDM 185 'White Paper on Europe' (14/1/1999)

Major, John

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X	-	-	-	-		X	2

Division List: Voted for Amendment 65 of the European Communities Amendment Bill 1997 (2/12/1997)

Public Statement: "I would certainly vote no to abolishing sterling, and entering into the euro. We need to be cautious and take an economic judgement in our British interests when we have the information to take it, and we don't yet." (Anon., 14/3/1999)

Maples, John

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X	-	-		X		X	3

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

Group Membership: Member: *New Europe*

Personal Statement: "It is clear that the process of change is accelerating. From 1956 until the Single European Act in 1985, the treaty of Rome remained substantially unamended. However, there were only seven years between the Single European Act and Maastricht, five years between Maastricht and Amsterdam and three years between Amsterdam and Nice. It appears that there will be three to four years between Nice and the constitution. For 39 years there was almost no change to an economic community, yet in a few short years we have advanced substantially towards a united states of Europe. The direction is clear." (Maples, 12/11/2003)

Mates, Michael

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X	-	-	-	-	2

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

EDM: Signed EDM 185 'White Paper on Europe' (14/1/1999)

Maude, Francis

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X	-	-		X		X	3

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

Group Membership: Member: *European Research Group*

Public Statement: “Perhaps the biggest threat to Britain’s ability to prosper in the new economy is the defeatist dogma that we are lost unless we scrap the pound.” (Maude, 6/10/1999)

Mawhinney, Brian

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
-	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Division List: Voted for opposition amendment to Debate on the Address: The Economy and European Affairs

May, Theresa

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

McIntosh, Anne

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

McLoughlin, Patrick

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill
(17/10/2001)

Mercer, Patrick

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill
(17/10/2001)

Merchant, Piers

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	

Resigned shortly after the 1997 election, used data from Heppell, 2002

Mitchell, Andrew

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X	-	-	-	-		X	2

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill
(17/10/2001)

Public Statement: "I am a wholehearted supporter of William Hague's line to oppose our joining the Eurozone for this and for the next parliament and to resist any further integration with the European Union. I am opposed on both political and economic grounds to joining the Euro and do not believe either the Conservative Party or the British public in a referendum would support the abolition of the £." (Mitchell, 31/3/2000)

Moss, Malcolm

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill
(17/10/2001)

Murrison, Andrew

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill
(17/10/2001)

Patrick Nicholls

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X	-	-	-	-		X	2

Division List: Voted for Amendment 65 of the European Communities
Amendment Bill 1997 (2/12/1997)

Personal Statement: "As far as the single currency is concerned I shall say what I
said last time which is that I personally wouldn't vote to go into
a single currency in any circumstances whatsoever." (Nicholls
11/3/2001)

Norman, Archie

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X	-	-	-	-	2

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill
(17/10/2001)

EDM: Signed EDM 185 'White Paper on Europe' (14/1/1999)

O'Brien, Stephen

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill
(17/10/2001)

Osborne, George

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X	-	-		X	-	-	2

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill
(17/10/2001)

Group Membership: Member: *New Europe*

Ottaway, Richard

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X	-	-	-	-	2

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill
(17/10/2001)

EDM: Signed EDM 185 'White Paper on Europe' (14/1/1999)

Page, Richard

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X	-	-	-	-	2

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill
(17/10/2001)

EDM: Signed EDM 185 'White Paper on Europe' (14/1/1999)

Paice, James

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X	-	-		X	3

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

EDM: Signed EDM 1847 'Future of the UK Fishing Industry' (4/11/2002)

Public Statement: "However under Labour's plans, our Armed Forces face marching under the EU banner and a foreign language, as well as the prospect of pledging allegiance to an EU bureaucrat instead of the Queen. We want to be in Europe, but not run by Europe and we do not want to risk British lives in doing so." (Paice, 15/11/2000)

Paterson, Owen

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X		X	-	-	3

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

EDM: Signed EDM 188 'EU Commission' (14/1/1999)

Group Membership: Vice President: *Conservatives against a Federal Europe (CAFE)*
Member: *Conservative Way Forward*
Member: *No Turning Back Group*

Pickles, Eric

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

Portillo, Michael

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
-	-	-	-	-	-		X	1

Public Statement: "I fear that there are those building the European state who hope also that it can offer an alternative economic model to the Anglo-Saxon world. There is much talk of social Europe. It is a code for maintaining much higher levels of public spending and a much bigger role for the state than has become the norm in today's world. European governments tend to be much more statist and corporatist, and they feel unable to adjust to a competitive world which tends to place more emphasis on the encouragement of enterprise and a reduced role for government in the economy. They cherish the hope of building a Europe big enough to resist the competitive pressures of the outside world." (Portillo, 2/5/1998)

David Prior

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X	-	-	-	-	2

Division List: Voted for Amendment 65 of the European Communities Amendment Bill 1997 (2/12/1997)

EDM: Signed EDM 185 'White Paper on Europe' (14/1/1999)

Prisk, Mark

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

Randall, John

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X	-	-	-	-	2

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

EDM: Signed EDM 185 'White Paper on Europe' (14/1/1999)

Redwood, John

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X		X		X	4

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

EDM: Signed EDM 185 'White Paper on Europe' (14/1/1999)

Group Membership: Vice President: *Conservatives against a Federal Europe (CAFE)*

Public Statement: "The proposed Nice Treaty would do what Guy Fawkes failed to do - blow up parliamentary government in Britain. Conservatives must pledge to oppose it lock, stock and barrel, and renegotiate it if Labour signs. (Redwood, 2003)

Robathan, Andrew

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X		X	-	-	3

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

EDM: Signed EDM 185 'White Paper on Europe' (14/1/1999)

Group Membership: Member: *European Research Group*

Robertson, Hugh

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

Robertson, Laurence

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X		X	-	-	3

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

EDM: Signed EDM 185 'White Paper on Europe' (14/1/1999)

Group Membership: Vice President: *Conservatives against a Federal Europe (CAFE)*

Roe, Marion

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X		X	-	-	3

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

EDM: Signed EDM 185 'White Paper on Europe' (14/1/1999)

Group Membership: Vice President: *Conservatives against a Federal Europe (CAFE)*

Rosindell, Andrew

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X		X		X	4

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

EDM: Signed EDM 1733 'Euro Referendum Bill' (14/10/2003)

Group Membership: Member: *Conservative Way Forward*

Public Statement: "Europe is going in entirely the wrong direction and I think it is time for Britain to get off this train, which is hurtling into the buffers. We want to have a sensible relationship with Europe that benefits us. We don't want to withdraw from trade, of course not, that benefits us, we don't want to withdraw from co-operating with neighbouring countries because that is sensible to do. But we do want to ensure that we control our own destiny and the European Union is removing, and ultimately will remove, the power of the British people to decide our own future. That's why we simply have to draw a line and say no further and reverse so much of what's happened." (Rosindell, 2003)

Andrew Rowe

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Division List: Voted for Amendment 65 of the European Communities Amendment Bill 1997 (2 / 12 / 1997)

Ruffley, David

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X	-	-		X	3

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

EDM: Signed EDM 185 'White Paper on Europe' (14/1/1999)

Public Statement: "The Constitution gives more power to all the existing EU institutions and creates a Europe with more jobs for politicians and less influence for the people. The Constitution concentrates more executive and budgetary power in the very EU institutions which have been the subject of repeated and continuing scandals over mismanagement, waste and fraud." (Ruffley, 3/12/2003)

Nick St. Aubyn

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X	-	-	-	-	2

Division List: Voted for Amendment 65 of the European Communities Amendment Bill 1997 (2/12/1997)

Sayeed, Jonathan

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X	-	-	-	-	2

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

EDM: Signed EDM 185 'White Paper on Europe' (14/1/1999)

Selous, Andrew

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X	-	-	-	-	2

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

EDM: Signed EDM 1847 'Future of the UK Fishing Industry' (4/11/2002)

Shephard, Gillian

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
-	-		X	-	-	-	-	1

EDM: Signed EDM 185 'White Paper on Europe' (14/1/1999)

Shepherd, Richard

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X		X	-	-	3

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

EDM: Signed EDM 185 'White Paper on Europe' (14/1/1999)

Group Membership: Vice President: *Conservatives against a Federal Europe (CAFÉ)*

Simmonds, Mark

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

Simpson, Keith

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
-	-		X	-	-	-	-	1

EDM: Signed EDM 1847 'Future of the UK Fishing Industry' (4/11/2002)

Soames, Nicholas

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X		X	-	-	3

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

EDM: Signed EDM 185 'White Paper on Europe' (14/1/1999)

Group Membership: Member: *New Europe*

Spelman, Caroline

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X	-	-	X	-	-	-	1

Group Membership: Member: *Conservative Mainstream*

Spicer, Michael

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X		X	-	-	3

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

EDM: Signed EDM 185 'White Paper on Europe' (14/1/1999)

Group Membership: Vice President: *Conservatives against a Federal Europe (CAFE)*

Spink, Robert

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X	-	-	-	-	2

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

EDM: Signed EDM 1355 'Euro Poll' (9/6/2003)

Spring, Richard

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X	-	-	-	-		X	2

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

Public Statement: "We want a stronger role for national parliaments in the European Union, including a right to halt, not merely warn against, European legislation that breaches subsidiarity. We would enhance the powers of national parliaments to initiate actions to be undertaken by the European Commission. Similarly, if one third of the national parliaments objected to a Commission proposal, this must amount to an absolute veto." (Spring, 10/5/2003)

Stanley, John

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

Steen, Anthony

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X		X	-	-	3

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

EDM: Signed EDM 185 'White Paper on Europe' (14/1/1999)

Group Membership: Member: *New Europe All Party Parliamentary Group*

Streeter, Gary

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X	-	-	-	-		X	2

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

Public Statement: "I worry that the European policy wonks are getting more and more out of step with the ordinary people they are supposed to serve. They dream of a country called Europe, a power to rival that of the USA. As the world's fourth largest economy, with all of our heritage and global connections and influence, we can surely aspire to a greater destiny than to become a suburb of Brussels." (Streeter, 2003)

Swayne, Desmond

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X		X		X	4

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

EDM: Signed EDM 185 'White Paper on Europe' (14/1/1999)

Group Membership: Vice President: *Conservatives against a Federal Europe (CAFE)*

Public Statement: "Our laws will be made elsewhere and our parliament will only be able to take decisions in those areas where the Union has chosen not to legislate (which is euro-speak for virtually nil). The most important decisions affecting our prosperity and almost every aspect of life will be taken out of our hands. We will not be able to prevent the imposition of new regulations no matter how damaging they might be to us. The notion that we would remain a self governing democracy under this new constitution is utterly fanciful." (Swayne, 27/8/2003)

Swire, Hugo

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X	-	-		X	3

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

EDM: Signed EDM 1508 'Bruges Pamphlet and EU Spending' (26/6/2002)

Public Statement: "Conservatives want to see a Europe that is made up of self-governing nation states which are free trading. Yes, we support enlargement but the British people should also be given a referendum on the crucial question of a European Constitution. Conservatives want to keep the pound and keep control of our own economy unlike Labour and the Liberals. We also need to strengthen NATO, not create a Euro Army." (Swire, 16/10/2003)

Syms, Robert

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X		X	-	-	3

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

EDM: Signed EDM 188 'EU Commission' (14/1/1999)

Group Membership: Vice President: *Conservatives against a Federal Europe (CAFE)*

Tapsell, Sir Peter

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X		X		X	4

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

EDM: Signed EDM 185 'White Paper on Europe' (14/1/1999)

Group Membership: Vice President: *Conservatives against a Federal Europe (CAFE)*

Public Statement: "A single European currency was first proposed by the Nazi Reichsbank to Hitler at the time of Dunkirk as a means of perpetuating German dominance in Europe. Now it is EU policy." (Jones, 23 / 5 / 2001)

Taylor, Ian

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
-	-	-	-	X		X		-2

Group Membership: Chairman: *European Movement*

Public Statement: "Eurosceptic politicians calling for a referendum even before the IGC has pronounced and regardless of the outcome of parliamentary scrutiny are unprincipled populists. Their judgement is soured by a euroscepticism which blinds them to the need to build an effective, cohesive and larger EU to look after the interests of British and other citizens." (Taylor, 2003)

Taylor, John

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X		X	-	-	3

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

EDM: Signed EDM 185 'White Paper on Europe' (14/1/1999)

Group Membership: Vice President: *Conservatives against a Federal Europe (CAFE)*

Taylor, Teddy

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X		X		X	4

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

EDM: Signed EDM 185 'White Paper on Europe' (14/1/1999)

Group Membership: Vice President: *Conservatives against a Federal Europe (CAFE)*

Public Statement: "The vital thing now is to do all in our power to prevent the final surrender of our sovereignty, and this means uniting to oppose it. We must warn the people not only that the euro means a massive surrender of sovereignty but also participation in an exercise that seems doomed." (Taylor, 9/6/1999)

Temple-Morris, Peter

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	

Defected to Labour 1998, used data from Heppell, 2002

John Townend

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
-	-		X		X	-	-	2

EDM: Signed EDM 185 'White Paper on Europe' (14/1/1999)

Group Membership: Council Member: *Conservative Way Forward*

Tredinnick, David

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X	-	-	-	-	2

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

EDM: Signed EDM 185 'White Paper on Europe' (14/1/1999)

Trend, Michael

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X	-	-		X	-	-	2

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

Group Membership: Vice President: *Conservatives against a Federal Europe (CAFE)*

Turner, Andrew

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X	-	-	-	-		X	2

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

Public Statement: "This Constitution moves the EU still further from being a partnership of sovereign nations to a Single European State, but I know that Islanders of all political parties and of none will agree with us that on this issue, which so gravely affects British sovereignty, the British people must be allowed the final say." (Turner, 2003)

Tyrie, Andrew

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

Viggers, Peter

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X	-	-	-	-	2

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

EDM: Signed EDM 185 'White Paper on Europe' (14/1/1999)

Walter, Robert

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X	-	-	X		-	-	0

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

Group Membership: Member: *Tory Europe Network*

Wardle, Charles

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X		X	-	-	3

Division List: Voted for Amendment 65 of the European Communities Amendment Bill 1997 (2/12/1997)

EDM: Signed EDM 185 'White Paper on Europe' (14/1/1999)

Group Membership: Joined *UKIP*, 2001

Waterson, Nigel

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X	-	-	-	-	2

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

EDM: Signed EDM 358 'Performance of the Euro (No. 3)' (11/12/2002)

Watkinson, Angela

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X	-	-	-	-	2

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

EDM: Signed EDM 1847 'Future of the UK Fishing Industry' (4/11/2002)

Wells, Bowen

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X	-	-	-	-	2

Division List: Voted for Amendment 65 of the European Communities Amendment Bill 1997 (2/12/1997)

EDM: Signed EDM 185 'White Paper on Europe' (14/1/1999)

Whitney, Sir Ray

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X	-	-	X		-	-	0

Division List: Voted for Amendment 65 of the European Communities Amendment Bill 1997 (2/12/1997)

Group Membership: *Chairman Positive European Group*

Whittingdale, John

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X		X	-	-	3

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

EDM: Signed EDM 185 'White Paper on Europe' (14/1/1999)

Group Membership: Vice-President: *Conservatives Against a Federal Europe (CAFE)*

Widdecombe, Ann

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

Wiggin, Bill

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

Wilkinson, John

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X		X	-	-	3

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill (17/10/2001)

EDM: Signed EDM 185 'White Paper on Europe' (14/1/1999)

Group Membership: Vice-President: *Conservatives Against a Federal Europe (CAFE)*

Willetts, David

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill
(17/10/2001)

Wilshire, David

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
-	-		X		X	-	-	2

EDM: Signed EDM 185 'White Paper on Europe' (14/1/1999)

Group Membership: Vice-President: *Conservatives Against a Federal Europe (CAFE)*

Winterton, Ann

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X		X	-	-	3

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill
(17/10/2001)

EDM: Signed EDM 185 'White Paper on Europe' (14/1/1999)

Group Membership: Vice-President: *Conservatives Against a Federal Europe (CAFE)*

Winterton, Nicholas

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X		X		X	-	-	3

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill
(17/10/2001)

EDM: Signed EDM 185 'White Paper on Europe' (14/1/1999)

Group Membership: Vice-President: *Conservatives Against a Federal Europe (CAFE)*

Woodward, Shaun

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	

Defected to Labour 1999, excluded from this study

Yeo, Timothy

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

Young, George

Division List		EDM		Group Membership		Public Statement		Score
Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	Europhile	Eurosceptic	
	X	-	-	X		-	-	0

Division List: Voted against the European Communities Amendment Bill
(17/10/2001)

Group Membership: Member: *Tory Reform Group*

Early Day Motions

EDM 1847 FUTURE OF THE UK FISHING INDUSTRY 04.11.02

That this House notes the despair with which recent plans to close cod fishing grounds have been received in North Sea fishing communities, and particularly in Scotland, where 20,000 jobs are now at risk; calls on the Government to make clear how it intends to respond to the Commission's proposals; and believes that this vital industry will only flourish again when national control of United Kingdom waters is restored and when fishermen and local communities have a genuine role in managing fish stocks.

EDM 185 WHITE PAPER ON EUROPE 14.01.99

That this House calls on Her Majesty's Government to publish a White Paper on the constitutional, economic and political implications of the United Kingdom joining the European single currency.

EDM 1355 EURO POLL 09.06.03

That this House notes that a Sky News poll on Monday 9th June revealed that 81 per cent. believe that the UK should never join the euro; welcomes this view; and calls on the Government to accept this result and rule out the euro in the foreseeable future.

EDM 524 PRESIDENT OF THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION 13.04.99

That this House calls upon Her Majesty's Government to state its opposition to the proposals advanced by Mr Prodi, the nominated President of the European Commission, in Strasbourg on Tuesday 13th April for further movement towards a single European state without democracy.

EDM 188 EU COMMISSION 14.01.99

That this House deplores the failure of Socialist MEPs to support measures to protect taxpayers' money from fraud, preferring instead to protect members of the EU Commission accused of fraud and nepotism; and applauds the efforts of Conservative MEPs to hold certain Commissioners to account on behalf of the taxpayers of Europe.

EDM 532 EUROPEAN UNION AND THE COMMONWEALTH 16.01.03

That this House recalls 14th January when President de Gaulle of France said 'non' to British membership of the European Economic Community and his comment that Britain would only be ready for membership when it started thinking like a continental country and severed its ties with the Commonwealth; forty years on and with the experience of British membership for thirty years; notes that whilst trade and co-operation between our neighbours on the continent continues to be in our nation's

interests, acknowledges that many aspects of membership of today's European Union are to the detriment of the United Kingdom such as the Common Agricultural Policy, Common Fisheries Policy and the tide of bureaucracy lashing against our shores; calls upon her Majesty's Government to strive towards the creation of a new reinvigorated relationship between the United Kingdom and continental Europe that does not involve misguided political or monetary union and restores Britain's right to govern herself, free of interference from Brussels; and further calls for a strengthening of the relationship between the Commonwealth of Nations, particularly countries such as Australia, New Zealand and Canada that have remained loyal friends to Britain for generations.

EDM 943

EUROPE DAY 9TH MAY

06.03.02

That this House looks forward to the opportunity for the United Kingdom to celebrate Europe Day on 9th May; recognises that 9th May marks the day in 1950 that Robert Schuman presented his proposal for the creation of the European Union; notes that the European Union has been central to the maintenance of peaceful relations and co-existence on this continent every since; welcomes the opportunity for the UK to join in this annual celebration of the diversity of cultures that exist within Europe; and celebrates the UK's membership of the European Union.

Division Lists

The European Communities Amendment Bill (17 / 10/ 2001)

A Bill to ratify the Treaty of Nice.

Amendment 65 of the European Communities Amendment Bill 1997 (2 / 12 / 1997)

Conservative amendment that proposed to remove certain words in article 1 of the Amsterdam Treaty that referred to economic and monetary union and a single currency.

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Appendix D: Evidence of Social and Moral Policy Positions

Ainsworth, Peter

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000

Gay Rights: Voted for an amendment to the Local Government Bill (2000) that would leave out the repeal of section 28

Euthanasia: Voted against the Doctor Assisted Dying Bill (1997)

Amess, David

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. issues		X		X		X			3
Gay rights		X		X					2
Euthanasia		X		X		X		X	4

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000
Signed EDM 692 'Abortion' (26/1/98)
Member: *All-Party Parliamentary Pro-Life Group*

Gay rights: Voted against the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) 2000
Signed EDM 92 'Moral Ethos of the Nation' (12/12/2000)

Euthanasia: Voted against the Doctor Assisted Dying Bill (1997)
Signed EDM 468 Euthanasia (8/1/2003)
Member All-Party Parliamentary Pro-Life Group
"To start calling food and fluid as medical treatment is absolutely crazy. Unless you eat and drink, no matter what brain injury or illness you are suffering from, you can't live"
(Kallenbach, 18/1/2001)

Ancram, Michael

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. issues		X		X				X	3
Gay rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000
Signed EDM 334A ‘30th Anniversary of the 1967 Abortion Act Amdt. line 1.
“...I think that anything that makes abortion easier and simpler, in the end is harmful to people” (Anon, 7/7/2002)

Gay Rights: Voted against the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) 2000

Euthanasia: Voted against the Doctor Assisted Dying Bill (1997)

Arbuthnot, James

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues		X	-	X	-	-	-	-	2
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000
Signed EDM 120 ‘Medicines (S.I., 2000, No. 3231)
(18/12/2000)

Gay Rights: Voted against the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) 2000

Euthanasia: Voted against the Doctor Assisted Dying Bill (1997)

Atkinson, David

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues		X		X		X	-	-	3
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia		X		X		X			3

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000
Signed EDM 292 'Human Cloning and the Use of Embryonic Stem Cells' (5/2/2001)
Member: *All-Party Parliamentary Pro-Life Group*

Gay Rights: Voted against the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) 2000

Euthanasia: Voted against the Doctor Assisted Dying Bill (1997)
Signed EDM 468 'Euthanasia' 8/1/2003
Member: *All-Party Parliamentary Pro-Life Group*

Atkinson, Peter

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000

Gay Rights: Voted for the Adoption and Children Bill (Lansley Amendment) (20/5/2002)

Euthanasia: Voted against the Doctor Assisted Dying Bill (1997)

Bacon, Richard

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

Gay Rights: Voted against the Adoption and Children Bill (2001-2002)

Baldry, Tony

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia	-	-		X	-	-	-	-	1

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000

Gay Rights: Voted against the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) 2000

Euthanasia: Signed EDM 3 'Hospices' (13/11/2002)

Barker, Greg

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia	-	-		X	-	-	-	-	1

Gay Rights: Voted against the Adoption and Children Bill (2001-2002)

Euthanasia: Signed EDM 3 'Hospices' (13/11/2002)

Baron, John

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	-	-	X	-	-	-	-	-	-1
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia	-	-	-	X	-	-	-	-	1

Reproductive Issues: Signed EDM 691 'Contraceptive Awareness Week' (6/2/2003)

Gay Rights: Voted against the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) 2000

Euthanasia: Signed EDM 3 'Hospices' (13/11/2002)

Bellingham, Henry

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	-	-		X	-	-	-	-	1
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

Reproductive Issues: Signed EDM 457 'Cell Nuclear Replacement' (21/11/2001)

Gay Rights: Voted against the Adoption and Children Bill (2001-2002)

Bercow, John

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	X		-	-	X	-	-	-	-2
Gay Rights	X	X	-	-	X	-	X		-2
Euthanasia		X		X	-	-	-	-	2

Reproductive Issues: Voted for the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000
Vice Chairman: *Connect*

Gay Rights: Voted for the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) 2000
Voted against the Crime and Disorder Bill [Lords] 1998 (22/6/1998)
Vice Chairman: *Connect*
“The present law is so blatantly unfair as to raise the question why anyone should object in principle to changing it. Yet critics do so on a variety of grounds. First, a small minority believes that Gayity is intrinsically evil and that gay people should have no rights. Every MP receives some venomous mail to that effect. Fortunately, most people do not share that view.”
(Bercow, 2/7/2003)

Euthanasia: Voted against the Doctor Assisted Dying Bill (1997)
Signed EDM 3 ‘Hospices’ (13/11/2002)

Beresford, Paul

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	X		-	-	-	-	-	-	-1
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000

Gay Rights: Voted against the Adoption and Children Bill (2001-2002)

Euthanasia: Voted for the Medical Treatment (Prevention of Euthanasia) Bill 1999-2000

Blunt, Crispin

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	X		X		X		-	-	-3
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia	X		X		-	-	-	-	-2

Reproductive Issues: Voted for the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000
Signed EDM 1247 'Access to Abortion' (27/4/1998)
Vice Chair All Party Parliamentary Pro-Choice Group

Gay rights: Voted against the Crime and Disorder Bill [Lords] 1998 (22/6/1998)

Euthanasia: Voted against the Doctor Assisted Dying Bill (1997)
Signed EDM 96 'Euthanasia' 29/11/2001

Body, Richard

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Gay Rights	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Euthanasia	X		-	-	-	-	-	-	-1

Euthanasia: Voted for the Doctor Assisted Dying Bill (1997)

Boswell, Timothy

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	X		-	-	-	-	-	-	-1
Gay Rights	X		-	-	-	-	-	-	-1
Euthanasia		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Reproductive Issues: Voted for the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000

Gay Rights: Voted for the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) 2000

Euthanasia: Voted against the Doctor Assisted Dying Bill (1997)

Bottomley, Peter

	EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score		
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC			
Rep. Issues	X		X	X	-	-	-	-	-1
Gay Rights	X	X		X	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Reproductive Issues: Voted for the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000
Signed EDM 118 'Emergency Contraception' (30/11/1999)
Signed EDM 49 'Human Cloning' (6/12/2000)

Gay Rights: Voted for the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) 2000
Voted against the Adoption and Children Bill (2001-2002)
Signed EDM 1176 'Age of Consent' (23/11/2000)

Euthanasia: Voted against the Doctor Assisted Dying Bill (1997)

Bottomley, Virginia

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	X		-	-	-	-	-	-	-1
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Hunting		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

Reproductive Issues: Voted for the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000

Gay Rights: Voted against the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) 2000

Brady, Graham

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues		X		X	-	-	-	-	2
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia		X		X	-	-	-	-	2

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000
Signed EDM 120 ‘Medicines (S.I., 2000, No. 3231)’
(18/12/2000)

Gay Rights: Voted against the Adoption and Children Bill (2001-2002)

Euthanasia: Voted against the Doctor Assisted Dying Bill (1997)
Signed EDM 3 ‘Hospices’ (13/11/2002)

Brazier, Julian

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues		X		X		X	-	-	3
Gay Rights		X	-	-		X	-	-	2
Euthanasia		X		X		X	-	-	3

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000
Signed EDM 334A ‘30th Anniversary of the 1967 Abortion Act Amdt. line 1
Member: *All-Party Parliamentary Pro-Life Group*

Gay Rights: Voted against the Adoption and Children Bill (2001-2002)
President: *Conservative Family Campaign*

Euthanasia: Voted against the Doctor Assisted Dying Bill (1997)
Signed EDM 3 ‘Hospices’ (13/11/2002)
Member: *All-Party Parliamentary Pro-Life Group*

Brooke, Peter

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-1
Gay Rights	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Euthanasia	-	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Reproductive Issues: Voted for the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000

Euthanasia: Voted for the Medical Treatment (Prevention of Euthanasia) Bill 1999-2000 (14/4/2000)

Browning, Angela

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000

Gay rights: Voted against the Crime and Disorder Bill [Lords] 1998 (22/6/1998)

Burns, Simon

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues		X		X	-	-	-	-	2
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia		X		X	-	-	-	-	2

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000
Signed EDM 578 'Embryonic Stem Cells and the New Scientist' (13/12/2001)

Gay Rights: Voted against the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) 2000

Euthanasia: Voted against the Doctor Assisted Dying Bill 1997
Signed EDM 3 'Hospices' (13/11/2002)

Bruce, Ian

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues		X		X	-	-	-	-	2
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000
Signed EDM 49 'Human Cloning' (6/12/2000)

Gay Rights: Voted against the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) 2000

Euthanasia: Voted against the Doctor Assisted Dying Bill (1997)

Burt, Alistair

	Div. List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	-	-		X	-	X	-	-	2
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	X	-	-	2
Euthanasia	-	-		X		X	-	-	2

Reproductive Issues: Signed EDM 395A1 'Human Fertilisation and Embryology Authority' Amdt. line 1
Council member: *Evangelical Alliance*

Gay Rights: Voted against the Adoption and Children Bill (2001-2002)
Council member: *Evangelical Alliance*

Euthanasia: Signed EDM 468 Euthanasia (8/1/2003)
Council member: *Evangelical Alliance*

Butterfill, John

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology(Research Purposes) Regulations 2000

Gay Rights: Voted against the Adoption and Children Bill (2001-2002)

Cameron, David

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

Gay Rights: Voted for the Adoption and Children Bill (Lansley Amendment) (20/5/2002)

Cash, William

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues		X		X		-		X	3
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Stem Cell Research Bill 1999-2000
Signed EDM 692 ‘Abortion’ (26/01/1998)
“The Church’s teaching is very clear on most “big” issues. There is a very strong, powerful argument against abortion, for example, because it is fundamentally wrong to kill innocent children.” (Carosa, 1999)

Gay Rights: Voted against the Adoption and Children Bill (2001-2002)

Euthanasia: Voted against the Doctor Assisted Dying Bill 10 / 10 / 97

Chapman, Sydney

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	X		-	-	-	-	-	-	-1
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia		X		X	-	-	-	-	2

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000

Gay Rights: Voted against the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) 2000

Euthanasia: Voted against the Doctor Assisted Dying Bill (1997)
Signed EDM 1273 'Euthanasia and the BBC' (21/5/2003)

Chope, Christopher

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000

Gay Rights: Voted against the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) 2000

Euthanasia: Voted for the Medical Treatment (Prevention of Euthanasia) Bill 1999-2000

Clappison, James

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-		X	2
Euthanasia		X		X	-	-		X	3

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Stem Cell Research Bill 1999-2000

Gay Rights: Voted against the Adoption and Children Bill (2001-2002)
 “Eighteen is far too young a gay age of consent” (Anon, 1/3/1999)

Euthanasia: Voted for the Medical Treatment (Prevention of Euthanasia) Bill 1999-2000
 Signed EDM 832 ‘Statements from the Chief Rabbi and Cardinal Winning on Euthanasia’ (14/7/1999)
 “It is a profound issue, but in the past I have not been in favour of voluntary euthanasia,” he said, adding: “In the countries where it has been introduced, including Holland, it has not been strictly regulated.” (Whitney, 16/10/2002)

Clark, Alan

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues									
Gay Rights									
Euthanasia									

Clark, Michael

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	X		-	-	-	-	X		-2
Gay Rights	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Euthanasia		X		X	-	-	-	-	2

Reproductive Issues: Voted for the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000
 “I understand that there are moral issues; of course there are. However, science has always troubled people; it has always upset the establishment and challenged the status quo. When Galileo looked beyond the hills and through the clouds, he was accused of looking for heaven. When Darwin decided that he would explain how we came about, and said that it was not through creation but through evolution, he, too, got into trouble with the establishment and the Church. I dare say that those two were accused in their day of playing God.” (Hansard, 19/12/2000)

Euthanasia: Voted against the Doctor Assisted Dying Bill (1997)
 Signed EDM 693 ‘Prevention of Euthanasia by Omission’ (8/5/2000)

Clarke, Kenneth

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	X		-	-	-	-	X	-	-2
Gay Rights	X	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-2
Euthanasia		X	-	-	-	-		X	2

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000

“Whilst I would always support alternatives to abortion, thus reducing recourse to it, I cannot foresee Parliament supporting radical change in abortion law without stronger signs for change from society itself.” (Clarke, 2001)

Gay Rights: Voted for the Adoption and Children Bill (2001-2002)
Voted against the Crime and Disorder Bill [Lords] 1998 (22/6/1998)

Euthanasia: Voted for the Medical Treatment (Prevention of Euthanasia) Bill 1999-2000
“I have always opposed euthanasia, and will continue to do so.” (Clarke, 2001)

Clifton-Brown, Geoffrey

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	X		-	-	-	-	-	-	-1
Gay Rights	X	X	-	-	-	-	X		-1
Euthanasia		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000

Gay Rights: Voted for the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) 2000
Voted against the Crime and Disorder Bill [Lords] 1998 (22/6/1998)
“I think we've got to take a more adult approach on this matter and look at the child. I don't think we should exclude same-sex couples from adopting.” (Anon., 5/11/2002)

Euthanasia: Voted for the Medical Treatment (Prevention of Euthanasia) Bill 1999-2000

Collins, Tim

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues		X	-	X	-	-	-	-	2
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000
Signed EDM 83A1 A Woman's Right to Choose Amdt. line1 (11/6/1997)

Gay Rights: Voted against the Adoption and Children Bill (2001-2002)

Euthanasia: Voted for the Medical Treatment (Prevention of Euthanasia) Bill 1999-2000

Colvin, Michael

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	-	-		X	-	-	-	-	1
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

Reproductive Issues: Signed EDM 172 'Death of Caroline Bacon and the Provision of Contraception to Minors'

Gay Rights: Voted against the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) 2000

Conway, Derek

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia	-	-		X	-	-	-	-	1

Gay Rights: Voted against the Adoption and Children Bill (2001-2002)

Euthanasia: Signed EDM 3 'Hospices' (13/11/2002)

Cormack, Patrick

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues		X	-	-	-	-		X	2
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-		X	2
Euthanasia		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000
 “To abort is to take a life and I do not, and could not, ever support abortion on demand.” (Anon., 2003)

Gay Rights: Voted against the Adoption and Children Bill (2001-2002)
 “I speak, quite unashamedly, for the traditional, orthodox Christian point of view, which holds that Gayity and lesbian practices are not another and an equivalent normality; and which holds that they are practices that not only are different from heterosexual behaviour, but should not be ranked as equal or equivalent to it.” (Hansard, 22/6/1998)

Euthanasia: Voted for the Medical Treatment (Prevention of Euthanasia) Bill 1999-2000

Cran, James

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000

Gay Rights: Voted against the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) 2000

Curry, David

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	X		-	-	-	-	-	-	-1
Gay Rights	X		-	-	-	-	-	-	-1
Euthanasia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000

Gay Rights: Voted in favour of Amendment 8 of the Local Government Bill 2002-2003

Davis, Quentin

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	X		-	-	-	-	-	-	-1
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000

Gay Rights: Voted in favour of Amendment 8 of the Local Government Bill 2002-2003

Euthanasia: Voted for the Medical Treatment (Prevention of Euthanasia) Bill 1999-2000

Davis, David

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia	X		-	-	-	-	-	-	-1

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000

Gay Rights: Voted in favour of Amendment 8 of the Local Government Bill 2002-2003

Euthanasia: Voted for the Doctor Assisted Dying Bill (1997)

Day, Stephan

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia		X		X	-	-	-	-	2

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000

Hunting: Voted for the Hunting Bill (17/1/2001)

Euthanasia: Voted against the Doctor Assisted Dying Bill (1997)
Signed EDM 315 'Euthanasia' (29/7/1997)

Djanogly, Jonathan

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-			1
Euthanasia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

Gay Rights: Voted in favour of Amendment 8 of the Local Government Bill 2002-2003

Dorrell, Stephen

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	X		-	-	-	-	-	-	-1
Gay Rights	X		-	-	X		X		-3
Euthanasia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000

Gay Rights: Voted against Amendment 8 of the Local Government Bill 2002-2003
Vice-President of *Connect*
"Section 28 was perceived as dealing with an issue that was real, but it deals with it in an unsuccessful way. I certainly do not regard it as something we should leave on the statute book."
(Dorrell, 2002)

Duncan, Alan

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues		X	-	-	-	-	-	X	2
Gay Rights	X		-	-	-	-	X		-2
Euthanasia		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000
 “I voted against stem cell research and I would like to thank the church goers in my constituency who have written to me sending thank-you letters. These new regulations, which come in the form of secondary legislation give Ministers extra powers and will allow cell cloning as part of scientific and medical experimentation. I oppose this method of research.” (Duncan, 2001)

Gay Rights: Voted for the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) 2000
 In his interview, Mr Duncan said of being gay: “It's how you're born, and it's no different from being born Jewish, Catholic, short, tall or anything else. Why on earth should the self-esteem of perfectly decent people be so permanently derided?” (White, 2002)

Duncan, Peter

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Gay Rights	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Euthanasia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

Duncan Smith, Iain

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues		X	-	-	-	-		X	2
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia		X	-	-	-	-	-	X	2

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000
 “Giving contraceptives in schools is a wrong move because it undermines parental authority. Decisions are being detached from schools and parents and given to central authorities.”
 (Montgomerie, 2002)

Gay Rights: Voted against the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) 2000

Euthanasia: Voted against the Doctor Assisted Dying Bill (1997)
 “Let's take euthanasia for example. I am opposed to it because I'm not sure where you stop.” (Duncan Smith, 2001)

Emery, Peter

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	X		-	-	-	-	-	-	-1
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

Reproductive Issues: Voted for the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000

Gay Rights: Voted against the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) 2000

Evans, Nigel

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues		X	-	X	-	-	-	-	2
Gay Rights	X		-	-	-	-	-	-	-1
Euthanasia		X	-	X	-	-	-	-	2

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000
Signed EDM 292 ‘Human Cloning and the Use of Embryonic Stem Cells’ 5/2/2001

Gay Rights: Voted for the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) 2000

Euthanasia: Voted against the Doctor Assisted Dying Bill (1997)
Signed EDM 3 ‘Hospices’ (13/11/2002)

Fabricant, Michael

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	X		X	-	-	-	X		-3
Gay Rights	X		-	-	-	-	-	-	-1
Euthanasia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

Reproductive Issues: Voted for the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000
Signed EDM 1099 ‘The European Parliament and Stem Cell Research’ (28/4/2003)
“For myself, I believe that there is also a powerful moral imperative to cure suffering. I wonder whether a human being exists until at least the cells are differentiated. From all this there arises huge dilemmas not only involving stem cell research, but abortion too.” (Fabricant, 30/11/2000)

Gay Rights: Voted for the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) 2000

Faber, David

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues		X		X	-	-	-	-	2
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia		X		X	-	-	-	-	2

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000
Signed EDM 334A2 30th Anniversary of the 1967 Abortion Act Amdt. line 1 (30/10/1997)

Gay Rights: Voted against the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) 2000

Euthanasia: Voted for the Medical Treatment (Prevention of Euthanasia) Bill 1999-2000 (28/1/2000)
Signed EDM 315 'Euthanasia' (29/7/1997)

Fallon, Michael

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues		X		X	-	-	-	-	2
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia		X		X	-	-	-	-	2

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000
Signed EDM 237 'Select Committee on Human and Other Genetic Engineering' (23/1/2001)

Gay Rights: Voted against the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) 2000

Euthanasia: Voted against the Doctor Assisted Dying Bill (1997)
Signed EDM 693 'Prevention of Euthanasia by Omission' (8/5/2000)

Field, Mark

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	-	-		X	-	-	-	-	1
Gay Rights	X	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Euthanasia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

Reproductive Issues: Signed EDM 457 'Cell Nuclear Replacement' (21/11/2001)

Gay Rights: Voted in favour of Amendment 8 of the Local Government Bill 2002-2003

Voted against the Adoption and Children Bill (2001-2002)

Flight, Howard

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia		X		X	-	-	-	-	2

Reproductive issues: Voted against the Stem Cell Bill (1999-2000)

Gay Rights: Voted against of Amendment 8 of the Local Government Bill 2002-2003

Euthanasia: Voted for the Medical Treatment (Prevention of Euthanasia) Bill 1999-2000
Signed EDM 315 'Euthanasia' (29/7/1997)

Flook, Adrian

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia	-	-		X	-	-	-	-	1

Gay Rights: Voted against of Amendment 8 of the Local Government Bill 2002-2003

Euthanasia: Signed EDM 468 Euthanasia (8/1/2003)

Forth, Eric

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	X		-	-	-	-	-	-	-1
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Reproductive Issues: Voted for Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000

Gay Rights: Voted against of Amendment 8 of the Local Government Bill 2002-2003

Euthanasia: Voted for the Medical Treatment (Prevention of Euthanasia) Bill 1999-2000

Fowler, Norman

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-			1
Euthanasia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

Gay Rights: Voted against the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) 2000

Fox, Liam

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues		X		X		X		X	4
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia		X		X		X		X	4

Reproductive Issues: Voted for Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000
Signed EDM 120 ‘Medicines (S.I., 2000, No. 3231) (18/12/2000)
Member All-Party Parliamentary Pro-Life Group
“I think the use of embryos for this sort of experimentation is not acceptable. Because I find it ethically unacceptable, I would be against it for therapeutic cloning.” (Anon. 16/8/2000)

Gay Rights: Voted against the Adoption and Children Bill (2001-2002)

Euthanasia: Voted for the Medical Treatment (Prevention of Euthanasia) Bill 1999-2000
Signed EDM 3 ‘Hospices’ (13/11/2002)
Member All-Party Parliamentary Pro-Life Group
“I have a moral objection to euthanasia which is an act which purposely kills somebody. I am afraid that I simply believe that you do not have the right to kill another human being.” (Fox, 29/5/2001)

Francois, Mark

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia	-	-		X	-	-	-	-	1

Gay Rights: Voted against Amendment 8 of the Local Government Bill 2002-2003

Euthanasia: Signed EDM 1522 ‘Euthanasia’(No. 2) (27/6/2002)

Fraser, Cristopher

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

Gay Rights: Voted against the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) (22/6/1998)

Gale, Roger

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues		X	-	-	-	-		X	2
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000
 “As a supporter of the Parkinson’s Disease Society I recognise the importance of research into potential treatments for this and other conditions. I have nevertheless come to the conclusion that to take a further step down the road towards what is, effectively, genetic engineering, at a time when the likely consequences for good or ill are a matter of speculation, would be wrong. I shall therefore vote against the proposals tonight”.
 (Gale, 19/12/2000)

Gay Rights: Voted against Amendment 8 of the Local Government Bill 2002-2003

Euthanasia: Voted against the Medical Treatment (Prevention of Euthanasia) Bill 1999-2000

Garnier, Edward

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	X		X		-	-	-	-	-2
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia		X		X		-	-	X	3

Reproductive Issues: Voted for the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000
Signed EDM 1099 'The European Parliament and Stem Cell Research' (28/4/2003)

Gay Rights: Voted against the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) 2000

Euthanasia: Voted against the Doctor Assisted Dying Bill (1997)
Signed EDM 1333 'Patient (Assisted Dying) Bill and the BMA' (4/6/2003)
"I welcome the Government's firm stance against euthanasia. Will the Minister examine with the greatest possible care any proposals, from wherever they come, to legalise euthanasia, however clinically described, and to introduce so-called living wills? Disposing of the inconvenient, either by commission or omission, may be the next step." (Hansard, 10/12/1997)

Gibb, Nick

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Gay Rights	X		-	-	-	-	-	-	-1
Euthanasia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

Gay Rights: Voted against Amendment 8 of the Local Government Bill 2002-2003

Gill, Christopher

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues		X		X	-	-	-	-	2
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia		X		X	-	-	-	-	2

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000
Signed EDM 237 'Select Committee on Human and Other Genetic Engineering' (23/1/2001)

Gay Rights: Voted against the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) (22/6/1998)

Euthanasia: Voted against the Doctor Assisted Dying Bill (1997)
Signed EDM 315 'Euthanasia' 29/7/1997

Gillan, Cheryl

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues		X	-	-	X				0
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Hunting		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000
Member: *All-Party Parliamentary Pro-Choice Group*

Gay Rights: Voted against Amendment 8 of the Local Government Bill 2002-2003

Goodlad, Alastair

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Gay Rights	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Euthanasia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

Left Parliament 1999 to become High Commissioner to Australia, used evidence from Heppell 2002

Goodman, Paul

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	-	-		X	-	-	-	-	1
Gay Rights	X	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Euthanasia	-	-		X	-	-	-	-	1

Reproductive Rights: Signed EDM 395A1 'Human Fertilisation and Embryology Authority' Amdt. line1 (18/12/2002)

Gay Rights: Voted for Amendment 8 of the Local Government Bill 2002-2003
Voted against the Adoption and Children Bill (2001-2002)

Euthanasia: Signed EDM 1522 'Euthanasia (No. 2) (27/6/2002)

Gorman, Teresa

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	X		X		-	-	-	-	-2
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

Reproductive Issues: Voted for the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000
Signed EDM 118 'Emergency Contraception' (30/11/1999)

Gay Rights: Voted against the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) (22/6/1998)

Gray, James

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues		X		X	-	-	-	-	2
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia		X		X	-	-	-	-	2

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000
Signed EDM 237 ‘Select Committee on Human and Other Genetic Engineering’ (23/1/2001)

Gay Rights: Voted against Amendment 8 of the Local Government Bill 2002-2003

Euthanasia: Voted against the Doctor Assisted Dying Bill (1997)
Signed EDM 468 Euthanasia (8/1/2003)

Grayling, Chris

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia	-	-		X	-	-	-	-	1

Gay Rights: Voted against the Adoption and Children Bill (2001-2002)

Euthanasia: Signed EDM 359 ‘Right to Life Human-Rights Care Card’ (6/11/2001)

Green, Damien

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues		X	-	-		X	-	-	2
Gay Rights		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Euthanasia		X				X		X	3

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000
Member All-Party Parliamentary Pro-Life Group

Euthanasia: Voted against the Doctor Assisted Dying Bill (10/10/97)
Member All-Party Parliamentary Pro-Life Group
“They present a case giving no real choice and instead give the impression that cancer sufferers die in agony or choose euthanasia; or that motor neurone disease patients will die in unrelieved pain by choking and suffocating unless they choose euthanasia.” (Anon., 12/12/2002)

Greenway, John

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues		X		X	-	-	-	-	2
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000
Signed EDM 172 ‘Death of Caroline Bacon and the Provision of Contraception to Minors’ (13/1/1999)

Gay Rights: Voted against the Adoption and Children Bill (2001-2002)

Grieve, Dominic

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues		X		X	-	-	-	-	2
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia		X		X	-	-	-	-	2

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000
Signed EDM 292 'Human Cloning and the Use of Embryonic Stem Cells' 5/2/ 2001

Gay Rights: Voted for Amendment 8 of the Local Government Bill 2002-2003

Euthanasia: Voted against the Doctor Assisted Dying Bill (10/10/97)
Signed EDM 693 'Prevention of Euthanasia by Omission' (8/5/2000)

Gummer, John

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia		X		X	-	-	-	-	2

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000

Gay Rights: Voted against the Adoption and Children Bill (2001-2002)

Euthanasia: Voted for the Medical Treatment (Prevention of Euthanasia Bill 1999-2000
Signed EDM 468 'Euthanasia' (8/1/2003)

Hague, William

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues		X		X	-	-		X	3
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-		X	2
Euthanasia		X	-	-	-	-		X	2

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000
Signed EDM 120 ‘Medicines (S.I., 2000, No. 3231)
(18/12/2000)
“As an MP I have always voted for more restrictive abortion law. I admire and respect the way in which organisations like Life, SPUC and Care offer support to women who are facing up to the difficulties associated with unexpected pregnancy.”
(Montgomerie, 2001)

Gay Rights: Voted against Amendment 8 of the Local Government Bill 2002-2003
“The truth is that section 28 allows appropriate action by schools and councils to educate children.” (Anon, 26/1/2000)

Euthanasia: Voted against the Doctor Assisted Dying Bill (10/10/97)
“On the euthanasia issue I think we need to watch this one very carefully over the next few years. There are many people who are trying to introduce euthanasia by the back door. I am glad to see my Conservative colleague, Ann Winterton MP, trying to stop that with a private member's bill.” (Montgomerie, 2001)

Hamilton, Archie

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	X		-	-	-	-	-	-	-1
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Hunting		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

Reproductive Issues: Voted for the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000

Gay Rights: Voted against the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) (22/6/1998)

Hammond, Philip

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues		X		X	-	-	-	-	2
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia		X		X	-	-	-	-	2

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000
Signed EDM 120 'Medicines (S.I., 2000, No. 3231)
(18/12/2000)

Gay Rights: Voted against the Adoption and Children Bill (2001-2002)

Euthanasia: Voted for the Medical Treatment (Prevention of Euthanasia) Bill 1999-2000
Signed EDM 1522 'Euthanasia (No. 2) (27/6/2002)

Haselhurst, Alan

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues									
Gay Rights									
Euthanasia									

Deputy speaker, used evidence from Heppell 2002

Hawkins, Nicholas

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	X		-	-	-	-	-	-	-1
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

Reproductive Issues: Voted for the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000

Gay Rights: Voted against Amendment 8 of the Local Government Bill 2002-2003

Hayes, John

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues		X		X	-	-	-	-	2
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia		X		X	-	-	-	-	2

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000
Signed EDM 1247A2 'Access to Abortion Amdt. line 1'
(29/4/1998)

Gay Rights: Voted against the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) 2000

Euthanasia: Voted for the Medical Treatment (Prevention of Euthanasia) Bill 1999-2000
Signed EDM 693 'Prevention of Euthanasia by Omission'
(8/5/2000)

Heald, Oliver

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia		X	-	X	-	-	-	-	2

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000

Gay Rights: Voted against the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) 2000

Euthanasia: Voted for the Medical Treatment (Prevention of Euthanasia) Bill 1999-2000
Signed EDM 3 'Hospices' (13/11/2002)

Heath, Edward

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	X		-	-	-	-	-	-	-1
Gay Rights	X		-	-	-	-	-	-	-1
Euthanasia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

Reproductive Issues: Voted for the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000

Gay Rights: Voted for the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) (22/6/1998)

Heathcoat-Amory, David

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep Issues		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000

Gay Rights: Voted against the Adoption and Children Bill (2001-2002)

Euthanasia: Voted against the Doctor Assisted Dying Bill (10/10/97)

Hendry, Charles

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Gay Rights	X	X	-	-	X	-	X		-2
Euthanasia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

Gay Rights: Voted against the Adoption and Children Bill (2001-2002)
Voted for Amendment 8 of the Local Government Bill 2002-2003
Vice President: *Connect*

“Whatever anyone’s view about Gayity (sic), every decent person should agree that no young person should be bullied or tormented at school because of their sexual orientation.” (Hendry, 25/7/2003)

Heseltine, Michael

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	X		-	-	-	-	-	-	-1
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

Reproductive Issues: Voted for the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000

Gay Rights: Voted against the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) (22/6/1998)

Hoban, Mark

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep Issues	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia	-	-		X	-	-	-	-	1

Gay Rights: Voted against Amendment 8 of the Local Government Bill 2002-2003

Euthanasia: Signed EDM 1522 'Euthanasia (No. 2) (27/6/2002)

Hogg, Douglas

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	X		-	-	-	-	-	-	-1
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-		X	2
Euthanasia		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Reproductive Issues: Voted for the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000

Gay Rights: Voted against the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) 2000
 "I am very reluctant to see this House to do anything which might encourage to adopt a Gay way of life which they would not otherwise have done." (Anon., 1/3/1999)

Euthanasia: Voted for the Medical Treatment (Prevention of Euthanasia) Bill 1999-2000

Horam, John

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues		X		X	-	-	-	-	2
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia		X		X	-	-	-	-	2

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000
Signed EDM 809 'Sex Education in the Netherlands' (4/3/2003)

Gay Rights: Voted against the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) 2000

Euthanasia: Voted against the Doctor Assisted Dying Bill (10/10/97)
Signed EDM 468 Euthanasia (8/1/2003)

Howard, Michael

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	X		-	-	-	-	-	-	-1
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Reproductive Issues: Voted for the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000

Gay Rights: Voted against the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) 2000

Euthanasia: Voted for the Medical Treatment (Prevention of Euthanasia) Bill 1999-2000

Howarth, Gerald

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues		X	-	X	-	-	-	-	2
Gay Rights		X		X	-	-		X	3
Euthanasia		X		X	-	-	-	-	2

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology Research Purposes) Regulations 2000
Signed EDM 49 'Human Cloning' (6/12/2000)

Gay Rights: Voted against Amendment 8 of the Local Government Bill 2002-2003
Signed EDM 1176 'Age of Consent' (23/11/2000)
"The purpose was that Gayity (sic) could not be promoted as a pretended family relationship and that is a very precise definition and if you believe in the pre-eminence of marriage then the two follow hand in hand. The pre-eminence of marriage, Section 28." (Howarth, 3/2/2002)

Euthanasia: Voted for the Medical Treatment (Prevention of Euthanasia) Bill 1999-2000
Signed EDM 315 'Euthanasia' 29/7/1997

Hunter, Andrew

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues		X		X	-	-	-	-	2
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia		X		X	-	-	-	-	2

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000
Signed EDM 692 'Abortion' (26/01/1998)

Gay Rights: Voted against Amendment 8 of the Local Government Bill 2002-2003

Euthanasia: Voted for the Medical Treatment (Prevention of Euthanasia) Bill 1999-2000
Signed EDM 359 'Right to Life Human-Rights Care Card' (6/11/2001)

Jack, Michael

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	X		-	-	-	-	-	-	-1
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Reproductive Issues: Voted for the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000

Gay Rights: Voted against the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) 2000

Euthanasia: Voted against the Doctor Assisted Dying Bill (10/10/97)

Jackson, Robert

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep Issues	X			X	-	-	-	-	0
Gay Rights	X	X	X	-	-	-	-	-	-1
Euthanasia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

Reproductive Issues: Voted for the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000
Signed EDM 1247a 'Access to Abortion Amdt. line 1'
(29/4/1998)

Gay Rights: Voted for Amendment 8 of the Local Government Bill 2002-2003
Voted against the Adoption and Children Bill (2001-2002)
Signed EDM 301 'Eviction of Gay Tenants' (24/7/1997)

Jenkin, Bernard

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	X		-	-	-	-			-1
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Reproductive Issues: Voted for the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000

Gay Rights: Voted against the Adoption and Children Bill (2001-2002)

Euthanasia: Voted against the Doctor Assisted Dying Bill (10/10/97)

Johnson, Boris

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Gay Rights	X		-	-	-	-	-	-	-1
Euthanasia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

Gay Rights: Voted for Amendment 8 of the Local Government Bill 2002-2003

Johnson-Smith, Geoffrey

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep Issues	X		-	-	-	-	-	-	-1
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia		X		X	-	-	-	-	2

Reproductive Issues: Voted for the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000

Gay Rights: Voted against the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) (22/6/1998)

Euthanasia: Voted against the Doctor Assisted Dying Bill (10/12/1997)
Signed EDM 693 'Prevention of Euthanasia by Omission' (8/5/2000)

Key, Robert

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	X		X				X		-3
Gay Rights	X		-	-	-	-	X		-2
Euthanasia		X	-	X	-	-	-	-	2

Reproductive Issues: Voted for the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000
Signed EDM 378 'UNFPA's State of the World Population Report 2002' (16/12/2002)
"I believe the benefits that may be achieved in healing the sick in this case outweigh the downside of using cells which might have the potential for a full human life." (Key, 7/11/2000)

Gay Rights: Voted for Amendment 8 of the Local Government Bill 2002-2003
"One of the first things that we had to learn was that it is no good being judgmental about AIDS and adopting a high moral tone. It is no good blaming everything on lifestyle choices, as some hon. Members did in the 1980s. One hon. Member said to me: "A plague on them; they made a choice; let them die." That was in line with wide public perceptions at the time, and it is fortunate that things have moved on." (Key, 5/3/2003)

Euthanasia: Voted against the Doctor Assisted Dying Bill (10/10/97)
Signed EDM 3 'Hospices' (13/11/2002)

King, Tom

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	X		-	-	-	-	-	-	-1
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

Reproductive Issues: Voted for the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000

Gay Rights: Voted against the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) (22/6/1998)

Kirkbride, Julie

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	X		-	-	-	-	-	-	-1
Gay Rights	X	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Euthanasia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

Reproductive Issues: Voted for the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000

Gay Rights: Voted for the Adoption and Children Bill (2001-2002)
Voted against the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) 2000

Knight, Greg

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

Gay Rights: Voted against Amendment 8 of the Local Government Bill 2002-2003

Laing, Eleanor

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Gay Rights	X	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Euthanasia	-	-	-	X	-	-	-	-	1

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000

Gay Rights: Voted against the Adoption and Children Bill (2001-2002)
Voted for the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) 2000

Euthanasia: Signed EDM 3 'Hospices' (13/11/2002)

Lait, Jaqui

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	X		-	-	X		-	-	-2
Gay Rights	X	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Euthanasia		X	-	X	-	-	-	-	2

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000
Member: *All Party Pro-Choice Group*

Gay Rights: Voted against the Adoption and Children Bill (2001-2002)
Voted for the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) 2000

Euthanasia: Voted against the Doctor Assisted Dying Bill (10/10/97)
Signed EDM 3 'Hospices' (13/11/2002)

Lansley, Andrew

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	X		-	-	-	-	-	-	-1
Gay Rights	X	X	-	-	-	-	X		-1
Euthanasia		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Reproductive Issues: Voted for the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000

Gay Rights: Voted for the Adoption and Children Bill (2001-2002)
Voted against the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) 2000
"Respect means not being colour-blind, but aware and active in designing services and policies in response to cultural differences, faith communities and lifestyle choices. It means stopping the gratuitous offence of treating gay couples as if theirs is a 'pretended' family relationship." (Lansley, 9/10/2001)

Euthanasia: Voted for the Medical Treatment (Prevention of Euthanasia) Bill 1999-2000

Leigh, Edward

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues		X		X		X		X	4
Gay Rights		X		X	-	-	-	-	2
Euthanasia		X		X		X	-	-	3

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000
Signed EDM 92 ‘Moral Ethos of the Nation’ (12/12/2000)
Member: *All-Party Pro-Life Group*
“I, and many others, believe that the use of early embryonic tissue--or unborn children, for that is what they are--purely for their cells is morally and ethically repugnant.” (Hansard, 31/10/2000)

Gay Rights: Voted against Amendment 8 of the Local Government Bill 2002-2003
Signed EDM 92 ‘Moral Ethos of the Nation’ (12/12/00)
“The reason I have put down an amendment to retain Section 28 is that I believe it is right and it represents the views of a majority of the British people” (Anon., 11/3/2003)

Euthanasia: Voted for the Medical Treatment (Prevention of Euthanasia) Bill 1999-2000
Signed EDM 1333 ‘Patient (Assisted Dying) Bill and the BMA’ (4/6/2003)
Member: *All-Party Pro-Life Group*

Letwin, Oliver

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep Issues	X		-	-	-	-	-	-	-1
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Reproductive Issues: Voted for the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000

Gay Rights: Voted against the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) 2000

Euthanasia: Voted against the Doctor Assisted Dying Bill (10/10/97)

Lewis, Julian

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Reproductive Issues		X		X	-	-	-	-	2
Gay Rights		X		X	-	-		X	3
Euthanasia		X		X	-	-	-	-	2

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000
Signed EDM 237 'Select committee on Human and Other Genetic Engineering' (23/1/2001)

Gay Rights: Voted against the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) 2000
Signed EDM 1176 'Age of Consent' (23/11/2000)
"As I said in the debate on Second Reading, it is a mark of a civilised society that it raises ages of consent as it gets more civilised. The fact that the age of consent for heterosexual sex is lower than the age of consent for Gay sex is not a sign that the higher age should be adjusted to the lower age" (Lewis, 10/2/1999)

Euthanasia: Voted for the Medical Treatment (Prevention of Euthanasia) Bill 1999-2000
Signed EDM 832 'Statements from the Chief Rabbi and Cardinal Winning on Euthanasia' (14/7/1999)

Liddell-Grainger, Ian

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

Gay Rights: Voted against Amendment 8 of the Local Government Bill 2002-2003

Liddington, David

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues		X	-	-	-	X	-	-	2
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia		X		X	-	X	-	-	3

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000
Director: *Conservative Christian Fellowship*

Gay Rights: Voted against the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) 2000

Euthanasia: Voted against the Doctor Assisted Dying Bill (10/10/97)
Signed EDM 359 'Right to Life Human-Rights Care Card' (6/11/2001)
Director: *Conservative Christian Fellowship*

Lilley, Peter

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues		X		X	-	-		X	3
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia		X		X	-	-	-	-	2

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000
Signed EDM 237 'Select committee on Human and Other Genetic Engineering' (23/1/01)
"It is horrifying that children who are viable in the womb are now being murdered." (Senior, 1997)

Gay Rights: Voted against Amendment 8 of the Local Government Bill 2002-2003

Euthanasia: Voted against the Doctor Assisted Dying Bill (10/10/97)
Signed EDM 468 'Euthanasia' (8/1/2003)

Lloyd, Peter

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Gay Rights	X		-	-	-	-	X		-2
Euthanasia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

Gay Rights: Voted for the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) (22/6/1998)
 “The age of consent properly seeks to protect children before they reach an age where they themselves can choose to be sexually active. Both sexes are now reaching that point earlier, largely because of earlier physical maturation. It makes no sense at all to extend that age of consent far beyond the point where many have, rightly or wrongly, started to engage in sexual relationships of their own volition--the majority heterosexual, the minority homosexual.” (Hansard, 22/6/1998)

Michael Lord

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Gay Rights	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Euthanasia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	

Appointed Deputy Speaker 1997, used evidence from Heppell, 2002

Loughton, Timothy

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-		X	2
Euthanasia		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000

Gay Rights: Voted against the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) 2000
 “Too many people interested in this part of the Bill are in danger of putting the interest of adults ahead of the children.” (Anon 17/5/2003)

Euthanasia: Voted against the Doctor Assisted Dying Bill (10/10/97)

Luff, Peter

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues		X		X	-	-	-	-	2
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia		X		X	-	-	-	-	2

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000
Signed EDM 1247A2 'Access to Abortion Amdt. line 1'
(29/4/1998)

Gay Rights: Voted against the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) 2000

Euthanasia: Voted against the Doctor Assisted Dying Bill (10/10/97)
Signed EDM 468 'Euthanasia' (8/1/2003)

Lyell, Nicholas

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Gay Rights	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Euthanasia		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Euthanasia: Voted for the Medical Treatment (Prevention of Euthanasia) Bill 1999-2000 (28/1/2000)

Mackay, Andrew

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	X		X		-	-	-	-	-2
Gay Rights	X		-	-	-	-	-	-	-1
Euthanasia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

Reproductive Issues: Voted for the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000
Signed EDM 378 'UNFPA's State of the World Population Report 2002' (16/12/2002)

Gay Rights: Voted for the Adoption and Children Bill (2001-2002)

MacGregor, John

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	X		-	-	-	-	-	-	-1
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

Reproductive Issues: Voted for the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000

Gay Rights: Voted against the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) (22/6/1998)

MacLean, David

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia		X		X	-	-	-	-	2

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000

Gay Rights: Voted against Amendment 8 of the Local Government Bill 2002-2003

Euthanasia: Voted against the Doctor Assisted Dying Bill (10/10/97)
Signed EDM 3 'Hospices' (13/11/2002)

Madel, David

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	X		-	-	-	-	-	-	-1
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Reproductive Issues: Voted for the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000

Gay Rights: Voted against the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) (22/6/1998)

Euthanasia: Voted against the Doctor Assisted Dying Bill (10/12/97)

Major, John

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	X		-	-	-	-	-	-	-1
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

Reproductive Issues: Voted for the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000

Gay Rights: Voted against the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) 2000

Malins, Humfrey

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues		X		X	-	-	-	-	2
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia		X		X	-	-	-	-	2

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000
Signed EDM 809 'Sex Education in the Netherlands' (4/3/2003)

Gay Rights: Voted against Amendment 8 of the Local Government Bill 2002-2003

Euthanasia: Voted against the Doctor Assisted Dying Bill (10/10/97)
Signed EDM 693 'Prevention of Euthanasia by Omission' (8/5/2000)

Maples, John

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	X		-	-	-	-	-	-	-1
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000

Gay Rights: Voted against the Adoption and Children Bill (2001-2002)

Mates, Michael

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	X			X	-	-	-	-	0
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000
Signed EDM 83A1 A Woman's right to Choose Amdt. line1 (11/6/1997)

Gay Rights: Voted against Amendment 8 of the Local Government Bill 2002-2003

Maude, Francis

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Gay Rights	X	X	-	-	X		X		-2
Euthanasia		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000

Gay Rights: Voted for the Adoption and Children Bill (2001-2002)
Voted against the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) 2000
Chairman: *Cchange*
"It always seemed to me a bit pointless to disapprove of Gayity (sic). It's like disapproving of rain." (Anon, 15/11/1998)

Euthanasia: Voted against the Doctor Assisted Dying Bill (10/10/97)

Mawhinney, Brian

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues		X		X	-	-	-	-	2
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000
Signed EDM 292 'Human Cloning and the Use of Embryonic Stem Cells' (5/2/2001)

Gay Rights: Voted against Amendment 8 of the Local Government Bill 2002-2003

Euthanasia: Voted against the Doctor Assisted Dying Bill (10/10/97)

May, Theresa

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Gay Rights		X	-	-	X		-	-	0
Euthanasia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000

Gay Rights: Voted against the Adoption and Children Bill (2001-2002)

Euthanasia: Voted against the Doctor Assisted Dying Bill (10/10/97)

McIntosh, Anne

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep Issues	X		-	-	-	-	-	-	-1
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia		X		X	-	-	-	-	2

Reproductive Issues: Voted for the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000

Gay Rights: Voted against the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) 2000

Euthanasia: Voted against the Doctor Assisted Dying Bill (10/10/97)
Signed EDM 3 'Hospices' (13/11/2002)

McLoughlin, Patrick

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000

Gay Rights: Voted against the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) 2000

Euthanasia: Voted against the Doctor Assisted Dying Bill (10/10/97)

Mercer, Patrick

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia	-	-		X	-	-	-	-	1

Gay Rights: Voted against Amendment 8 of the Local Government Bill 2002-2003

Euthanasia: Signed EDM 3 'Hospices' (13/11/2002)

Merchant, Piers

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues									
Gay Rights									
Euthanasia									

Resigned shortly after 1997 election, used evidence from Heppell, 2002

Mitchell, Andrew

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Gay Rights	X	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Euthanasia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Gay Rights: Voted for Amendment 8 of the Local Government Bill 2002-2003
Voted against the Adoption and Children Bill (2001-2002)

Moss, Malcolm

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia	-	-	-	X	-	-	-	-	1

Gay Rights: Voted against the Adoption and Children Bill (2001-2002)

Euthanasia: Signed EDM 3 'Hospices' (13/11/2002)

Murrison, Andrew

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Gay Rights	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Euthanasia	-	-		X	-	-	-	-	1

Euthanasia: Signed EDM 3 'Hospices' (13/11/2002)

Nicholls, Patrick

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000

Gay Rights: Voted against the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) 2000

Euthanasia: Voted against the Doctor Assisted Dying Bill (10/12/97)

Norman, Archie

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Gay Rights	X		-	-	X		-	-	-2
Euthanasia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

Gay Rights: Voted for Amendment 8 of the Local Government Bill 2002-2003
Board member: *Cchange*

O'Brien, Stephan

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep Issues		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia	-	-		X	-	-	-	-	1

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000

Gay Rights: Voted against Amendment 8 of the Local Government Bill 2002-2003

Euthanasia: Signed EDM 3 'Hospices' (13/11/2002)

Osbourne, George

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Gay Rights	X		-	-	-	-	-	-	-1
Euthanasia	-	-		X	-	-	-	-	1

Gay Rights: Voted for Amendment 8 of the Local Government Bill 2002-2003

Euthanasia: Signed EDM 3 'Hospices' (13/11/2002)

Ottaway, Richard

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	X		X	-	-	-	-	-	-2
Gay Rights	X	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Euthanasia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

Reproductive Issues: Voted for the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000
Signed EDM 1531 'World Population Day' (7/7/2003)

Gay Rights: Voted for Amendment 8 of the Local Government Bill 2002-2003
Voted against the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) 2000

Page, Richard

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	X		-	-	-	-	-	-	-1
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Reproductive Issues: Voted for the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000

Gay Rights: Voted against the Adoption and Children Bill (2001-2002)

Euthanasia: Voted against the Doctor Assisted Dying Bill (10/10/97)

Paice, James

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	X		-	-	-	-	-	-	-1
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Reproductive Issues: Voted for the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000

Gay Rights: Voted against the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) 2000

Euthanasia: Voted against the Doctor Assisted Dying Bill (10/10/97)

Paterson, Owen

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

Gay Rights: Voted against the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) 2000

Pickles, Eric

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000

Gay Rights: Voted against Amendment 8 of the Local Government Bill 2002-2003

Euthanasia: Voted against the Doctor Assisted Dying Bill (10/10/97)

Portillo, Michael

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Gay Rights	X		-	-	-	-	X		-2
Euthanasia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

Gay Rights: Voted for the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) 2000
 We are for people whatever their sexual orientation. The Conservative Party isn't merely a party of tolerance: it's a party willing to accord every one of our citizens respect. Why should people respect us if we withhold respect from them? (Portillo, 2000)

Prior, David

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	X			X	-	-	-	-	0
Gay Rights	X		-	-	-	-	-	-	-1
Euthanasia		X		X	-	-	-	-	2

Reproductive Issues: Voted for the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000
 Signed EDM 172 'The Death of Caroline Bacon and the Provision of Contraceptives to Minors' (13/1/1999)

Gay Rights: Voted for the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) 2000

Euthanasia: Voted against the Doctor Assisted Dying Bill (10/12/97)
 Signed EDM 832 'Statement from the Chief Rabbi and Cardinal Winning on Euthanasia' (14/7/1999)

Prisk, Mark

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Gay Rights: Voted against Amendment 8 of the Local Government Bill 2002-2003

Randall, John

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia		X		X	-	-	-	-	2

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000

Gay Rights: Voted against Amendment 8 of the Local Government Bill 2002-2003

Euthanasia: Voted against the Doctor Assisted Dying Bill (10/10/97)
Signed EDM 3 'Hospices' (13/11/2002)

Redwood, John

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-		X	2
Euthanasia		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000

Gay Rights: Voted against Amendment 8 of the Local Government Bill 2002-2003
“...a commonsense approach which prevents the abuse of taxpayers' money and provides parents with guarantees they want on what is and is not taught in the classroom.” (Anon., 25/1/2000)

Euthanasia: Voted for the Medical Treatment (Prevention of Euthanasia) Bill 1999-2000

Robathan, Andrew

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000

Gay Rights: Voted against Amendment 8 of the Local Government Bill 2002-2003

Euthanasia: Voted against the Doctor Assisted Dying Bill (10/10/97)

Robertson, Hugh

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep Issues	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia	-	-		X	-	-	-	-	1

Gay Rights: Voted against Amendment 8 of the Local Government Bill 2002-2003

Euthanasia: Signed EDM 3 'Hospices' (13/11/2002)

Robertson, Laurence

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	X			X	-	-	-	-	0
Gay Rights		X		X	-	-		X	3
Euthanasia		X		X	-	-	-	-	2

Reproductive Issues: Voted for the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000
Signed EDM 172 'Death of Caroline Bacon and the Provision of Contraception to Minors' (13/1/1999)

Gay Rights: Voted against Amendment 8 of the Local Government Bill 2002-2003
Signed EDM 1196 'Age of Consent' 23/11/2000
"I don't think Gays are ever going to be accepted as completely the same. I don't necessarily think they should be. It isn't a normal situation. It's not a normal act." (Anon. 4/7/2003)

Euthanasia: Voted for the Medical Treatment (Prevention of Euthanasia) Bill 1999-2000
Signed EDM 468 'Euthanasia' (8/1/2003)

Roe, Marion

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues		X		X	-	-	-	-	2
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia		X		X	-	-	-	-	2

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000
Signed EDM 395A1 'Human Fertilisation and Embryology Authority' Amdt. line 1

Gay Rights: Voted against Amendment 8 of the Local Government Bill 2002-2003

Euthanasia: Voted for the Medical Treatment (Prevention of Euthanasia) Bill 1999-2000
Signed EDM 1333 'Patient (Assisted Dying) Bill and the BMA' (4/6/2003)

Rosindell, Andrew

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	-	-		X	-	X	-	-	2
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	X	-	-	2
Euthanasia	-	-		X		X	-	-	2

Reproductive Issues: Signed EDM 395A1 'Human Fertilisation and Embryology Authority' Amdt. line 1
Member: *Conservative Christian Fellowship*

Gay Rights: Voted against Amendment 8 of the Local Government Bill 2002-2003
Member: *Conservative Christian Fellowship*

Euthanasia: Signed EDM 1273 'Euthanasia and the BBC' (21/5/2003)
Member: *Conservative Christian Fellowship*

Ruffley, David

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Gay Rights: Voted against the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) 2000

Rowe, Andrew

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	X		-	-	-	-	-	-	-1
Gay Rights	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Euthanasia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

Reproductive Issues: Voted for the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000

St. Aubyn, Nick

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues		X		X	-	-	-	-	2
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000
Signed EDM 83A1 'A Woman's Right to Choose' Amdt. Line 1 (11/07/1997)

Gay Rights: Voted against the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) 2000

Euthanasia: Voted against the Doctor Assisted Dying Bill (10/12/1997)

Sayed, Jonathan

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia		X	-	X	-	-	-	-	2

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000

Gay Rights: Voted against the Adoption and Children Bill (2001-2002)

Euthanasia: Voted for the Medical Treatment (Prevention of Euthanasia) Bill 1999-2000
Signed EDM 3 'Hospices' (13/11/2002)

Selous, Andrew

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	-	-		X		X	-	-	2
Gay Rights		X	-	-		X	-	-	2
Euthanasia	-	-		X		X	-	-	2

Reproductive Issues: Signed EDM 809 'Sex education in the Netherlands' (4/3/2003)
Director: *Conservative Christian Fellowship*

Gay Rights: Teller for those who voted against Amendment 8 of the Local Government Bill 2002-2003
Director: *Conservative Christian Fellowship*

Euthanasia: Signed EDM 1333 'Patient (Assisted Dying) Bill and the BMA' (4/6/2003)
Director: *Conservative Christian Fellowship*

Shephard, Gillian

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000

Gay Rights: Voted against the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) 2000

Euthanasia: Voted against the Doctor Assisted Dying Bill (10/10/1997)

Shepherd, Richard

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	-	-		X	-	-	-	-	1
Gay Rights	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Euthanasia		X		X	-	-	-	-	2

Reproductive Issues: Signed EDM 237 'Select committee on Human and Other Genetic Engineering' (23/1/2001)

Euthanasia: Voted for the Medical Treatment (Prevention of Euthanasia) Bill 1999-2000
Signed EDM 693 'Prevention of Euthanasia by Omission' (8/5/2000)

Simmonds, Mark

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

Gay Rights: Voted against the Adoption and Children Bill (2001-2002)

Simpson, Keith

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	-	-		X	-	-	-	-	1
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Reproductive Issues: Signed EDM 809 'Sex education in the Netherlands' (4/3/2003)

Gay Rights: Voted against the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) 2000

Euthanasia: Voted against the Doctor Assisted Dying Bill (10/10/1997)

Soames, Nicholas

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	X		-	-	-	-	-	-	-1
Gay Rights	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Euthanasia		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Reproductive Issues: Voted for the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000

Euthanasia: Voted against the Doctor Assisted Dying Bill (10/10/1997)

Spelman, Caroline

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues		X		X		X	-	-	3
Gay Rights		X	-	-		X	-	-	2
Euthanasia		X	-	-		X	-	-	2

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000
Signed EDM 120 'Medicines (S.I., 2000, No. 3231)
(18/12/2000)
Member: *Conservative Christian Fellowship*

Gay Rights: Voted against the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) 2000
Member: *Conservative Christian Fellowship*

Euthanasia: Voted against the Doctor Assisted Dying Bill (10/10/1997)
Member: *Conservative Christian Fellowship*

Spicer, Michael

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000

Gay Rights: Voted against the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) 2000

Euthanasia: Voted for the Medical Treatment (Prevention of Euthanasia) Bill 1999-2000

Spink, Robert

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	-	-		X	-	-	-	-	1
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia	-	-		X	-	-	-	-	1

Reproductive Issues: Signed EDM 809 'Sex education in the Netherlands' (4/3/2003)

Gay Rights: Voted against Amendment 8 of the Local Government Bill 2002-2003

Euthanasia: Signed EDM 468 'Euthanasia' (8/1/2003)

Richard Spring

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Gay Rights	X		-	-	-	-	-	-	-1
Euthanasia		X	-	-	-	-			1

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000

Gay Rights: Voted for Amendment 8 of the Local Government Bill 2002-2003

Euthanasia: Voted against the Doctor Assisted Dying Bill (10/10/1997)

Stanley, John

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	X			X	-	-	-	-	0
Gay Rights	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Euthanasia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

Reproductive Issues: Voted for the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000
Signed EDM 120 ‘Medicines (S.I., 2000, No. 3231)
(18/12/2000)

Steen, Anthony

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues		X		X	-	-	-	-	2
Gay Rights	-	-	-	-	-	-	X		-1
Euthanasia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000
Signed EDM 292 ‘Human Cloning and the Use of Embryonic Stem Cells’ (5/2/2001)

Gay Rights: “Whilst I have reservations on Gay couples adopting children, I am advised on overwhelming evidence that children are better off adopted by loving couples, whether married or unmarried, than they would be living alone in a public institution.” (Watt, 5/11/2002)

Streeter, Gary

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues		X	-	-		X	-	-	2
Gay Rights		X	-	-		X	-	-	2
Euthanasia		X		X		X	-	-	3

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000
Director: *Conservative Christian Fellowship*

Gay Rights: Voted against the Adoption and Children Bill (2001-2002)
Director: *Conservative Christian Fellowship*

Euthanasia: Voted against the Doctor Assisted Dying Bill (10/10/1997)
Signed EDM 468 'Euthanasia' (8/1/2003)
Director: *Conservative Christian Fellowship*

Swayne, Desmond

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues		X		X		X	-	-	3
Gay Rights		X	-	-		X		X	3
Euthanasia		X		X		X		X	4

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000
Signed EDM 395A1 ‘Human Fertilisation and Embryology Authority’ Amdt. line 1
Member: *Conservative Christian Fellowship*

Gay Rights: Voted against the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) 2000
Member: *Conservative Christian Fellowship*
“...the bill...will serve to entrap a small number of young men in a lifestyle that is gross and unnatural, and who might otherwise have led a life that was not blighted in that way”
(Anon, 1/3/1999)

Euthanasia: Voted against the Doctor Assisted Dying Bill (10/10/1997)
Signed EDM 832 ‘Statements from the Chief Rabbi and Cardinal Winning on Euthanasia’
Member: *Conservative Christian Fellowship*
One of the tragedies in the present fight is caused by some of those supporting euthanasia who feed on fear. They claim that all they want is the ‘choice’ to enable people to die how and when they please. Yet they present a case giving no real choice – and, instead, give the impression that either cancer sufferers die in agony ... or choose euthanasia.” (Swayne, 2003)

Swire, Hugo

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

Gay Rights: Voted against Amendment 8 of the Local Government Bill 2002-2003

Syms, Robert

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000

Gay Rights: Voted against Amendment 8 of the Local Government Bill 2002-2003

Euthanasia: Voted against the Doctor Assisted Dying Bill (10/10/1997)

Tapsell, Peter

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Gay Rights: Voted against the Adoption and Children Bill (2001-2002)

Euthanasia: Voted against the Doctor Assisted Dying Bill (10/10/97)

Taylor, Ian

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	X		-	-	-	-	X		-2
Gay Rights	X	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Euthanasia		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Reproductive Issues: Voted for the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000
 “The House of Lords Select Committee on Stem Cell Research, after thoroughly examining the issues in more detail, has reached a positive conclusion. These advances have been widely welcomed by those of us who champion the proper use of science for medical advancement. Stem cell and cell nuclear replacement (CNR) research could result in new treatments for degenerative diseases such as Parkinson's disease, as well as Aids and diabetes.” (Taylor 25/3/2002)

Gay Rights: Voted against the Adoption and Children Bill (2001-2002)
 Voted for Amendment 8 of the Local Government Bill 2002-2003

Euthanasia: Voted against the Doctor Assisted Dying Bill (10/10/1997)

Taylor, John

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues		X		X	-	-	-	-	2
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia		X		X	-	-	-	-	2

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000
 Signed EDM 120 ‘Medicines (S.I., 2000, No. 3231)
 (18/12/2000)

Gay Rights: Voted against the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) 2000

Euthanasia: Voted against the Doctor Assisted Dying Bill (10/10/1997)
 Signed EDM 693 ‘Prevention of Euthanasia by Omission’
 (8/5/2000)

Taylor, Teddy

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues		X		X	-	-	-	-	2
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia		X		X	-	-	-	-	2

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000
Signed EDM 292 'Human Cloning and the Use of Embryonic Stem Cells' (5/2/2001)

Gay Rights: Voted against the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) 2000

Euthanasia: Voted against the Doctor Assisted Dying Bill (10/10/1997)
Signed EDM 468 Euthanasia (8/1/2003)

Temple-Morris, Peter

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues									
Gay Rights									
Euthanasia									

Resigned from the Conservative Party in 1998, used evidence from Heppell, 2002

Townend, John

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	X		-	-	-	-	-	-	-1
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia	X		-	-	-	-	-	-	-1

Reproductive Issues: Voted for the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000

Gay Rights: Voted against the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) 2000

Euthanasia: Voted for the Doctor Assisted Dying Bill (10/12/1997)

Treddinick, David

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	X		-	-	-	-	-	-	-1
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

Reproductive Issues: Voted for the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000

Gay Rights: Voted against the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) 2000

Trend, Michael

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues		X		X	-	-	-	-	2
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia		X		X	-	-	-	-	2

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000
Signed EDM 49 'Human Cloning' (6/12/2000)

Gay Rights: Voted against the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) 2000

Euthanasia: Voted against the Doctor Assisted Dying Bill (10/10/1997)
Signed EDM 693 'Prevention of Euthanasia by Omission' (8/5/2000)

Turner, Andrew

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

Gay Rights: Voted against Amendment 8 of the Local Government Bill 2002-2003

Tyrie, Andrew

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	X		-	-	-	-	-	-	-1
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

Reproductive Issues: Voted for the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000

Gay Rights: Voted against the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) 2000

Viggers, Peter

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	X		-	-	-	-	-	-	-1
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-		X	2
Hunting		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia		X		X	-	-	-	-	2

Reproductive Issues: Voted for the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000

Gay Rights: Voted against the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) 2000
 “The Bill is always described as “reducing the age of consent”, which sounds perfectly acceptable, but has it occurred to my hon. Friend that, if the description were to go on to list the acts in question, that would put a different complexion on the matter?” (Hansard, 25/1/1999)

Euthanasia: Voted against the Doctor Assisted Dying Bill (10/10/1997)
 Signed EDM 3 ‘Hospices’ (13/11/2002)

Walter, Robert

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-		X	2
Euthanasia		X		X	-	-	-	-	2

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000

Gay Rights: Voted against the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) 2000
 “I regard this as a simple matter of child protection. There is no concept of equality with natural sexual practices. This law will be a charter for child molesters and I totally oppose it.” (Walter, 29/2/2000)

Euthanasia: Voted against the Doctor Assisted Dying Bill (10/10/1997)
 Signed EDM 3 ‘Hospices’ (13/11/2002)

Wardle, Charles

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues		X		X	-	-	-	-	2
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia		X		X	-	-	-	-	2

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000
 Signed EDM 120 ‘Medicines’ (S.I., 2000, No. 3231)
 (18/12/2000)

Gay Rights: Voted against the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) 2000

Euthanasia: Voted against the Doctor Assisted Dying Bill (10/12/1997)
 Signed EDM 693 ‘Prevention of Euthanasia by Omission’
 (8/5/2000)

Waterson, Nigel

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-		X	2
Euthanasia		X		X	-	-		X	3

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000

Gay Rights: Voted against the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) 2000
 “The government’s obsession with Section 28 illustrates how Labour's liberal elite are out of touch with the mainstream views of everyday people across Britain.” (Anon. 25/9/2000)

Euthanasia: Voted against the Doctor Assisted Dying Bill (10/10/1997)
 Signed EDM 3 ‘Hospices’ (13/11/2002)
 “Surely the answer to euthanasia for a compassionate and civilised society rests with the development of our hospice movement, which is the finest in the world and which gives patients a real dignity when dying.” (Anon. 2/1/2003)

Watkinson, Angela

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	-	-		X		X	-	-	2
Gay Rights		X	-	-		X	-	-	2
Euthanasia	-	-		X		X	-	-	2

Reproductive Issues: Signed EDM 900 ‘Regulation of Fertility Clinics’
 Member: *Conservative Christian Federation*

Gay Rights: Voted against Amendment 8 of the Local Government Bill 2002-2003
 Member: *Conservative Christian Federation*

Euthanasia: Signed EDM 1333 ‘Patient (Assisted Dying) Bill and the BMA’ (4/6/2003)
 Member: *Conservative Christian Federation*

Wells, Bowen

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues		X		X	-	-	-	-	2
Gay Rights	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Euthanasia		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000
Signed EDM 237 ‘Select committee on Human and Other Genetic Engineering’ (23/1/2001)

Euthanasia: Voted against the Doctor Assisted Dying Bill (10/12/1997)

Whitney, Ray

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	-	-		X	-	-	-	-	1
Gay Rights	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Euthanasia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

Reproductive Issues: Signed EDM 1247A2 ‘Access to Abortion’ Amdt. Line 1 (29/4/1998)

Whittingdale, John

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000

Gay Rights: Voted against the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) 2000

Euthanasia: Voted against the Doctor Assisted Dying Bill (10/10/1997)

Widdecombe, Ann

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues		X		X		X	-	-	3
Gay Rights		X						X	2
Euthanasia		X		X		X		X	3

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000
Signed EDM 692 ‘Abortion’ (26/01/1998)
Patron of Life (Pro-life group)

Gay Rights: Voted against the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) 2000
‘I believe Gayity to be wrong but I do not pronounce judgements on individuals. I do however believe it to be wrong...I cannot say that I find it a particularly attractive subject to speculate on at all. (Gledhill, 1999)

Euthanasia: Voted against the Doctor Assisted Dying Bill (10/10/1997)
Signed EDM 468 Euthanasia (8/1/2003)
Member: *All-Party Parliamentary Pro-Life Group*
“The issue here is not whether one thinks it a good or bad thing that these have been the effects of those laws; rather the issue is that quite undeniably the effects were not foreseen. For that reason I believe that if we were to legalise voluntary euthanasia then, no matter how tightly the law was framed, in ten years time no Granny would be safe. If I am right then the State has an appropriate role in this sphere also.” (Widdecombe, 1999)

Wiggin, Bill

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	-	-		X	-	-	-	-	1
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia	-	-		X	-	-	-	-	1

Reproductive Issues: Signed EDM 457 ‘Cell Nuclear Replacement’ (21/11/2001)

Gay Rights: Voted against Amendment 8 of the Local Government Bill 2002-2003

Euthanasia: Signed EDM 359 ‘Right to Life Human-Rights Care Card’ (6/11/2001)

Wilkinson, John

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	X			X	-	-	-	-	0
Gay Rights		X		X	-	-	-	-	2
Euthanasia		X		X	-	-	-	-	2

Reproductive Issues: Voted for the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000
Signed EDM 83A1 A Woman's right to Choose Amdt. line1 (11/6/1997)

Gay Rights: Voted against Amendment 8 of the Local Government Bill 2002-2003
Signed EDM 1176 'Age of Consent' (23/11/2000)

Euthanasia: Voted for the Medical Treatment (Prevention of Euthanasia) Bill 1999-2000
Signed EDM 832 'Statements from the Chief Rabbi and Cardinal Winning on Euthanasia' (14/7/1999)

Willetts, David

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Gay Rights		X	-	-	X		-	-	0
Euthanasia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

Gay Rights: Voted against the Adoption and Children Bill (2001-2002)
Board Member: *Cchange*

Wilshire, David

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	X		-	-	-	-	-	-	-1
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-		X	2
Euthanasia	-	-		X	-	-	-	-	1

Reproductive Issues: Voted for the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000

Gay Rights: Voted against Amendment 8 of the Local Government Bill 2002-2003
 “I believe that section 28 has worked, because the things that were happening stopped. If local government has no wish to promote or to attempt promote Gayity, what is the fuss all about?” (Hansard, 10/3/2003)

Euthanasia: Signed EDM 3 ‘Hospices’ (13/11/2002)

Winterton, Ann

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues		X		X		X			3
Gay Rights		X		X					2
Euthanasia		X		X		X		X	4

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000
Signed EDM 692 'Abortion' (26/01/1998)
Member: *All-Party Parliamentary Pro-Life Group*

Gay rights: Voted against the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) 2000
Signed EDM 92 'Moral Ethos of the Nation' (12/12/2000)

Euthanasia: Voted for the Medical Treatment (Prevention of Euthanasia) Bill 1999-2000
Signed EDM 468 Euthanasia (8/1/2003)
Member: *All-Party Parliamentary Pro-Life Group*
"In any civilised society the elderly, the weak, the sick and the vulnerable should be given the protection of law. The Government and the BMA must not be allowed to turn a blind eye to what is happening in hospitals today. It is imperative that all those who have a religious faith do all they can to protect human dignity: for those of us in public life that means putting these matters before all others. I will continue to pursue this matter utilising every available Parliamentary opportunity."
(Winterton, A., 2000)

Winterton, Nicholas

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues		X		X		X	-	-	3
Gay Rights		X		X	-	-		X	3
Euthanasia		X		X		X	-	-	3

Reproductive Issues: Voted against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000
Signed EDM 292 'Human Cloning and the Use of Embryonic Stem Cells' (5/2/2001)
Member: *All-Party Parliamentary Pro-Life Group*

Gay Rights: Voted against Amendment 8 of the Local Government Bill 2002-2003
Signed EDM 92 'Moral Ethos of the Nation' (12/12/2000)
"If God had intended men to commit sodomy, their bodies would have been built differently" (Hoggart, 26/1/1999)

Euthanasia: Voted against the Doctor Assisted Dying Bill (10/10/1997)
Signed EDM 1333 'Patient (Assisted Dying) Bill and the BMA' (4/6/2003)
Member: *All-Party Parliamentary Pro-Life Group*

Woodward, Shaun

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues									
Gay Rights									
Euthanasia									

Defected to Labour 1999, excluded from study

Yeo, Timothy

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	X		-	-	-	-	-	-	-1
Gay Rights	X	X	-	-	X		-	-	-1
Hunting		X	-	-	-	-		X	2
Euthanasia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

Reproductive Issues: Voted for the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000

Gay Rights: Voted for Amendment 8 of the Local Government Bill 2002-2003
Voted against the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) 2000
Board Member: *Cchange*

Young, George

	Division List		EDM		Group membership		Public statement		Score
	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	SL	SC	
Rep. Issues	X		-	-	-	-	-	-	-1
Gay Rights		X	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euthanasia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0

Reproductive Issues: Voted for the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000

Gay rights: Voted against the Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) 2000

Early Day Motions

EDM 301 (24/7/1997) *Eviction of Gay Tenants*

That this House notes with concern the recent decision of the Court of Appeal that a gay man who lived with his partner for 20 years and was his full-time carer for 10 years had no protection from eviction when his partner died, because the law affords such protection only to heterosexual couples; notes that the man now faces imminent eviction; further notes the Court of Appeal's unanimous call on Parliament to change the law to end this discrimination; and calls on the Secretary of State to bring legislation before this House to enable it to redress this injustice at an early opportunity.

EDM 83A1 (11/6/1997) *A Woman's right to Choose Amdt. Line 1*

leave out from 'House' to end and add 'sympathises with all women experiencing difficulties in their pregnancies, whether these be social, economic or emotional and makes no criticism of those who have for whatever reason felt it appropriate to seek an abortion; nonetheless notes that the Abortion Act does not confer on a woman the right to have an abortion, but further notes that since the implementation of that law there have been about 4.5 million abortions in the United Kingdom of which over 95 per cent. have been performed for reasons essentially of social convenience; observes that abortion has demonstrably failed to solve the social problems for which it was hailed as the panacea and that it has done nothing to liberate women, instead providing men with the opportunity to refuse to face the consequences of their actions; notes that opinion polls regularly show considerable opposition to social abortion and the killing of unborn children, including a Daily Mirror poll on the recent case in Scotland, in which 80 per cent. of the respondents felt it wrong for the mother concerned to have an abortion; and calls upon Her Majesty's Government to promote instead practical alternatives to abortion.

EDM 315 (29/7/1997) *Euthanasia*

That this House welcomes the unanimous (9-0) decision by the Supreme Court of the United States of America to reject physician assisted suicide; agrees with Chief Justice Rehnquist that 'all civilised nations demonstrate their commitment to life' and that 'doctor assisted suicide has no place in our nation's traditions, given the country's consistent, almost universal and continuing rejection of it'; furthermore notes the 'overwhelming' rejection of euthanasia by representatives at the British Medical Association's annual conference in Edinburgh; and calls on the Government to continue with the policy of its predecessor in opposing the efforts of the vociferous few who would wish to legalise euthanasia either directly or through legally binding advance directives, living wills

EDM 334A2 (30/10/1997) *30th Anniversary of the 1967 Abortion Act Amdt. line 1:*

leave out from 'House' to end and add 'expresses its sadness that in the 30 years since the introduction of the Abortion Act 1967 as amended by the Human Fertilisation and Embryology Act 1990 over 4.5 million unborn children have been aborted; notes that in a significant percentage of cases psychological or psychiatric disturbances occur in women who have had an induced abortion; further notes that from the outset the Act has allowed abortion virtually on demand despite opinion poll evidence that the majority of the public are opposed to such a policy; and further notes that laws

protecting unborn children are no bar to the well being of women and families as can be clearly seen in Northern Ireland where maternal mortality and child death rates resulting from violence (including terrorist activities) are the lowest of any region in the United Kingdom.'

EDM 692 (26/1/1998) *Abortion*

That this House notes that after drawing the first place in the Private Members Ballot in 1966, the then honourable Member for Roxburgh, Selkirk and Peebles, now the noble Lord Steel, was approached by the then honourable Member for Lincoln, now the noble Lord Taverne, on behalf of the then Right honourable Member for Birmingham, Stechford, now the noble Lord Jenkins, supported by the then Right honourable Member for Coventry East, the late Richard Crossman, and the then Right honourable Member for Sowerby, the late Douglas Houghton, afterwards the noble Lord Houghton, all members of the Cabinet, to ask if he would introduce a bill to liberalise abortion, promising Government support; notes that the Bill would have fallen but for the fact that the Government provided extra time to enable it to reach the Statute Book; notes that from the outset the legislation has resulted in abortion virtually on demand; notes that nonetheless, the present Secretary of State for Health, the Right honourable Member for Holborn and St Pancras, has now called for the law to be made even more liberal in the first weeks of pregnancy and in particular to allow abortion on the signature of one doctor; notes the Government's claim to hold no policy on abortion and; therefore, calls on them to take no action to weaken the minimal safeguards in the current legislation

EDM 1247A2 (29/4/1998) *Access to Abortion Amdt. Line 1:*

leave out from 'effect' to end and add 'expresses, yet again, serious concern at the manner in which abortion virtually on demand is practised under the present law contrary to the promises of its sponsors; notes that two successive Gallup polls among gynaecologists have shown that about 72 per cent. stated that NHS hospitals in which they work or had worked practised abortion on demand thus creating "inequalities" through doctors flouting the law; notes that complaints about inequalities in the NHS have been persistently used by private abortion clinics to justify the enormous numbers of abortions carried out by their doctors practising abortion on demand; recalls the motion passed by a recent BMA junior doctors conference condemning the harassment of junior doctors exercising their legal right not to be involved in abortion and asking for action to protect them; further notes that as the Social Services Select Committee reported in 1991 many young doctors have had their careers in gynaecology destroyed as a result of their objections to abortion-particularly on demand; and condemns the call for it to be mandatory for all doctors with a conscientious objection to abortion to register thus strengthening the legal framework for a witch-hunt against those opposed to abortion in principle as well as against those doctors who would accept some abortions but, acting responsibly, would object in other cases, such as where the operation could cause damage to the physical or mental health of their patients.'

EDM 172 (13/1/1999) *Death of Caroline Bacon and the Provision of Contraceptives to Minors*

That this House expresses its sadness and regret at the tragic death of 16 year old Caroline Bacon, who died after 11 months' paralysis following a stroke; notes that her

condition arose as a medical complication arising from her taking the contraceptive pill for six months from the age of fourteen and a half years; further notes that inadequate medical checks were undertaken at the time she was prescribed that oral contraception; believes that powerful oral contraceptives should only be prescribed to patients after proper counselling, advice upon attendant risks, and following due medical investigation; extends its deep sympathy to Mr and Mrs Bacon on the death of their daughter; sympathises with their anger and frustration that such contraceptives had been prescribed for Caroline without their knowledge; believes that all parents have a right to be informed that contraceptives have been prescribed to their children aged under 16 years; and invites Her Majesty's Government urgently to review the law and the guidelines issued to medical practitioners in this area.

EDM832 (14/7/1999) *Statements from Chief Rabbi and Cardinal winning on Euthanasia*

That this House welcomes the individual statements from the Chief Rabbi, Professor Jonathan Sacks, and from His Grace Cardinal Thomas Winning of Glasgow, each expressing deep regret and concern at the BMA guidelines on withholding and withdrawing nutrition and hydration from patients; notes that both these important religious leaders view with alarm the fact that such treatment would deliberately end the lives of patients and 'represent a shift from a value system in which human life is considered sacrosanct to one in which its value is relative and subjective'; applauds their call to politicians, regardless of political affiliation, 'to exert their influence to curb the disturbing trend towards the legislation of euthanasia'; and in response calls, once again, on the Secretary of State immediately to circulate all hospitals and health care workers to emphasise that the BMA guidelines contravene the present law and should not be adopted.

EDM 118 (30/11/1999) *Emergency Contraception*

That this House congratulates the French Government for its latest initiative on emergency contraception; recognises that emergency contraception could make a significant contribution to the reduction of unwanted pregnancies but that its current status as a prescription-only medicine available from general practitioners, family planning clinics and some accident and emergency departments prevents women from obtaining it easily; notes that the risks associated with emergency contraception are extremely small and that experts on contraception have argued that it could be provided safely and appropriately by pharmacists without a prescription; is aware that the Crown Review of Prescribing, Supply and Administration of Medicines has recently examined the use of group protocols which allow appropriate professionals other than doctors, such as nurses and pharmacists to supply or administer named medicines; and believes that pharmacy prescription of emergency contraception should be implemented as soon as possible.

EDM 693 (8/5/2000) *Prevention of Euthanasia by Omission*

That this House notes admissions by leading members of the euthanasia lobby such as Professor Sheila McLean that the withdrawal of treatment, including food and fluid, to end the lives of PVS patients and others who are not dying endorses 'a form of non-voluntary euthanasia'; regrets that the Department of Health has done nothing to halt such practices; observes wide scale newspaper reports that the denial of resuscitation and of assisted food and fluid to elderly and some sick patients is spreading

alarmingly; notes that this attitude reflects aspects of the BMA guidelines on Withholding and Withdrawing Life-Prolonging Medical Treatment which advocate extending the withdrawal of treatment, including tube feeding to a wide range of patients who are not in PVS; notes that the Deputy Minister for Community Care in Scotland has stated that doctors who follow the BMA Guidelines would be open to a criminal prosecution; regrets the failure, nonetheless, of the Department of Health to make it clear that the BMA Guidelines are not legal guidelines; notes that the Department must therefore accept responsibility for the treatment of elderly patients in some sectors of the NHS; further notes that throughout the debates on the Medical Treatment (Prevention of Euthanasia) Bill the Department of Health also supported misinformed attacks by the BMA to obstruct the Bill; and invites the Government to reconsider its position and honour its stated opposition to euthanasia and to ensure the Bill is given adequate time to complete all stages.

EDM 1176 (23/11/2000) *Age of Consent*

That this House notes that in the Other Place Her Majesty's Government arranged for consideration in Committee of the Sexual Offences (Amendment) Bill to be taken seven months after its second reading; notes that Sir Keith Waterhouse in his report into child abuse in North Wales warned Parliament of the risks posed to boys by lowering the age of consent; deplores Her Majesty's Government's decision to deny this House the opportunity to consider the Amendments approved by the Other Place; further deplores Her Majesty's Government's decision to apply the Parliament Acts to a bill which has not concluded its consideration in both Houses; and calls on Her Majesty's Government to drop its plans to force this measure through Parliament by recourse to the Parliament Acts.

EDM 49 (6/12/2000) *Human Cloning*

That this House notes the strong polarisation of views both among the people of the country and among Right honourable and honourable Members on the important issue of human cloning; acknowledges that cloning raises important ethical and scientific questions which require the most careful consideration; welcomes as the commencement of a process of consideration the debate on these issues on Friday 17th November; regrets that a majority of Right honourable and honourable Members did not have sufficient notice to be able to attend this important debate; believes that prudence and wisdom require much more detailed consideration before decisions are taken; and invites Her Majesty's Government to pause for further reflection, to withdraw the Statutory Instrument they have laid to implement the proposals of the Donaldson Report, and to wait before acting until such time as this House and the people of this country have had a full opportunity to judge the long-term implications of human cloning.

EDM 92 (12/12/2000) *The Moral Ethos of The Nation*

That this House notes with profound concern the announcement by health ministers that they intend to make the abortifacient 'morning after' pill available over the counter, thus undermining still further respect for both human life and for the institution of marriage; observes with regret that the present Government also opposes attempts to amend the law to prevent euthanasia; deeply regrets also its lowering to 16 years of the age at which buggery is permitted for both boys and girls, and that it

remains committed to removing the ban on the promotion of homosexuality in schools; observes with sadness its continuing widespread promotion of contraceptives to teenagers; further regrets the Government's active support for the creation and use of human clones for scientific research; denounces this systematic assault upon the dignity of human life, the institution of marriage, and the traditional moral ethos of our nation; and calls upon the Jewish, Christian, Muslim and other faith communities of the United Kingdom to speak now before all in which they believe is destroyed.

EDM 120 (18/12/2000) *Medicines (S.I., 2000, No. 3231)*

That the Prescription Only Medicines (Human Use) Amendment (No 3) Order 2000, dated 8th December, a copy of which was laid before this House on 12th December, be annulled.

EDM 237 (23/1/2001) *Select Committee on Human and Other Genetic Engineering*

That this House is of the opinion that in view of the ethical, social and political implications inherent in the issues of human and other genetic engineering, a Select Committee be appointed to examine the issues involved, that the Committee do consist of 11 honourable Members, that the Committee be nominated by the Committee of Selection, that three be the quorum of the Committee, that the Committee have power to send for persons, papers and records, to sit notwithstanding any adjournment of the House, to adjourn from place to place within the United Kingdom and to report from time to time, and that the Committee have power to appoint persons with technical knowledge either to supply information which is not readily available or to elucidate matters of complexity within the Committee's order of reference.

EDM 292 (5/2/2001) *Human Cloning and the Use of Embryonic Stem Cells*

That this House notes repeated assertions by Government Ministers in Both Houses that cloning and the use of embryonic stem cells may be allowed 'only if there is no other way of doing the research' 19th December 2000, Official Report, Commons, c214; regrets the manipulation of disabled people by some scientific bodies claiming that the only hope of finding cures for some diseases is through human cloning and embryonic stem cells; notes that the findings of Dr Ilham Abuljadayel that 'retrodifferentiation' enabling the creation of stem cells from adult cells has been replicated by two subsequent independent experiments, one by Professor Adrian Newland (Royal London Hospital Medical School); regrets that nonetheless Dr Abuljadayel was unable to have her findings printed in a substantial scientific journal in this country; shares the fears of Baroness Williams of Crosby (a former Science Minister) that this may have resulted from the 'scientific establishment' deciding that 'embryonic research is the way to go' 22nd January, Official Report, Lords, c51; calls on the Government to monitor research ensuring that no embryo is used where alternatives exist; assures honourable colleagues that signatories of this Motion will do likewise; welcomes the establishment of a House of Lords Select Committee; and stresses it must be adequately balanced to ensure proper investigation into scientific claims and will cover the whole issue including possible censorship of investigations which counter current dogma of the scientific community, as well as ensuring the production of human clones and use of embryos only where there is no alternative.

EDM 359 (6/11/2001) *Right to Life Human rights Care Card*

That this House notes that over two years have passed since the launch of the British Medical Association's Guidelines on Withholding and Withdrawing Life-Prolonging Treatment which advocated extending the withdrawal of treatment, including assisted food and fluid, from patients who were not dying; notes that this form of treatment was described in the Voluntary Euthanasia Society Scotland Newsletter as a 'form of non-voluntary euthanasia'; regrets, therefore, that the Department of Health has failed to inform hospitals that withdrawing food and fluid with the specific purpose of causing the death of patients contravenes the European Convention on Human Rights which 'guarantees that no-one should be deprived of his life intentionally'; therefore welcomes the Right to Life Human-Rights Care Card which people may carry in the same way that they currently carry organ-donor cards; notes that over 30 Right honourable and honourable Members and Peers attended the function to launch the card; applauds the fact that it makes clear that if anybody withdraws food and fluid (howsoever delivered) from the carrier with the purpose of causing death, they could be faced with legal action, followed if necessary by an application to the European Court of Human Rights; and calls on the Government to honour its pledge to oppose euthanasia and ensure that the Human-Rights Care Card is publicised through all relevant official channels.

EDM 457 (21/11/2001) *Cell nuclear replacement*

That this House notes the successful legal challenge by the Pro-Life Alliance through a Judicial Review showing that the Human Fertilisation & Embryology Act does not cover human clones produced by the 'Dolly' technique (cell nuclear replacement); notes that Mr Justice Cane's judgment agreed there is no law governing this form of cloning and that the Human Fertilisation & Embryology Authority has no authority either to license or to ban work in this field; recalls that honourable Members of both Houses challenged the Government's right to change the law by Statutory Instrument allowing the production of human clones for research exercises; further recalls the Government's opposition to the Lords amendment urging that no decision be taken on the Statutory Instrument until after the Judicial Review; recalls also EDM 37, 'Request For Full Debate On Human Cloning', which asked the Government to cite those sections of the 1990 debates on the HFE Bill to support its claim that the issue had been thoroughly debated; notes the Government's failure to do so; regrets the failure of a majority of honourable Members in both Houses to scrutinise properly the Government's claims, thus allowing the manipulation of procedure which denied Members the right to full debate; and calls on the Government and honourable Members to investigate fully the claims of so-called scientific experts advising the Department of Health whose assertions that human embryonic clones are vital for research into many diseases, assertions which world-wide research in the last year has shown increasingly to be without foundation.

EDM96 (29/11/2001) *Euthanasia*

That this House condemns the House of Lords' decision not to grant Diane Pretty's husband immunity from prosecution should he help her to die; notes that every opinion poll conducted in the past year registers over 80 per cent. of support for terminally ill patients to be given the choice to die in a manner and at a time of their choosing; believes that this choice should not be determined by the availability of good palliative care; is concerned that doctors practising in the United Kingdom have

repeatedly admitted that unregulated assisted dying currently takes place; and believe that legislation to regulate assisted dying, incorporating a broad range of safeguards, is required to empower terminally-ill patients with the choice to die with dignity.

EDM 3 (13/11/2002) *Hospices*

That this House congratulates the work of Help the Hospices in highlighting the work and needs of the hospice movement; points out that the Conservative Manifesto commitment at the last general election called for an increase in the NHS contribution for hospice funding from 32 per cent. to 40 per cent. for adult hospices and from four per cent. to 40 per cent. for children's hospices; acknowledges the tireless work of the dedicated staff and volunteers in providing tremendous and unswerving care to the terminally ill; and urges the Government to give the Help the Hospices recommendations their urgent attention.

EDM 578 (13/12/2001) *Embryonic Stem Cells and the New Scientist*

That this House welcomes the editorial on the 1st December edition of the prestigious journal, *New Scientist*, that the majority of bench scientists no longer think it is possible or practicable to treat patients with cells derived from cloned embryos; and, therefore, calls on Her Majesty's Government to end its support for experimental embryonic cloning and to divert its energy and resources into supporting the use of adult stem cells for the treatment of serious disease.

EDM 1522 27/6/2002) *Euthanasia (No. 2)*

That this House notes the Lord Chancellor's Consultation Paper, 'Making Decisions: Helping People Who Have Difficulty Deciding For Themselves'; notes that groups consulted for the document included the Voluntary Euthanasia Society and the British Medical Association both of which promote euthanasia by omission; regrets the Lord Chancellor's failure to consult with the British Hospice movement, an international beacon of excellence in the care of the terminally ill and dying; notes that no pro-life, Christian, Jewish nor Muslim medical groups were consulted; notes the Lord Chancellor's document refers inquirers to the VES for guidance on living wills and medical teams to the BMA guidelines on the Withdrawal and Withholding of Life Prolonging Treatment, a document condemned by the Chief Rabbi, Muslim leaders, the Evangelical Alliance, the Roman Catholic Church and many others for its promotion of medical killing by the withdrawal of assisted food and fluid from a wide range of patients; notes that 'Making Decisions' in line with the recommendations from an earlier Government publication of the same title, envisages a reformed 'Court of Protection' which could be beneficial regarding financial problems and such like; but regrets that this court may be used to extend the practice of non-voluntary euthanasia by omission, even over-riding the wishes of families (or patients' advance directives) in denying assisted food and fluid; urges the Government to honour its pledge to oppose euthanasia; and calls upon it to introduce legislation outlawing the withdrawal of assisted food and fluid with the purpose of causing death in patients.

EDM 378 (16/12/2002) *UNFPA's Annual State of the World Population Report 2002*

That this House congratulates UNFPA on its State of the World Population Report, 2002: People, Poverty and Possibilities: Making Development Work for the Poor; notes that closing the gender gap in education helps women to reduce fertility and improves child survival; further notes that in countries where girls are only half as

likely to go to school as boys, there are on average 21.1 more infant deaths per 1,000 live births than in countries with no such gender gap; further notes that Jeffery Sachs, Kofi Annan's Special Adviser on the UN Millennium Development Goals, commented that women's access to reproductive health services is not just a worthy goal on its own, but an absolutely critical tool in alleviating poverty; and recognises that reproductive health, family planning services and population policies feed into all Millennium development goals.

EDM 395A1 (18/12/2002) *Human Fertilisation and Embryology Authority Amdt. line 1:*

leave out from 'House' to end and add, 'in the light of evidence given to the Science and Technology Committee by Professor Austin Smith that the HFEA is "frustrating to deal with, inefficient and without adequate specialist knowledge", evidence given to that Committee by Dame Anne McLaren that "the HFEA seems to have a wider sphere of responsibility with every year that passes" and the Science and Technology Committee's own conclusion that "Parliament does not need protecting and democracy is not served by unelected quangos (the HFEA) taking decisions on behalf of Parliament", deplors the additional public money given by the Government to the HFEA; and calls on the Government to review in a transparent and democratic manner the purpose, scope and funding of the HFEA.'

EDM 468 (8/1/2003) *Euthanasia*

That this House notes persistent statements by the Government rejecting euthanasia; regrets however, that in correspondence the Parliamentary Secretary to the Lord Chancellor's Department now asserts that the consultation document, Making Decisions, is based upon the Law Commission 1995 Report on Mental Incapacity, a document which the Conservative Government refused to implement because it would weaken the legal prohibition on euthanasia (Hansard, 16th January 1996; columns 487-88); notes also that the Law Commission's report contradicts the 1994 Report of the House of Lords Select Committee on Medical Ethics which the Labour Government has consistently claimed to support; recalls that the Select Committee opposed euthanasia and the enshrining in Statute Law the judgement in Airedale NHS Trust v Bland 1992 which permitted the withdrawal of assisted food and fluid from Mr Tony Bland with the purpose of ending his life; notes, however, that the Parliamentary Secretary's correspondence asserts that the Government's policy on the withdrawal of assisted food and fluid is based on 'settled opinion ... as expressed by the medical profession and by the judiciary as expressed in case law'; notes, however, that Bland and subsequent judgements allow only the withdrawal of tubal feeding from PVS and similar cases on application to the courts; notes that the courts have not authorised the extension of this practice of non-voluntary euthanasia by omission to include other medical conditions; and calls on the Government to withdraw 'Making Decisions; Helping People Who Have Difficulty Deciding for Themselves'.

EDM 691 (6/2/2003) *Contraceptive Awareness Week 2003*

That this House notes the importance of Contraceptive Awareness Week from 10th to 16th February and praises the Family Planning Association for raising awareness of this important issue and sponsoring this noteworthy campaign; wholeheartedly supports FPA's campaign which this year highlights research which shows the lengths

people often have to go to get advice on contraception and sexual health; regrets that over a third of people calling FPA's helpline have had difficulty obtaining local advice and information on contraception and sexual health; further regrets that between 1991 and 2001, new episodes of sexually transmitted infections seen at GUM clinics in England, Wales and Northern Ireland rose from 669,291 to 1,332,910 and moreover, between 2000 and 2001, new episodes seen at GUM clinics in England, Wales and Northern Ireland rose from 1,195,641 to 1,332,910; is highly concerned that the burden of STI's falls unequally in the population with young heterosexuals, men who have sex with men and minority ethnic groups being at increased risk; is further concerned that overall in the UK approximately 41,200 people are living with HIV about 31 per cent. of whom are undiagnosed, and that currently the number of people living with diagnosed HIV is rising each year; hopes that through this week awareness of contraception and its availability is raised as sexual health is often marginalised as a lifestyle or personal issue when such issues should be put at the heart of the broader public health agenda.

EDM 1099 (28/4/2003) *The European Parliament and Stem Cell Research*

That this House notes the failure of the European Parliament to ratify stem cell research for the potential betterment of individual health in contradiction to the visionary decisions made in the UK Parliament.

EDM 809 (4/3/2003) *Sex Education in the Netherlands*

That this House notes the publication of, *Deconstructing The Dutch Utopia*, by the Family Education Trust, a report produced by Dr Joost van Loon, a Dutch sociologist and Reader in Social Theory at Nottingham Trent University; notes the difference in teenage pregnancy rates, with England and Wales experiencing four times the level of The Netherlands; further notes van Loon's conclusions that claims that this results from more open attitudes to sex and earlier explicit sex education are without foundation and that his research involved detailed examinations of a selection of primary and secondary schools where it was found that, contrary to claims made by UK family planning agencies, sex education is not more explicit and neither does it start at younger ages than in Britain; further notes that in sex education Dutch parents and school governors are given more control over what is taught; further notes that family links in The Netherlands are far stronger, with British children five times more likely to live in households headed by lone parents; notes that teenage extra-marital sex and pregnancy are socially frowned upon and that welfare benefits for teenage mothers are low; concludes that, whether or not one agrees with the latter policy, the Dutch Utopia is non-existent and, bearing in mind the increasing rates of teenage pregnancy and sexually transmitted diseases in Britain, calls on the Government to honour its pledge to promote sexual abstinence among the young and to do more to strengthen the role of the family.

EDM 1273 (21/5/2003) *Euthanasia and the BBC*

That this House notes the persistent bias of BBC programmes supporting the legalisation of euthanasia; further notes reports from the Disability Rights Commission, Disability Awareness in Action and other bodies that increasing numbers of disabled and sick people are frightened to be admitted to hospital because of the euthanasia campaign; notes the failure of the BBC to interview the disabled or terminally ill unless they declare support for legalised euthanasia; further notes the

complete failure of any BBC television or radio news programme to report a major survey of doctors which showed a considerable majority opposed assisted suicide and that almost three out of four would refuse to be involved if such practices were legalised; notes a story in BBC Online undermining the survey and quoting a pro-euthanasia claim that a number of surveys show a small majority of doctors supporting euthanasia; challenges BBC governors to cite such surveys; notes that one survey claiming doctors support euthanasia was conducted for the Voluntary Euthanasia Society and that no report has ever been produced by the internet company responsible for giving the number of doctors circulated, the response rate and other vital information showing the validity of the poll; notes the complete bias in the BBC News report on the tragedy of a mentally ill man who smothered his terminally ill parents, incorrectly claiming that he was discharged whereas he was placed under a two year community and rehabilitation order; and calls on the Government to require the BBC to show impartiality on all issues of public policy.

EDM 1333 (4/6/2003) *Patient (Assisted Dying) Bill and the BMA*

That this House welcomes the recent statements from the British Medical Association and the Royal College of Physicians opposing the Patient (Assisted Dying) Bill, a Bill that seeks to legalise assisted suicide and voluntary euthanasia; notes the BMA's assertion that legalising euthanasia or assisted suicide would have a profound and detrimental effect on the doctor-patient relationship; further notes that the Royal College of Physicians states that the Bill is the wrong response to the problem of unalleviated suffering and is potentially dangerous; further notes a recent independent survey of doctors that showed a considerable majority oppose assisted suicide and voluntary euthanasia and that almost three out of four doctors would refuse to perform such practices if they were legalised; and calls upon the Government to reiterate its opposition to the legalisation of assisted suicide and voluntary euthanasia and to devote more resources to palliative and geriatric care.

EDM 1531 (7/7/2003) *World Population Day*

That this House calls attention to World Population Day on 11th July; commends the United Nations' Population Fund for designating this date in 1989 to focus attention on the importance of world population and reproductive health issues; endorses the concepts of sexual and reproductive health and rights as enshrined in the 1994 International Conference on Population and Development's Programme of Action; and call upon the Government to increase funding to sexual and reproductive health and rights organisations such as UNFPA, International Planned Parenthood Concern, Marie Stopes International, Interact Worldwide previous Population Concern, International Family Health and reproductive bilateral aid in order to achieve the Millennium Development Goals, by improving maternal health, reducing child mortality, combating HIV/AIDS and ensuring environmental sustainability and thereby eradicating poverty.

Division Lists

Euthanasia:

Doctor Assisted Dying Bill (10 / 10 / 97)

A pro-euthanasia Private Member's Bill introduced by Joe Ashton MP in 1997 with the aim of permitting a doctor to end the life of a terminally ill patient.

Medical Treatment (Prevention of Euthanasia) Bill 1999-2000 (28 / 1 / 2000)

An anti-euthanasia bill introduced by Ann Winterton, which aimed to prevent doctors from purposefully ending the lives of patients by withdrawing treatment (including assisted food and fluid).

Homosexual Rights:

Adoption and Children Bill (Lansley Amendment) (20 / 5 / 02)

An amendment to the Adoption and Children Bill that will specifically exclude same-sex couples from adopting children.

Sexual Offences (Amendment Bill) 2000 (10 / 2 / 2000)

A bill to lower the homosexual age of sexual consent to 16, the same age that applies to consenting heterosexual relations.

Adoption and Children Bill (2002-2002) (7 / 11 / 2002)

An amendment to the Adoption and Children Bill that would lift the ban on unmarried and same-sex couples adopting children.

Amendment 8 of the Local Government Bill 2002-2003, 3rd reading: Hansard 10th March 2003 Col. 90-93

An amendment that would retain 'Section 28'

Reproductive Issues

Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 2000

The regulations specify additional purposes for which the Human Fertilisation and Embryology Authority may grant licences for research involving embryos under the Human Fertilisation and Embryology Act 1990.

Stem Cell Research Bill 1999-2000

A Ten Minute Rule Bill to "amend the Human Fertilisation and Embryology Act 1990 to allow the use of early embryonic tissue for the purposes of research into the development of regenerative therapies." The Bill was intended to implement Government recommendations (in the Donaldson Report) which would extend the purposes for research and experimental work for which human embryos could be used up to 14 days after fertilisation; it would have legalised human cloning for the same purposes

Bibliography of public statements

- Anon. (15/11/1998) *Your family matters most*
http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk_politics/214804.stm [Accessed 21/10/2003]
- Anon. (1/3/1999) *UK Politics: Gay consent clears Commons*
http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk_politics/288671.stm [Accessed 17/9/2003]
- Anon. (25/1/2000) *Section 28 row intensifies*
http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk_politics/618034.stm [Accessed 25/10/2003]
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