

Next Generation Capitalism:

Making the case for freedom to
tomorrow's voters today

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FREER

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(Lee Rowley, Co-Chair of FREER)

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In this publication, the author looks at how liberal and free market ideas are communicated and suggests ways of framing and reframing the case for capitalism. Although he understandably views this through an electoral lens – as an elected Member of Parliament – questions of how to communicate are of considerable interest to the Institute given our educational mission of improving the public understanding of free markets.

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Next Generation Capitalism: Making the case for freedom to tomorrow's voters today

Capitalism is in crisis. Across the globe, liberal democracies face an onslaught of criticism condemning free markets, capitalism, and enterprise. The engines that have lifted 1.5 billion people out of poverty in the last thirty years seem rusty and tarnished. Government action and market intervention are back in vogue, even amongst parties of the right. The world is, apparently, to be transformed through taxing, spending, and regulating our way to success.

No group appears more suspicious of liberal economics and market solutions than the young, who, at the same time as beginning to make their way in the world, are sending an apparent signal that they want to radically re-shape it, too. This was the group that rose up in unison in 2017 against the established capitalist order in the United Kingdom, to back a socialist promising a brighter future. The ones who, curiously, seem to decry the inequality and the iniquity of the profit motive, whilst living for the technology created by the corporate enterprise and innovation driven by it. The ones whose self-appointed, more extreme representatives will happily appear on breakfast news not just to espouse the failed creed of socialism, but, to go one further still, and talk of being “literal Communists”.

When an ideology that killed millions of people, ran gulags, and enslaved nations can be spoken about so lightly, those of us who believe in freedom should realise we have a fight on our hands.

So, what happened in the last couple of years to light a spontaneous socialist fire amongst the youth? Why do the people who are benefitting the most from the opportunities and freedoms that free markets offer appear to want to shun them? Why do we have a Starbucks-drinking, iPhone-using, Asos-draped younger generation who have had it with the economic order that has given them many of those things in the first place? And how, for a generation who take social freedom for granted, have they decided that economic freedom should be discarded and spurned?

More importantly, for those of us who do believe that free markets are the best engine of progress, how do we start to change these attitudes? How do we remake the argument in favour of a value system that sets people free and delivers them wealth and opportunity? Why won't the youth buy into a system that, whilst imperfect, seems to be the best option we have to deliver the better society that we all want, while respecting the dignity of people as autonomous agents, with the right to make choices for themselves?

Fundamentally, we face a simple question, how do we make the principled case once more for liberalism, capitalism, and free markets? Capitalism is not an end in itself—particularly the warped version of crony capitalism that has grown up in the last decades. Instead, it is a vehicle for making people healthier, wealthier, and happier more quickly than any other alternative. Capitalism, based within a free-market system, intrinsically respects people, their values, views, and desires—as opposed to the false levelling, virtue signalling, general strike-calling and “it’ll be better next time” mores of its socialist opposition. We believe that people not only have the right to make their own decisions, but that they tend to make better ones than others doing it for them. And, whilst we are ambitious for what we can build together, we believe we must deal with the world

as it is, rather than how the academic textbooks tell us how it should be. Capitalism, free markets and liberalism work. So, why isn't our optimism apparently shared by the generation who will take over in the coming decades?

The challenge for free markets, and for capitalism, is manifold: the message is tarnished, the frames are poor, and, fundamentally, the moral case for what they achieve is missing. We need to rectify each of these shortcomings. To do that we need to understand the problem, understand what drives the coming generation, and find ways to remake the argument for an economic system that, however imperfect, is still providing the greatest opportunities in the history of mankind.

The ‘Youthquake’: Fake News

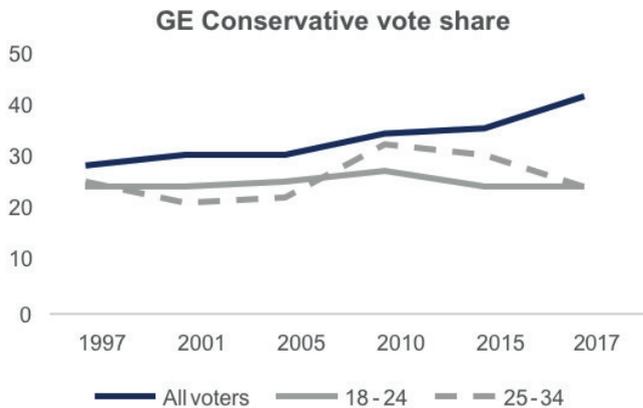
Three years ago, framed by the first Conservative majority government in a quarter of a century, the idea of a resurgent socialism was laughable. Even a few months later, when Jeremy Corbyn MP unexpectedly wrestled control of the Labour Party, the perception was of an aberration. Still, nothing particularly stirred; the commonly-held view was that the fundamentals would force a snap back. It was only—a few weeks before the general election, and too late for most commentators to notice—the first signs appeared that this was beginning to catch on. And then, on a remarkable night last June, one of the most unexpected election results in a generation signalled something was afoot in politics. According to the reports immediately afterwards, it was the young who had fuelled this dramatic transformation. For the first time, the voice of youth had spoken—and, by doing so, they had almost caught the country off-guard. Socialism was back, and, just a few months later, its essence was captured by the rapturous deification of Mr Corbyn at that most quintessential celebration of youth: Glastonbury.

Yet, as neat as this narrative might be, is it true? The ‘youthquake’ narrative is so dramatic, triumphant, and neat that it seems almost too perfect. How accurate is this perception of an uprising amongst younger voters to rebel against a status quo that they dislike and wish to discard?

Taking a closer look, the answer is: not that accurate, at least according to the data. To demonstrate this we need turn to

longer-term time series data to provide context for June’s General Election. There are two particular analyses—Ipsos-Mori’s measurements of ‘How Britain Voted’ over the last thirty years, and the British Election Study—which, if used cautiously and carefully, contextualise what happened in 2017 in useful detail. Both are highly respected in their field. Both are indicative, rather than definitive. And both show interesting trends.

The first problem with the notion of a ‘youthquake’ is that no massive ideological shift actually seemed to happen last year. Whilst the polling numbers did demonstrate a large move to Labour amongst the youth, they did not pick up a commensurate movement between value systems, at least as much the current British parties can be used as proxies to represent them.



Source: Ipsos-Mori “How Britain Voted 2017”

Ipsos-Mori found no massive trend away from the Conservatives in the youngest cohorts of voters – which is one proxy for economic liberalism – last June. In six consecutive general elections, the proportion of voters between the ages of 18 to 24 who were prepared to vote Conservative never exceeded 30

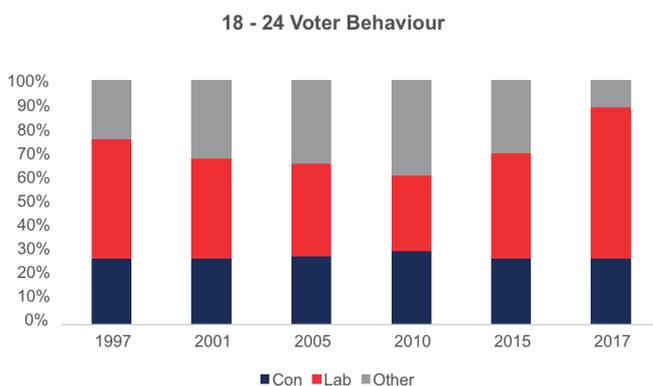
per cent and never fell below 27 per cent¹. The fluctuation of the next youngest cohort, those between 25 and 34, was a little broader—never exceeding 35 per cent and never lower than 24 per cent. Last year showed the Conservatives edging down amongst younger voters, but there was certainly no wholesale shift. The crude truth is that, over twenty years, younger voters have consistently being reticent to vote for the most capitalist and free market party in comparison to the wider electorate. That was as true in 2017 as it was in all of the five preceding general elections. It was perhaps marginally more pronounced, but the big shift suggested by the ‘youthquake’ narrative just didn’t happen.

Nonetheless, there are some notes of caution to this point. First, 2017 shows an increasing disconnect between the habits of younger voters and the rest of the population. So, whilst the proportion of younger voters choosing the Conservatives was similar to previous elections, that was in the context of a clear move towards the Conservatives across the electorate as a whole; The period 1997 to 2017 was one of recovery of vote share for the Conservatives; up from 31 per cent at the start of the period to 44 per cent at the end. Yet, that thirteen-point gain across all voters was not matched at the younger end of the scale. There was a 0 per cent change for 18–24 year olds and a negligible 1 per cent decline for 25–34 year olds. The electorate has been cleaved by age and the young are following a different path to their older neighbours.

Secondly, whilst the non-Conservative youth vote was not significantly stronger in 2017 than before, it did do one remarkable thing: consolidate. In previous elections, the youth vote had scattered—to the extent in 2010 where Labour only

¹ Ipsos-Mori, “How Britain Voted” <https://www.ipsos.com/ipsos-mori/en-uk/how-britain-voted-2017-election>. 1997: 27%, 2001: 27%, 2005: 28%, 2010: 30%, 2015: 27%. 2017: 27%.

beat the Conservatives by 1 per cent, as a result of a three-way tie between both major parties and the Liberal Democrats. In 2017, however, 62 per cent of 18–24 voters chose Labour. The same happened, on a slightly lesser scale for 25-34 year olds (56%). Even in the Blair landslides, these numbers weren't achieved. And the Conservatives clearly didn't obtain any slice of the voters who chose to leave their change their previous voting habit.



Source: Ipsos-Mori “How Britain Voted 2017”

The second big claim of the ‘youthquake’ narrative was a surge in turnout; that the youth weren’t just inclined towards socialism, but that they actually got down to the polling station for the first time in a generation. Again, the truth appears more nuanced than the headlines.

In the immediate aftermath of the general election, a number of commentators and pollsters did point to a surge in turnout amongst younger voters. The most prominent of these was Ipsos-Mori, which initially reported a significant rise in young people’s participation that was more akin to the EU referendum than previous general elections².

² <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/jeremy-corbyn-election-results-biggest-youth-turnout-in-25-years-government-prime-minister-ipsos-a7798866.html>

Six months later, academic analysis from the British Election Study, however, questioned this narrative. According to the BES, ‘there is no evidence of a substantial change in the relationship between age and turnout in 2017’³. Increased turnout appears to have been a mixed bag: something of a rise in 30–40 years old, over and above other cohorts of the population; no real difference for voters in their 20s; and perhaps even a slight decline amongst the youngest taking part. And, as ever, older people continue to turnout in substantially higher numbers than others⁴.

So, the idea of a ‘youthquake’ is questionable at best. June 2017 saw some, but not overwhelming, evidence of a shift to the left by younger voters. Yet, the fundamentals were largely unchanged—albeit with the non-free market vote consolidating behind a single party for the first time in several decades.

The Conservatives clearly didn’t obtain any slice of the voters who chose to change their previous voting habit.

3 <http://www.britishelectionstudy.com/bes-impact/youthquake-a-reply-to-our-critics/#.W6tIE2hKiUk>

4 <http://www.britishelectionstudy.com/bes-impact/the-myth-of-the-2017-youthquake-election/#.W56B1fZFzD5>

The Real Problem

Whilst the notion of a ‘youthquake’ was always too neat and perfect to be true, it would be wrong to conclude, as a result, that there isn’t an underlying problem for free markets, capitalism and liberalism with younger voters. Quite to the contrary, there is. It just isn’t what the media have reported over the last year.

To identify the underlying challenge more accurately, we need to look to more than just a single political event. Instead, two broader indicators, polling and narrative, demonstrate the inherent challenge regarding centre-right politics and youth. Both present insights and have shortcomings but, taken together, they show a worrying direction of travel against market-based solutions and an absence of support for economic freedom within younger generations.

Public attitudes

The most obvious indicator of a problem comes from the aggregate polling undertaken in recent years on public attitudes and opinions. Relatively consistently, over the last half decade and from a variety of angles, younger cohorts show a bias against free markets, free economies, and the policies and trade-offs needed to perpetuate them.

In more than a dozen polls, regardless of the questions asked, the less free market, more statist contention has almost always won. Where it hasn’t, that has been because different age cohorts in society have been vying between who can be the most negative towards economic liberalism. Put simply, youth

– when asked in polls commissioned by those favourable, unfavourable, and agnostic towards capitalism or market solutions – are clearly sceptical about what is on offer. Lower taxes, less spending, and smaller government polls badly. Support for the removal of red tape is shockingly low. Even on straight favourability / unfavorability ratios, capitalism is in the red and socialism scores better.

Of course, polling is notoriously imperfect. We should be careful of seeking simplistic narratives in an attempt to explain disparate sociological trends and long-term attitudinal change. And, in particular, we should remember that even in its hayday, capitalism was always respected rather than loved. Historical indicators are scarce in the UK, but in 1980, on the cusp of the Reagan revolution, Americans under 30 still chose the less free-market, free-economy option (Democrats) over the more pro-option (Republicans), by a margin of two to one.⁵

⁵ <https://www.nytimes.com/1988/10/31/us/political-memo-gop-makes-reagan-lure-of-young-a-long-term-asset.html>

The polls don't work: a composite of recent UK polling shows red flags for capitalism, free markets and liberalism and, in particular, for younger age groups

Date	Question	View of younger voters (all voters in brackets)	Are younger voters more or less favourable to capitalism on this question than voters in general?
Q3 2018	How positive or negative is your opinion of capitalism? ⁱ	- 11% (- 19%)	More
Q3 2018	How positive or negative is your opinion of socialism? ⁱⁱ	- 9% (- 23%)	Less
Q2 2018	Cuts to public spending have gone too far ⁱⁱⁱ	+ 43% (+ 57%)	More
Q2 2018	Private enterprise is the best way to solve Britain's economic problems ^{iv}	- 9% (+ 6%)	Less
Q1 2018	I am willing to pay more taxes to fund the NHS ^v	+ 40% (+ 31%)	Less
2017	The Government should top up low wages ^{vi}	+ 21% (+ 25%)	Less
Q3 2017	We haven't made enough progress on reducing the debt and deficit so austerity, while difficult, should continue ^{vii}	- 2% (- 12%)	More
Q3 2017	Big Business is more of a problem than Big Government ^{viii}	+ 49% (+ 44%)	Less
Q3 2017	I favour lower taxes, smaller government and less spending on public services ^{ix}	- 37% (- 15%)	Less
Q3 2017	Regulation is often an unnecessary burden on businesses stifling growth ^x	- 51% (- 46%)	Less
Q3 2017	Capitalism is working well in Britain and does not need tinkering with ^{xi}	+ 12% (+ 17%)	Less
Q3 2017	Capitalism is harmful to Britain and there are other, better ways to manage society ^{xii}	+ 13% (+ 17%)	Less
Q2 2016	Net favourability of socialism in Britain by age ^{xiii}	+ 18% (+ 4%)	Less
Q2 2016	Net favourability of capitalism in Britain by age ^{xiv}	- 15% (- 5%)	Less

Public Narrative

Along with polling, is a more diffuse, and anecdotal, shift in the political and societal narrative, which appears to have sharpened over the last eighteen months. To many liberals, this change has been startlingly unexpected and discombobulating. Perhaps, as socialists would have us believe, these views were always there and Mr Corbyn has simply given them new life. Perhaps not. But, whatever the explanation, something has happened. Socialism has moved out of the history books and has become a contender for power again. Socialist economics is now discussed as if it is a solution, rather than another manifestation of previous failure. And it continues to convert people.

This trend away from liberalism seems to have happened in all of the major institutions: political, economic, education, cultural, and media. The rise of Mr Corbyn has shifted the Overton window. The idea of dynamic outcomes in taxation, or the opportunity cost of taking more of other people's money, now almost entirely untroubles the public discourse.

Taken together, the polling and the narrative are different sides of the same coin. A hero's welcome in a field in Glastonbury for a man who has openly supported failed socialist regimes for thirty years might be a far too convenient snapshot of what is happening, but it does have a summary salience, which liberals should heed.

And neither should we fall into the trap of debating the intensity of the problem, and instead directly acknowledge that we have a problem. There is a widespread cultural, political, and perception problem with liberalism and free markets. The data sketches the outline of it. The newspapers highlight it. And, anecdotally, even something as anodyne as switching on

Radio 4 to listen to Friday night comedy shows confirms it. Put simply: socialism is, to use a word that betrays my age, cool. And, a year and a half later, we still don't really have the first clue what to do about it.

Some would argue that this isn't really different from five, ten or fifteen years ago: that younger people are more idealistic and yet to be inured to the realities of life and the perfection which never follows, that they have not built up the assets that need protection, or that they do not have a stake in economic stability that parties promoting free markets and capitalism tend to offer. This is all debatable – but it doesn't explain the fundamental question: why do young people take all of the above, and everything else, into consideration, and still default to socialism? Why are free markets not seen as ideals? Why is a particular sense of equality – that seeks to constrain the beauty of human difference, which has driven our world forward for millennia, into the same impossible, fixed, and constraining boxes – so laudable? Why do you need particular assets, or a stake in the system, to recognise the virtues of independence, aspiration, and personal freedom? What is it about freedom that means people discover its virtues from a negative prospectus—only when the alternative becomes too risky, at the point when you have things to risk— rather than from a positive, empowering proposition?

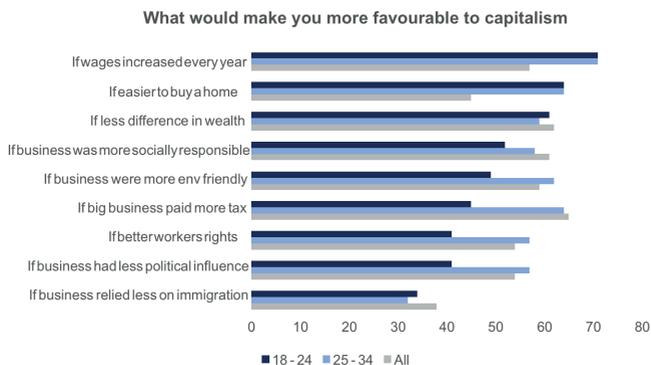
Capitalism Reset

If both polling and narrative point in the direction of socialism, the question then becomes: what would convince younger voters to change their views and perspectives, if anything? How wedded are the next generation to the ideological principles that their current figurehead espouses?

Over the summer of 2018, Freer commissioned exclusive polling from Number Cruncher Politics to probe and assess how younger people might be more convinced of the merits of free markets and free societies, if indeed any convincing was possible. Before this polling, most of the other numbers in the public domain only quantified the top-line problem, rather than looking into how the case for free markets could be re-made. Our intention was to get behind the raw numbers that show, at the very least, that capitalism (as a proxy for wider notions of free markets or economic liberalism) has an image problem, and to see what might change minds.

Respondents were asked nine separate questions about the societal and political changes that might make capitalism more palatable to them. It should not be assumed that all changes would be for the good, or even, in some cases, practical, but they do serve as indications as to how people in different age groups could be convinced, and what it might be in particular that makes them see these things so negatively.

The clearest observation from the polling is that the basics - wages and housing - stand out as solutions which would make the younger voters more positive about capitalism. Problems related to housing and cost of living are real and obvious: young voters will look more favourably upon any ideology which seeks to deal with the day-to-day issues they face as they are building their lives, providing for their families and planning for their future. Get the basics more right and there is a platform upon which to build.



Source: Number Cruncher / Freer poll of 1,036 UK eligible voters, August 2018

There was also broad agreement that business has a problem and the narrative around it needs to change. Whether it be social responsibility, environmental friendliness, or tax, there seems to be a problem with the perception of business within both the populace in general and younger people. Commerce has an image problem.

One other indicative observation is worthy of comment: the variation in views between the youngest cohort of voters (18 – 24), those heading towards middle age (25 – 34), and the average voter in general. Whilst demonstrating similar characteristics on quality of life questions, younger voters diverge on business questions. All cohorts of voters agree that capitalism could be improved by better business practice (regardless of how one defines ‘better’), but younger voters tended to be more relaxed about this than both those starting to settle down, and all voters in general. Some of those differences are stark: on greater workers’ rights, environmentally friendly policies, and the payment of tax in particular. Younger voters appear

less exercised on all of these points. Perhaps that is because their attention is elsewhere, on issues that weren't polled. Or perhaps this demonstrates the starting point for a discussion about the value and opportunity that commerce and free markets offers—and the potential for a receptiveness to the case for economic liberalism, amongst those just starting in life.

A new strategy for capitalism

To allow capitalism to win the hearts of a large section of the youth vote, liberals will need to:

- Recognise there is no such thing as ‘youth’: the idea that young people think, act, and vote in unison is nonsense. To win the hearts of younger voters, we need to realise who we are dealing with, and that their hearts beat to different drums as they progress towards middle age
- Shun the spreadsheets: whether we like it or not, humans are emotional creatures. We live, love, and like based on our hearts as well as our heads. Peering at the world from a spreadsheet emboldens and empowers no-one. There is a moral mission at the heart of our politics. It is time we showed it again
- Separate austerity from capitalism: in the last decade, capitalism and austerity have become inextricably intertwined. Those of us who remember capitalism before the crash can, just about, remember some of its benefits. Those who came of age from 2008 onwards have known nothing else. We should separate the two—not least by critiquing the status quo
- Make the link between capitalism and progress: our current youth politics rests on an

enticing, and entirely impractical, premise—that the freedom which everyone now takes for granted in the consumerist and social sphere can be disconnected from the same in the economic sphere. Liberalism has become too heavily reliant upon the allure of negative freedom. We need to demonstrate how liberal policies provide freedom to ‘do’ not just to protect people ‘from’

- Make cultural love, not war: socialism endures both because of its simplicity, and the institutional sympathy that permeates the media, the civil service, and the dinner parties. We can do two things: declare war on Hampstead, as they’ve done on the East Coast in the States or, slowly try to use the tools of their triumph to demonstrate an alternative
- Sell them something: all of the above is only possible, however, if we have a proposition to sell. What is it about free markets, free societies, and free enterprise that is attractive to either a youngster who’s taking on an apprenticeship but is concerned about job security, or a graduate laden with debt at 21? If we have no solutions—and no moral case underneath—then we have no audience

In the same way we need focus, we also need to move on from attempting to frame socialism in the same, tired old ways. The old adage says that the definition of madness is to keep repeating the same thing, hoping for a different outcome. We could apply that to all of the following primary arguments:

- Venezuela: the idea that constant references to an obscure, exotic, and far away country in South America (and not even one with a memorable football team) will change minds is somewhat incredible, no matter the strength of the case against the havoc that socialism has wreaked on its people and communities
- The 70s: for those under the age of 30 (or more accurately, under the age of 45), the 70s might as well be another universe. The young have no 'lived experience' of the 70s, and constant repetition of its failures is purely academic. It is a Top of the Pops re-run, not a serious proposition to base a governing philosophy upon
- Labels: shouting 'socialist' does not explain why socialism is a bad thing. It might have been a clever shortcut thirty years ago, when the majority of the population remembered it in reality, but 'isms' rarely mean much to many people, particularly when they haven't experienced them

There is no such thing as youth

If we are to properly make the case to younger voters for capitalism, free markets and free economies, then first we need to work out whom we are talking to. That should start with the recognition that, just like the population as a whole, people under 40 do not think, act and live in unison. We talk of capitalism having a ‘youth problem’, when actually, we mean a challenge with a multitude of age cohorts with different experiences and priorities – and particularly those from under 18 to early 40s, in age. When you compare the hopes and aspirations of someone still finishing their A-Levels or just starting an apprenticeship, to those of someone who is about to see their oldest child do the same, you recognise that the problem is much more nuanced than the headlines suggest.

Using the 2017 general election result as a recent proxy of the decline of liberalism amongst younger voters, the average age of people starting to vote Conservative rose last year from 34 to 47.⁶ Any sensible analysis of liberalism’s problem needs to start by breaking down that broad group of voters—and the ambitions, drives, and experiences that they have. There is a whole industry associated with naming and stratifying the population, particularly towards the younger end – millennials, iGeneration, Generations X, Y, Z and so on – to draw insight from.

No sub-definitions can ever be exact, and everyone is an individual, but, rather than treating the ‘youth’ as one massed conglomerate, I contend there are roughly four groups to make the case for liberalism to:

⁶ <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/election-2017-labour-youth-vote-under-40s-jeremy-corbyn-yougov-poll-a7789151.html>

- Those gaining knowledge: young adults who are still in education or just about to leave it—a group born during the early days of Tony Blair and new Labour. Dependent upon others and still relatively politically unengaged (not least because some still cannot vote), they will be first-time voters at the next election. Their political introduction and education happened when Brexit largely crowded out all other considerations
- Those gaining debt: a group born in the 1990s, who have now left school, university, or their initial training, and are starting to make their way in the world. They are perhaps in their first or second job, often with continuing support in some way from their parents. They have little recollection of politics or society before the economic crash
- Those gaining frustrations: those who are a few years into their careers, and are starting to think about settling down and having children. Income will still be a challenge for them, and for some, student debt will loom. The desire to settle down and nest is coming to the fore, but house prices, debt, and wage stagnation make moving forward difficult. This is the last group who remember capitalism before the crash.
- Those gaining assets: typically people towards the end of the younger generation, usually well into their careers, and often with well-established families of their own. They may have had some student debt, but will have

avoided significant volumes of it. This is the group that is starting to look towards middle age, and, crucially, have houses, cars and other assets.

The differences between these groups is significant: the problems associated with large mortgages or low wage growth present fundamentally different challenges from issues related to whether to accrue a large student debt at university or to take up an apprenticeship straight out of school. Free bus passes to get to college are useless if you are struggling on commuter trains taking you to your first job in the nearby city. If we concern ourselves solely with 'youth', we misunderstand the very different motivations for scepticism with liberalism that abound today.

Additionally, if typecasting the younger generations as a single age bracket is foolhardy, the same also applies when assessing their political interest and engagement. Those in the political bubble should not assume that the average 18-, 28- or 38-year old shares the same obsession with politics and ideology, irrespective of which 'ism' they are promoting. Like other age groups, most younger people have better things to do than hang on every word of politicians. Half of people don't choose to go to university, and, even for those who do, they spend precious little time debating student union motions about the evils of capitalism.

If liberalism is to succeed, then we need to develop new strategies for those who are unconvinced of it. What is the offer of freedom for each of those who are yet to reach middle age? Values may be timeless, but the application of those values, the challenges they address, and the opportunities they provide, are different. For a creed that celebrates individuality, we need to start treating younger people as individuals or, at the very least, as not one homogenous, inscrutable mass.

Shun the spreadsheets

Every day for the last three decades, the number of people living in absolute poverty has reduced by over 130,000⁷. Living standards have risen⁸. Life expectancy has grown⁹. Trade has expanded massively¹⁰. Around 160 million new people enter the middle class each year¹¹. We have done the impossible: kept ahead of massive population growth by improving living standards across the world and, in most cases, not just for the richest in global society. Capitalism works.

So why don't we shout about it more? Why do we not highlight its manifest successes, rather than allowing the focus to be on its inevitable shortcomings? And why are people still seduced by another ideology, which has so regularly, and completely, failed?

The problem is that, as liberals, we are arguing on the wrong level—both with the country as a whole, and, in particular, with the younger generation. The coming generation are idealistic, hopeful, and ambitious for the world. If we are to make the case for liberalism, then we have to make the case on an emotional, rather than simply practical or economic, level to those whom we seek to convince. We must do that in three ways:

7 <https://ourworldindata.org/a-history-of-global-living-conditions-in-5chart>

8 <https://ourworldindata.org/human-development-index>

9 <https://ourworldindata.org/life-expectancy>

10 <https://ourworldindata.org/international-trade>

11 <https://www.brookings.edu/research/the-unprecedented-expansion-of-the-global-middle-class-2/>

- by choosing the right words;
- by having a better conversation, and;
- by speaking from the heart.

Firstly, we choose the wrong words. More accurately, we don't use a consistent language that adequately and accurately describes our mission, and, as a result, we fail to set the framework of the public discourse. Socialists and social democrats are much better at that framing: powerful emotional words such as 'investment', 'austerity', and 'inequality' are regularly used by their politicians, and, even occasionally, by politicians who nominally define as liberal. 'Poverty' has been captured by those who seek to define it relatively, rather than absolutely. Even the word 'liberal' itself has almost lost its true meaning; too many so-called proponents are anything but lovers of freedom. Most recently, all sides of politics appear to have entered a bidding war in political discourse – one that seems to suggest that government activity is an end in itself by simply quoting the amounts of money that are, or could be, thrown at a problem. This approach is long-term madness.

Usage of such language suggests consent for the frame they impose upon society. As an example, liberals accept public spending as a necessity, and a virtue, where it is useful and appropriate. We should not accept 'investment' as a euphemism for all spending in general, however. George Lakoff's 2004 work, *Don't Think of an Elephant*, identified the right-wing frames that had skewed the debate, in his view, in America for decades. British liberalism has failed to correct the framework imposed upon the political narrative from the Blair years. We can only properly expound our arguments when we have created the framework for them to be understood. Language matters.

Secondly, we hold back in our exposition. Left-wing economics has captured the discussion, and the ‘something must be done’ brigade has become so pre-eminent, that the case for classic liberalism is crowded out. When was the last time you heard a commentator saying that the government is doing too much? That there may be an argument for less intervention in our lives? That, no, we don’t need to be spending that money in the hope of some fantastical outcome? Our accommodation is the root of our challenge.

Simultaneously, we also appear incapable of having an honest discussion about capitalism, both its failures and successes. Free markets, by their very definition, free people to innovate, challenge, and disrupt. Yet they guarantee nothing for individual endeavours. All we trust them to do is to improve life in the long run, via failure and triumph, and after the people determine their preference. The suggestion that capitalism or free markets always guarantee positive outcomes is false, and our willingness to indulge in this narrative is a key failing. We expect things to fail. Bad business decisions should have consequences. Incapable directors should be struck off. Capital should be lost where individuals make poor decisions or fail to understand the desires of their customers. If we are unwilling to argue from the first principle that people—not the state—choose ultimately who is successful, and who is not, then there is little wonder that, faced with the twisted cronyism that we have today, the young are unconvinced.

Thirdly, we fail to connect at a deeper, more visceral level. Many of us assume that logic will always trump emotion. Of course, the facts of life are capitalist: economies have grown, jobs have been created, people have become wealthier – and that’s down to relatively freer markets, freer economies, and a spurning of collectivism. A litany of case studies – Cuba, the Soviet Union, China – bear testament to this in recent history. What we fail

to acknowledge, however, is that no debate in politics is ever fully won. Politicians run countries, not experiments. There is no control example of the United Kingdom, casually residing in a laboratory, where we can test the actual singular impact of a particular free market policy, whilst keeping every other variable stable.

Thus, there is no virtue in arguing via the medium of spreadsheets or numbers only. People make decisions based on both their hearts and their heads, and our core failure is to connect emotionally with those whom we are seeking to convince. 130,000 people a day being raised out of poverty is a great statistic. Yet, we need to go further; each person behind that number is someone who can now start to provide for their family, own their own home, give their son or daughter a better life or see more of the world than their parents or grandparents could. It is the dignity of those individuals, whose ability to make their own choices about how they live, which is respected in economic systems predicated on freedom. And it is these things that we should celebrate the most.

This mission to convince is all the more important for younger voters; they need to hear the emotional case and, crucially, they need to hear it on their own terms. We should be wary of trying to draw too much from psychology, but those who have studied the millennial cohort suggest they display certain shared characteristics subtly different to other groups. Jean Twenge, an American psychologist, talks of millennials as having ‘very positive views of themselves and [being] very optimistic about their expectations for their lives.’¹² They are, arguably, the first fully individualist generation: a section of society who are, relatively, at ease with themselves, others, and the world around them. Deference is absent, and there is

¹² <http://www.apa.org/research/action/speaking-of-psychology/unlocking-millennials.aspx>

an impatience with older cohorts, who, by common consent, appear not to be doing well in terms of politics, economics, and leadership. They want the world to do better.

In some ways, it is little wonder that younger people have no real connection with economic freedom. Social freedom is now a given; their ability to live and love is central to the journey they are on – and the pathways they choose are even wider and smoother than for those of us who grew up just a few years before them. Yet, free markets and free economies are more nebulous and less clear cut. The link with the incredible progress made in our lifetimes is not so obvious.

The perception of capitalism as something that harnesses and empowers human ingenuity to create better lives for everyone is tenuous in the minds of those who are tempted by ‘free stuff’, and, more importantly, the ability to improve the world at the same time as receiving that free stuff.

So, if we are serious about seeking converts, we have to do two things: firstly, start to argue properly; and, secondly, debate on the terms set by millennials, rather than us. They are the people to be convinced, and it is a whole lot easier to do that if we broadly accept the framework upon which they think. Engage honestly. Talk openly. But, most fundamentally, talk to them with language they want to hear, and appeal to their hearts. Liberalism has a strong story to tell. Our failure to tell it, and to demonstrate its successes, debases our cause—not just with younger people, but with society as a whole.

Separate austerity from capitalism

‘Capitalism’s way of dealing with its recurring crises’ thundered Richard Wolff in the Guardian in 2013, ‘is ... a remarkable two-step hustle. In step one, massive borrowing funds stimulus and bailout programs. In step two, austerity pays for the borrowing’¹³. For those who ascribe to this contention, capitalism and austerity are symbiotically linked: one creates the other and, in doing so, creates the volatile conditions that ultimately hurt a section of society, and impose rules that prevent the alleviation of that hurt.

Putting aside the huge intellectual flaws in this argument, Wolff has put his finger on a crucial point, which is missed by those of us of a certain age. The connection between capitalism and austerity, previously the obsession of a small group of Marxist economists, has been made by a wider group of people in recent years. For most of the last decade, public policy has focused on reducing the debt, and the inevitable ‘cuts’ narrative that flows from opponents of it. Thus, the majority of those under the age of 25 will have come of age with no alternative, no nuance, and no halcyon age preceding it that validated how the two are separate. If politics continues to deal with the prolonged hangover of excessive risk taking—without explaining that such risk taking was a failure of regulation of the system, rather than the system itself—it is understandable that skewed conclusions may be drawn.

¹³ <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/nov/04/great-austerity-shell-game>

And, even for those who are older, the good old days of the grand bargain between free markets and plentiful government spending seems like a distant memory, as quaint perhaps as the floppy disk, shell suits, and Noel's House Party. Illusory it may have been—and we are the much poorer now for the excesses of it—but it is right that popular support for capitalism relies, at least in part, in long-term personal ambition and aspiration being fulfilled. When that narrative is replaced by a continual Eyeore-ish dystopia of constrained public spending forever, there is little wonder some question the underlying principle. The Chancellor talks of balancing the budget by the mid-part of the next decade. The Office of Budget Responsibility estimates have been caricatured to suggest we are in for half a century of austerity.¹⁴ Capitalism, ossified and unexplained, is of no use to anyone. If we treat the ideology we believe in as a relic to protect, rather than a way to make people's lives better, then it might as well become a fossil.

Thus, for those who believe in the good that capitalism can do, there is much work to be done. We might start with a new positive vision of the future, and the opportunities that free markets can offer in the future. Technological and human innovation, the likes of which only capitalism can unleash, will transform our lives. We will be further freed from the toil of manual, repetitive labour to develop our skills and knowledge. We will push the boundaries of science and research to further improve society, reduce suffering, and extend lives. And if we experiment with a retrograde socialism, we place all of that at risk.

Secondly, and for the reduced audience who are willing to listen, we must restart to explain the reasons, properly, for

¹⁴ <http://www.itv.com/news/2018-07-17/austerity-measures-must-continue-for-50-years-to-rescue-uk-finances/>

the circumstances we are in. This may be a largely academic exercise, with the ground ceded since 2016, but there remains value in doing so for two reasons. Firstly, the discipline of a continuous and coherent narrative will contextualise the decisions being made and provide an intellectual core for such decision-making to hang off. Either we believe in repairing the public finances, and are willing to shout about it or we don't and should abandon trying. We either believe in less government and less state intervention as a moral good in itself or we don't. We either think that collective intervention generally works or we believe it generally doesn't. Splitting the difference doesn't work.

Thirdly, we need a better, longer-term conversation in Western democracies about where we find ourselves. Our current circumstances are primarily not the product of a series of random or unfortunate events, latterly propelled by an evil banker class rapaciously seeking to plunder the wealth of others. We have got here through two or three generations of politicians promising the world, mortgaging the future, and failing to level with those in society who they are seeking to govern and protect. That's a hard and difficult message and, at times in recent years, we have failed to place the emphasis in the correct place. Our past should caution us to avoid the excesses of the Blair and Brown years, but it should not constrict us from everything.

Further, there is merit and morality in spending restraint, and it is a fundamental principle of conservative thought that we pay our way, through consecutive economic cycles, in order to pave the way for a brighter future for our children and grandchildren. We may be condemned to always having to pick up from social democrats and socialism when the money runs out, but a failure to differentiate between our core beliefs

and the (hopefully more transient) requirement to repair the nation's finances will be our undoing. Why should a nineteen-year-old believe capitalism will empower them for the next eighty years when for the previous eight it has, in their mind, provided nothing but pain?

The case must be made for free markets as the change agent, rather than the status quo. Our economy is stashed with vested interests—in housebuilding, planning, regulation, utilities, and products—and an effective lobbying class who are seeking to retain its ossification. The competition element of free markets, the willingness to break things up, to fight for the small guy, to be sceptical of big business, and to be scornful of monopolies, are all disruptions which we should welcome. If we do not develop a new, robust 'capitalism that solves problems' policy prospectus, free from the draining austerity narrative, then we should not be surprised when socialism tries to fill in those gaps.

Make the link between capitalism and progress

One of the oddest developments of recent years has been the growth of virtue-signalling socialism: the idea that people are 'woke' to the iniquities of the capitalist world and are then turning the tools of that capitalism back on itself in order to destroy it. A bemused picture of anti-capitalist warriors recording and curating their mission on Instagram, agreeing whom to demonstrate against next via Whatsapp and fuelling themselves with coffee from Starbucks emerges, shamelessly fusing the product of private enterprise with the socialist cause.

As incongruous as this caricature may be, it neatly outlines an underlying issue within the battle of ideas for younger people. We may be bewildered by the apparent failure of the next generation to grasp the underlying incongruity but, in reaching that conclusion, we misunderstand the structures within which youth work and act. An incredible separation of economics and politics is occurring which renders arguments about the former, for now, limited in their ability to penetrate. So, again, whilst trying to reset the framework, we must accept the terrain upon which we fight.

Society today, even after a decade of public spending restraint, remains relatively benign. Living standards may not have risen dramatically in the last decade, but employment is at an all-time high, access to credit remains plentiful, and the price of consumer goods has reduced. The average Briton, whilst certainly not flush with cash, will have enough money to run a house, drive a car, go out for dinner, fund leisure pursuits, go on holiday, and indulge their passions.

And what does this all mean? Essentially that, when we talk of taxes and economics, we are talking into a void. The younger generation may be unenamoured with capitalism and sceptical of 'austerity', but they have baked in consumerism and choice into the base—these simply aren't things that, they believe, are under threat from alternative economic models. The triumph of capitalism creates the risk of its downfall; people have disassociated the plentiful products of the free market from the free market itself. The coming generation doesn't care about economics unless economics constrains the ability for the state to spend. Money is demanded. Life will go on. Choice is timeless.

So, whilst economics may not be of great interest, social issues certainly are. Indeed, the frame has moved to cultural and societal questions, particularly in the universities. Twenty years ago, Marxists used to shout, 'smash the rich'. And whilst, for them, the affluent retain that special place in hell, today the Marxists' banners are as likely to proclaim 'smash the white cis male middle-class hegemony'.

Questions and constructions of power have moved into the social sphere. Free speech is not an absolute. Grievance is accommodated. Privileges are checked. Meritocracy is cast aside. Any slight is a 'micro-aggression' fermented by a wider structural iniquity. A whole social structure is being constructed by the left to mould, direct, and control. In the quest to free ourselves from our class, gender, background, and race, we are becoming their prisoners again.

Such questions and challenges are the focus of many essays, but they betray an underlying truth: the forefront of the debate for the next generation is social, not economic. Deep analysis of economic questions is shunned in favour of the narcissism of small differences on social policy: who has the right to

speaking, deference to how people feel, and an obsession with fundamentally small and personal issues which, by dint of ego and self-interest, one declares to be the major issues of the time.

The context within which this societal battle is being fought is a time in which Britain is at its most relaxed on social policy, ever. The freedom to live and love as one wishes has largely been won. And that, again, is one of the curiosities of the new framework before us. Social liberalism is now so prevalent, particularly amongst the next generation, that the fights of tomorrow are often small and academic. They are also the most vicious.

Within this construct is an underlying opportunity for liberals. The younger generation accept and articulate social liberalism so completely that the more politically engaged amongst them are reduced to arguing on the margins of social policy. At the same time, many junk the benefits of economic liberalism because it is so imbued within our daily life that it is assumed to be unbreakable. Liberals need to protect social freedom from eating itself, and, at the same time, start to make the connection again between economics and politics. Common values link these debates. Choice, empowerment, and individualism are at the heart of social liberalism: the freedom to be what one wants, to live how one wishes, and to love whomever one chooses. These are at the heart of economic liberalism, too—however unfashionable recognising that may be.

So, we need to accept that, for those in the next generation who are actually engaged, the political battle of the day rages elsewhere. But, in doing so, there is a cognitive dissonance between the viciousness of the battles for social liberty with their rejection of its economic counterpart. Our argument on economics has not been won, and is not cutting through.

References to billions in spending achieves little, and big numbers are just words, rather than arguments. An appeal to the underlying values upon which our economics are based, which are also at the heart of our societal and cultural outlook, could yet ensure more people make the link. If you value choice in the bedroom, you should value choice when you purchase the bed.

Make Cultural Love, Not War

The fifth area of focus is a cultural one. We need, methodically and reasonably, to re-enter the various public spaces that have become 'lost' to liberals, and demonstrate an alternative viewpoint to the fixed worldview currently hegemonic. Pro-market liberals need to be willing to engage in the debate, rather than simply floating above it, as it is framed against the principles of freedom.

This won't be easy for those of us who instinctively resist from the organising tendency loved by those from other political traditions, and who, all too often, find the quality of debate in certain media utterly dismal. Yet, without our engagement in these popular spaces, the threads of a coherent message around freedom are being unwoven by those with agendas against it. Liberal voices are being drowned out, alternative viewpoints castigated, and those with collectivising tendencies handed small levers of control which, repeated across industry, geography, and age group, aggregate up to a network of soft and hard power.

We are also made hesitant of embarking on such an agenda by the destinations that have been reached by those who have taken up the cultural battle in other countries, and particularly America. Whilst some elements of the public sphere have been re-taken in those places, this has happened within a culture war so vicious, and so divisive, that it has allowed the rise of demagogues, and hollowed out the core principles of liberalism and freedom in pursuit of personal and sectarian agendas. Whatever we do, we must not ape America.

Rather, making progress here will require a two-pronged approach:

- Greater institutional engagement
- A willingness to make greater use of the tools available to us

Firstly, those who believe in free markets need to take the arguments to the institutions that organise our society. Quango appointments have historically been made overwhelmingly to those from the left.¹⁵ A.H. Halsey has suggested that, over half a century, there has been a dramatic decline in those of a conservative disposition taking part in academia.¹⁶ The arts and media are overwhelmingly statist.

Perhaps none of this matters. Perhaps the laws of political gravity mean that, eventually, people just become inherently more conservative, and inherently more willing to allow markets to do their job. Yet, from a youth perspective, it means we start from behind at the beginning. If universities and campuses are not just promoters of collectivism through youthful idealism, but also as a result of the teachers and lecturers too, then we must re-engage. Not by regulation, law, or edict. But by copying how the other side have done it: incrementally increasing the numbers of people within the sector who have pro-market viewpoints.

Secondly, we need to engage more, particularly on social media. Advocates of statist approaches are nothing if not loud, and this loudness is amplified by the quietness of those who

¹⁵ <https://www.spectator.co.uk/2014/02/why-are-quangos-still-so-stuffed-with-lefties/>

¹⁶ <https://static1.squarespace.com/static/56ed-dde762cd9413e151ac92/t/58b5a7cd03596ec6631d8b8a/1488299985267/Left+Wing+Bias+Paper.pdf>

disagree. Nine of the ten most retweeted accounts during the 2017 general election period were Labour or Labour-leaning, with the outlier an assumed Russian bot¹⁷. Momentum has an almost reverential reputation for the quality and messaging of its videos. More widely, the Brookings Institution points to trends worldwide that show populism having high prominence on social media.¹⁸ Communication has been democratised and those who shout loudest are, currently, cutting through.

The numbers are instructive; two-thirds of UK adults are on Facebook.¹⁹ Commentary suggests the platform may be losing young users, but over twenty million accounts belong to those under 44.²⁰ It has been suggested that around 30 per cent of UK internet users engage with Twitter,²¹ and half of those who use the site are under the age of 34.²² Instagram and Snapchat have millions of users and deep penetration. According to a 2016 study, the majority of younger people get their news from online sources—far ahead of print and television.²³ Quite simply, we have to go where the punters are, rather than hoping they might come and seek us out.

17 <https://www.centreonconstitutionalchange.ac.uk/sites/default/files/papers/GeneralElections2017.pdf>

18 <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/techtank/2017/04/28/why-are-populists-winning-online-social-media-reinforces-their-anti-establishment-message/>

19 <https://www.statista.com/statistics/271345/facebook-user-penetration-in-the-united-kingdom-uk/>

20 <https://www.statista.com/statistics/507417/number-of-facebook-users-in-the-united-kingdom-uk-by-age-and-gender/>

21 <https://www.statista.com/statistics/271352/twitter-user-penetration-in-the-united-kingdom-uk/>

22 <https://www.statista.com/statistics/278320/age-distribution-of-twitter-users-in-great-britain/>

23 R. Kleis Nielsen, *Where Do People Get Their News From*, <https://medium.com/oxford-university/where-do-people-get-their-news-8e850a0dea03>

Whilst there is anecdotal evidence that an increasing number of free-market voices are starting to take root in social media, the medium remains dominated by those with other viewpoints. The reticence of those with a free-market disposition to engage with these mediums has a cost: absence from the discussion. However comforting glorious isolation is to those of us who hate the maelstrom and false drama of social media, the reality is that we must participate to succeed. That requirement is all the more pressing given the self-perpetuating, magnifying nature of social media. People believe what those they know tell them and, unless we penetrate these communities of shared interest, they will be shaped by those who wish liberalism ill.

An associated problem is that social media largely dumbs down debate. Debates are distilled and reduced into single sentences, one-minute videos, and 'moral' headlines. The emphasis is on speed and clarity, rather than nuance. Liberalism takes more than a few hundred characters to explain. Socialism doesn't.

Nowhere is this more obvious than in the clever, witty videos that Momentum produce, and which are shared widely. One example criticised baby boomers for holding younger people to double standards on their desire to own a house, get a job, and make their way in life. A more recent video on public spending restraint blamed austerity for increased national debt and tepid economic growth. Yet, despite their policy problems, these videos are simple, attractive, and eye-catching.

And when discussing social media we need to avoid the temptation to get into a discussion about its structural failings or why it has come to do what it does. It just does, and, structurally, there is nothing we can do, other than engage. Perhaps, over the long term, society will move back toward appreciating more considered, thoughtful, and nuanced views. Potentially, we are seeing the first shoots of that with increased subscriptions for pay-walled news sites, the growth of 'long-read' journalism, and the development of 'slow news'. Long may it have much success. Yet, we will still need to find better ways to use social media.

Sell them Something

Finally, and most fundamentally, if liberalism wants to flourish with the coming generation, then it needs to give them something they want. We are in a change moment: an inflection point between an age defined by an economic crash and its hangover, and the next destination—wherever that be. That ‘next destination’ is currently being shaped by high public-sector debt, challenging wage growth, populist insurgency, and a trust deficit with mainstream politics. As a result, the extremes are tempting for all ages and all segments of society. The new political framework that will be fashioned is still under debate. But if we want it to be based on the values of choice, liberty, and individual agency, then—however much we intellectually argue their success – we will need to make a retail offer which proves it to a 25-year-old in Runcorn struggling with bills. If Tony Blair reached out to Mondeo Man in the Midlands, then the exponents of liberalism are going to have to reach out to Millennial Man in Maidenhead. And, at the moment, we just aren’t.

The need for a retail offer is a cross-generational one for political parties but has a particular salience with younger voters who, whilst apparently rejecting capitalism, counter-intuitively are also the ultimate consumers. Eliza Filby argues that younger generations are weary of capitalism because it isn’t working for them at the moment, rather than it being the case that it could never work. The young, she argues, have ‘greater expectations of the market’, being ‘the first generation truly to define themselves by what they consume rather than what they produce.’²⁴ This is a generation that is utterly

²⁴ <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/politics/2018/01/29/labour-hasnt-won-millennials-youthquake-myth-proof-young-people/>

consumerist and transactional. If it works, they will buy it. And, currently, for them, capitalism isn't working.

One of the more galling aspects of the 2017 general election period was the absence of any offer for those under the age of 40, from the liberal side of the argument. Student debt? Necessary. Housing? We'll try and build some more in the next decade or so. Cost of living? We're just better than the other lot. A desire to improve the world? Venezuela. Compare and contrast these offers with 'free' bus passes, cancelled student debt, and promises to transform public services with extra spending.

Liberals must craft an explicit offer for the different cohorts of younger voters. Part of this is being done, with increased house building being the most obvious example. Liberal politicians, however, need to wrestle with how they are going to convince the 21-year old apprentice on £17,000 a year, with limited prospects of wage growth, the fear of future job disruption through automation and AI, the assumption they'll be working until they are 70, limited pension rights and the seemingly insurmountable hurdle of getting a deposit together to buy a house. Similarly, what will the offer be for the post-graduate student with the best part of £50,000 of personal debt (as they see it), and most of the same challenges as above? Potential solutions to these questions are the subject of much writing, but liberalism must have an answer to the structural and practical questions that make life so daunting for those who are coming of age now.

Fundamentally, if liberal parties and liberal politicians are unable to find the balance of retail politics and ideology that served previous generations so well, then we should expect to lose. People must feel the benefit of our principles in their pockets and their prospects. Capitalism is nothing if it doesn't

own the future and demonstrate the way to a better life. And whether that is through policies related to tax, opportunity, education, or regulation, we must re-craft a prospectus in which a younger person can see how their life will be made better, their community improved, and their world transformed in the future.

- i Number Cruncher / CapX Ideologies Poll, August 2018, <https://www.ncpolitics.uk/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/capx-ideologies.pdf>
- ii Number Cruncher / CapX Ideologies Poll, August 2018, <https://www.ncpolitics.uk/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/capx-ideologies.pdf>
- iii Number Cruncher Politics Poll, March / April 2018, <https://www.ncpolitics.uk/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/ft-austerity-2018-04-24.pdf>
- iv CapX Attitudes to Capitalism, March / April 2018, <https://www.ncpolitics.uk/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/capx-capitalism-2018-05-10.pdf>
- v ComRes, Daily Mirror Brexit and NHS poll, Jan 2018, http://www.comresglobal.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/Daily-Mirror_January-2018-poll_FINAL.pdf
- vi British Social Attitudes Survey, July – November 2017, http://bsa.natcen.ac.uk/media/39254/bsa35_work.pdf
- vii Populus https://www.populus.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/OmLeft_Wing_Populism.pdf
- viii ComRes, UnHerd Values Survey, August 2017, <http://www.comresglobal.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/UnHerd-Values-Survey-UK-Data-Tables.pdf>
- ix Populus Left Wing Populism, August 2017, https://www.populus.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/OmLeft_Wing_Populism.pdf
- x Populus Left Wing Populism, August 2017, https://www.populus.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/OmLeft_Wing_Populism.pdf
- xi YouGov, September 2017, <https://yougov.co.uk/opi/surveys/results#/survey/844dd1bc-a42f-11e7-a111-4b12f9bd0a33/question/d935a8c6-a42f-11e7-a111-4b12f9bd0a33/age>
- xii YouGov, September 2017, <https://yougov.co.uk/opi/surveys/results#/survey/844dd1bc-a42f-11e7-a111-4b12f9bd0a33/question/d935a8c6-a42f-11e7-a111-4b12f9bd0a33/age>
- xiii YouGov, February 2016, <https://yougov.co.uk/news/2016/02/23/british-people-view-socialism-more-favourably-capi/>
- xiv YouGov, February 2016 <https://yougov.co.uk/news/2016/02/23/british-people-view-socialism-more-favourably-capi/>

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