

**Table XII.A.1: National Level Election Results and Seat Distributions**

		CON	LAB	LIBa	Other	Total
1959	v	13.750.875	12.216.172	1.640.760	254.845	27.862.652
	%	49,4	43,8	5,9	0,9	
	s	365	258	6	1	630
1964	v	12.002.642	12.205.808	3.099.283	349.415	27.657.148
	%	43,4	44,1	11,2	1,3	
	s	304	317	9	0	630
1966	v	11.418.455	13.096.629	2.327.457	422.206	27.264.747
	%	41,9	47,9	8,5	1,7	
	s	253	363	12	2	630
1970	v	13.145.123	12.208.758	2.117.035	873.882	28.344.798
	%	46,4	43	7,5	3,1	
	s	330	287	6	7	630
1974 (F)	v	11.872.180	11.645.616	6.059.519	1.762.847	31.340.162
	%	37,8	37,1	19,3	5,8	
	s	297	301	14	23	635
1974 (O)	v	10.462.565	11.457.079	5.346.704	1.922.756	29.189.104
	%	35,8	39,2	18,3	6,7	
	s	277	319	13	26	635
1979	v	13.697.923	11.532.218	4.313.804	1.677.417	31.221.362
	%	43,9	37	13,8	5,3	
	s	339	269	11	16	635
1983	v	13.012.316	8.456.934	7.780.949	1.420.938	30.671.137
	%	42,4	27,6	25,4	4,6	
	s	397	209	23	21	650
1987	v	13.760.583	10.029.807	7.341.633	1.397.555	32.529.578
	%	42,3	30,8	22,6	4,3	
	s	376	229	22	23	650

Notes:

a. Refers to Liberal-SDP Alliance in 1983 and 1987

**Table XII.A.2: Party Composition of National Governments**

	Party of Government	Status of Government
08.X.59-15.X.64	CON	Majority
16.X.64-31.III.66	LAB	Majority
01.IV.66-18.VI.70	LAB	Majority
19.VI.70-28.II.74	CON	Majority
01.III.74-18.X.74	LAB	Minority
19.X.74-04.XI.76	LAB	Majority
05.XI.76-22.III.77	LAB	Minority
23.III.77-31.VII.78	LAB	Majority <sup>a</sup>
01.VIII.78-03.V.79	LAB	Minority
04.V.79-09.VI.83	CON	Majority
10.VI.83-06.VI.87	CON	Majority
07.VI.87-	CON	Majority

Note:

a.

Between March 1977 and August 1978, the Labour government's majority in the House of Commons was only maintained by the support of Liberal MPs. This was only an agreement on parliamentary support; the Liberals did not participate directly in government.

**Table XII.A.3: Subnational Governing Status<sup>a</sup>**

	CON		LAB		LIB		SDP	
	Regional <sup>b</sup>	Local	Regional <sup>b</sup>	Local	Regional <sup>b</sup>	Local	Regional <sup>b</sup>	Local
1974-76	4	4	4	5	1	1		
1977-78	5	5	4	4	1	1		
1979-83	5	4	4	4	1	1		
1984	5	4	4	5	3	1		
1985-89	4	4	4	5	3	1	1	1

**Codes:**

- 1 Not in any major government at this level.
- 3 In at least one major government at this level.
- 4 In many important governments at this level.
- 5 In most important governments at this level.

**Notes:**

- a. Figures date only from the last major reorganisation of local government in 1973. Prior to this, party involvement in local elections was sporadic (especially in shire counties).
- b. Regional government as such does not exist in England and Wales; however, for our purposes the first tier of sub-national government could be regarded as "regional". This incorporates the counties and metropolitan counties in England and Wales, and the Scottish regions and islands. The second sub-national tier constitutes "local" government, and comprises of the metropolitan districts. All these authorities have one thing in common, which is responsibility for education, by some considerable way the major item of local expenditure in Britain. In this sense, all other local authorities (including the non-metropolitan districts) represent lower levels of government.

**Table XII.A.4: Party Identification (Percentage of Electorate)**

	CON		LAB		LIB		SDP	
	Total	Very Strong	Total	Very Strong	Total	Very Strong	Total	Very Strong
1964	39	20	42	23	12	4	-	-
1966	37	18	47	23	10	4	-	-
1970	40	20	42	20	8	4	-	-
1974(F)	35	11	40	16	13	2	-	-
1974(O)	34	9	40	14	14	2	-	-
1979	39	10	38	11	12	2	-	-
1983	36	11	31	11	11	2	6	1
1987	37	5	30	9	11	1	5	1

Question: Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as Conservative, Labour, Liberal, Social Democrat, or what? Would you call yourself very strong [party], fairly strong, or not very strong?

Sources: British Election Study and Political Change In Britain data.

**Table XII.A.5: Official Status of Parties**

	Form a Parliamentary Fraction	Ballot Access	State Subvention	Media Access
1960-1962	None	£150 deposit per candidate; peers and certified mental patients disbarred	None	Limited amount of free access to major parties according to a mutually agreed definition of "balance". Actual ratio of 5:5:1 for Conservative: Labour: Liberal. Political advertising barred
1963-1973	As above	As above	As above	Ratio now 3:3:1
1974-1982	As above	As above	Available to opposition parliamentary parties	Ratio now 2:2:1
1982-1986	As above	As above	As above	Ratio now 5:5:4 for Conservative: Labour: Alliance
1987	As above	As above	As above	Ratio now 1:1:1
1988-1989	None	£500 deposit per candidate; peers and certified mental patients disbarred	Available to parliamentary opposition	Limited amount of free access to major parties according to a mutually agreed definition of "balance" Political advertising barred

Table XII.B.1: Numbers of Members

	LAB			CON	LIB	SDP
	Individual	Corporate	Total	Individual (Total)	Individual (Total)	Individual (Total)
1960	790.192	5.538.138	6.328.330	2,800,000 <sup>a</sup>	Unavailable	N/A
1961	750.565	5.575.042	6.325.607	Unavail.	243.600	"
1962	767.459	5.528.248	6.295.707	"	278.690	"
1963	830.346	5.528.090	6.358.436	"	Unavailable	"
1964	830.116	5.523.201	6.353.317	"	"	"
1965	816.765	5.623.128	6.439.893	"	"	"
1966	775.693	5.559.919	6.335.612	"	"	"
1967	733.932	5.560.682	6.294.614	"	"	"
1968	700.856	5.385.769	6.086.625	"	"	"
1969	680.656	5.483.226	6.163.882	"	"	"
1970	680.191	5.542.389	6.222.580	"	"	"
1971	699.522	5.584.731	6.284.253	"	"	"
1972	703.030	5.465.472	6.168.772	"	"	"
1973	665.379	5.407.817	6.073.196	"	"	"
1974	691.889	5.826.568	6.518.457	1,500.000	190.000	"
1975	674.905	5.793.969	6.468.874	Unavail.	Unavail.	"
1976	659.058	5.848.189	6.459.127	"	"	"
1977	659.737	5.956.534	6.616.271	"	"	"
1978	675.946	6.314.218	6.990.164	"	"	"
1979	666.091	6.569.507	7.235.598	"	"	"
1980	348.156	6.463.114	6.811.270	"	"	"
1981	276.692	6.330.898	6.607.590	"	"	78.205
1982	273.803	6.242.194	6.515.997	1,200.000	"	71.000
1983	295.344	6.160.393	6.455.737	Unavail.	"	45.258
1984	323.292	5.903.749	6.227.041	"	100.000	50.000
1985	313.099	5.887.060	6.200.159	"	Unavail.	Unavail.
1986	297.364	Unavail.	Unavail.	"	"	"
1987	288.829	"	"	"	79.500	58.000
1988	265.927	"	"	1,000.000	Unavail.	30.000
1989	293.723	"	"	750.000	82.000	11.000

It is effectively impossible to obtain reliable figures for the number of "basic units" each party has. None of the major British parties maintains records of this centrally; although the Conservatives and Labour have always sought to run organisations within each of the parliamentary constituencies at any given time, no account has been kept of the number of branches affiliated to each constituency organisation. In the case of the SDP the constituency only tends to have importance at election time; thanks largely to a relative shortage of resources, the party has been inclined to base its local organisations around the "area" parties, in which several constituencies share. No parties have affiliated memberships. No party maintains regular or reliable membership figures for ancillary bodies.

## Note:

a. This figure is from 1953, the best available indicator of membership around 1960.

## Sources:

Labour Party NEC Annual Reports; National Union of Conservative & Unionist Associations' Secretary's Office; Liberal Democrats' Information Office; SDP Chief Whip's Office; SDP Archive, University of Essex; Report of the Committee on Financial Aid to Parties 1976; Butler & Butler (1987); The Times 14/9/87 & 11/9/89; Rasmussen (1965); Finer (1980).

**Table XII.B.2.a: Obligations of Membership, LAB**

	Minimum Subscription		Other Obligations of Membership
	From Member to Branch	From Branch to Central Party	
1960-1964	ú0.30 per year, reduced to ú0.05 for pensioners.	ú0.0375 per member per year; constituency parties obliged to affiliate for a minimum of 1000.	If eligible, an individual member must be a member of an organization recognized by the TUC as a "bona fide trade union."
1965-1968	ú0.60 per year.	As above	As above
1969	As above	ú0.05 per member.	As above
1970	As above	ú0.075 per member.	As above
1971	ú1.20 per year.	As above	As above
1972	As above	ú0.10 per member.	As above
1973	As above	ú0.125 per member.	As above
1974	As above	ú0.15 per member.	As above; individual members must also contribute to the political fund of their union.
1975	As above	ú0.17 per member.	As above
1976-1977	As above	ú0.21 per member.	As above
1978	As above	ú0.24 per member.	As above
1979	As above	ú0.28 per member.	As above
1980	ú3 per member.	ú0.32 per member; minimum affiliation of 1000 members per constituency abolished.	As above
1981	As above	ú0.40 per member.	As above
1982	ú6 per member (ú2 reduced).	ú0.45 per member.	As above
1983	As above	ú0.50 per member.	As above
1984	ú7 per member (ú2 reduced).	As above	As above
1985	ú8 per member (ú2 reduced).	ú0.60 per member.	As above
1986	ú8.60 per member (2.15 reduced).	ú0.70 per member.	As above
1987	ú10 per member (ú3 reduced).	ú0.75 per member.	As above
1988	ú10.60 per member (ú3.20 reduced).	As above	As above
1989	ú10 per year, reduced to ú3 for pensioners, unemployed, etc; ú5 per year for new members recruited by unions, for the first three years of membership.	ú0.80 per member.	If eligible, an individual member must also be a member of an organisation recognised by the TUC as a "bona fide trade union"; individual members must also contribute to the political fund of their union.

Source: Annual Reports and Constitution and Rules of the Labour Party.

**Table XII.B.2.b: Obligations of Membership, SDP**

	Minimum Subscription:		Other Obligations of Membership
	From Member to Branch	From Branch to Central Party	
1981-1989	ú4.00 per annum. <sup>a</sup>	-	Express prohibition on membership of other parties.

Note:

a. SDP members pay their subscriptions directly to the national headquarters rather than to a local branch.

Source: SDP Constitution.



**Table XII.B.2.c: Obligations of Membership, LIB**

	Minimum Subscription:		Other Obligations of Membership
	From Member to Branch	From Branch to Central Party	
1960-1969	No minimum.	Minimum quota varies with constituency according to: i) Size of Liberal, vote at previous election, ii) Ratio of Liberal vote to most successful opponent in constituency.	Must make declaration of support for stated objectives of party and an annual financial contribution; membership of other parties expressly prohibited.
1970-1987	As above	Quota system replaced by an affiliation fee.	As above
1988-1989	Minimum subscription of ú2.50 per annum.	Local parties pay subscription income to regional parties in England and keep a portion for themselves. This varies by region, though the minimum is around 20%. In Scotland and Wales subscription income is paid to Scottish and Welsh state parties. A portion of this is passed on to the federal party at national level.	There must be no "material disagreement" with the fundamental values and objects of the party; the member must not "bring the party into disrepute"; membership of other parties is expressly prohibited.

Source: Constitutions of the Liberals, and Social & Liberal Democrats.

**Table XII.B.2.d: Obligations of Membership, CON**

	Minimum Subscription		Other Obligations of Membership
	From Member to Branch	From Branch to Central Party	
1960-1989	No minimum.	Minimum quota varies with constituency according to: i) Size of Conservative vote at previous election, ii) Ratio of Conservative vote to most successful opponent in constituency.	None, other than declaration of support for stated objectives of party, and the making of an annual financial contribution.

Source: Rules and standing orders of the National Union of Conservative and Unionist Associations; Report of the Annual Conference of the National Union of Conservative and Unionist Associations; Pinto-Duschinsky (1981)

**Table XII.C.1.a: Number of Paid Staff (Five Year Averages), LAB**

	Central	Subnational	Parliamentary
1960-1964	50	248	-
1965-1969	-	224	-
1970-1974	50	167	-
1975-1979	-	128	-
1980-1984	-	104	-
1985-1989	71	95	10

Note: For many years, parties no longer have records of the staff employed. Therefore, earlier figures are derived from Finer 1980, p.102. For the sake of comparability with these earlier figures, only non-clerical staff are considered. Sub-national staff figures incorporate constituency and regional personnel.

Source: Labour Party Personnel & Training Office; NEC Organisation Committee minutes; Finer (1980)

**Table XII.C.1.b: Numbers of Paid Staff (Five Year Averages), SDP**

	Central	Parliamentary
1980-1984	-	-
1985-1989	9	4

Note: No sub-national party staff data is available. For many years, parties no longer have records of the staff employed. Therefore, earlier figures are derived from Finer 1980, p.102. For the sake of comparability with these earlier figures, only non-clerical staff are considered. Sub-national staff figures incorporate constituency and regional personnel.

Source: SDP Chief Whip.

**Table XII.C.1.c: Numbers of Paid Staff (Five Year Averages), LIB**

	Central	Subnational	Parliamentary
1960-1964	19	74	-
1965-1969	16	-	2
1970-1974	12	22	2
1975-1979	17	-	-
1980-1984	20	11	-
1985-1989	25	8	-

**Note:** 1985-89 figures are for Social & Liberal Democrats. For many years, parties no longer have records of the staff employed. Therefore, earlier figures are derived from Finer 1980, p.102. For the sake of comparability with these earlier figures, only non-clerical staff are considered. Sub-national staff figures incorporate constituency and regional personnel.

**Source:** Liberal Annual Reports; Social & Liberal Democrats Information Office; Finer (1980)

**Table XII.C.1.d: Numbers of Paid Staff (Five Year Averages), CON**

	Central	Subnational	Parliamentary
1960-1964	97	580	-
1965-1969	-	-	-
1970-1974	95	431	-
1975-1979	-	350	-
1980-1984	-	-	-
1985-1989	100	291	-

Note: For many years, parties no longer have records of the staff employed. Therefore, earlier figures are derived from Finer 1980, p.102. For the sake of comparability with these earlier figures, only non-clerical staff are considered. Sub-national staff figures incorporate constituency and regional personnel.

Source: Conservative Central Office Personnel department; Finer (1980).