

Electoral Change in Britain since 1945

Pippa Norris

 **BLACKWELL**
Publishers

Contents

List of Figures	viii
List of Tables	x
General Editor's Preface	xi
Preface	xiii
Introduction: The Westminster Model of Representative Democracy	1
Part I The Nature of Electoral Change	15
1 Electoral Change, 1945–1970	17
2 Electoral Change, 1970–1992	35
3 The British Party System	59
Part II Changes in the Electorate	73
4 Changes in the Electorate	75
5 The Partisan Identity of Voters	99
6 The Social Identity of Voters	118
Part III Changes in the Party System	149
7 Party Competition and Ideology	151
8 Party Representatives	178
Part IV Changes in Political Communications	191
9 Changes in Communications	193
10 Media Effects	215
Conclusions: Electoral Reform and Electoral Change	228
Bibliography	238
Index	255

Figures

1.1	The Westminster model of government	18
1.2	Voting support in general elections, 1900–92	19
1.3	MPs in general elections, 1900–92	20
2.1	Two-party support in general elections	36
2.2	Two-party support, 1945–92	37
2.3	Liberal popularity, 1945–92	40
2.4	Trends in Nationalist vote, 1945–92	41
4.1	The Michigan model of voting choice	82
4.2	Partisan and social alignments	88
5.1	Trends in party identification, 1964–92	102
5.2	Trends in party membership, 1930–95	105
5.3	Party identification and vote, 1964–92	109
5.4	Butler swing, 1945–92	111
5.5	Pederson index, 1945–92	112
5.6	Waverers and late deciders, 1964–92	114
6.1	Cross-national trends in class voting, 1945–92	122
6.2	Trends in class voting, UK, 1964–92	126
6.3	Vote by council tenants, 1964–92	127
6.4	Vote by public sector, 1974–92	128
6.5	Map of Conservative vote, 1951, 1992	132
6.6	Conservative vote by gender, 1945–92	133
6.7	Conservative vote by age group, 1964–92	135
6.8	Conservative vote by generation, 1964–92	136
6.9	Ethnic minority voters, 1974–87	138
7.1	Party competition – Left–Right	158
7.2	Perceived party difference	159
7.3	Party competition – management of the economy	160

7.4	Party competition – welfare state, 1945–92	161
7.5	Party competition – moral traditionalism, 1945–92	162
7.6	Party competition – strong central state, 1945–92	162
7.7	Party competition – defence policy, 1945–92	163
7.8	Party competition – foreign policy, 1945–92	163
7.9	Party competition and value scales, 1992	170
8.1	Proportion of working-class Labour MPs, 1918–92	179
8.2	Proportion of public-school educated MPs, 1906–92	181
8.3	Proportion of MPs who are graduates, 1906–92	182
8.4	Proportion of women MPs and candidates, 1918–92	183
9.1	Changes in campaigning	196
9.2	Total newspaper circulation, 1945–92	204
9.3	Circulation by newspaper	205
9.4	The partisan balance of the press	206