Variable 8.01: Structural Articulation

1950-1990: 9


Norton identifies four major national organs: the National Union, the Central Office, the Parliamentary Party and the Advisory Committee on Policy (ACP). Although there is some overlap in terms of the functions preformed by these bodies (most notably in recommendations of policy), their responsibilities remain relatively clearly specified. Representatives in the National Union are elected by their constituency associations; however, the other bodies tend to be selected through "formal cooptation". This is especially true of the Central Office and ACP which are selected by the party leader. Each body has multiple committees and sub-committees
Variable 8.02: Intensiveness of Organization

1950-1990: 4

THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY WAS ORGANIZED IN NEARLY ALL CONSTITUENCIES AND TRIED AS FAR AS POSSIBLE TO EXTEND ITS ORGANISATION TO THE WARD LEVEL. PAID FULL TIME PARTY AGENTS EXISTED IN MOST OF THE CONSTITUENCIES. (JANDA, 1980: 209)

Noting the constituency association as the Conservative party's basic unit, Finer asserts that in 1974, the average membership of these bodies were 2,400. (Finer, 1980:104) [By Paul Sum]

Macridis observes that, "A vital element of the Conservative party...constituency associations play a significant role in the political life of the country. They are expected to provide an efficient organization for the party in each constituency..." (Macridis, 1983:38) [By Paul Sum]

Kelly asserts that the constituency association is the basic unit for the Conservative party which is comprised of numerous "branch organizations" within each constituency. These associations comprise the level at which participation takes place concerning party matters, most notably candidate selection. (Kelly, 1989:30) [By Paul Sum]

Variable 8.03: Extensiveness of Organization

1950-1990: 6

CONSERVATIVE LOCAL ASSOCIATIONS WERE SPREAD MORE OR LESS EVENLY OVER THE COUNTRY. (JANDA, 1980: 209)

Finer observes that, in 1979, the Conservative party covers 623 constituencies throughout England, Scotland and Wales. (Finer, 1980:104-5) [By Paul Sum]

"At the sub-national level, the National Union is divided into eleven areas of England and Wales with a separate though affiliated Scottish Conservative and Unionist Association (there is no Conservative organization in Northern Ireland). These parties are governed by Area Councils, regionalized versions of the Central Council.
They oversee the parties constituency associations (existing in all British parliamentary constituencies) which in turn comprise innumerable branch parties." (Kelly,1989:30) [By Paul Sum]

Variable 8.04: Frequency of Local Meetings

1950-1990: 6

Records are incomplete, but ward meetings seem to have occurred on average once a month, though divergences from the norm were great in places. (JANDA, 1980: 209)

"The local association meets once a year for the purpose of electing officers and appointing an executive council which will run affairs of the constituency together with the executive officer, normally the agent" (Ingle,1989:64)

Variable 8.05: Frequency of National Meetings

1950-1990: 6

The executive committee of the national union met on average six times yearly in this period [1950-1962], the central council and party conference annually. (JANDA, 1980: 209)

In 1979, Finer notes that National Union Party Conference, which consists of the Central Council, meets annually. The Purposes Committee which is comprised of 56 members elected from (and by) the Executive Committee of the National Union, "meets frequently and makes most of the day to day decisions." (Finer,1980:80) [By Paul Sum]

Variable 8.06: Maintaining Records

1950-1990: 12

The central office of the party organisation published a considerable quantity of printed matter, maintained a research department and kept extensive records. Membership lists are notable for quality. (JANDA, 1980: 209)
The Conservative Research Department, originally created in 1929, was reorganized in 1948, and functions as an advisory committee on policy. It also disseminates political information, such as *Politics Today Campaign Guide* (Aughey and Norton, 1981: 145). [By Renata Chopra]

Concerning membership lists, Ingle notes that, "There being no central membership list, figures have to be calculated: the average membership of a constituency association is 2,400, which would give a national membership of the order of 1,500,000." (Ingle, 1989:64) [By Paul Sum]

Norton notes that, "Although there are no definitive figures available", it is believed that the Conservative party includes between 1.0 and 1.5 million members. (Norton, 1991:136) [By Paul Sum]

**Variable 8.07: Pervasiveness of Organization**

1950-1990: 6

The Conservative party was represented by several youth and women's movements but only the Young Conservative and Unionist Association succeeded in attracting wide membership, mostly as a result of its social activities. Claiming a membership of 150,000 in 1955 it was the largest political youth movement in a liberal democracy. Organisations of Conservative teachers, lawyers, trades unionists and others remained small. Partisan self-selection for membership and a lack of ideological doctrinism in the party ensured easy central control of these organisations. Employers organisations, such as the Federation of British Industry, were in no sense controlled by the party, although naturally friendly towards it. (Janda, 1980: 209)

Concerning the decline in participation in ancillary organizations, King & Nugent note that membership in the Young Conservative Association has dropped from 157,000 in 1949 to 80,000 in 1959 to 50,000 in 1968. (King & Nugent, 1977:30) [By Paul Sum, Taken from R.Chopra's data]

Kelly notes that, although the Conservative Women's Organization has played a role in party politics since the turn of the century, it wasn't until the election of Thatcher in 1975 that this organization was taken seriously in terms of party matters. It was at this time that the PM began to address the CWO conference giving it added legitimacy over other ancillary organizations. (Kelly, 1989:132) [By Paul Sum]
Finer notes that in 1979, the Conservative party contains ancillary organizations for women, youth and university students but that these have been in relative decline since 1953, yet remain important to the party. (Finer, 1980: 136-7) [By Paul Sum]

Kelly (1989) notes that in 1986, the Young Conservatives boasted a membership of over 10,000 (36), that the Federation of Conservative Students had a membership of over 14,000 (100) and that the Conservative Trade Unionist had "an impressive 70,000 members and had been gaining a 'steady flow' of new recruits ever since the 'militant' trade unionism became an issue in the late 1960's and early 1970's." (163) However, it is the Conservative Women's Organization which is most notable with close to one million members, "making CWO the largest political organization in Britain." (1989:119) [By Paul Sum]

Concerning the weakness of labour organizations within the party, Ingle observes that, "only about 10 per cent of the constituencies formed local trade union councils or labour committees, and those that did made no attempt to integrate these into the association proper..." (Ingle, 1989: 67) [By Paul Sum]
Variable 8.01: Structural Articulation

1950-1990: 10

Four major "governmental" national organs were identifiable for the Labour Party in this period, two within the legislature and two without. In parliament the leader is advised by the parliamentary committee and by the cabinet when the party is in office. The parliamentary organisation of the party, the PLP, meets weekly to discuss policy and issues. The national executive committee met monthly, representing the mass membership. The annual conference allowed access to decision-making by the trades unions and other interests that made up the majority of the NEC. The administrative departments of the party head office paralleled the sub-committees of the NEC and coordinated policy with them, as well as providing research and publicity facilities. Appointment to all party office was by prescribed selection, laid down in a constitution. (Janda, 1980: 204)

The NEC agreed to accept amendments to the party constitution, rules and standing orders, whereby resolutions to amend these would be invited annually by the NEC, who would submit a report to the next Annual Conference making recommendations for accepting or rejecting the amendments and the reasons for their opinion. Amendments to the party constitution and standing orders to provide for these procedures were accepted at the 1968 Annual Conference. (Lees, 1990, p60) [By Kelli Haynes]

The NEC accepted in 1968 that there is need for improved communications between the Government and the National Executive and that the top link should be between the Prime Minister and the (General) Secretary. That the Secretary should play a more prominent political role and to assist him a Deputy Secretary be appointed to deal with political aspects of Party policy...That the National Executive be recommended to reconstruct its sub-committee system and to establish not more than three sub-committees to cover its main functions, i.e. policy formulation, organization, administration, publicity...That the main business of National Executive Committee meetings should be the presentation of a report by the General Secretary. (Lees, 1990, pp56-7) [By Kelli Haynes]
As noted by Janda (1980), the Labour continued to contain four major "governmental" organs. These include the National Executive Committee, the annual conference, the Parliamentary Labour Party and the central office. Each contain several committees and sub-committees with somewhat overlapping duties. Generating policy proposals is a case in point. (Finer, 1980:75-8) [By Paul Sum]

Macridis notes the creation of a fifth national organ, the Convention, with the primary function of selecting a national leader. The additional organ added to "prescribed selection" procedures already being widely practiced. (Macridis, 1983:44) [By Paul Sum]

The Annual Labour conference is very important. One of its duties is to elect the National Executive Committee, the administrative authority in the party and the hub of a network of advisory committees. In beginning, the NEC structure was 11 Trade Union members, 3 reps of socialist societies, 1 rep of local trades councils and 1 treasurer. In 1987 there were four divisions: 12 members elected by Trade Unions, 1 member elected by socialists, 7 members of the constituency delegations and 5 women reps. (Ingle, 1987, p125) [By Kelli Haynes]

The "Convention" was discontinued during this year in favor of individual voting procedures replacing its primary function. (Seyd in King et al, 1993:88-9) [By Paul Sum]

Variable 8.02: Intensiveness of Organization

1950-1990: 4

INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS IN THE LABOUR PARTY WERE OFFERED THE OPPORTUNITY TO PARTICIPATE REGULARLY IN THE PARTY'S AFFAIRS AT THE LEVEL OF WARDS, SUBDIVISIONS OF CONSTITUENCIES. (JANDA, 1980: 204)

Janosik (1968) interprets the constituency Labour party as the central party organ for political participation in terms of policy and candidate selection. [By Paul Sum]

The basic unit for the Labour party is the constituency party which is comprised of affiliated ward/union organizations. Concerning its membership size, Finer observes that, "No constituency party is permitted to affiliate with membership of fewer than 1000, although this is grossly in excess of the average number of members per local party." (Finer, 1980:75) [By Paul Sum]

Macridis concurs with Finer's conclusion concerning the size of the Labour party's "basic unit". "The average size e of a constituency Labour party has shrunk to only 250-300." (Macridis, 1983:46) [By Paul Sum]
Variable 8.03: Extensiveness of Organization

1950-1990: 5

ALTHOUGH THE LABOUR PARTY SPONSORED CANDIDATES FOR SEATS IN PARLIAMENT IN ALMOST ALL CONSTITUENCIES, CONSTITUENCY ASSOCIATIONS IN MANY AREAS WERE WEAK OR NON-EXISTENT. ONE STUDY REPORTS THAT ONLY ABOUT ONE-QUARTER OF THE CONSTITUENCIES HAD A FULL-TIME AGENT. SIMILARLY, THE INCIDENCE OF WARD ORGANIZATIONS WITHIN THE CONSTITUENCIES MUST BE HIGHLY VARIABLE. (JANDA, 1980: 204)

Minkin observes that, "Theoretically, each electoral constituency had a functioning Labour Party." However, he observes further that the strength of these varies widely and many fail to participate at all within a national context. He notes that in 1956, only 618 constituency Labour parties attended the party Conference and that more than half of these did not participate in any meaningful way. (Minkin, 1978:40-1) [By Paul Sum]

Macridis echoes Minkin's earlier observation that there are 623 constituency Labour parties in Great Britain, none in Northern Ireland, and these vary widely in strength and participation. (Macridis, 1983:45) [By Paul Sum]

Variable 8.04: Frequency of Local Meetings

1950-1956: 6
1957-1990: 5

LOCAL MEETINGS SEEM TO HAVE OCCURRED ON AVERAGE ABOUT ONCE A MONTH, THOUGH RECORDS ARE INCOMPLETE AND DIVERGENCES FROM THE NORM WERE GREAT IN PLACES. CONSTITUENCY LEVEL MEETINGS WERE MORE FREQUENT, USUALLY WEEKLY. IN THE LATTER PART OF THE PERIOD, HOWEVER, SUPPORT IN WORKING CLASS AREAS BEGAN TO FALL OFF, DESPITE COMPENSATORY INCREASES IN MIDDLE CLASS AREAS, AND THE FREQUENCY OF LOCAL MEETINGS DECLINED IN MANY AREAS. (JANDA, 1980: 204)

Donnison & Plowman based their study of local Labour parties, in the constituency of Stretford, analyzing, "seven meetings, two each of the Management Committee, the Divisional Committee, and the Labour Party Group, and one public meeting organized by two of the ward parties. These comprised all the meetings held by these bodies in one quarter, from November 1952 to January 1953." (1954:155) They argue that this is representative of most local organizations. [By Paul Sum]
Variable 8.05: Frequency of National Meetings

1950-1990: 6

THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MET ONCE A MONTH ON AVERAGE IN THIS PERIOD. THE PARTY CONFERENCE MET ANNUALLY AND THE PLP ON AVERAGE THREE TIMES A FORTNIGHT. (JANDA, 1980: 204)

Variable 8.06: Maintaining Records

1950-1990: 12

THE LABOUR PARTY HEAD OFFICE PUBLISHED A CONSTANT STREAM OF PARTY PROPAGANDA AND MAINTAINED AN OUTSTANDING ARCHIVE AND RESEARCH DEPARTMENT. MEMBERSHIP LISTS, HOWEVER, ARE NOT NOTED FOR THEIR QUALITY ON ACCOUNT OF THE HAPHAZARD AND UNEVEN PROCEDURES FOR THE AFFILIATION OF TRADES UNION MEMBERS. MANY UNIONS PROVIDE LOCAL CLPS WITH LUMP SUMS FOR AFFILIATION WHICH MAY NOT SUFFICE FOR AFFILIATION OF THEIR TOTAL MEMBERSHIP, OR EVEN EXCEED ITS CURRENT LEVELS. (JANDA, 1980: 204)

While conducting a random survey, Donnison & Plowman found that, "The membership list was not entirely up to date and it was impossible to find some people selected from it." (1954:162) [By Paul Sum]

Finer, noting inaccuracies within membership records, observes that in 1954 several unions raised their affiliation membership by more than 25% overnight in order to increase their voting strength at the party conference. (Finer,1980:75) [By Paul Sum]

Concerning inaccuracies within recording membership, Macridis notes that, "The affiliated members of the Labour party are said to number some six million. But there is no telling how many there really are because the number in any given union simply reflects the amount of the affiliation fee the union pays the Labour party, and it is the union leaders who decide on this amount. They can and do vary the amount, up or down." (Macridis,1983:42) [By Paul Sum]

Variable 8.07: Pervasiveness of Organization

1950-1990: 10
ANCILLARY ORGANIZATIONS SUCH AS WOMEN'S GROUPS, SOCIALIST SOCIETIES AND STUDENT ORGANISATIONS CONTROLLED BY THE LABOUR PARTY ENLISTED A SMALL MINORITY OF THEIR RESPECTIVE SOCIAL SECTORS. THE INTERDEPENDENCE OF THE TRADES UNION MOVEMENT AND THE LABOUR PARTY DICTATED EXTENSIVE CO-OPERATION BETWEEN THEM BUT IT IS DIFFICULT TO SPEAK OF CONTROL OF EITHER ONE BY THE OTHER. (JANDA, 1980: 205)

Donnison & Plowman note that, "At every level of the party is an alliance of many affiliated organizations. The Stretford Local party's Management Committee, for instance, consists of 58 delegates from eight wards, 2 from the Women's Section, 2 from the Labour League of Youth, 2 from the Co-operative Party, 1 from the Trades Council, and 5 from Trade Union branches." (1954:160)

In 1972, there was a change involving the major reorganization of the women's section of the party, advocating the setting up of councils in each constituency to co-ordinate drives to attract younger women, run campaigns on local problems and important policy issues, and train younger women in leadership, public speaking and to run as candidates in local elections. The size of the women's annual conference was doubled and they abolished the special five-member women's section of the NEC, redistributing these seats, three to the trade unions and two to the constituency parties. (Lees, 1990, p61) Young socialists were given more autonomy and regional boundary were changed. (Lees, 1990, p61) [By Kelli Haynes]

Finer notes that the Labour party contains ancillary organizations for women, youth and university students but that all are in decline since 1953. Furthermore, these groups never consisted of "significant" numbers relative to other non-party organizations. (Finer, 1980:136-7) [By Paul Sum]
#303-United Kingdom: The Liberal Party

*Note: All code justifications which appear in ALL CAPS were part of the original ICPP project (Janda, 1980). All other code justifications were subsequently provided by those credited after said justification.

Variable 8.01: Structural Articulation

1950-1990: 10

There are four national organs of the Liberal party. The Liberal Central Association (LCA) which channels state funds to Liberal MP's. The Liberal Party Organization (LPO) acts as party headquarters which advises the party in Parliament and constituency parties. The LPO claims responsibility for party organization, policy, finance and public relations. The Finance and Administration Board (FAB), set up in 1969, directs the administration of the party, the work of the LPO and raise and administer party finances. The Council consists of 275 representatives from regional and local organizations and acts as a quarterly conference. It serves to ratify policy and elects members to the National Executive Committee (NEC), the Assembly and the Standing Committee. The NEC claims to be the governing arm of the party. The Assembly acts as the Parliamentary arm of the party. The Standing Committee (set up in 1969) develops policy and handles matters between Council meetings. For the most part, these organs operate through prescribed selection. There is considerable overlap concerning responsibilities. (Kavanagh, 1983:124-5) [By Paul Sum]

Concerning the effect on national organization by the Alliance, Denver notes that, "Throughout his leadership of the SDP [Owen] consistently and abrasively sought to maintain the separateness of the SDP in organization, policy and style...and resolutely opposed any form of convergence between the Alliance parties." (Denver, 1993:104) The effect was that the "structural articulation" of the Liberal party remained essentially unchanged. [By Paul Sum]

The structural distinctiveness of the Alliance parties persisted through the 1987 merger negotiations, with the Liberal party fully supporting the decentralized, overlapping structure which characterizes their party. (Denver, 1993:110) [By Paul Sum]

Denver concludes that the emergence of the Liberal Democrats, a party which can be argued as being essentially the same party as the "old" Liberal party, differed structurally as a more "professional" organization, eliminating some of its functional overlap. However, the basic national structure remained largely unchanged. (Denver, 1993:126) [By Paul Sum]
Variable 8.02: Intensiveness of Organization

1950-1990: 4

Finer observes that for the Liberal party, "The basic unit is the constituency association; each constituency association is represented by a regional association." (Finer, 1980:81) [By Paul Sum]

Denver observes that during the 1983 election, constituency associations of the Alliance parties merged in an effort to maximize electoral efficiency. The associations were led by one party or the other depending on relative strength of the seat. Nevertheless, the constituency association remained as the basic unit for the Alliance. (Denver, 1993:107) [By Paul Sum]

Variable 8.03: Extensiveness of Organization

1950-1970: 4
1971-1990: 5

Kavanagh observes that the Liberal party contested 475 seats in the 1950 general election. However, the strength of the organizations slating candidates were often weak with 319 forfeiting their deposits. (Kavanagh, 1983:130) [By Paul Sum]

The Liberal party contested 109 seats in the general election in 1951. Although this is less than one-third (as prescribed by the coding value) some constituency parties did not run candidates. (Kavanagh, 1983:130) [By Paul Sum]

The Liberal party contested 110 seats in the 1955 general election although there were some constituency parties which did not run candidates. (Kavanagh, 1983:130) [By Paul Sum]

The Liberal Party contested 216 seats in the general election with all but the weakest constituency parties not running candidates. (Kavanagh, 1983:130) [By Paul Sum]

The change in 1970 documents the widespread growth of constituency parties as represented by the 517 Liberal candidates contesting seats. Kavanagh interprets this as increasing electoral dissatisfaction with the main parties (primarily Labour). He notes that many of these constituency parties sprang up quickly and many candidates were "virtual strangers" to the party. Nevertheless, the value change intends to record the increased "extensiveness" of the party. (Kavanagh, 1983:130) [By Paul Sum]

Kavanagh observes that the Liberal party ran almost a complete slate during the
general election of February, 1974. However, he reiterates the lack of cohesion among new members who have "parachuted" into the party. (Kavanagh, 1983:130-1) [By Paul Sum]

Concerning the relative strength of constituency parties, Kavanagh observes that, "Three hundred Liberal associations at most have had a continuous existence for the past ten years; that is they fought the seat in all general elections between 1970 and 1979 and paid the annual affiliation fee to party headquarters." (Kavanagh, 1983:131-2) [By Paul Sum]

Although the Alliance contested each parliamentary seat in the 1987 election, the Liberals constituted only slightly more than half of these. Therefore, the coding remains unchanged since the Liberal party is still not contesting most of the seats. This conclusion remains valid since the two parties remained structurally distinct during the period. (Denver, 1993:101) [By Paul Sum]

**Variable 8.04: Frequency of Local Meetings**

1950-1990:

No Data

**Variable 8.05: Frequency of National Meetings**

1950-1990: 7

The Council meets four times per year. Other bodies overlap membership with the Council and therefore these other bodies are considered to be "inner organizations". The coding reflects the frequency of meeting by the Council. The National Executive Committee meets eight times a year. The Assembly meets annually. The Standing Committee meets monthly. (Kavanagh, 1983:124-5) Norton adds that the Liberal Parliamentary Party (LPP) meets weekly when the House is sitting. (Norton, 1983:144) [By Paul Sum]

**Variable 8.06: Maintaining Records**

1950-1990:

No Data
Variable 8.07: Pervasiveness of Organization

1950-1990: 2

Finer notes that the associated organizations of the Liberal Party include the Young Liberals and the Women's Liberal Federation. These groups enjoy wide membership among Liberals but do not constitute a "significant number" relative to the general population. These organizations have been difficult for the party organization to control. (Finer, 1980:136) [By Paul Sum]