

BOOK REVIEWS

Political Change in Britain: Forces Shaping Electoral Choice. BY DAVID BUTLER AND DONALD STOKES. (New York: St. Martin's press, 1970. Pp. 516.)

Students of voting behaviour, whether or not interested in British politics, will certainly be interested in *Political Change in Britain*, because it is the first book-length analysis of voting behaviour to appear from the Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan since the publication of *The American Voter* in 1960. As a consequence, it is a model of how to analyse voting in a national context, whether in North America, or the Europe of the Six and the Seven. It is also a mine of information about mass political attitudes in Britain.

Unpredictable aspects of elections have given David Butler and Donald Stokes an unusually rich resource of data: nationwide sample surveys of the British electorate at three different points in time, with two general elections occurring in the period. Their first wave of interviews was conducted in 1963, when Conservative support was near bottom; the second wave in autumn, 1964, when the two parties were even; and the third after the 1966 general election, when the Labour Party had reached a pinnacle of success. Hence, the authors have a considerable amount of change to analyse by the standards of a relatively stable European electorate. They also have problems of panel mortality, sampling and weighting; these are clearly discussed in an appendix.

The questionnaire employed follows the Survey Research Center's concern with obtaining as much information as possible about individual respondents' social characteristics and political attitudes. Donald Stokes' analytic skills are reflected in the sophistication with which data is analysed, especially where complex problems of cause and effect are concerned, as in the discussion of the relationship of newspaper reading and trade union membership to voting behaviour. David Butler's long involvement in the detailed study of British election campaigns is reflected in the concern shown with the relevance of findings to British electoral politics in the 1960s. A number of key tables are of interest to practitioners of campaigning at Smith Square, London, as well as to an international circle of academic students of voting.

The 20 chapters and 225,000 words of text begin with a straightforward but by no means simple discussion of the social bases of party preference in Britain, with a chapter devoted to reli-

gious, local and regional influences, as well as several chapters on class influences and a chapter on socialization and generational differences in party allegiance. The second part is primarily concerned with issues and the extent of ideological awareness. Sections three and four describe influences changing the party preferences of individual voters and the aggregate strength of the parties in the electorate. Here, the availability of data from the same panel for two general elections is particularly valuable.

No review can do justice to all the materials and themes contained within this volume. Moreover, the clarity of organization is such that the busy student of comparative politics can dip into particular chapters and abstract much of use, especially if he is already familiar with the context of British politics. To this reviewer, the most interesting and elegant discussions concerned two topics long emphasized in the Nuffield studies of aggregate electoral data: the evenness of national swing, and the homogeneity of the national electorate.

In a series of seminar papers, Donald Stokes had previously emphasized the paradox of swing: that is, the net percentage change in votes between Conservative and Labour parties in a given constituency is nearly identical in all constituencies in Britain (or, at least, in England). This is a paradox since a swing of 3 per cent of the vote is equivalent to a change of one-tenth of its strength, whereas it reflects the switching of only one-twentieth of strength in a constituency where it polls 60 per cent of the vote. The phenomenon is explained as a consequence of ecological and communication factors that work in opposite directions in a party's safe and hopeless seats, with the net effect homogenizing shifts at the level of the constituency. The discussion blends logic, empirical data and theoretical sophistication.

The decomposition of influences upon voting into their regional components is carried out by using statistical techniques that Donald Stokes has already demonstrated in other contexts. The authors' analysis here shows that 6.4 per cent of the greater strength of the Labour Party in the North of England and of the Conservatives in the South is accounted for by differences of party preference within a given class (i.e., by a 'regional' effect) and only 2.8 per cent is due to the difference in the class structure of the two regions. The interaction effect is a negligible 0.1 per cent.

A pervasive theme of the book is the extent to which actuarial changes in the social structure

Political Changes In Britain Forces Shaping Electoral Choice

Michael Hoelscher



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