



University of HUDDERSFIELD

University of Huddersfield Repository

Hazell, Joseph C. N.

A Rise in Conservatism? West Yorkshire politics 1979-87 and the aftermath of the Winter of Discontent: A comprehensive study of election results in West Yorkshire from 1982-87.

Original Citation

Hazell, Joseph C. N. (2018) A Rise in Conservatism? West Yorkshire politics 1979-87 and the aftermath of the Winter of Discontent: A comprehensive study of election results in West Yorkshire from 1982-87. Masters thesis, University of Huddersfield.

This version is available at <http://eprints.hud.ac.uk/id/eprint/34781/>

The University Repository is a digital collection of the research output of the University, available on Open Access. Copyright and Moral Rights for the items on this site are retained by the individual author and/or other copyright owners. Users may access full items free of charge; copies of full text items generally can be reproduced, displayed or performed and given to third parties in any format or medium for personal research or study, educational or not-for-profit purposes without prior permission or charge, provided:

- The authors, title and full bibliographic details is credited in any copy;
- A hyperlink and/or URL is included for the original metadata page; and
- The content is not changed in any way.

For more information, including our policy and submission procedure, please contact the Repository Team at: E.mailbox@hud.ac.uk.

<http://eprints.hud.ac.uk/>

A Rise in Conservatism?

**West Yorkshire politics 1979-87 and the
aftermath of the Winter of Discontent**

A comprehensive study of election results in West Yorkshire from 1982-87.



Getty Images - Margaret Thatcher speaks at a podium in an arena during the 1979 parliamentary election.

Joseph C. N. Hazell BA (Hons)

**A Thesis submitted to the University of Huddersfield in
partial fulfilment for the degree of History (MA by research)**

Pages: 152

Masters Supervisor: Professor Barry Doyle



Myself and David Hinchcliffe (Labour MP for Wakefield 1987-2005)



Myself and Norman Hazell (My Grandfather - Local councillor and Wakefield Conservative Parliamentary candidate 1983-1987)

Acknowledgments

I would just like to thank all those who have contributed in one way or another to this research. I would like to thank my Grandad, Norman Hazell who I interviewed as part of my research for the final chapter on the Wakefield General Elections in 1983 and 1987. Your stories about the General Election campaigns were the inspiration for this thesis.

I would also like to thank David Hinchcliffe for the interview he allowed me to conduct, I found it very interesting to talk to you about your time in politics, and your experiences in Wakefield. I would also like to thank my supervisor, Barry Doyle. I appreciate all the advice and support that you have given me throughout the year.

I would also like to thank Leeds Central Library for letting me use the microfilm facilities to view the *Yorkshire Post* archive.

I have had a lot of fun researching this topic as I have found it interesting throughout. It has been a topic that I have always wanted to cover, and I am grateful that I had the opportunity to do it.

Contents

Contents.....	1
Abstract.....	3
Illustrations.....	4
List of Abbreviations.....	5
Introduction	6
Chapter One	10
Historiography.....	10
Methodology.....	24
Chapter Two – The Figures: Election Results	30
West Yorkshire: The Political Landscape.....	32
Local Election Results 1982 (Yorkshire).....	39
Metropolitan Borough Council Election Results.....	43
Local Election Results 1983 (Yorkshire).....	45
Metropolitan Borough Council Election Results.....	48
The General Election 1983.....	50
Local Elections Results 1986 (Yorkshire).....	54
Metropolitan Borough Council Election Results.....	55
Local Election Results 1987 (Yorkshire).....	58
Metropolitan Borough Council Election Results.....	60
A brief comparison of the local election results between 1982 and 1987 in Barnsley and Leeds.....	62
Yorkshire Local Election Results 1980s: A Decade Overview.....	64
Chapter Three – Strikes, events and issues in Yorkshire 1979-1985	69
The Yorkshire Winter of Discontent 1979.....	69
Home Ownership and Council House Sales.....	72
The Falklands Factor.....	74
The Fragmentation of Labour Politics.....	77
The Miners’ Strike and Pit Closures.....	81
Chapter Four - Activist Perception and Campaigns in Wakefield 1983-1987	86
General Election 1983: Wakefield.....	86
General Election 1987: Wakefield.....	91
Conclusion	95

Bibliography	99
Primary Sources	99
Newspapers.....	99
Newspapers retrieved from an online archive.....	100
Statistical Collections	100
Election Results	100
Published Primary.....	101
Autobiographies.....	101
Electronic Government Publication.....	101
Hansard	101
Political Party Manifesto's	101
Online Archive	101
Unpublished	101
Private Collections	101
Digital Recordings (Interviews)	101
Cabinet Papers – National Archives	102
Website.....	102
Youtube	102
Secondary Sources	102
Books.....	102
Journal Articles	104
Appendices	105
Results Tables	116
Local Election Results 1982 (Results by constituency).....	119
Local Election Results 1983 (Results by constituency).....	129
Local Election Results 1986 (Results by constituency).....	136
Local Election Results 1987 (Results by constituency).....	143

Abstract

A Rise in Conservatism? West Yorkshire politics 1979-87 and the aftermath of the Winter of Discontent explores the local election results from 1982-1987 in West Yorkshire, specifically in Bradford, Calderdale, Doncaster, Kirklees, Leeds and Wakefield – Barnsley is also explored to act as a comparison to South Yorkshire. The West Yorkshire political landscape surrounding the Conservatives, and the local election is an area that seems to have gone unnoticed.

West Yorkshire politics was certainly dynamic during the 1980s. This is a unique piece of local, oral historical research. The primary aim is to show how the Conservatives had a strong foothold in Yorkshire during the 1980s. This thesis challenges the concept of a North/South divide in relation to the success of Thatcherism and Conservatism.

The Thesis is broken down into three main chapters: The first chapter is a significant analysis of the local election results in West Yorkshire, which enables us to understand Conservative success in the region. In the end, showing how success in the local elections, ultimately, underpins the national success of the Conservatives.

The second and third chapters are the qualitative chapters, which help to give an overall context to the statistics analysed in chapter one. Chapter two explores the aftermath of the Yorkshire winter of discontent, along with the Conservatives policy on council house sales, and begins to analyse the impact of the miners strikes. Finally, chapter four covers the very local aspect of this thesis. It begins to explore the deeply interesting Wakefield General Elections in 1983 and 1987, a topic that has not been previously been researched or written about. This is done by using the testimony of two predominant figures of the General Elections; Norman J Hazell (Conservative Party Parliamentary candidate for Wakefield 1983-1987) and David Hinchcliffe. (Wakefield Labour MP 1987-2005).

Illustrations

Figure 1. p.7. - Mrs Thatcher talking to journalists at a House of Commons press conference after the result of the voting had been made known. Retrieved from Wood, D. (1975, February 5). Mr Heath steps down as leader after 11 vote defeat by Mrs Thatcher. *The Times Digital Archive*. Retrieved from <http://find.galegroup.com/ttda p.1. Issue 59312>.

Figure 2. p.41. – Disappointed SDP candidates in Leeds, local election results 1982. Retrieved from Bolton, D. (1982, May 7). Tories slash Labour's lead. *Yorkshire Post*. p.1.

Figure 3. p.50. – Statistical map of the whole UK, showing which party won each constituency in 1983. Retrieved from http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/atlas/map/R_WINNING_PARTY/CONSTITUENCY/09JUN1983

Figure 4. p.52. – Bob Cryer, pictured right, loses his Keighley parliamentary seat. Retrieved from Shearing, D. (1983, June 10.). Thatcher gets second term. Big names sink in Tory tidal wave. *Yorkshire Post*. p.1.

Figure 5. p.75. – The end of the 1981 march for jobs. 'The Members' playing at the Brockwell Park. Retrieved from <http://www.ukrockfestivals.com/Peoples-March-for-jobs-81.html>

Figure 6. p.82. – Miners procession turned around by picketing miners. Retrieved from Morgan, R. & Chadwick, A. (1985, March 6). Pit return chaos. *Yorkshire Post*. p.1.

Figure 7. p.83. – LAST STAND: A lone Kent picket, Mr. Bill Young. Retrieved from Calverley, P. (1985, March 7). Miners ignore lone picket to over-run Alamo. *Yorkshire Post*. p.7.

List of Abbreviations

FPTP	First Past the Post
GMHSE	General and Municipal Health Service Employees
MP	Member of Parliament
NUPE	National Union of Public Employees
PPB	Party Political Broadcast
SDP	Social Democratic Party
TGWU	Transport and General Workers Union

Introduction

The late 1970s to the late 1980s was a turbulent time in British politics - economic turmoil, government run on a minority basis and strikes up and down the country. The final months of the Callaghan government were characterised by this and is remembered in popular memory as the government that fell in the aftermath of the Winter of Discontent. The period was certainly chaotic; on 22 January 1979, 1.5 million public sector workers went on strike. Yorkshire played a significant part in these strikes and the Winter of Discontent. Constituencies in West Yorkshire, in particular, had senior ministers such as Walter Harrison (Labour whip) in Wakefield and most notably the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Denis Healey, in Leeds East – and the strikes aimed to cause as much disruption as possible. Further to this, Yorkshire was noteworthy because unemployment was rising in the region at an alarming rate, by the end of January 1979 there were ‘125,478 people out of work’¹. This accounted for around 8.6 per cent of the total unemployed in the Country. (See Appendix A).

James Callaghan was forced to make deals with other parties just to keep the government functioning; this included a pact with the Liberal Party and deals with Welsh and Scottish nationalists and Northern Irish MPs. In a recent interview conducted, Dennis Skinner recalled that when ‘we were walking through the lobbies – to me it didn’t disturb me doing it, to give some benefit to the quarrymen, who mainly voted for the Welsh Nationalists’.² This problem can be traced right to the very beginning of Callaghan’s premiership in 1976 since ‘he inherited a minority government which lost its majority on the same day with the defection of John Stonehouse’.³

This would transition to a majority government in 1979 advocating a completely opposing ideology to what had previously been on offer - including mass privatisation. ‘The 5.2 per cent national swing which projected Mrs Thatcher into Downing Street with an overall parliamentary majority of forty-three heralded large

¹ Fisher, J. (1979, January 11). Jobs Queues start to grow. *Yorkshire Post*. p.1.

² Skinner, D., (March, 2016). Interviewed by J. Hazell [digital recording]. Heritage Quay, University of Huddersfield.

³ Laybourn, K. (2002). *Fifty Key Figures in Twentieth-century British Politics*. London: Routledge. p.58.

changes in policy direction'.⁴ Dennis Skinner reflected on this time in an interview stating, 'I thought the climate was bad'⁵ - with regards to the popularity of the Labour Party and holding a General election. Britain was about to go through radical change over the next decade.

However, it was not always certain that Mrs Thatcher would prevail. During her leadership bid in 1975 and throughout her time in opposition she seemed to struggle. Certainly, as John Charmley points out '[c]ommentators tend to agree that she was not a successful leader of the Opposition'.⁶ This was seen right from the outset as the Conservative Party was split on her becoming leader. Mrs Thatcher challenged Mr Heath and won in the first ballot – '130 votes to 119'.⁷ Ultimately, Mr Heath stepped down as party leader as this was a confidence vote in him as leader. In the early stages of her campaign to become leader, Mrs Thatcher still felt that there would be 'anti-feminine prejudice against her but also much tactical voting to enforce a second ballot',⁸ suggesting there was a split within the parliamentary party. When the second ballot was held on 11 February 1975, Mrs Thatcher won with '146 votes to 79'.⁹

Figure 1 – Mrs Thatcher talking to journalists at a House of Commons press conference after the result of the voting had been made known.



⁴ Holmes, M. (1985). *The First Thatcher Government 1979-1983 Contemporary Conservatism and Economic Change*. Sussex: Wheatsheaf Books LTD. p.7.

⁵ Skinner, D., (March, 2016). Interviewed by J. Hazell [digital recording]. Heritage Quay, University of Huddersfield.

⁶ Charmley, J. (2008). *A History of Conservative Politics since 1830*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan. p.213.

⁷ Wood, D. (1975, February 5). Mr Heath steps down as leader after 11 vote defeat by Mrs Thatcher. *The Times Digital Archive*. Retrieved from <http://find.galegroup.com/ttda> p.1. Issue 59312.

⁸ Ibid., p.1.

⁹ Wood, D. (1975, February 12). Mrs Thatcher wins outright and asks shadow team to stay on. *The Times Digital Archive*. Retrieved from <http://find.galegroup.com/ttda> p.1. Issue 59318

The new leader would not only struggle with her own party in the beginning, but she seemed to have difficulty during Prime Minister's Questions. Mrs Thatcher was often criticised for having a high-pitched voice and had to have voice lessons to deepen her voice to seem more commanding. Dennis Skinner recalled that 'she didn't (sic) start out very well, she had this high-pitched voice[.] ... Callaghan by and large held her at bay at Question Time [-] he always maintained superiority over her'.¹⁰ This would gradually change as media coverage of the Winter of Discontent would seem to bring her confidence. This was evident when she called a vote of no confidence in the Commons on 28 March 1979. That was the night the government fell - the Callaghan Government was defeated 'by a single vote (311 to 310)'.¹¹ This was certainly a unique situation – a vote of no confidence which is effective is a rare event, it had last occurred against the Ramsay MacDonald government in 1924. In that case, [t]he house divided: Ayes, 364; Noes, 198'.¹²

The Conservatives came into government promising to bring the economic situation under control. One of the ways in which this would be achieved would be by cutting expenditure. At a cabinet meeting, it was agreed that '[t]here would be an immediate freeze on recruitment to the civil service for a period [...] [,] reduction of waste [...] [and] all ministers in charge of Departments should make it their personal responsibility to pursue the promotion of efficiency and the elimination of waste in their Department'.¹³ This was a government that was not wasting time - it wanted to distance itself as much as possible from the previous government under Callaghan, which failed to adequately deal with the trade unions.

The Winter of Discontent in Yorkshire during 1978-1979 and the Conservative Party within Yorkshire during the 1980s is something that has been relatively neglected by historians and political commentators, although Conservative success has been widely explored through analysis of the national picture. This thesis will be unique, therefore, as a case study of Conservative success within West Yorkshire. The

¹⁰ Skinner, D., (March, 2016). Interviewed by J. Hazell [digital recording]. Heritage Quay, University of Huddersfield.

¹¹ Shepherd, J. (2013). *Crisis What Crisis? The Callaghan Government and the British 'Winter of Discontent'*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. p.56.

¹² Hansard (1924). *Attorney-General's explanation. HC Deb 08 October 1924 vol 177 cc581-704.*

¹³ Cabinet (1979). *Conclusions of a meeting of the Cabinet held at 10 Downing Street on Thursday 10 May 1979 at 10:30am.* (CAB/128/66/1). Retrieved from <http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C10372023> p.2.

electoral success of Thatcherism is often seen as a national feature: about the Falklands, free market capitalism, the economic freedom of the individual and, ultimately, the dominant personality of Margaret Thatcher as prime minister. The Conservatives and Thatcherism as an ideology was actually very successful in West Yorkshire and in many parts of the North, but not necessarily popular. The political shift throughout Yorkshire is one which has been ignored. Yet, it was fundamental in the Conservatives rise to power, and why they remained in power for four terms. One of the main aims of this research will be to analyse whether there was a 'rise' in conservatism within Yorkshire, or whether it was the split in the opposition which caused such a change.

What follows explores general election results and a comprehensive set of local election results and shows that the Winter of Discontent in Yorkshire had a significant impact on the political make up in Yorkshire in the short-term after the 1979 general election. The analysis will be presented in the form of three chapters. The focus points of this thesis will be the analysis of Local Election results in context with general election results. The thesis will explore a case study of the Wakefield constituency based on primary source material and will explore some consideration of other issues that may have affected how people voted in the 1980s. The thesis will aim to explore whether it is possible to see that the Winter of Discontent, Falklands War, the SDP, fragmentation of Labour politics and the miners' strike are influential. The thesis is interested in specifically looking at ways in which you can correlate what happens to elections based on those factors.

The first chapter will look at the historiography surrounding the rise of Conservatives nationwide throughout the years 1979 to 1987. The historiography will also consider some literature around the fall of the Labour Party in 1979 and subsequent election defeats in 1983 and 1987. This will provide overall context in relation to the rest of this thesis. There is little to no secondary literature on the subject of the Conservatives in Yorkshire, which is why this piece of research is unique. The local historical research that will be involved makes this thesis unique – mainly interviews from two individuals who were heavily involved in politics in the region. Finally, this chapter will explore the methodology which this thesis will use to obtain and analyse the research required to explore Conservatism within Yorkshire and nationally during the years 1979-1987.

Chapter One

Historiography

The aftermath of the Winter of Discontent in 1979 left the country wondering what was next. The fiasco, which was the Labour governments' handling of the strikes and trade unions had the public wanting significant change. The general election in May 1979 ushered in the first female British Prime Minister – a key milestone for gender equality in the United Kingdom. This has been addressed by historians at national level, but the specifics of the research question posed in this thesis have not been debated as it is a topic or question that has been largely neglected. However, the overall arguments surrounding the rise of the Conservatives in 1979 and their ensuing election victories in 1983 and 1987 have been debated over the last few decades. This chapter will explore those debates to gain an overall context. The Conservative Party within Yorkshire have largely been ignored, the overriding literature focuses primarily on the Labour Party, which is problematic when trying to put together a useful historiography. However, this thesis will aim to shed some light on the Conservative Party's performance in West Yorkshire during the years 1982 - 1987.

The preceding historiography with regards to the power of the Conservatives in 1979 relates to the failures of the Labour Party rather than the successes of the Conservative Party and Margaret Thatcher. This notion is advocated by modern historian, John Charmley. Charmley clarifies his position by stating that Thatcher had to 'rely on the government of the day to lose the election; fortunately for her, that was the one thing she could rely on'.¹⁴ Indeed, this point is echoed by Mark Wickham-Jones and Dennis Kavanagh who makes parallel arguments. Kavanagh cites the Winter of Discontent as being a significant factor. He argues that '1979 had seen a short-term swing towards the Conservative party, largely as a reaction against the Winter of Discontent'.¹⁵

¹⁴ Charmley, J. (2008). *A History of Conservative Politics since 1830*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan. p.213.

¹⁵ Kavanagh, D. (1995). *Thatcherism and British Politics The End of Consensus?* New York: Oxford University Press. p.206.

Wickham-Jones places the blame firmly on the Labour Party and their inability to work with the Unions for their election defeat, and in the end why the Conservatives won the general election in 1979. Wickham-Jones observed that 'Labour had been elected to office partly on the basis of its ability to work with the unions: The Winter of Discontent left that cooperation in tatters and the government subsequently went down to election defeat in May 1979'.¹⁶ Therefore, making the argument that the Conservative success should not be considered.

Wickham-Jones expands on his argument by making the point that divisions between the Labour Government and the party base did not help the situation. He blames the Labour Government for the election defeat solely on its failings; emphasising the point that the Labour Government was guilty of 'ignoring the views of its party base, but it was failing to provide the economic results which might justify such an attitude'.¹⁷ Wickham-Jones goes on to state that the result of this was election defeat, and that as a result of this, the Labour Party was left in a 'poor internal state'.¹⁸ Undeniably, this was evident throughout the elections in 1983 and 1987.

In comparison, this argument is also put forward by Dennis Kavanagh, who states that 'the outcome of the 1979 general election was clearly a repudiation of labour'¹⁹ thereby, suggesting that Labour lost the election and that the Conservatives did not win it. However, Kavanagh argues that Labour's election defeat was part of a wider story – it was simply 'another stage in the long-term decline of the party'.²⁰ Certainly, it is important to point out that he is writing in 1995 before Tony Blair revived the party. Kavanagh furthers his argument and suggests that the swing toward the Conservative Party was likely a reaction toward the Winter of Discontent; a Labour failing. Mitchell, like Wickham-Jones and Kavanagh, makes the case that '[o]ppositions don't (sic) win elections, governments lose'.²¹ This is a point that is made incessantly throughout the whole historiography.

¹⁶ Wickham-Jones, M. (1996). *Economic Strategy and the Labour Party Politics and Policy-Making, 1970-83*. London: Macmillan Press Ltd. p.150.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p.157.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p.157.

¹⁹ Kavanagh, D. (1995). *Thatcherism and British Politics The End of Consensus?* New York: Oxford University Press. p.206.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p.206.

²¹ Mitchell, A. (1983) *Four Years in the Death of the Labour Party*. London: Methuen. p.111.

However, in comparison to Wickham-Jones' and Mitchell's argument, Kavanagh differs on one point. He suggests that the Conservatives do come into the discussion, arguing that Conservative policy seemed to be a pull factor stating '[t]here was also a big swing to the Conservatives among trade union voters ... who were particularly attracted by the proposals to reduce taxation'.²² Indeed, the point about Conservative policy being a pull factor was backed by left-wing Labour MP, Dennis Skinner, who claimed that 'the great giveaway with council house ownership ... shifted half to one per cent in every constituency'.²³ Whether or not this claim is accurate is for a different time, but the proposition alone suggests that the policy of council house sales had a significant impact, especially if this being articulated by a notorious lifelong opponent of everything Conservative. Indeed, David Hinchcliffe, Labour MP for Wakefield between 1987 – 2005 stated in a recent interview that 'we (Labour) were missing where people were at',²⁴ when reflecting on council house ownership. This policy alone is how several commentators explain the reasons for why the working class began to vote Tory - the prospect of owning their own home was certainly appealing as David Hinchcliffe recalled that people 'saw it as an opportunity to make progress'.²⁵ Whereas, Wickham-Jones does not make any mention of the Conservative manifesto programme being a contributing factor.

However, even Kavanagh argues that people voting solely on party programmes is 'a gross simplification of the many reasons which lead people to vote in a particular way'.²⁶ Therefore, arguing that the Conservative Party did not win the election, the Labour Party lost it. However, does make the point that party policy does come into the equation when the public are decided who to vote for in a forthcoming election.

Further to this, a strong case could be put forward that because Mrs Thatcher had called a vote of no confidence and won, she was able to show that the Labour government had been defeated and could subsequently use this during the election campaign to her advantage. Therefore, to suggest that party programmes are a

²² Kavanagh, D. (1995). *Thatcherism and British Politics the End of Consensus?* New York: Oxford University Press. p.206.

²³ Skinner, D., (March, 2016). Interviewed by J. Hazell [digital recording]. Heritage Quay, University of Huddersfield.

²⁴ Hinchcliffe, D., (September, 2017). Interviewed by J. Hazell [digital recording]. Heritage Quay, University of Huddersfield.

²⁵ Ibid.,

²⁶ Kavanagh, D. (1995). *Thatcherism and British Politics the End of Consensus?* New York: Oxford University Press. p.207.

'gross simplification of the many reasons which lead people to vote in a particular way' is somewhat exaggerated. Dennis Skinner even noted that the Conservatives, and the media 'were able to show that the government had been defeated in the Commons',²⁷ which could be observed as a Thatcher success.

However, recent debates point toward the Labour government and its failings for its election defeat. John Shepherd cites the Winter of Discontent as being a major blow for Callaghan and the Labour government. Shepherd makes the avowal that 'it symbolised the Callaghan government's chronic weakness in the face of all-powerful unions'.²⁸ In the end, arguing that Labour's failings were key in its election defeat. Former Prime Minister, Edward Heath would also point toward the unions as being a problem for Callaghan, but like Shepherd, cites the Winter of Discontent as being a huge contributing factor. He reflects on the deferral of the election, citing that the unions felt bitter about Callaghan deferring, stating '[t]hey felt betrayed by his reversal ... and were infuriated by it. This undoubtedly contributed to the bitterness in the Winter of Discontent which led to Callaghan's downfall'.²⁹ Shepherd also notes many other factors, such as the deferral of the election stating, 'Callaghan's decision to defer the election in autumn in the 1978 had devastating repercussions that were a milestone on the way to Labour's election defeat in May 1979'.³⁰

Ultimately, the factors that Shepherd begins to explore point to Labour failings, specifically, Callaghan's failings. However, Shepherd does point toward Conservative successes. He references a Party-Political Broadcast (PPB) - whereby Thatcher called for unity to deal with the unions. Shepherd states that 'Thatcher's PPB, with its seemingly non-partisan style, was a media triumph'.³¹ This is certainly a Conservative success. Shepherd uses a *Daily Mail* headline to support his claim. However, it could be argued that Thatcher was just taking advantage of a Labour failing.

²⁷ Skinner, D., (March, 2016). Interviewed by J. Hazell [digital recording]. Heritage Quay, University of Huddersfield.

²⁸ Shepherd, J. (2013). *Crisis What Crisis? The Callaghan Government and the British 'Winter of Discontent'*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. p.4.

²⁹ Heath, E. (1998). *The Autobiography of Edward Heath the Course of My Life*. London: Hodder & Stoughton. p.568.

³⁰ Shepherd, J. (2013). *Crisis What Crisis? The Callaghan Government and the British 'Winter of Discontent'*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. p.27.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p.131.

Andrew Thorpe would advocate a similar argument too. Thorpe would point to Callaghan deferring an election in autumn 1978. He refers to the Winter of Discontent as being a significant issue. He argues that '[w]hat became known as the 'Winter of Discontent' could have been largely avoided had Callaghan played it safe and called an election in 1978'.³² Further to this argument, Alywn Turner agreed with both Thorpe and Shepherd declaring

[t]he rate of inflation, while not exactly impressive, was down sufficiently for the government to claim that it was coming under control[.] ... The early enthusiasm for Margaret Thatcher was falling away a little, and it was widely assumed that an election that year could produce another Labour victory.³³

Turner argued that Callaghan should have called an early election as the polls were in his favour. Although, that is not to say Turner does not have reservations with regards to the polls being in support of Labour. Turner cites underlying employment levels for this judgement, but also a poll by *IPOS MORI* in September 1978 that showed '82 per cent of the electorate thought that the unions were "too powerful"'.³⁴ This all points to Labour failings as they were seen as being unable to deal with the unions – resulting in Thatcher's election win in 1979.

Finally, Historian Dominic Sandbrook, like Turner, had concerns regarding the power of the Trade Unions. Sandbrook comments on the breakdown of the social contract and Callaghan's perseverance with the governments pay policy. Sandbrook cited that 'Callaghan's own position was clear: he had staked his prestige on bringing inflation down, and was determined to resist inflationary settlements at all costs'.³⁵ This is essentially why the Labour Government and the Unions came into conflict, Callaghan stood up to the unions – resulting in the Winter of Discontent.

Ultimately, the overriding historiography relating to the 1979 General Election points toward the Labour Government and its failings. Charmley, Wickham-Jones and Mitchell place emphasis on Labour failings, making it clear that governments lose elections, oppositions do not win them. They point to a few issues such as the

³² Thorpe, A. (2008) *A History of The British Labour Party*. (3rd ed.). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. pp.205 – 206.

³³ Turner, W. A. (2008). *Crisis? What Crisis?* London: Aurum Press Ltd. p.256.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p.257.

³⁵ Sandbrook, D. (2013). *Seasons in the Sun – The Battle for Britain, 1974-1979*. London: Penguin Books. p.658.

unions, and Callaghan standing up to the unions which caused the Winter of Discontent. John Shepherd agrees with these arguments, but begins to explore other factors, while considering Conservative successes as being a reason for their election victory in 1979. Shepherd places much emphasis on the deferral of the election, Turner would advocate this position too. Kavanagh also explores the idea about Conservative policy being a contributing factor – namely tax changes. However, clearly states this argument is too simplistic.

Sandbrook blames the unions for having too much power. Edward Heath also had similar concerns with regards to the power of the trade unions. Although, there are many different factors that led to the rise of the Conservatives, and the election of Margaret Thatcher in 1979 they mostly point to the failings of Labour. The factors discussed by all commentators are cause and effect, this Labour failing caused this, and therefore this happened. However, interestingly there were commentators such as Brendan Evans, who named the 1970s as a ‘decade of dealignment’ (Sic)³⁶. Evans pointed toward class-based voting, stating that it had declined since 1970, suggesting that there were other factors which enabled a Conservative victory in 1979. In the end, Evans references polling evidence, suggesting that ‘the Winter of Discontent, the Falklands War and a booming economy assisted the Conservatives in 1979, 1982 and 1987’.³⁷ Overall, the overriding historiography is clear - Labour failed and the government lost the election in 1979.

However, exploring the period 1979-1987 requires us to look at the historiography surrounding the 1983 and 1987 elections. The historiography surrounding the Conservatives success in 1983 largely points toward victory in the Falklands War. Evans argues that the Falklands War was instrumental, stating that a ‘virtually non-existent party organisation in 1983 would not have prevented a Conservative victory in the post-Falklands atmosphere against an unelectable Labour party’.³⁸ Evans is making two points here: the Conservatives did not really need to do anything to win the election in 1983 after victory in the Falklands War, and according to Charmley, he specified that ‘[t]he Conservative manifesto for the 1983 election has been

³⁶ Ball, S. & Holliday, I. (2002). *Mass Conservatism The Conservatives and the Public since 1880s*. London: Frank Cass. p.219.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p.219.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p.223.

described as one of the thinnest on record'.³⁹ The second point made by Evans is that Labour was unelectable. Labour's manifesto in 1983 was dubbed as 'the longest suicide note in history'. The manifesto was explicitly Keynesian in its approach and in stark contrast to the ideology of the free market. Therefore, the argument put forward is that Thatcher and the Conservatives were riding a wave of nationalism and popularity at the same time the Labour Party was weakened. Consequently, the Conservatives could not really lose the election. Privatisation was also beginning to appear to show positive effects on the economy and the public's perception of this doomed Labour to election defeat.

On the other hand, Williams and Williams suggest that the split in the opposition was a key factor in dismantling Labour's chances of winning in 1983. Williams and Williams made the claim that '22 per cent of the 1979 Labour voters supported the Alliance'⁴⁰ and that the party was able to 'attract 25.4 per cent of the vote'.⁴¹ They both discuss voters not voting based on class anymore as a reason for why Labour lost in 1983. It was shown that '[o]nly 39 per cent of the trade unions voted Labour, as compared with 55 per cent and 51 per cent in 1974 and 1979 respectively' - ⁴² lost votes were going to the other parties. 'The alliance received 29 per cent of the trade-union vote, while the Conservatives received 31 per cent',⁴³ showing a further degrading of the class alignment system of voting. David Hinchcliffe would echo this stating 'Margaret Thatcher tuned into the working classes in way that maybe the Labour Party weren't (sic)'.⁴⁴

Charmley makes the point that victory in the Falklands for Thatcher was certainly a significant factor. Charmley points out that it allowed Thatcher to consolidate her power within the party stating '[i]t was the Falklands which firmly established Mrs Thatcher and her lieutenants as the directing force in the Conservative Party; henceforth the 'wets' would be, on the whole, ineffectual critics marginalised within

³⁹ Charmley, J. (2008). *A History of Conservative Politics since 1830*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan. p.224.

⁴⁰ Williams, Lee. G. and Williams, Lee. A. (1989). *Labour's Decline and the Social Democrats' Fall*. London: Macmillan Press Ltd. p.125.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p.125.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p.126.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p.126.

⁴⁴ Hinchcliffe, D., (September, 2017). Interviewed by J. Hazell [digital recording]. Heritage Quay, University of Huddersfield.

their own party'.⁴⁵This would enable Thatcher to go into the election with a strengthened hand, but then also govern without compromising and having to worry about the 'wets' within her own party.

However, in contrast, Whitley writing in 1984 after the election, comments on voting behaviour and uses this as a way of explaining what happened in the 1983 election. Whitley uses several tables of statistics to point out that economic performance was one of the main issues which people voted on, stating that 'the results show that issues, particularly economic performance issues, played a very significant role in influencing the outcome of the general election'.⁴⁶ It showed that if you voted for the Conservatives you were likely to believe that your personal financial situation would get better over a twelve-month period. There are several other questions which show similar results. Whitley also echoes similar arguments that Evans makes about class dealignment. Whitley states that the 1983 election result came about because of a fracture in 'the relationship between social class and party'⁴⁷ – an argument that was made throughout the historiography in the 1979 election too. Whitley also brings in the Falklands factor, arguing that victory in the Falklands war provided an 'immediate boost to the Conservatives, which was sustained until the general election a year later'.⁴⁸

Wickham-Jones, like Charmley, Evans and Whitley also point out that the Falklands War went against Labour in 1983. Wickham-Jones clearly explores multiple avenues stating, 'many reasons were blamed for the party's dismal electoral performance including the Falklands War, the role of the liberal-SDP Alliance in splitting the anti-Conservative vote, the hostile media and Foot's poor leadership'⁴⁹. However, places significance on Labour's failure to be a party of government in 1983 citing Labour's 'lack of organisation, inadequate presentation, and disunity in the party'.⁵⁰ However, Martin Holmes in contrast to Whitley, believes that 'the 1983 general election

⁴⁵ Charmley, J. (2008). *A History of Conservative Politics since 1830*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan. p.222.

⁴⁶ Whitley, P. (1984). Perceptions of Economic Performance and Voting Behavior in the 1983 General Election in Britain. *Political Behavior*, 6 (4), 395-410. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org.libaccess.hud.ac.uk/stable/586343> p.408.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p.408.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p.408.

⁴⁹ Wickham-Jones, W. (1996). *Economic Strategy and the Labour Party Politics and Policy-Making, 1970-83*. London: Macmillan Press Ltd. p.210.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p.210.

campaign was not particularly dominated by economic issues'.⁵¹ Though, does tend to agree with Wickham-Jones' assessment that the 1983 general election stands out as an election where several key issues were debated. Holmes cites '[d]efence, the unilateralist case, Labour's internal troubles, council house sales, the threat to leave the EEC, the Falklands and the government's overall 'resolute approach' were all key issues at various stages until polling day'.⁵² The 1983 general election was fought on many different issues, but also that many varying factors influenced the general election result - it is clear that this was not a single-issue election from the historiographical analysis.

The 1987 general election, while briefly mentioned in the above analysis needs to be explored further to obtain a full context. The 1987 general election was similar to 1983, in the fact that it gave Thatcher a majority – all be it reduced. The 1987 election was described by David Dimbleby at the time as a 'ferocious campaign ...very bitterly fought out – particularly between Labour and Conservative, harsh words exchanged right up until the end'.⁵³ The election resulted in a Conservative win of 376 seats and Labour with 229, which came as a shock to many. David Denver in an article stated that the 'result of the 1987 general election was a surprise to most observers. It was not the fact of the Conservative victory that was surprising but its scale'.⁵⁴

The 1987 general election was argued to be a turning point for the Labour party too. Michael Alvarez, Jonathan Nagler and Shaun Bowler all claimed that it 'marked the beginning of a rightward shift by Labour'.⁵⁵ Indeed, this was seen with the election of Tony Blair and New Labour in 1997. Alvarez, Nagler and Bowler also argued that 'policy issues and the state of the national economy both mattered in the 1987 general election'.⁵⁶ They made the point very clearly in their journal article that Labour suffered because of this. According to Alvarez, Nagler and Bowler, 'Labour's

⁵¹ Holmes, M. (1985). *The First Thatcher Government 1979-1983 Contemporary Conservatism and Economic Change*. Sussex: Wheatsheaf Books LTD. p.182.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p.182.

⁵³ BBC Parliament [Andy JS]. (2016, December 7). Election 1987 – Part Two. [Video File]. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uzeUp1xJ22Y>

⁵⁴ Denver, D. (1987). The British general election of 1987: Some preliminary reflections. *Parliamentary affairs*, 40 (4), 449-457. Retrieved from <http://rc4ht3qs8p.search.serialssolutions.com>

⁵⁵ Alvarez, M. R., Nagler, J. and Bowler, S. (2000). Issues, Economics, and the Dynamics of Multiparty Elections: The British 1987 General Election. *The American Political Science Review*, 94 (1), 131-149. DOI: 10.2307/2586385 p.131.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p.131.

lack of success in 1987⁵⁷ was down to their stance on nationalisation and defence. Indeed, The Labour Party were firmly against the renewal of trident in their 1987 manifesto, stating ‘Labour rejects this dishonest and expensive policy. We say that it is time to end the nuclear pretence and to ensure a rational conventional defence policy for Britain’.⁵⁸

William Miller presented a rather specific case with regards to the election in 1987. Miller looked at the influence of the media in helping to decide the outcome in 1987. Miller stated that the ‘influence of the tabloid press was particularly strong on those voters who denied being party ‘supporters’, even when they had a party preference. They made up half of the electorate. The Conservative vote increased by 50 per cent amongst politically uncommitted *Sun/Star* readers’.⁵⁹ Miller makes the case that the influence of the media was crucial in determining election victory.

Brendan Evans furthers his argument about class dealignment and how it affected the 1987 general election. He also argues that ‘there is growing regional and neighbourhood variable in voting behaviour’-⁶⁰which is why it is important to look at the West Yorkshire element. Evans uses the Basildon constituency results in 1983 and 1987 citing that Labour did worse here compared to its national standing. He further goes on to explain that ‘[e]conomic restructuring between 1979 and 1987 had affected Basildon less than declining parts of Britain and privatisations had enticed some voters into buying shares and becoming participants in ‘people’s capitalism’’.⁶¹ Ultimately, Evans claims that changing voting behaviours are responsible for the election results in 1983 and 1987. The general election in 1987 resulted in ‘40 per cent of council house owners vot[ing] Conservative, virtually the same as the Tories’ global share of the vote’.⁶² Ivor Crewe’s argument on council house ownership ties into the idea of changing voting behaviour. Crew states that in ‘1987 the impact of council house purchases was weaker than in 1983 but was

⁵⁷ Ibid., p.132.

⁵⁸ The Labour Party. (1987). *1987 Labour Manifesto: Britain will win with Labour*. Retrieved from <http://labourmanifesto.com/1987/1987-labour-manifesto.shtml>

⁵⁹ Miller, W. (1991). *Media and Voters The Audience, Content, and Influence of Press and Television at the 1987 General Election*. New York: Clarendon Press. Oxford. pp.198-199.

⁶⁰ Ball, S. & Holliday, I. (2002). *Mass Conservatism The Conservatives and the Public since 1880s*. London: Frank Cass. p.231.

⁶¹ Ibid., p.233.

⁶² Evans, B. (1999). *Thatcherism and British Politics 1975-1999*. Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing Limited. p.99.

nonetheless to the disadvantage of Labour; buyers swung by 2 per cent from Labour to Conservative'.⁶³ Therefore, privatisation is certainly linked to changing voting behaviours.

Overall, voting behaviour, people's attitudes and class dealignment appeared to be a prominent area of study in the 1980s - it appears frequently in the historiography. For example, an in-depth study by Johnson and Pattie in 1988 considers attitudes and the way the public voted in 1983. Johnson and Pattie make the statement that 'British electoral behaviour since the Second World War can be divided into two very distinct periods, the first characterized by stability and the second by much greater volatility'.⁶⁴ It is the second period that many have commented on within this historiography to explain electoral victories. Johnson and Pattie further explain that

British electoral behaviour in the first two decades after the Second World War was frequently presented as a simple two-party system with each party drawing most of its support from one side of the major class cleavage (middle:working) within British society. This led to Pulzer's (1967, p.98) much-quoted statement that 'class is the basis of British party politics; all else is embellishment and detail' ... Later analyses provide clear evidence of the decline in the importance of the cleavage.⁶⁵

This point shows the importance of the dealignment of class-based voting during the 1980s. This factor is something that most comment on when examining the whole historiography surrounding the Conservatives and electoral victories in the 1979 and the 1980s. The change in voting behaviours is somewhat linked to media influence and this is explored in the historiography.

The historiography has covered a wide range of commentators from different backgrounds and a wide range of debates throughout the 1979, 83 and 87 general elections. The purpose of this has been to provide an overriding context for which this thesis is based. Charmley sums up the Thatcher's leadership during 1979-1987 quite nicely and it somewhat reflects the issues covered within the historiography. Charmley shows that Thatcher's leadership passes through phases.

⁶³ Seldon, A. (1996). *How Tory Governments Fall The Tory Party Since 1783*. London: Fontana Press. p.410.

⁶⁴ Johnston, R. J. and Pattie, C. J. (1988). People, Attitudes, Milieux and Votes: An Exploration of Voting at the 1983 British General Election. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 13 (3), 303-323. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org.libaccess.hud.ac.uk/stable/622993> p.303.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p.304.

The morning, which was overcast and clouded; she made a bad leader of the Opposition[.] ... The second phase – high noon – saw her at the height of her power. She was the ‘Warrior Queen’ of the Falklands, the woman who finally outfaced the militants in the National Union of Miners, and the leader who invented ‘privatisation’. ... But after 1987 the shadows began to gather ... her fall, like her rise, was dramatic[.]⁶⁶

Finally, an issue of discussion – the Winter of Discontent, is deliberated throughout the historiography in 1979 and is virtually non-existent in 1983 and 1987. However, Labour’s appearance of weakness is referenced in the 1983 general election, which could be argued to be linked to their handling of the Winter of Discontent in 1979. However, this was mainly because own clear internal division between left and right of the party. What will be interesting is whether the research shows a continued mention of the Winter of Discontent in the Yorkshire region in the later elections.

The difficulty with researching the Conservatives in Yorkshire is that the historiography is relatively light, which makes it challenging to find a focused analytical consideration of similar works. The only similar work that analyses the specifics of Conservatism in the region is a draft paper titled *Northern Blues: Structural Detriments of Conservative Party Support in Local Elections in Northern English Cities, 1958 – 2003*. The paper is by David Jeffery at Queen Mary University, who has explored Conservative decline in Northern English cities. This paper uses Local Elections to analyse Conservative decline in the North, whereas, this thesis explores Conservative success in the 1980s through the medium of local elections.

Regional studies have been done on Yorkshire, but many have analysed it from a Labour point of view. Sam Davies and Bob Morley, for example, wrote a study titled *The Reactions of Municipal Voters in Yorkshire to the Second Labour Government, 1929 – 32*. This studied Labour Party electoral support in Yorkshire focussing on the municipal elections between 1929 and 1932 in 12 county boroughs, which showed ‘the remarkable volatility of Labour’s electoral support’.⁶⁷ They also found that

‘the contrast between Labour’s performance in 1929 and 1931 general elections need no further comment, but at the municipal level the sharp fall in Labour’s support

⁶⁶ Charmley, J. (2008). *A History of Conservative Politics since 1830*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan. p.210.

⁶⁷ Davies, S., & Morley, B. cited in Worley, M. (2005). *Labour’s Grass Roots*. Wilshire: Ashgate. p.142.

between 1929 and 1930 and equally sharp rise between 1931 and 1932 suggests that the party's core support was by no means as solid as perhaps became after 1945'.⁶⁸

Davies and Morley use a regional case study of municipal elections to draw upon logical conclusions around Labour support in the area, and what the implications of that were for the Labour Party. The point being made here is that their work is a regional study and is similar to what this thesis is studying but from the Conservative point of view; at the latter of the decade. In comparison to their work, this thesis will try to explore local results to try gain an insight into Conservative support in the area.

Furthermore, there is another regional study on Labour and West Yorkshire by Brendan Evans titled *Labour and the West Riding of Yorkshire: 1945-2006 the Heartland challenged* – which examines Labour dominance in West Yorkshire since 1945, but also, how it was challenged by the Conservatives and Liberal Democrats. This is a study that probably bares the most similarities to this thesis; it explores issues that impacted on Labour throughout the period, it also covers the same period and region that this thesis is exploring.

Finally, there have been some studies, although scarce, on the Conservatives at the local level and their successes. Stuart Ball wrote a chapter in *Conservative Century: The Conservative Party since 1900*, titled *Local Conservatism and the Evolution of the Party Organization*. This work recognises that a feature of Conservative strength since the closing years of the nineteenth century was 'its strength and durability at the local level'.⁶⁹The study is a focused analysis of the constituency associations examining: their staffing, structure, finance, activities, membership and opinions. The aim was to of assess the importance of its contribution to the success of the modern Conservative Party. The study finds that '[t]he Conservatives' possession of a cohesive organization (sic) deeply entrenched across the country has kept the party afloat in difficult times'.⁷⁰It further concludes that 'the Conservative Party's organizational (sic) record has been one of remarkable achievement and success'.⁷¹This is a very focused study on the whole on the Conservative Party

⁶⁸ Ibid., p.142.

⁶⁹ Seldon, A., & Ball, S. (1994). *Conservative Century: The Conservative Party since 1900*. New York: Oxford University Press. p.261.

⁷⁰ Ibid., p.311.

⁷¹ Ibid., p.311.

organisation at the local level, it does not look at the Conservatives success at the local level from an analysis of election results, which this thesis does. It is not a focused regional case study on any particular area. This is the difference between this study and this thesis.

This thesis certainly sits within the 'regional case study' area of the historiography. It is an obvious departure from many of the regional studies that explore the Labour Party in Yorkshire because this explores the Conservatives. There is a further departure point from studies that have looked at the Conservatives, because none have explored the success of the Conservatives in 1980s West Yorkshire through the medium of election results.

Methodology

The present research uses newspapers as a source of rich qualitative information to assess public opinion, the Winter of Discontent, and other local issues and events during the late-1970s and 1980s. *The Times Digital Archive*, and *Yorkshire Post* will be used. The *Yorkshire Post* will likely be the foundation of the research as it provides events for the entirety of Yorkshire, and specifically, Leeds. The *Yorkshire Post* is accessed via Leeds Central Library and by going through the microfilm collection. The shortcoming with this is that microfilm can be damaged – often there is impairment meaning it is difficult to analyse the articles. Furthermore, searching through microfilm is time-consuming and relevant material is not always found.

Adrian Bingham points to this problem of using newspapers - especially microfilm, he states '[w]hat is perhaps the greatest virtue of newspapers for scholars – their wealth and diversity of content – in this sense was the greatest obstacle'.⁷² This validates that the analysis of microfilm is somewhat time consuming. However, this thesis is making use of digital archives which bring benefits. 'Digital searching enables newspaper content to be explored far more rigorously and sensitively ... it is far easier, for example, to find out when a subject was first discussed in the press, or when a term was coined'.⁷³ This is because digital archives such as *The Times* have quite a comprehensive search engine. Although, there are issues with digitised material that this thesis will use. Bingham notes there are issues with digital archives stating

we must be aware of the way that research may be distorted by the availability of certain titles and the absence of others. The attractiveness of working with digital archives means that many scholars will enviously be drawn to those titles that they can access via their computer – even if they are not necessarily the most appropriate publications to use.⁷⁴

This thesis will be making use of both digital archives and microfilm to give a broader balance of methodologies to try to negate the issues that Bingham points out. The advantage of using microfilm is that it allows all relevant information in any given

⁷² Bingham, A. (2010). The Digitization of Newspaper Archives: Opportunities and Challenges for Historians. *Twentieth Century British History*, 21 (2), 225-231. Doi:10.1093/tcbh/hwq007. p.226.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p.228.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p.229.

month to be analysed, meaning something that might be missed on a digital search might not necessarily be missed on a month by month search through microfilm. This is because you are examining the whole page because you cannot simply search for a particular phrase or headline in a search bar.

The research will also be looking at election results – both general and local election results. General election results are easily accessible through multiple sources. On the other hand, local election results are usually found through newspapers as they are not usually widely accessible. The research began by using *The Yorkshire Post* to explore local election results for West Yorkshire for local elections in the 1980s. Therefore, some of the statistics have the *Yorkshire Post* referenced. However, this became very time consuming and was largely ineffective and some time was wasted on this. To solve this issue, the research began to come from Colin Rallings and Michael Thrasher' *Local Elections Handbook 1982, 1983, 1986 and 1987*. This will be used as a primary source and are heavily relied upon during the statistical analysis chapter of this thesis.

This research will also use oral history – which will be an integral part of this research. Oral history is certainly important; it provides a unique perspective in comparison to what a written source may not convey. Paul Thompson would agree with this statement declaring '[o]ral sources can indeed convey 'reliable' information; but to treat them as 'simply one more document' is to ignore the special value they have as subjective, spoken testimony'.⁷⁵ Oral history will be used in this research to get a unique perspective about what was happening at the time on the local level in Wakefield. The approach will be taken to contact potential prospects and then inform them of the questions beforehand, so that the individual has time to prepare themselves for the interview.

Further to this, the individuals being interviewed will also receive the consent forms and a participation sheet in advance. This is so they can take the time to read about what they are being interviewed about, and how their testimonies will be used. This is a good method in approaching oral history as it allows the interviewee to make an

⁷⁵ Thompson, P. (2000). *The Voice of the Past Oral History*. (3rd ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press. p.118.

informed decision about whether they feel comfortable being interviewed and gives them chance to think about the topic.

Multiple individuals of importance will be interviewed, Norman J Hazell, a local councillor, parliamentary candidate for Wakefield in 1983 and 1987 - my grandfather will be interviewed. David Hinchcliffe, a local councillor and the MP for Wakefield in 1987 will be interviewed. Both are being interviewed as one ran as a Conservative and the other as Labour. This will hopefully balance the research to provide greater clarity in the last chapter of this thesis. Identity is complex, and individual's present different pictures of themselves to different people at different instances and in response to different stimuli. Norman Hazell constructs himself not only in response to my questions, but in response to me as an individual. Therefore, my identity as a man from a younger generation of the family, and as a university educated, middle-class historian becomes an important aspect of the interview as Norman constructs his identity according to these factors. The family relationship gives me admission to certain material possibly not available to strangers, but may also impede the interviewee to express themselves freely on certain matters because of our relationship. Undoubtedly, compared with the interview with my Grandad, the interview I conduct with David Hinchcliffe is different. The family aspect is not there, and David knows that I am Norman's grandson, so this all factors in to how he constructs himself. However, both were honest and very open in relation to how they answered their individual questions.

Furthermore, another interview that will be used when discussing the late 1970's will be an interview with Dennis Skinner which was conducted by myself on the 14 March 2016. Dennis Skinner is one of the few current MPs in the House of Commons during the last days of the Callaghan Government and the beginning of Thatcher's leadership in the mid-1970s. It will be a decent piece of primary source material which was created with this type of research in mind. However, there are things to consider when doing an interview in this manner. When this interview was conducted in 2016 Dennis Skinner was asked to read and sign a consent form, (see Appendix B) so that the interview could be placed in the University archive and used in further research. As mentioned earlier, Dennis Skinner was handed a participation sheet, (see Appendix B2) which explained what the interview was for and what

research was being conducted. The other interviewees were also issued similar documents. David Hinchcliffe signed these documents too, this is shown in appendix C1 and C2. Additionally, Norman Hazell was issued the same documents as shown in appendix C1 and D.

Moreover, oral history is a great source of information. However, again there could be problems that should be considered such as memory. Memory tends to fade and certainly a problem with oral history can be 'severely eroded memory',⁷⁶ individuals may also suppress memory. Yet, as Alessandro Portelli notes, 'Oral sources are credible but with a *different* credibility. ... Once we have checked their factual credibility with all established criteria of psychological criticism and factual verification which are required by all types of sources anyway'.⁷⁷ Therefore, to argue that oral sources are less valid than written documents because of failing memory is simplistic and somewhat unfair. 'Very often, written documents are only the uncontrolled transmission of unidentified oral sources'.⁷⁸ This suggests that both types of sources should be treated the same when validating their authenticity. The oral source allows for diversity among the research, with an oral source you get the sense of the emotions about a particular issue, which can be quite significant when determining the impact of something.

This thesis will use research which will make use of a unique primary source - the political papers of Norman J Hazell private collection, which were created in 1983 and 1987 - not made for public viewing in mind. These sources include local newspaper cuttings from the time, letters from Conservative Party Headquarters and other sources of significance which will aid in the research.

Finally, to fully show that the regional case is important in defining the success of Thatcherism and the Conservatives, the thesis will be broken down into four chapters. These chapters will aim to show that contrary to popular belief – Thatcherism was not just successful in the south, but was also successful in the

⁷⁶ Ibid., p.175.

⁷⁷ Portelli, A. cited in Perks, R. & Thomson, A. (2016). *The Oral History Reader*. (3rd ed.). New York: Routledge. p.53.

⁷⁸ Ibid., p.53.

North, specifically, West Yorkshire. However, it must be pointed out that although Thatcherism was successful, it was not necessarily popular.

The first chapter, using existing literature, has set out the context and the debates surrounding the electoral success of the Conservatives and electoral failure of Labour throughout the 1980s. It has also set out a solid basis for which this thesis can work off. The second chapter will begin to show the Yorkshire region is counter-intuitive. The concept of Thatcherism is about the North and South divide. Yet, it is very clear from the research that Thatcherism is very successful in the North. This chapter will use a comprehensive group of election results, local and regional, to show that this is indeed the case. The chapter is the basis for the whole thesis, it will aim to show the success of the Conservatives through the medium of local election results in 1982, 1983, 1986 and 1987. These statistics will be provided using Colin Rallings and Michael Thrasher's excellent work in their *Election Handbooks 1982, 1983, 1986 and 1987*. As mentioned earlier some of the statistics will use the *Yorkshire Post*. The years that have been chosen have significance because they are all key dates – 1982 and 1986 are both one year before the general elections in 1983 and 1987. Exploring the statistics for four key years is ambitious as it is a significant amount of data but will be key in showing how voting behaviour changed in West Yorkshire over the decade and how the Conservative vote remained a predominant feature. Barnsley, Bradford, Calderdale, Doncaster, Kirklees, Leeds and Wakefield have all be chosen as to give a broad analysis of the results. Although Barnsley is not in West Yorkshire, it allows for a comparison to be given to show how different the two regions are during this period.

The third chapter will discuss the way in which policy issues impacted on such voting behaviour, such as council house ownership. The fragmentation of Labour politics will also be explored as this is another important factor in the discussion. This chapter will analyse some of the impacts of the Winter of Discontent in Yorkshire as this is likely to have influenced voting behaviour in Yorkshire in the short-term. Voting behaviour will also be linked to events such as the miner's strikes - newspapers will be heavily relied upon during this chapter. The final chapter will specifically focus on Wakefield as a case study through the General Elections of 1983, and 1987 to show

that Conservatism was strong at the sub-regional level too, which again has never been done before.

Chapter Two – The Figures: Election Results

The national results following the elections during the 1980s have been analysed in detail as shown in the debates surrounding the historiography. This chapter will consider the national view in 1983 to show that local election success underpins further success in the parliamentary constituencies. However, will specifically analyse the statistics surrounding the West Yorkshire region. Upon examining the statistics, it is clear that West Yorkshire is an interesting case study as it seems to have a strong Conservative foothold. This contrasts with the perception that the North only votes Labour and that the Conservatives are non-existent. After exploring the research, it is understandable where the perception potentially originates. Newspaper coverage of the elections at the time tend to cover which party controls a council. Therefore, it is plausible that readers tend to see councils being controlled by Labour in Yorkshire and could possibly assume that the people in those areas overwhelming voted for Labour.

There are other factors that can potentially be considered when analysing where this perception comes from, such as coverage of Thatcherism on a national scale and general debates surrounding Conservatism and Thatcherism. Historians and other commentators tend to focus on Thatcherism in the national aspect, which in turn, could fuel the concept of Conservative support being non-existent in the North. Although, commentators such as Brendan Evans are making the case that the regional aspect is important. Evans, as mentioned in the historiography, explores voting behaviour and how there are local and regional shifts.

Furthermore, West Yorkshire is different when compared to parts of South Yorkshire, this does not come as a surprise. This was particularly evident in 1982 when Raymond Gledhill, a local Government Correspondent for the *Yorkshire Post* stated 'Labour was cockahoop (sic) about the overall results in Yorkshire ... It was delighted particularly with the manner in which it has maintained dominance of the four councils in South Yorkshire'.⁷⁹ However, even Gledhill reports that 'THE GENERAL (sic) lack of voting pattern in the district elections in Yorkshire on Thursday makes it difficult to draw firm conclusions'.⁸⁰ This is just one of the many

⁷⁹ Gledhill, R. (1982, May 8). Labour delighted to keep dominance. *Yorkshire Post*. p.9.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p.9.

reasons why it is important to analyse the Local Election results - to see if any conclusions can be reached.

This chapter will be broken down into several sections. The first, will be a few pages on the political landscape in West Yorkshire from 1918-1992, naturally, this will also include some context of early history. The main section of this chapter will also look at the Local Election results between 1982 – 1987. It will do this by using charts that show the share of the vote in each of the constituencies. This will not be an exhaustive list of every constituency in the area - it will show constituencies of interest for each year being studied. Specifically, it will examine constituencies where the Conservatives were winning or doing well. Leeds and Bradford will be the only districts to show overall council composition. The Council composition will only be shown for three years, 1982, 1986 and 1987. This will allow us to see how well the Conservatives were doing at the start of the decade, compared to the latter end of the decade.

Leeds tends to be a good indicator of how well parties are performing because of the diversity of its populous and because of its size. Bradford will be an excellent indicator of how the Conservatives are performing because this is where the Conservatives tend to perform best in the early 1980s. The changes we observe will be helpful in determining how successful the Conservatives were. This will also be key in establishing whether there was 'a rise' in Conservatism in West Yorkshire.

Ultimately, these results will show that Conservatism was strong in the North and that Thatcherism was successful in West Yorkshire, contrary to popular belief. This chapter will conclude with a few brief points. It will summarise the statistics and will show some of the overall trends in the results, and how local success underpins the strength in parliamentary constituencies in 1983.

West Yorkshire: The Political Landscape

The West Yorkshire results that we are about to explore need to be placed into context. It is important to examine the early political support within West Yorkshire as this will help determine the conclusions from the analysis of the local election results. The Conservatives have always had significant presence in West Yorkshire and it is something that has been overlooked. It is right to argue that there has always been underlying Conservative support, but that it certainly was not the dominant force within the region.

This section will look at the general election results from 1918-1992, it will explore the general election results for Bradford Central, Dewsbury, Halifax, Huddersfield, Leeds Central and Wakefield. It seems plausible to look at Bradford and Leeds because they are large metropolitan districts and give a wide spectrum of results from a larger politically diverse electorate. Wakefield has also been chosen because it is the constituency case study for this thesis. It is important to note that if a constituency was abolished mid-century that this has been factored into the charts.

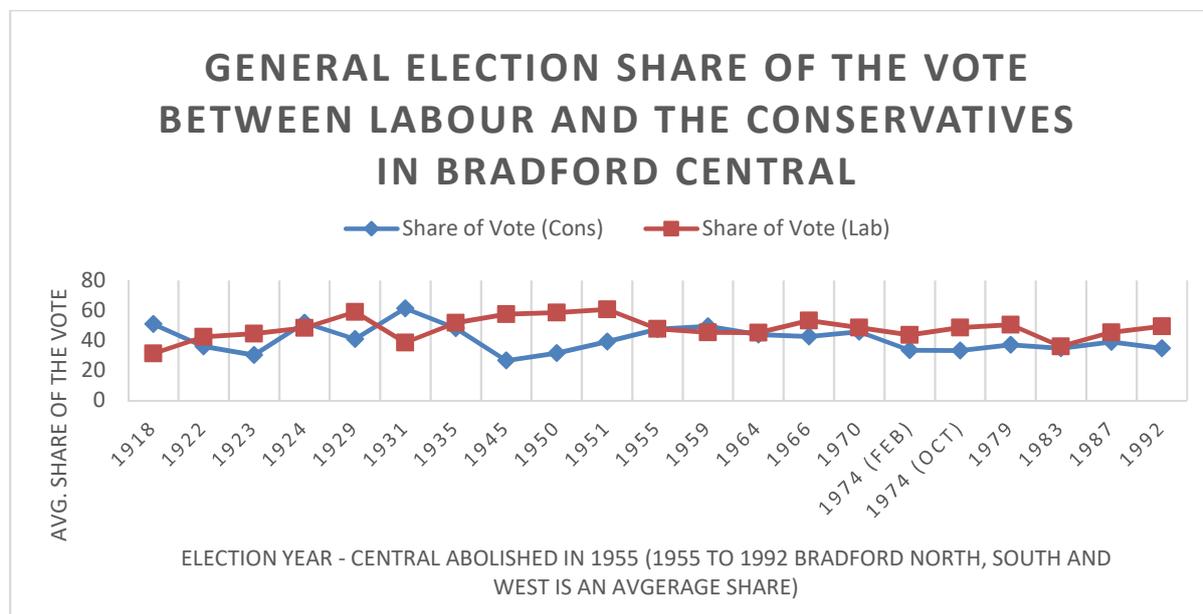
General Election Results 1918-1992

The political landscape in Bradford is an interesting one. Conservative support in Bradford can be traced back to the late 1800s in the form of the Liberal Unionist Party, which later merged with the Conservative Party in 1912. At the start of the Century we see The Conservative share of the vote at around 50 per cent share before taking a dip in the early 1920s with the emergence of the Labour Party in Bradford. The Conservatives make a comeback in 1931 when the party takes its highest share of the vote - 61.4 per cent. This is also the period where both the Conservatives and Labour begin to take control of municipal politics in the area.

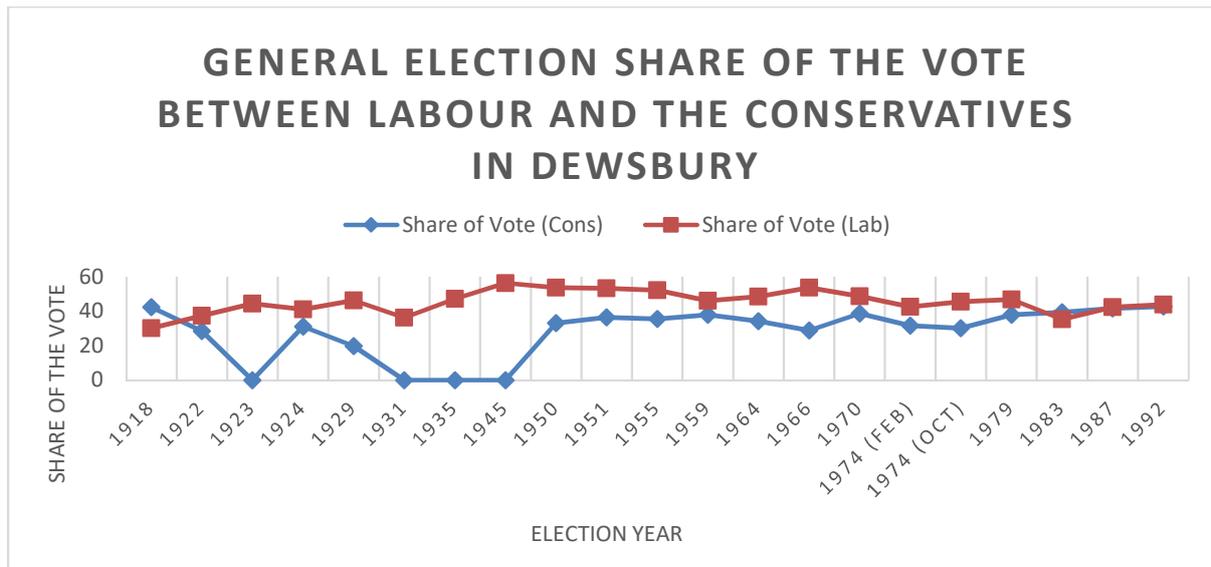
However, support plummets during the War and the Conservatives do particularly poorly in the 1945 general election with the election of Atlee's revolutionary government. This is a trend that we see across the other constituencies as well. Conservative support in Bradford remains relatively consistent from 1955 to 1970 taking a slight dip and remaining fairly level from 1974 to 1992. It is important to note that the Bradford Central constituency is abolished in 1955, so it makes the results harder to interpret from then until 1992. However, it still gives a good representation

of both Conservative and Labour support in the area as it looks at three constituencies.

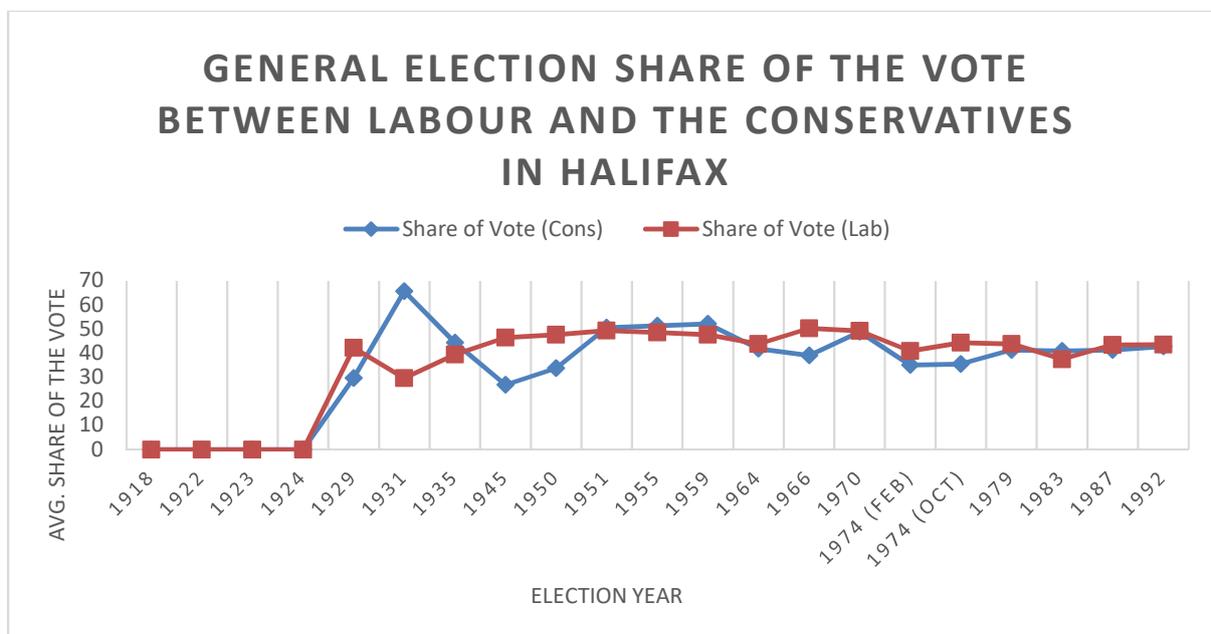
Appendix H1.



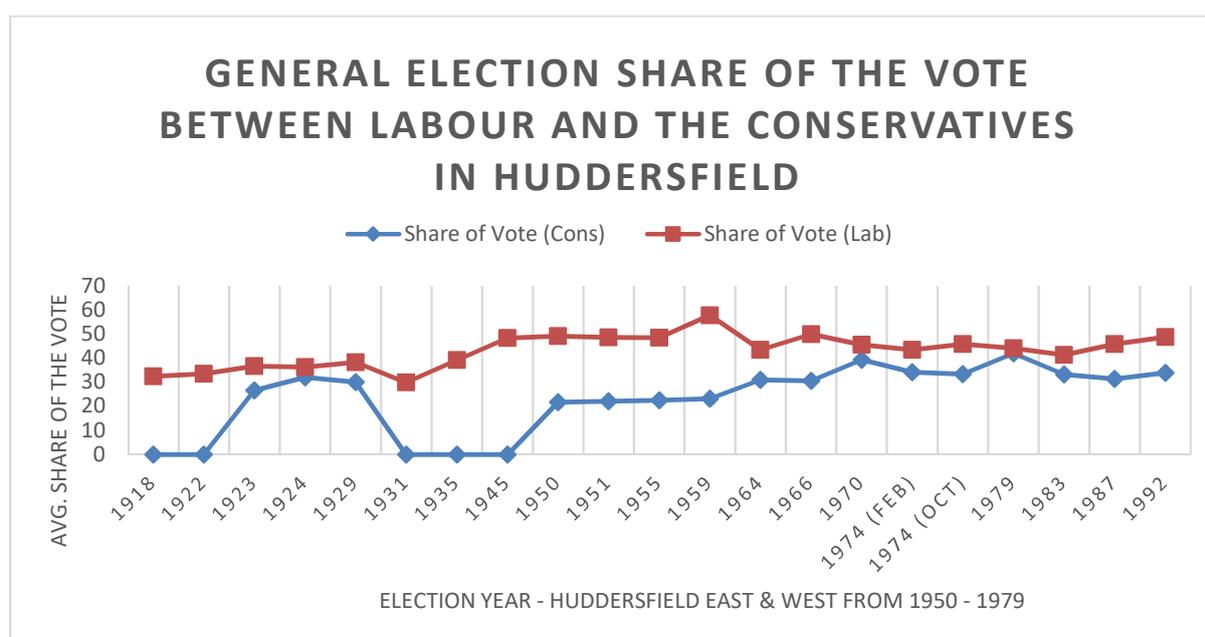
Dewsbury is very different to Bradford because although there is Conservative presence in 1918, it quickly disappears as Labour and the Liberals take control of municipal politics from 1920 through to 1950. The Conservatives do not emerge again until the 1950s where they take around 33 per cent share of the vote and remain fairly consistent throughout the 1950s. They lose support in the 1960s before regaining it, and losing it again in the 1970s when inflation was high. Conservative support increases in the 1980s to where it had been previously in the 1950s. Meanwhile, Labour had remained dominant in the area from 1918, however, did perform poorly in the early 1930s.



The Halifax general election results show that Labour and the Conservatives do not take control of municipal politics until 1929. Previously, Halifax had a strong Liberal presence. The lack of Conservative and Labour presence during the 20s is down to the fact that John Henry Whitley was Speaker of the House of Commons – resulting in the constituency being unopposed during that period. Halifax becomes a marginal seat from 1950 – 1992. The Labour Party tend to hold the seat during this period. Overall, there appears to be fairly consistent support for the Conservatives from 1950.



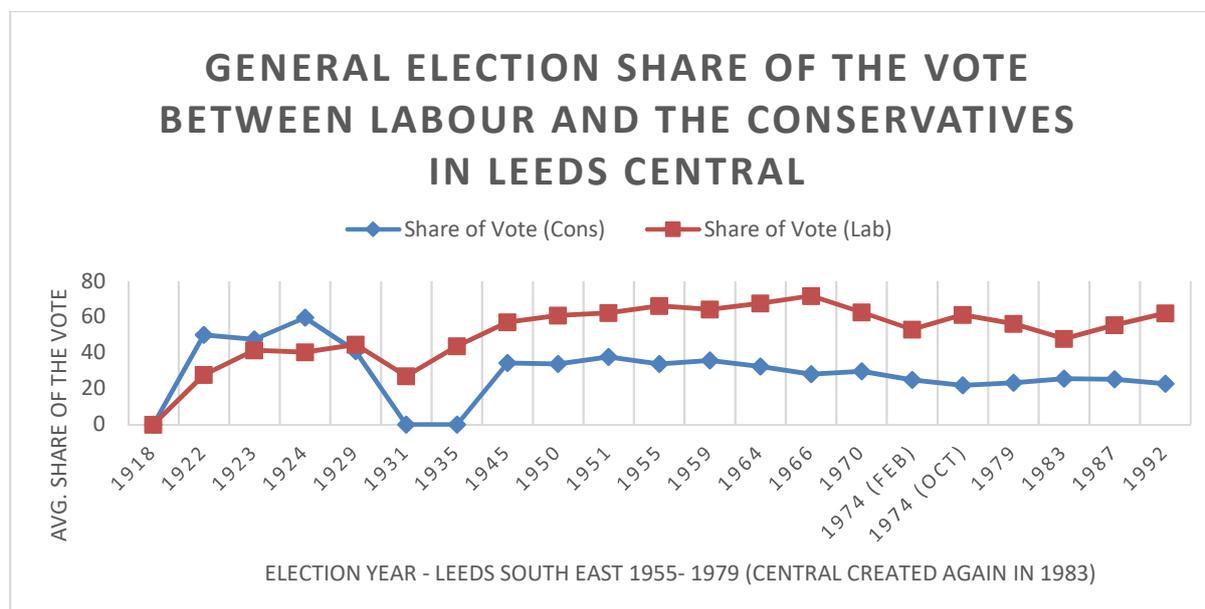
Huddersfield is another constituency that had a strong Liberal presence at the beginning of the century and during the 1930s. There is a drop in Labour support in Huddersfield during the 1931 general election and this has to be linked to Labour's performance in the 1930 local election. We see this in Dewsbury too where 'Labour lost two seats, compounding its already weak position on the council, but a similar loss of two in Huddersfield reduced Labour strength to a puny three out of 60 seats'.⁸¹ Apart from the general elections in 1923, 1924 and 1929, the Conservatives do not make a noteworthy appearance until 1950 with the creation of Huddersfield East and Huddersfield West. The Huddersfield constituency is abolished for the 1950 General Election and recreated for the 1983 General Election. Conservative support in 1983 seems to be similar with share of the vote in the 1960s and mid-1970s. It would appear that there was not rise in Conservative support in the 1980s in Huddersfield.



Leeds Central is a good indicator of the political landscape because of its large electorate. It allows us to get a clear analysis of support in the constituency throughout the period. The Conservatives are present and hold the seat for most of the 1920s. During the 1930s National Labour have control of the seat, who then lose it to Labour in 1945 because of their dissolution. The 1945 general election is also where we see the Conservatives re-emerge. The seat is abolished for the 1955

⁸¹ Worley M. (2005). *Labour's Grass Roots*. Wiltshire: Ashgate. p.133.

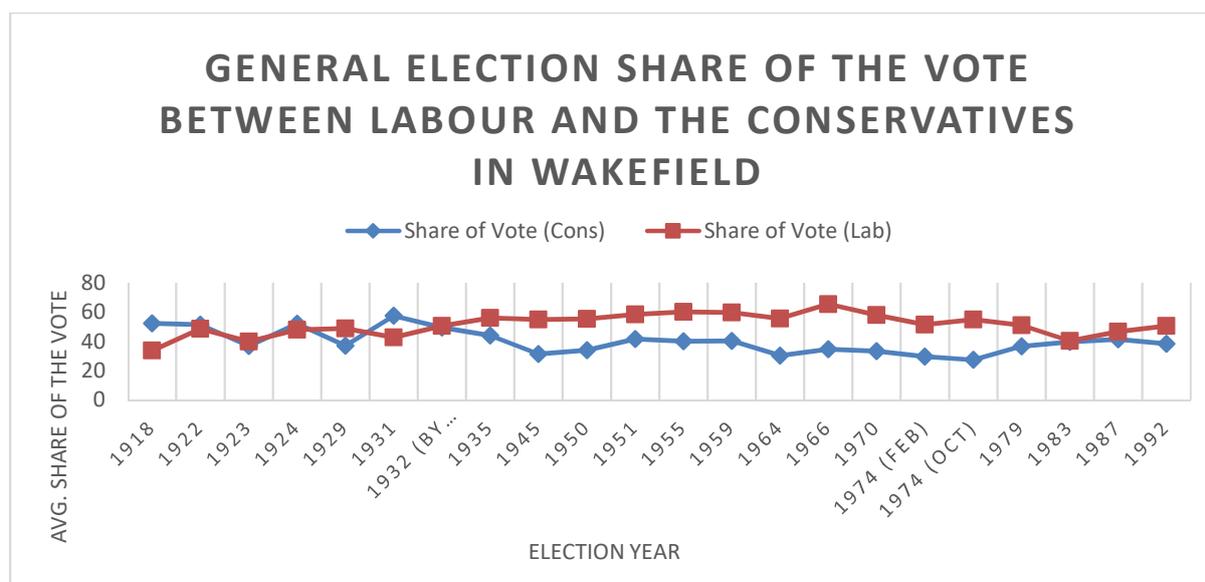
general election. However, Labour keep control of the area until the seat is created again in 1983. Conservative support in the general elections seems to be fairly consistent from the 1950s through to the 1980s where it begins to drop again.



The thesis will be looking at the Wakefield constituency as a case study for the general elections in the 1980s. Therefore, it makes sense to explore the early history of the constituency by its general election results. Labour has mostly dominated the constituency throughout the 1900s. There have been four instances during this period where the Conservatives had control of the constituency. The constituency was held by Labour and the Conservatives from 1918 to 1932, it appears that there is a lot of back and forth between the two parties in this period.

The 1932 by-election was the first sign that Labour were making a comeback from its previously poor local election performances. An 'early encouragement for the party had come in April when Arthur Greenwood recaptured Wakefield in the only parliamentary by-election to be held in the Yorkshire county boroughs in 1932. This favourable portent was confirmed in the November elections'.⁸² Furthermore, by 1935 we see Labour assert its dominance up until the 1983 General Election; the chart shows a Conservative Party in decline until the 1950s, where they begin to obtain support. The results show us that in 1983 there was no rise in Conservatism, there was just a return to where the Conservative Party had been in the 1950s.

⁸² Ibid., p.138.



Overall, it is clear that from the results shown in the general elections the Conservatives have an underlying presence across West Yorkshire throughout the century. The early start of the century shows that the Conservatives and Labour do not gain control of municipal politics until the 1930s. The 1950s saw the Conservatives making gains in their share of the vote across Yorkshire. This is echoed in the fact that ‘in 1955 the Conservatives had won 49.7% of the vote which remains the best performance of any party after 1945’.⁸³ This is likely as a result of the collapse in the Liberal vote. The 1960s would see a fall in the Conservative share of the vote as a result of the breakdown of One Nation Conservatism. The economic situation was troubling for the public, ‘by the summer of 1960 the economy was again verging on crisis, this time coupled with an awareness of relative national economic decline compared to France and Germany’.⁸⁴ The 1960s saw the Conservatives still losing its membership ‘by 1962 the Conservative membership had just about halved in ten years’.⁸⁵

Appendix H2 is quite significant as it shows that there was no rise in Conservatism in West Yorkshire during the 1980s because of two points. The first point is that the Conservatives average share of the vote seems to be fairly consistent from 1979 to 1992; the second point is that Labour’s share of the vote falls, whereas the

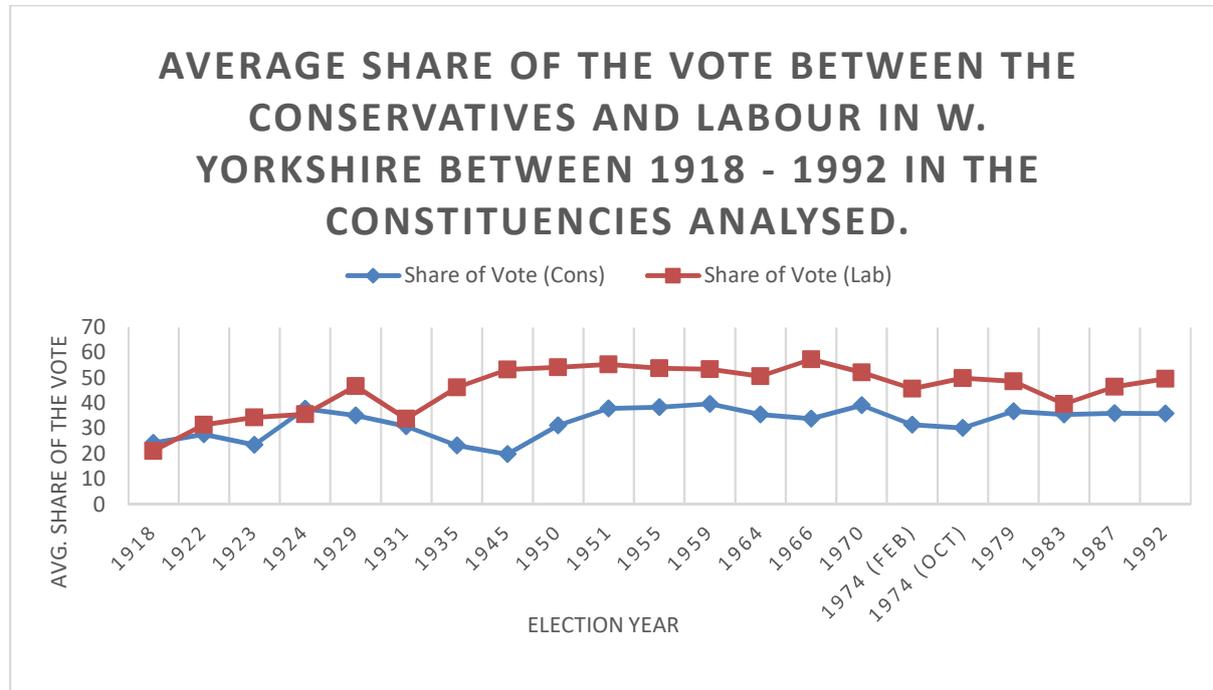
⁸³ Evans, B., & Taylor, A. (1996). *From Salsbury to Major. Continuity and Change in Conservative politics*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. p.114.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p.121.

⁸⁵ Ramsden, J. (1998). *An appetite for Power. A History of the Conservative Party since 1830*. London: HarperCollinsPublishers. p.356.

Conservatives share of the vote remains similar to what it had been in previous elections - resulting in the Conservatives winning.

Appendix H2.



Local Election Results 1982 (Yorkshire)

The local election results in Yorkshire during 1982 show that the Conservatives were successful and doing well throughout the region. In Bradford, they were the largest party in the Council, with a total of 43 Conservative councillors as shown in table 1a on page 120. The Conservatives were also making gains in Bradford and were taking these gains directly from Labour. This is shown in table 1.10 in Bolton, where the Conservative candidate won the constituency, where it had previously been under the control of Labour in 1980. However, table 1.10 also reveals the impact that the SDP were having – they were splitting the vote as is clearly visible in this constituency.

It is important to note that the SDP were taking votes from both parties. This is clearly seen in table 1.07 in Baildon, where Lib/SDP won the constituency by a small margin of just 1.3 per cent, very closely followed by the Conservatives in second place. Overall, the Conservatives were performing well in Bradford and were successful – they achieved large shares of the vote. This is predominantly evident in table 1.09 in Bingley Rural where they achieved 60.2 per cent, and 51.3 per cent of the total vote in Bingley - shown in table 1.08. Overall, the Conservatives were successful in Bradford because they received ‘38.7 per cent’⁸⁶ share of the vote. ‘Labour lost its overall control at BRADFORD, (sic) which was left with a “hung” council’,⁸⁷ which is further evidence that the Conservatives were successful.

The Conservatives were performing well in Calderdale, defending their existing seats as shown in Rastrick, table 1.15 and Skircoat, table 1.16. The results show that the Lib/SDP alliance were splitting the vote, and this is seen in Rastrick and Skircoat. The Lib/SDP were also challenging the Conservatives in Rastrick with the Conservatives ahead by just a small margin of 2.8 percent or 99 votes. Doncaster presented similar trends, in that the Lib/SDP alliance were a prominent voter alternative to Labour, shown in table 1.19, Intake. Further to this, the Lib/SDP

⁸⁶ Rallings, C. & Thrasher, M. *Local Elections Handbook 1982. The 1982 Local Election Results*. Plymouth: The Local Elections Centre. p.1.

⁸⁷ Gledhill, R. (1982, May 8). Labour delighted to keep dominance. *Yorkshire Post*. p.9.

alliance challenged the Conservatives too as shown in table 1.22, Southern Parks, where they were just 2.8 per cent behind the Conservatives.

Doncaster was without a doubt a Labour stronghold, Labour secured an overall '49.9 per cent'⁸⁸ share of the vote. However, the Conservatives were doing well in certain areas of Doncaster, as demonstrated in tables 1.17 and 1.21. Interestingly, even though this was a Labour dominated area, the Conservatives posed a challenge in one particular constituency, and this is shown in table 1.20, Richmond, which shows that Labour only beat the Conservatives by 0.6 per cent or a mere 25 votes, ultimately showing Conservative success.

Conservative success is further witnessed in Kirklees. Overall turnout was relatively high at '41 per cent',⁸⁹ largely down to boundary changes meaning that all 72 council seats were contested. This is a great example of showing how successful the Conservatives were as it is an election for the whole council, and not just for one set of council seats - as is normally the case in local elections. The Conservatives won a total of '19 seats'⁹⁰, and were the second largest party. Although, their share of the vote had dropped, they were still strong in certain areas. This is evident in table 1.23, Birkby, where they achieved 44.6 per cent share of the vote and in table 1.24, Birstall and Birkenshaw, where the Conservatives secured 37.7 per cent. We also see the Lib/SDP alliance splitting the vote too.

Leeds was won by Labour, who secured a majority in the council. However, this is another instance where we see Conservative success and support for them. Leeds has a bigger populous and is a great indicator for showing how well the Conservatives were doing. The *Yorkshire Post* reported with the headline 'Tories slash Labour's lead',⁹¹ the report then explains that the Conservatives had a fruitful result as they had hurt Labour as its 'overall majority was slashed from 21 to 13'.⁹²

This was seen in the individual constituency results as shown in table 1.29, Aireborough and table 1.30, Cookridge where the Conservatives defended their existing seats with great success. Furthermore, Labour had its majority slashed

⁸⁸ Rallings, C. & Thrasher, M. *Local Elections Handbook 1982. The 1982 Local Election Results*. Plymouth: The Local Elections Centre. p.1.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p.1.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p.1.

⁹¹ Bolton, D. (1982, May 7). Tories slash Labour's lead. *Yorkshire Post*. p.1.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p.1.

because it was also losing seats to the Conservatives. The evidence is shown in table 1.31, Garforth & Swillington, where the Conservatives secured 40.5 per cent share of the vote, with Labour trailing by 5.9 per cent.

Other headlines followed such as 'Tory joy, as patriotism helps vote',⁹³ pointing toward the Falklands factor, which would carry through until 1983. The local election results were very much helped by the Falklands. Mr. Cecil Parkinson said 'I would not wish to deny that the Falklands were a factor, but I would not wish to overstate it'⁹⁴. Indeed, there were other factors that may have led people to vote for the Conservatives such as Labour's disunity, and memories from the Winter of Discontent. Conservative policy may have also been a pull factor, such as council house ownership, but this will be discussed in the next chapter.

The elections in Leeds also revealed that the SDP were not making any major strides to achieve electoral success. SDP failures are made worse because they wanted to be the main party of opposition in Leeds and did not win one single seat in 1982, with the *Yorkshire Post* reporting that 'the Social Democratic Party/Liberal Alliance failed to make a major breakthrough'.⁹⁵

Figure 2 – Disappointed SDP candidates in Leeds, local election results 1982.



⁹³ Hannam, P. (1982, May 8). Tory joy, as patriotism helps vote. *Yorkshire Post*. p.9.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.9.

⁹⁵ Gledhill, R. (1982, May 8). Labour delighted to keep dominance. *Yorkshire Post*. p.9.

However, the results have shown that the Lib/SDP alliance were successful, in the sense that they split the vote and were an alternative to Labour and the Conservatives.

Overall, after analysing the results in Leeds the Conservative Party did have a strong foothold, taking '35.8 per cent'⁹⁶ share of the vote - the largest of the other main parties. Wakefield in contrast was an area that showed huge Conservative losses in terms of the overall share of the vote. The Conservatives overall share stood at '19.7 per cent'.⁹⁷ However, it should be noted that overall turnout was low at '37 per cent, down 17.2 per cent in comparison to the previous local election.⁹⁸ However, there had been boundary changes in Wakefield which had some significant repercussions for the Conservatives. There were still little pockets of high Conservative support, such as Wakefield South where the Conservatives took 48 per cent of the vote as shown in table 1.40. This was also evident in Wakefield Rural, table 1.39 where the Conservatives were just shy of Labour's result by 0.8 per cent.

The 1982 local elections reveal that, although the Conservatives may not have won councils in the six areas being studied, they were successful. They slashed majorities and were gaining seats from Labour as seen throughout the analysis. Throughout the six areas being studied in West Yorkshire, we see that the Conservatives are successful. We also see that the Lib/SDP alliance are not making electoral breakthroughs but are splitting the vote – helping the Conservatives. However, it must be noted that the Lib/SDP alliance took votes away from both the Conservatives and Labour and this is shown in the raw data. It is also interesting to see the contrasts between Barnsley, a mining town, which shows little Conservative presence and the rest of West Yorkshire which shows significant support.

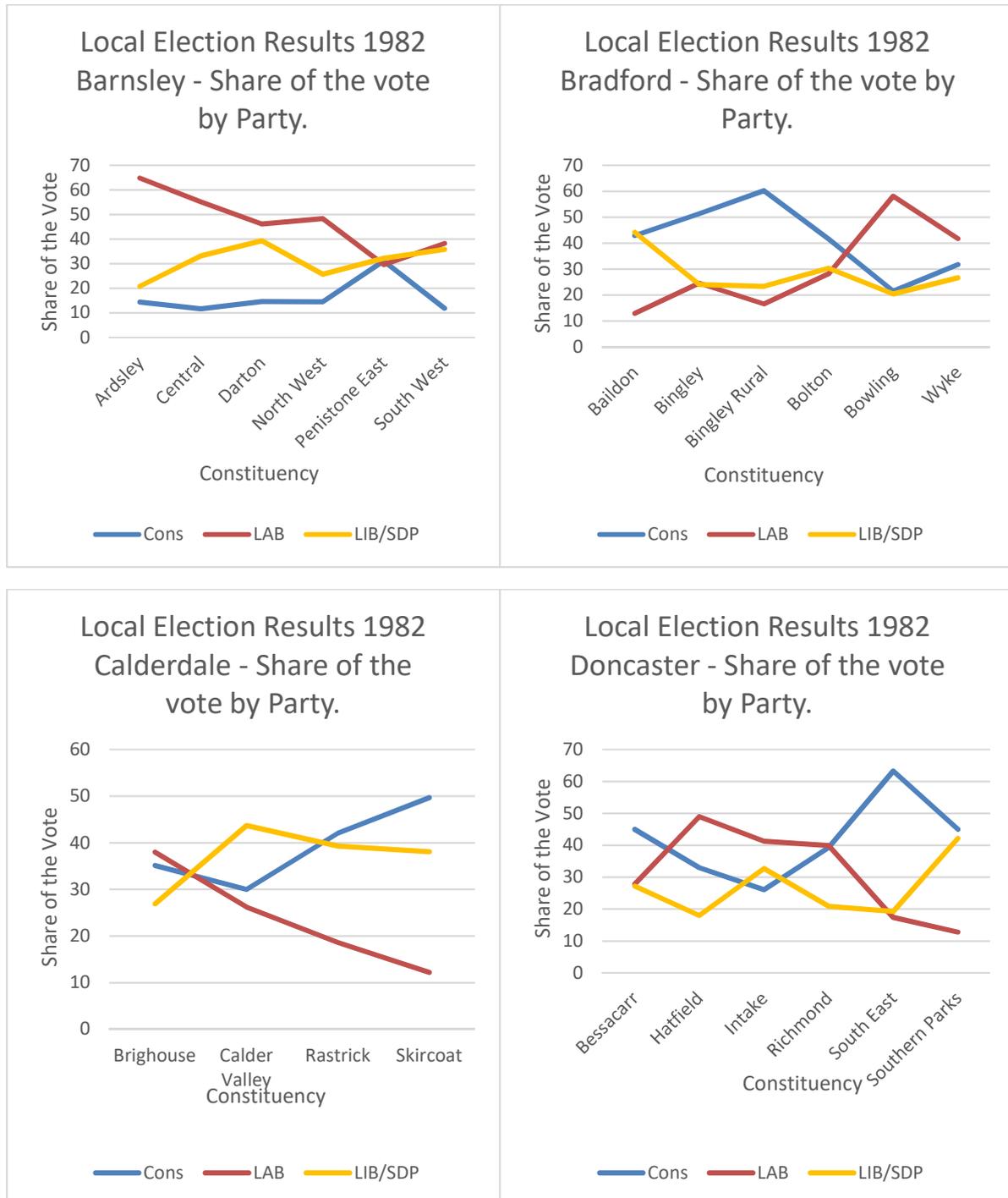
⁹⁶ Rallings, C. & Thrasher, M. *Local Elections Handbook 1982. The 1982 Local Election Results*. Plymouth: The Local Elections Centre. p.1.

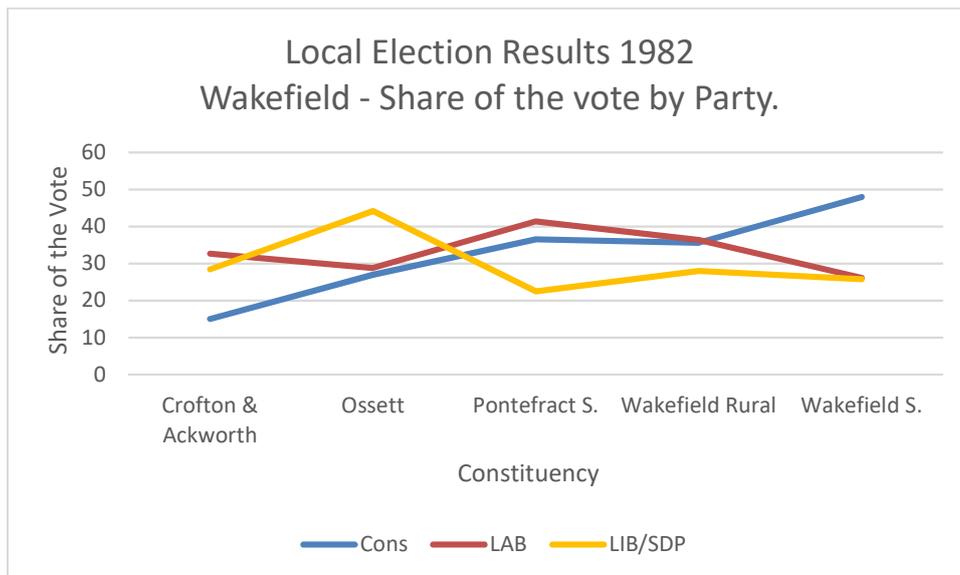
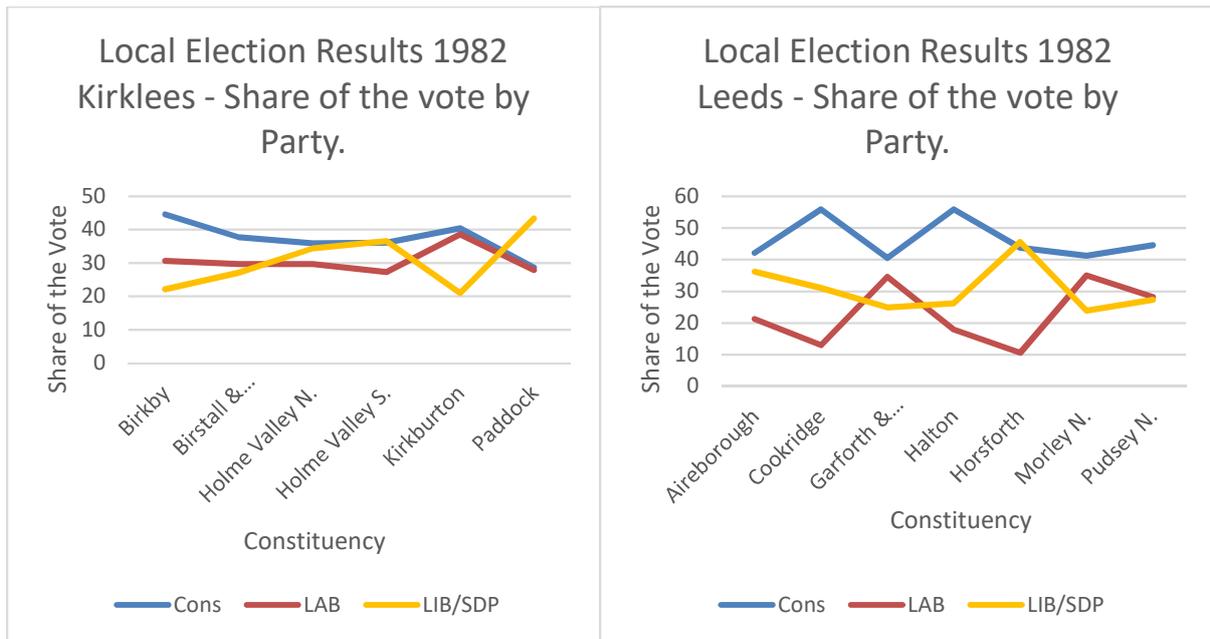
⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p.2.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p.2.

Metropolitan Borough Council Election Results

All result graphs below use data from the results table section in this thesis. To see specific results of each constituency, see appendix results table section.





As shown in the above charts they layering of support means that we see the Lib/SDP alliance taking quite a high proportion in the share of the vote. This is splitting the vote, which lets the Conservatives in. The visualisation depicts an alliance that are coming second or even first in some instances.

Local Election Results 1983 (Yorkshire)

The 1983 local elections proved to be a triumph for the Conservatives – riding the nationalist wave from the Falklands War. They were also in a situation where the economy was beginning to improve. In March 1982, just a year before the elections *The Times* reported that unemployment improved with the headline ‘Jobless dips below 3m’,⁹⁹ while still very high, it was improving. Labour was also in disarray with the infighting between the left and right of the party. The Labour manifesto was also relatively unpopular, especially when it came to its policy with regards to disarmament. In January 1983, *The Times* published a headline which stated ‘Thatcher clashes with Foot over Andropov disarmament proposals’.¹⁰⁰ Thatcher had just won the war to recapture the Falklands - any argument on defence was always going to go in her favour, especially since she was already riding on a wave of nationalism and patriotism. Thatcher and the Conservatives could use this narrative rightly or wrongly to show that Labour were not a party of Government, and that is what they did.

Thatcher would attack Labour’s manifesto stating that ‘one dissident Shadow Cabinet Minister had described its manifesto as “the longest suicide note ever penned” – and it would be a suicide note for Britain too’.¹⁰¹ Labour’s image was not helped with headlines such as ‘Labour left in disarray over Polaris’.¹⁰² The further shift toward the left that the party took also doomed it to electoral failure. The electorate were somewhat fed up with the left and its association with the Trade Unions, especially after the Winter of Discontent in 1979. Dennis Healy notes ‘the “winter of discontent” had destroyed the nation’s confidence in the Labour Party’s ability to work with the unions’.¹⁰³ The point being made is that public confidence in the Labour party was at a low, and if Thatcher could do anything to emphasise that it would only solidify the public’s negative perception of the Labour party – ultimately improving her position.

⁹⁹ Westlake, M. (1982, March 24). Jobless dips below 3m. *The Times Digital Archive*. p.1.

¹⁰⁰ Times reporter. (1983, January 3). Thatcher clashes with Foot over Andropov disarmament proposals. *The Times Digital Archive*. p.4.

¹⁰¹ Fisher, J. (1983, May 24.). Thatcher fury over Labour’s ‘grab’ plan. *Yorkshire Post*. p.1.

¹⁰² Ibid., p.1.

¹⁰³ Healey, D. (1990). *The Time of My Life*. London: Penguin. p.467.

The local elections in 1983 carry on from the successes of 1982. The Conservatives take a constituency from Labour in Barnsley, which is a significant victory. This was shown in table 2.05, Penistone East. Conservative success can be seen in Bradford, with gains shown in table 2.07 and 2.10, where they gain a seat from the Liberals and a seat from Labour. Overall, the Conservatives still have a strong foothold in Bradford.

Moving on to Calderdale, we see the Conservatives making a gain in Brighouse, table 2.13. They perform well in Skircoat, table 2.17 - receiving 66.8 per cent share of the vote. The Conservatives are also effective in defending their current seats as demonstrated in Hipperholme & Lightcliffe, table 2.15 - receiving 57.5 per cent of the vote. Conservative success in Calderdale is not just measured by how many councillors they elected, but by their share of the vote, the Conservatives got '38.1 per cent',¹⁰⁴ the largest share of the popular vote. Upon examining the statistics surrounding the Calderdale local election, we see that there appears to be a three-way split between the Conservatives, Labour and the Lib/SDP alliance in terms of how many councillors were elected – '8, 6, and 5'.¹⁰⁵

Furthermore, the Conservatives perform well in certain areas of Doncaster, this is shown in table 2.21, Richmond, where the Conservatives nearly take the seat from Labour – trailing by a small margin of 1.2 per cent or 59 votes. However, the Conservatives do slack here overall - taking '27.3 per cent'¹⁰⁶ of the total vote. It must be noted that there are some strong pockets of Conservative support, as shown in table 2.22 where the Conservatives take 64.2 per cent.

Moreover, Kirklees, like Calderdale, shows a three-way split in the vote. This is apparent in tables 2.26, 2.27 and 2.29 which all show around a third split in the share of the vote between the Conservatives, Labour and the Lib/SDP alliance. The statistics also show the Conservatives gaining from the Lib/SDP alliance in table 2.27. However, this is likely down to the split in the vote, although, it would be illogical to completely rule out Conservative national success as a factor for their victory.

Moving onto Leeds we witness the Conservatives making a few gains in some of the

¹⁰⁴ Rallings, C. & Thrasher, M. *Local Elections Handbook 1983. The 1983 Local Election Results*. Plymouth: The Local Elections Centre. p.1.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p.1.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p.1.

constituencies. This is shown in tables 2.34 and 2.35, this is likely down to the split in the vote in these areas. For instance, the Lib/SDP alliance take 11.7 per cent share of the vote in Morley North where Labour were behind the Conservatives by just 4.7 per cent. If it had not been for the split in the opposition this would have likely been a Labour win.

Finally, Wakefield is an interesting area in this election as we see the Conservatives making a gain in Wakefield Rural, table 2.40. This was a gain from Labour and the vote had been split into Labour and True Labour resulting in a Conservative gain, we also see the Lib/SDP alliance taking some of the share too. The Lib/SDP alliance also make a gain in Crofton & Ackworth, table 2.37, weakening Labours position. However, it must be noted that Labour only lost the election by 0.3 per cent.

Overall, the local elections in 1983 show us that the Conservatives were defending their current constituencies well, and that the split in the opposition vote certainly helped with this. It also allowed the Conservatives to make a few gains in constituencies where they might not have normally won. What is very interesting is that the local election results in 1983 begin to prove the point that, the North/South divide perception, relating to Conservative success only being apparent in the South is false, and it only really comes down to mining towns. This is shown in Doncaster where the Conservatives achieved '27.3 per cent',¹⁰⁷ and in Barnsley where they only received '9.7 per cent'.¹⁰⁸ Both are mining towns, and compared to the likes of Leeds, which has more diverse economies, and is not solely based on industry we see the Conservatives are successful - achieving '36.3 per cent'¹⁰⁹share of the vote.

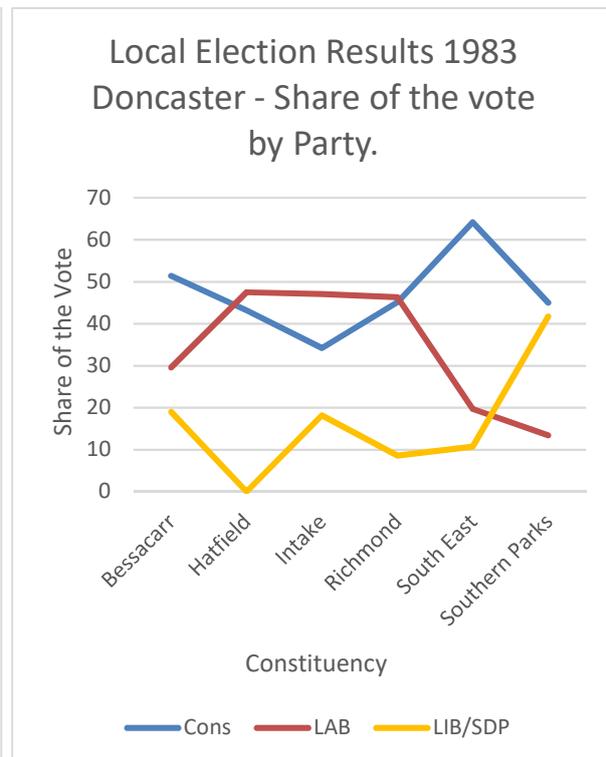
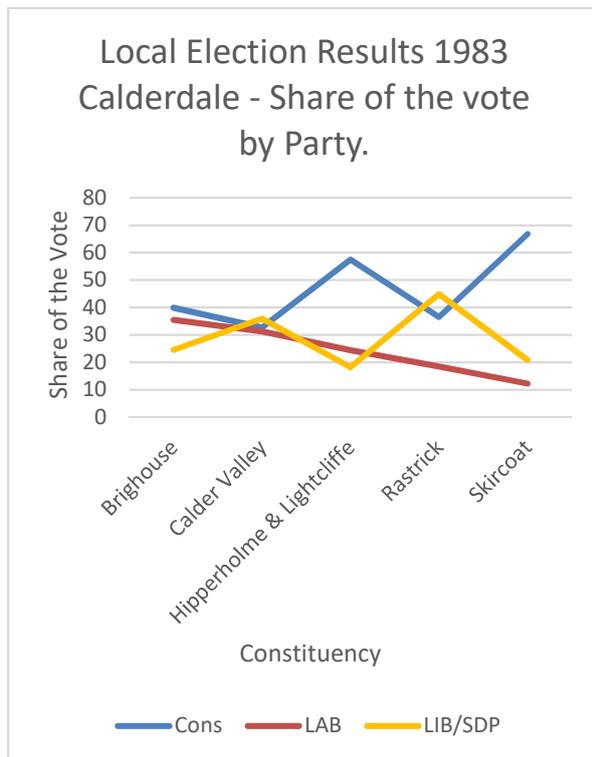
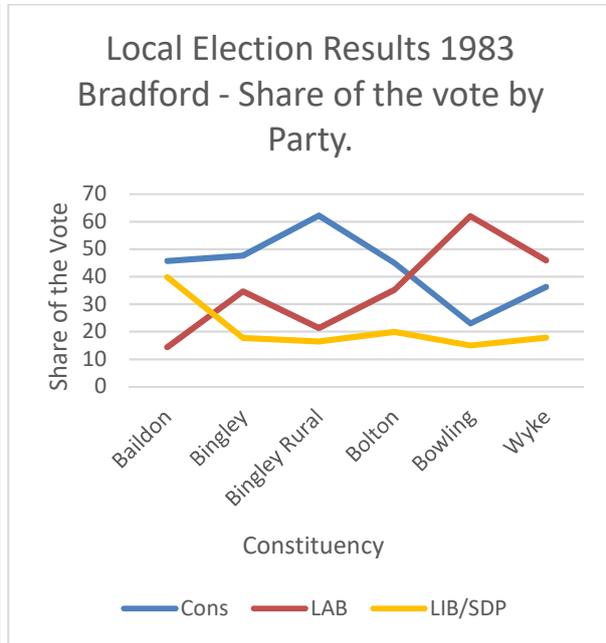
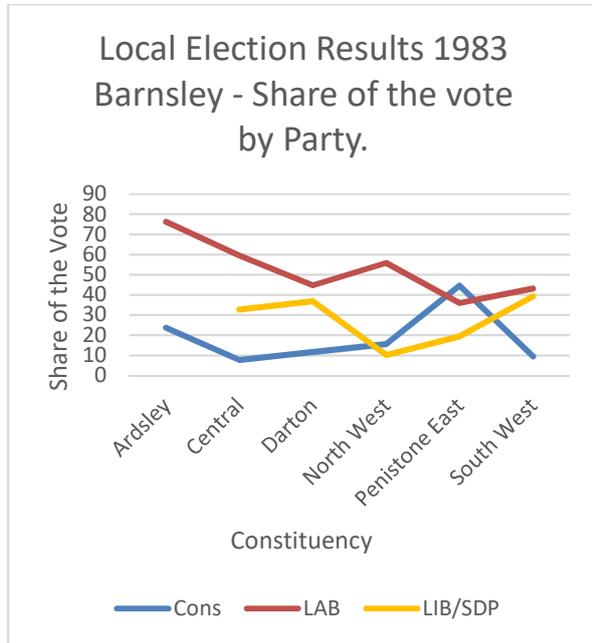
¹⁰⁷ Ibid., p.1.

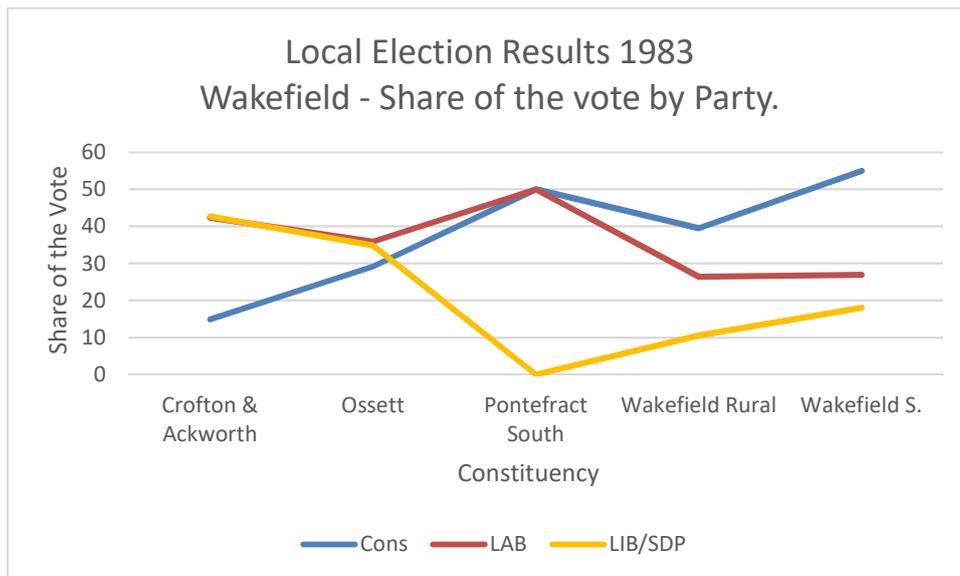
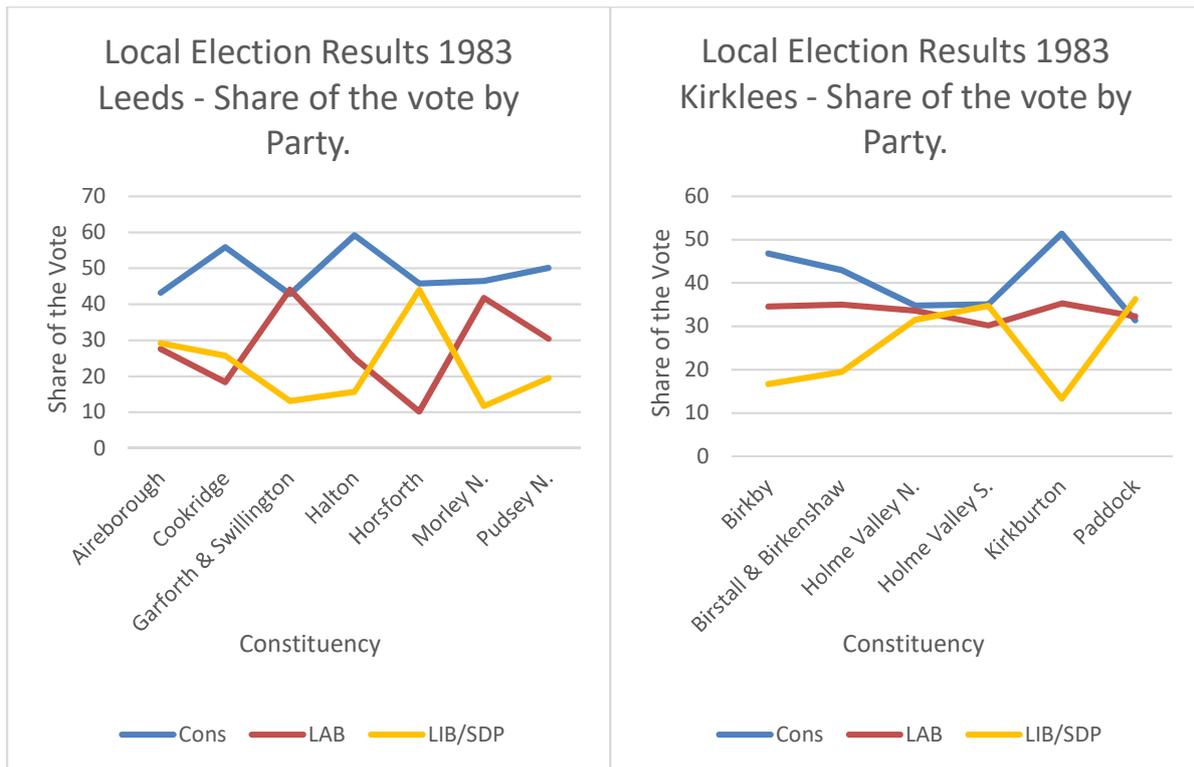
¹⁰⁸ Ibid., p.1.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., p.1.

Metropolitan Borough Council Election Results

All result graphs below use data from the results table section in this thesis. To see specific results of each constituency, see appendix results tables section.



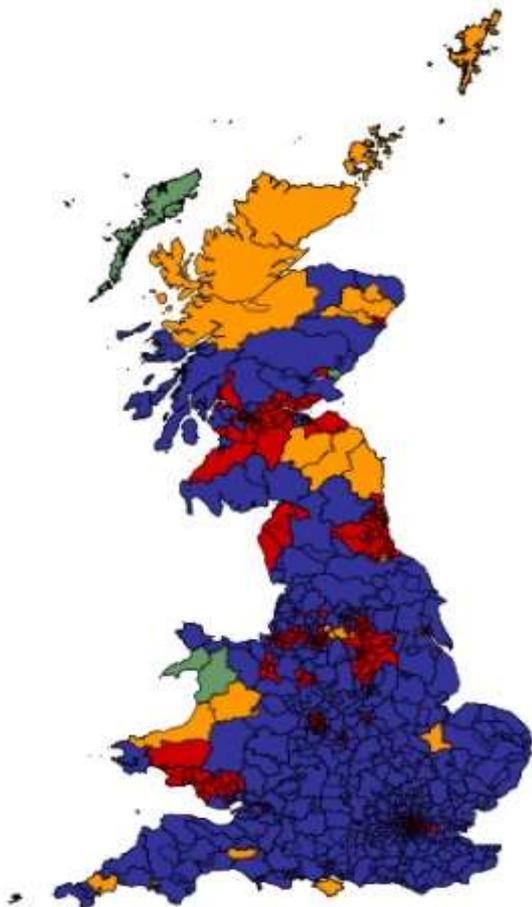


The 1983 local elections show the Conservatives were doing very well in the constituencies. The Lib/SDP alliance are shown to be splitting the opposition vote. The visualisation also shows the differences between South Yorkshire, and the rest of West Yorkshire voting behaviour.

The General Election 1983

Following on from the local elections in May 1983, it is essential to briefly look at the general election in June 1983. The success in the local elections in West Yorkshire underpin the strength in parliamentary constituencies in 1983. The June 1983 election saw the Conservatives winning in a landslide, with the *Yorkshire Post* reporting with the headline 'Thatcher gets second term. Big names sink in Tory tidal wave'.¹¹⁰ This is shown in the Parliamentary results, whereby the Conservatives won 349 seats, Labour 196, the Lib/SDP alliance 17 and other parties securing just 4 seats'.¹¹¹ The magnitude of the landslide can be seen in the illustration below.

Figure 3. Statistical map of the whole UK, showing which party won each constituency in 1983.



¹¹⁰ Fisher, J. & Hannam, P. (1983, June 10.). Thatcher gets second term. Big names sink in Tory tidal wave. *Yorkshire Post*. p.1.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, p.1.

The Conservatives are taking constituencies up and down the country, they are not just winning in the South, but they are winning in the North of England too; taking some unsuspecting Yorkshire constituencies.

The correlation between the local election results and general election results are vital in underpinning the success of the Conservatives in the election. Firstly, the Conservatives were successful in the local elections in Yorkshire in 1982 and 1983 as shown by the breakdown in statistics, and analysis that has been done in this chapter. The Conservatives received the largest share of the popular vote in Yorkshire and Humberside in the general election. The Conservatives received '1,013,311 votes, Labour 925,084 and the Alliance with 699,377 votes'¹¹² in Yorkshire and Humberside. The *Yorkshire Post* reported with the headline 'County gets a blue rinse',¹¹³ with regards to the success of the Conservatives in Yorkshire. The report went onto state

YORKSHIRE (sic) went Tory in a big way as hard-hit industrial areas voted Conservative and sent Labour MPs into the wilderness. Key seats toppled[,] and sensational Conservative victories were scored as the split in the non-Conservative vote took its toll.¹¹⁴

This directly corresponds with the success the Conservatives saw in the local elections in May.

Finally, Labour lost key seats, as mentioned in the *Yorkshire Post* article. There is a direct correlation between Parliamentary constituency seats and the local elections results. Bob Cryer lost his seat in Keighley and this is a prime example of that. In the local council election, the Conservatives saw a '40.2 per cent'¹¹⁵ share in the vote in Bradford, which is where Bob Cryer's seat was situated. Bob Cryer did not lose by a small margin either, the Conservative came out with '21,370 and Bob Cryer came out with 18,596'.¹¹⁶ The correlation is further shown in Leeds whereby 'Mr. Merlyn

¹¹² House of Commons Public Information Office. (1984 June.). *Factsheet No.22 General Election Results, 9 June 1983*. p.3.

¹¹³ Shearing, D. (1983, June 10.). Thatcher gets second term. Big names sink in Tory tidal wave. *Yorkshire Post*. p.1.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.1.

¹¹⁵ Rallings, C. & Thrasher, M. *Local Elections Handbook 1983. The 1983 Local Election Results*. Plymouth: The Local Elections Centre. p.1.

¹¹⁶ Yorkshire Post Reporter. (1983, June 10.). Election 83: The Results. Yorkshire at a glance. *Yorkshire Post*. p.10.

Rees held the new Morley and Leeds South constituency comfortably'.¹¹⁷ The specific correlation is seen in table 2.35, which shows a Conservative gain in the Morley North constituency in the local elections. However, we must not forget that boundary changes were instrumental in some of these results.

Figure 4. – Bob Cryer, pictured right, loses his Keighley parliamentary seat.



The Labour Party's own infighting and general disarray did not help the situation either. For example, the Conservatives were successful in gaining a Labour safe seat – Bradford North, because of that very infighting. The *Yorkshire Post* reported with the headline 'Tory wins Labour's split seat'.¹¹⁸ The Labour party's own infighting within Yorkshire lost them a 'seat that should have remained Labour'¹¹⁹ by deselecting the incumbent and selecting someone else to stand as the candidate.

¹¹⁷ Shearing, D. (1983, June 10.). Thatcher gets second term. Big names sink in Tory tidal wave. *Yorkshire Post*. p.1.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., p.1.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., p.1.

The former MP Ben Ford stood against the new official Labour candidate, Pat Wall - splitting the vote and ultimately, letting the Conservatives take the seat. The *Yorkshire Post* reported that he (Mr. Geoffrey Lawler) 'is the first Tory to represent the seat since Sir William Taylor retained it as a marginal in the late 1950s'.¹²⁰This was a local issue in a parliamentary constituency, and this issue resulted in the loss of a seat – showing that local issues can have an impact on the national outcome.

Finally, it is important to understand the Lib/SDP alliance factor. They came third in the popular vote in Yorkshire, achieving 699,377 votes or '25.5 per cent'¹²¹ as a share of the vote in Yorkshire. This is again shown in their national results – they achieved '7,780,949 votes compared to Labour's 8,456,934',¹²² just 2.2 per cent behind. Overall, the number of seats the Lib/SDP alliance won stood at '23 seats compared to Labour's 209'.¹²³ The question begs, why does this not translate to seats? It is simple, FPTP discriminates against third parties. The voting system itself is set up to empower the party that comes first. This is another reason why the Conservatives did so well in the 1980s, and that was because of the voting system itself. This is echoed by John Curtice, a political scientist, who states that FPTP has 'a tendency to reward whichever party comes first with a 'bonus' of seats, so that the lead of the first party over the second party in the House of Commons is an exaggerated reflection of its lead in the country as a whole'.¹²⁴ Therefore, the impact this has on the third party is significant. This results in the third party taking away votes from the second, which results in an over exaggerated win for the party that comes first.

Ultimately, it is clear from the analysis that local election results are incredibly important in underpinning the General Election successes as shown through the statistics and results in Bradford and Leeds. The discussion also explores other aspects, such as the voting system itself, which has been shown to be contributing factor.

¹²⁰ Ibid., p.1.

¹²¹ House of Commons Public Information Office. (1984 June.). *Factsheet No.22 General Election Results, 9 June 1983*. p.3.

¹²² Ibid., p.3.

¹²³ Ibid., p.3.

¹²⁴ Curtice, J. (2010). So What Went Wrong with the Electoral System? The 2010 Election Result and the Debate About Electoral Reform. *Parliamentary Affairs*, 63 (4), 623-638.

Local Elections Results 1986 (Yorkshire)

The local election results in 1986 need to be explored, as they remain an important factor in determining how successful the Conservatives remain in West Yorkshire after the mining strikes, and as the Falklands factor begins to fade. It must be noted that these results are helpful as they are during the mid-term, which ultimately means that it should shed some light on the popularity of the Conservatives.

Firstly, Barnsley is clear cut in the fact that it completely rejects the Conservatives. The Conservatives only put up a handful of candidates, resulting in Labour achieving a '68.5 per cent'¹²⁵ share of the vote. This seemed to be the case across large parts of the country with the *Yorkshire Post* reporting that 'by mid-night, Labour had won control of seven authorities and was picking up seats across the country'.¹²⁶ Doncaster had also rejected the Conservatives – receiving just '22.5 per cent'¹²⁷ share in the vote. However, this is to be expected as Conservative support in Doncaster throughout the 1980s is not as strong as elsewhere in West Yorkshire.

However, looking at Bradford, Calderdale and Kirklees we see that in the constituencies being studied the Conservatives seem to be holding their ground relatively well. This is shown in tables 3.08, 3.09 and 3.12 in Bradford – 3.16, 3.17 and 3.19 in Calderdale, and finally, 3.28, 3.30 and 3.31 in Kirklees. This is echoed in Leeds with tables 3.33, 3.34 and 3.36, all three showing the Conservatives are remaining relatively strong. Wakefield also shows us that the Conservatives are holding their safe seats well as shown in table 3.41 - Wakefield South, where the Conservatives took 57.9 per cent of the vote.

The results are certainly starting to show that the Conservatives are beginning to lose momentum in Yorkshire, however, they remain a prominent feature. This is largely down to the Lib/SDP alliance splitting the opposition vote. This is particularly apparent in tables 3.08, 3.16 and 3.20 which all show the Lib/SDP alliance taking a sizeable share of the vote. Ultimately, it is clear from the results that the

¹²⁵ Rallings, C. & Thrasher, M. *Local Elections Handbook 1986. The 1986 Local Elections Results. Volume 1*. Plymouth: The Local Elections Centre. p.93.

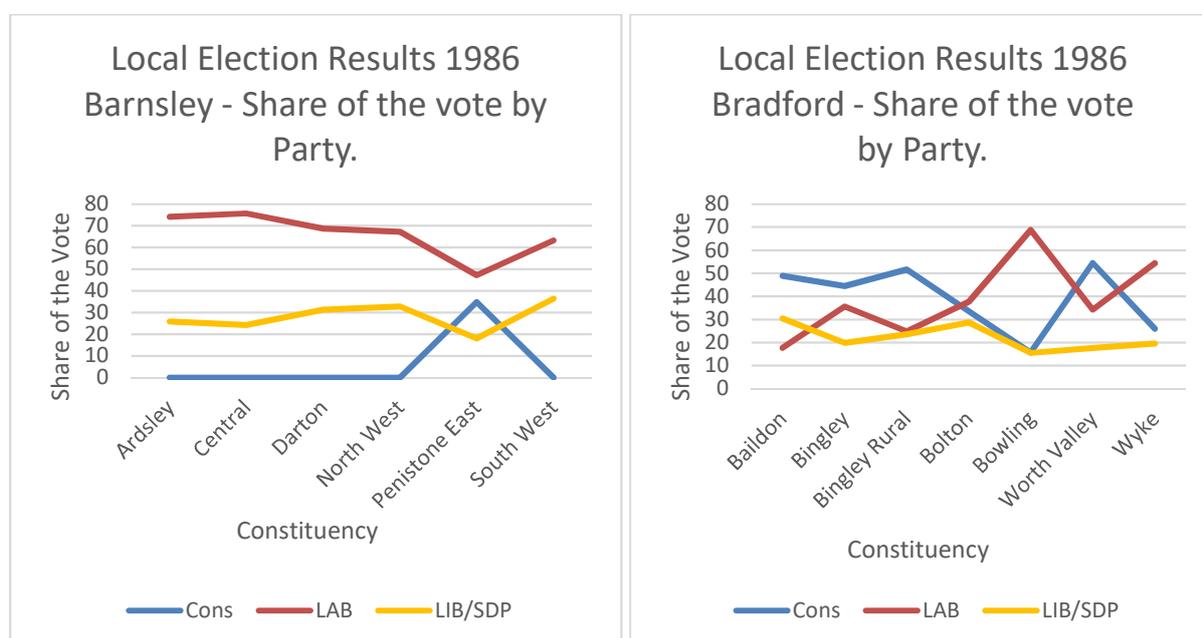
¹²⁶ Fisher, J. & Sadler, R. (1986, May 9.). Labour in sweeping poll gains. *Yorkshire Post*. p.1.

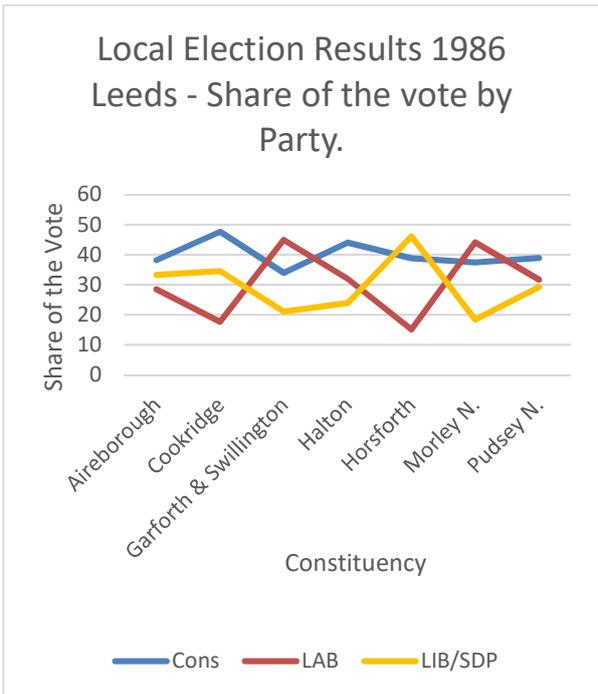
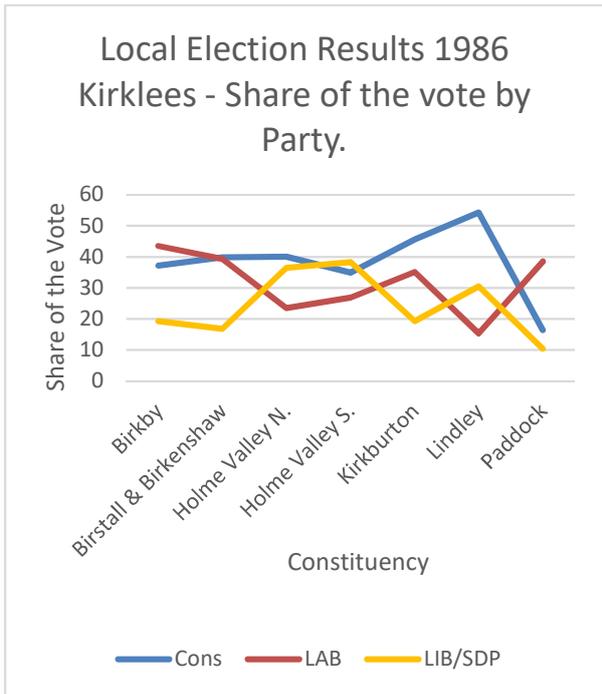
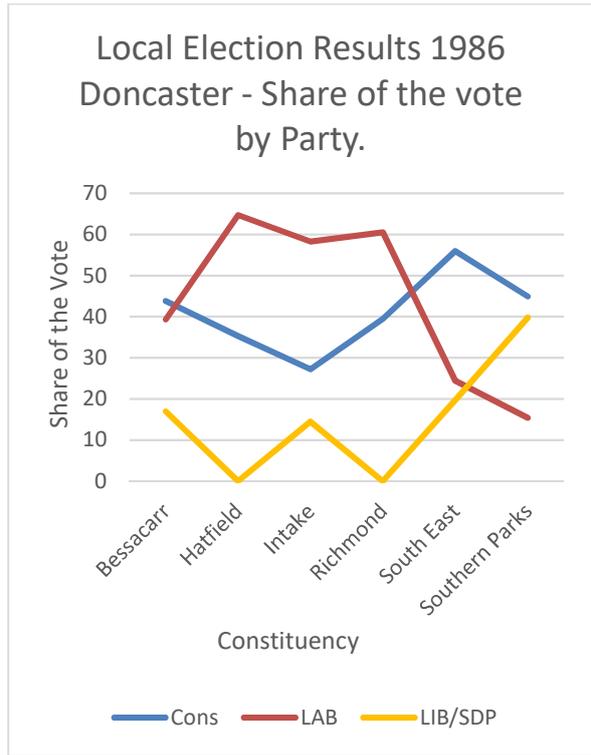
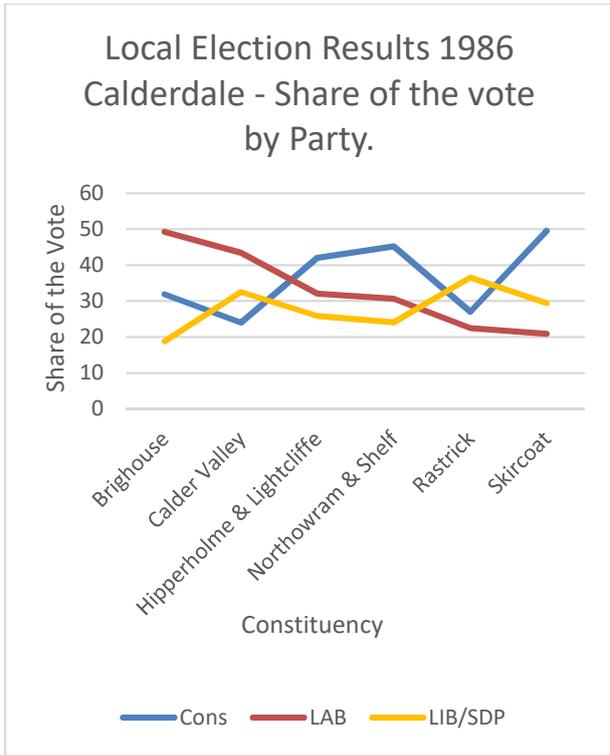
¹²⁷ Rallings, C. & Thrasher, M. *Local Elections Handbook 1986. The 1986 Local Elections Results. Volume 1*. Plymouth: The Local Elections Centre. p.99.

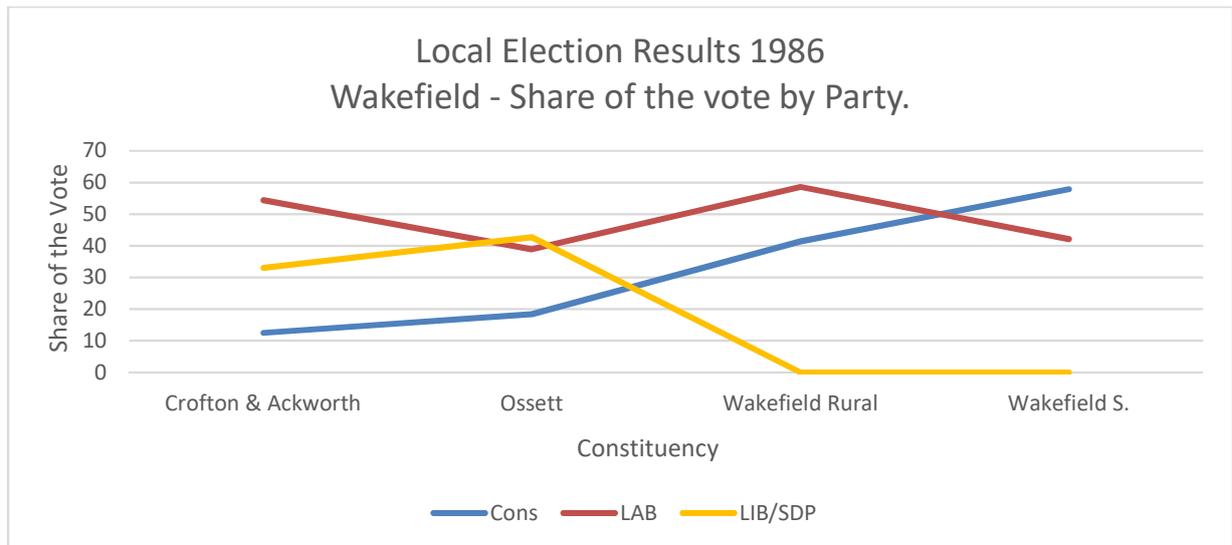
Conservatives remain a prominent feature in 1986, but that their momentum appears to be slowing or stopped. The Labour party is still performing pretty poorly in parts of West Yorkshire. However, there are stark contrasts between Conservative support in 1982 and 1986 shown through the composition of the Bradford council. Table 1a on page 120 shows that the Conservatives have 43 sitting councillors as compared with 36 in 1986 – table 1b on p.136.

Metropolitan Borough Council Election Results

All result graphs below use data from the results table section in this thesis. To see specific results of each constituency, see appendix results tables section.







The charts in the 1986 local elections show that the Lib/SDP alliance were still splitting the vote in the opposition which made it difficult for Labour. We also see the aftermath of the miners' strike in Barnsley. Conservative support is all but wiped out in Barnsley during 1986.

Local Election Results 1987 (Yorkshire)

Finally, we must explore the local election results in 1987 to gain a full understanding of how important the local election results are in Yorkshire. Studying the 1987 local election results will also give us a final idea of how the Conservatives have performed throughout the whole decade. It is also important to note that 1987 is a general election year, which may mean that it generates a different result to 1986, which was a mid-term local election.

Barnsley's local election results are consistent throughout the decade, and there is virtually no Conservative presence in the area throughout, which is expected. However, Penistone East, seems to be a constituency that the Conservatives tend to do well. The Conservatives do well to defend it in 1987 - after the miners strikes. Turnout was also high at 52.9 per cent, so it is a surprise that the Conservatives are successful. However, to see how strong the Conservatives remain in the area, we need to compare this result against the 1983 local election results. Table 2.05 on page 46 shows that the Conservatives achieved 44.6 per cent share of the vote, Labour achieved 36 per cent in 1983. What is interesting is that the Conservatives seem to have a strong foothold, increasing their share of the vote to 46.9 per cent in the 1987 election, Labour also increased theirs to 39.4 per cent. This also tells us that the Lib/SDP alliance' vote seems to diminish here.

Furthermore, the Conservatives continue to do well in Bradford as shown in tables 4.07, 4.08, 4.09, 4.10 and 4.12. The Conservatives also seem to make a slight come back in Bradford compared to their 1986 result, whereby, they gain 2 councillors as shown in table 1c. Calderdale reveals yet more constituencies where the Conservatives are doing well, however, reveals that the Lib/SDP alliance are still splitting the vote, which is clear in tables 4.14, 4.16 and 4.18 – hindering Labour.

Doncaster is an area that the Conservative do not do well overall, only receiving '25.5 per cent'¹²⁸ of the vote. They do, however, defend their seats well as shown in tables 4.20, 4.24 and 4.25. However, it must be noted that in Southern Parks, table

¹²⁸ Rallings, C. & Thrasher, M. *Local Elections Handbook 1987. The 1987 Local Elections Results. Volume 1.* Plymouth: The Local Elections Centre. p.99.

4.25, we see a significant split in the opposition vote, and the Conservatives only just hung on to the constituency by 398 votes.

Moreover, we start to see the extent to which the split in the opposition vote is having an impact on local election results toward the back end of the decade. The local election in Kirklees is the personification of this. We see multiple constituencies in Kirklees that are won by the Conservatives but are very close to being taken – it is because of this split, that they are not being won by Labour. This is very clear in the results because turnout was over 50 per cent in most constituencies being studied, meaning that arguably, this makes for a better representation of this argument. The evidence is shown in table 4.27, 4.29, 4.31 and 4.32.

The Conservatives in Leeds are seen to lose momentum, the composition of the council falls to 25 Conservatives, table 2c, compared to 28 in 1986. However, they increase their share of the vote from '29.8 percent in 1986 to 33.1 per cent in 1987'¹²⁹ showing that they still have a strong foothold in West Yorkshire. The Lib/SDP alliance also begin to take votes away from the Conservatives, and indeed take one or two constituencies off the Conservatives as shown in Horsforth, table 4.37. Finally, Wakefield shows us that the Conservatives remain strong in Wakefield South, table 4.43, acquiring 55.3 per cent of the vote. However, overall Conservative support in Wakefield falls from '20.5 per cent in 1986 to 17.2 per cent in 1987'.¹³⁰

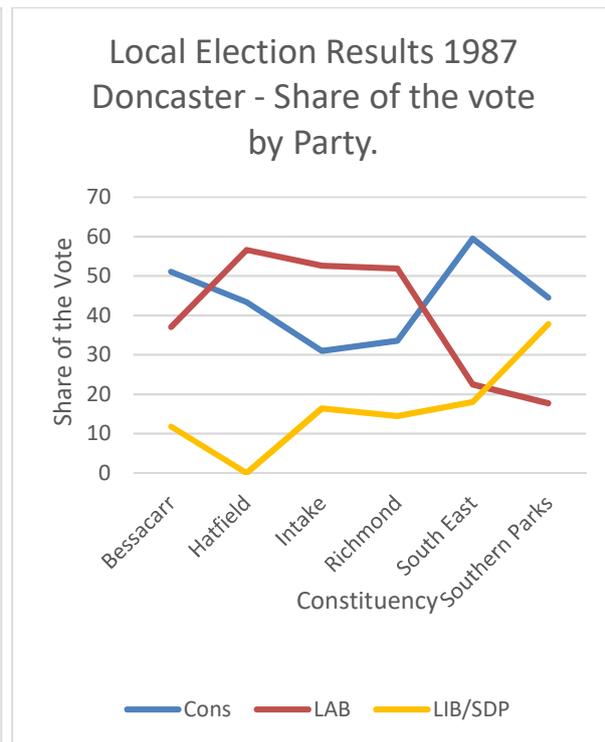
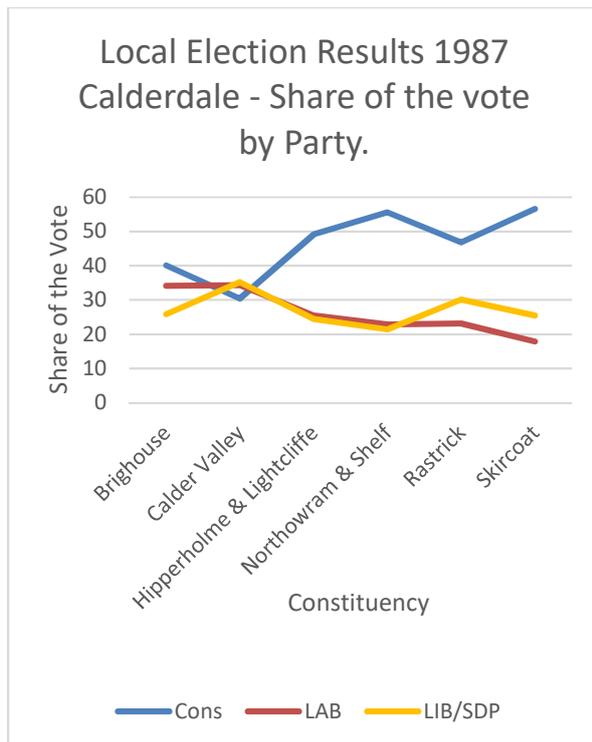
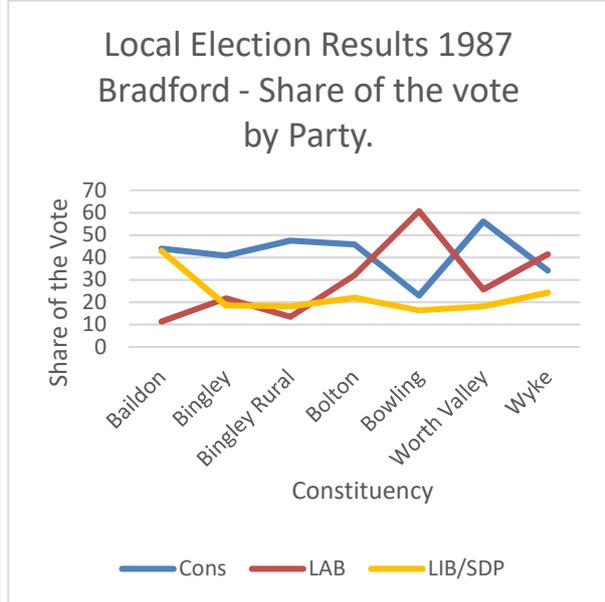
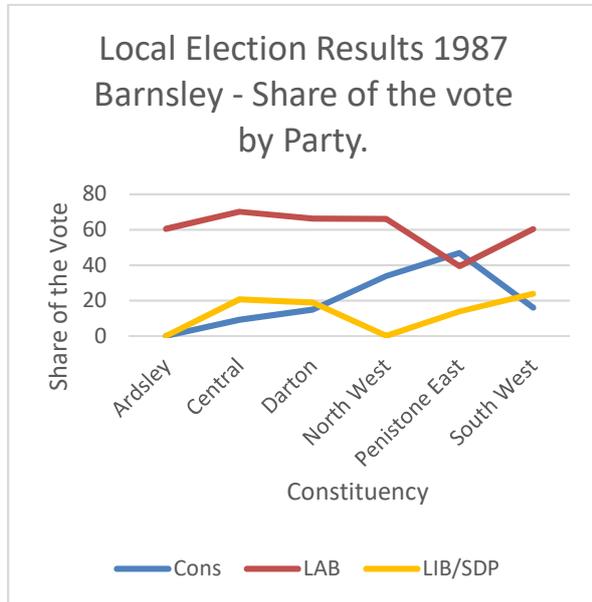
The 1987 local elections show us that there is still a strong Conservative foothold in West Yorkshire. This success is unlikely to be underpinned by the Conservatives being the popular choice. However, the Conservative foothold appears to be sustained through the continued split in the opposition vote as demonstrated in Kirklees.

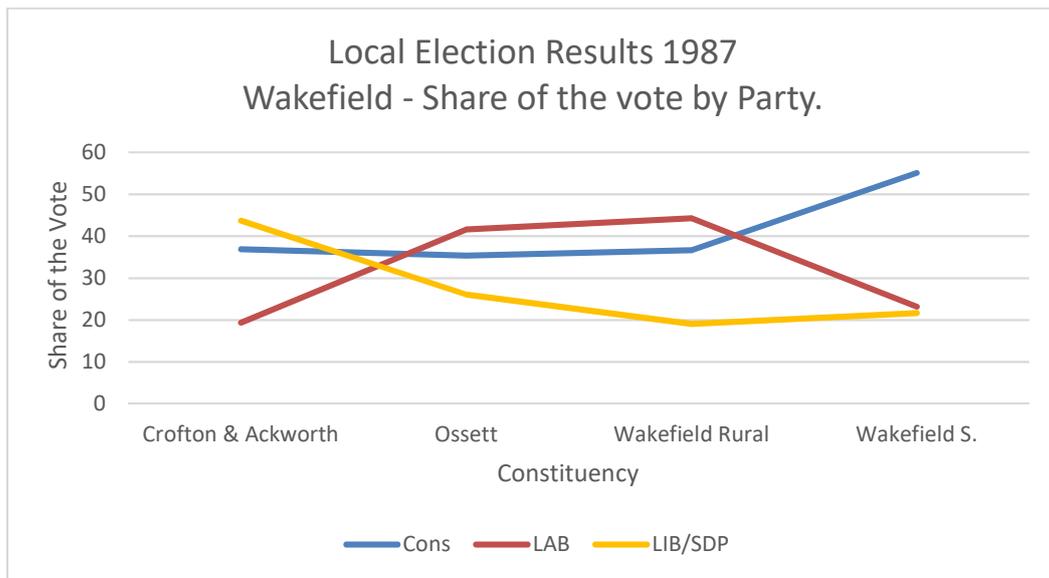
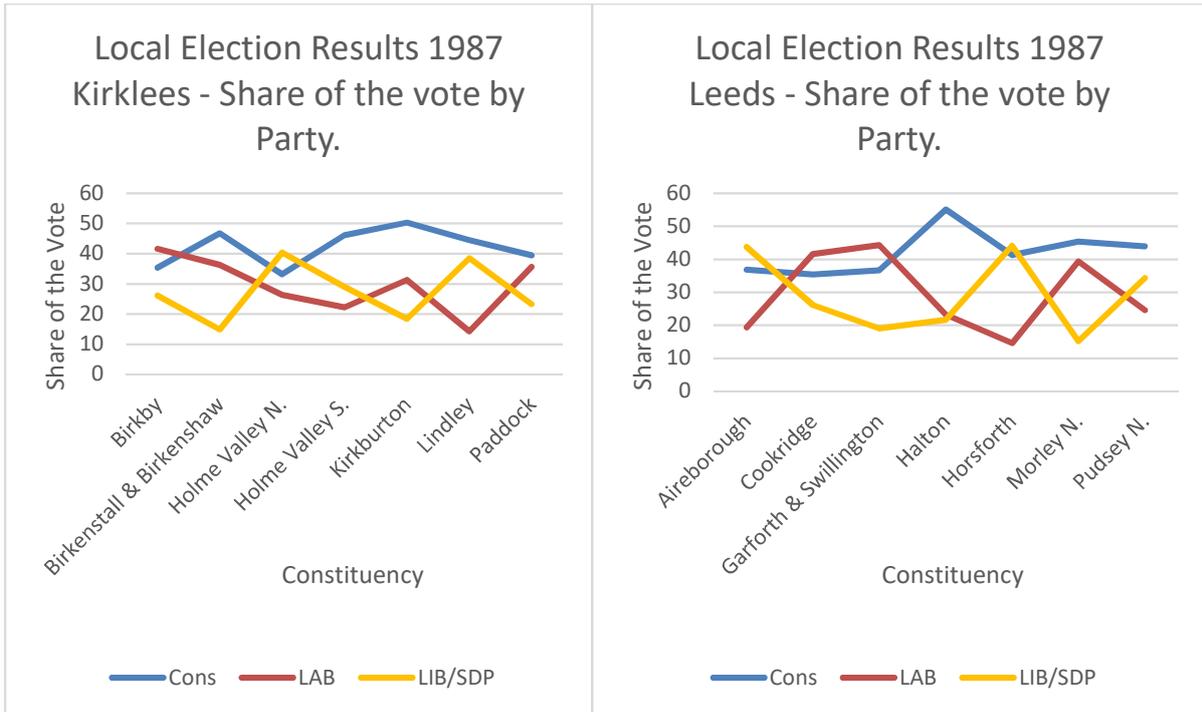
¹²⁹ Rallings, C. & Thrasher, M. *Local Elections Handbook 1987. The 1987 Local Elections Results. Volume 1*. Plymouth: The Local Elections Centre. p.211.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, p.219.

Metropolitan Borough Council Election Results

All result graphs below use data from the results table section in this thesis. To see specific results of each constituency, see appendix results tables section.

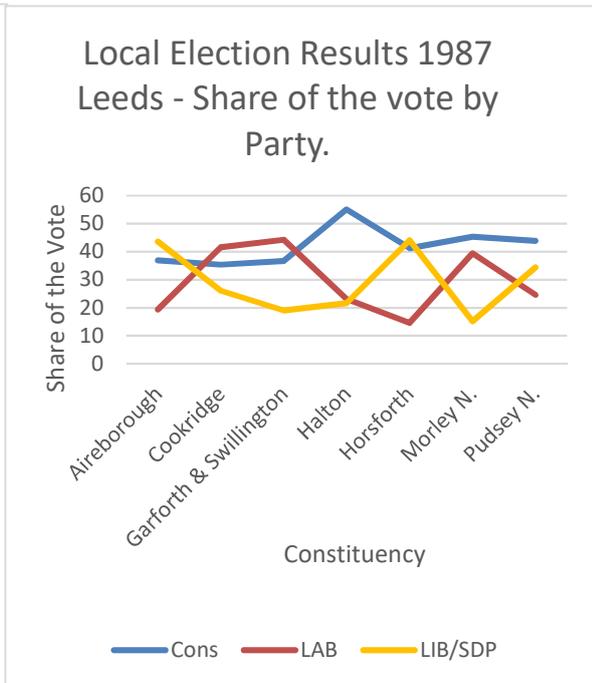
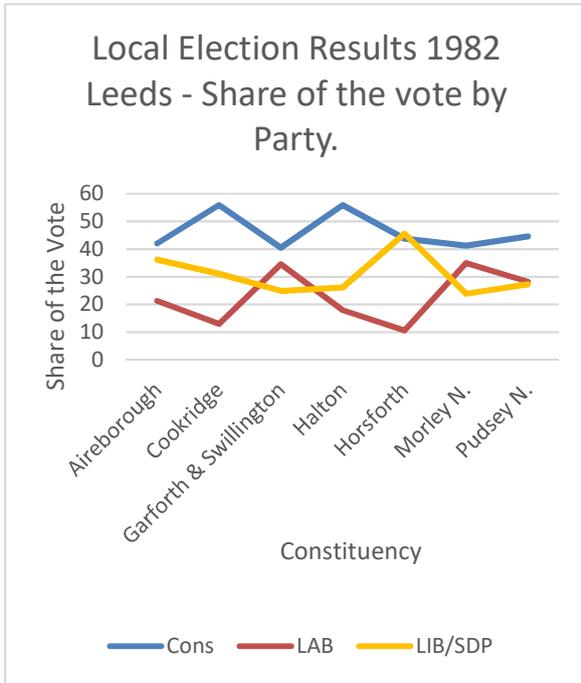
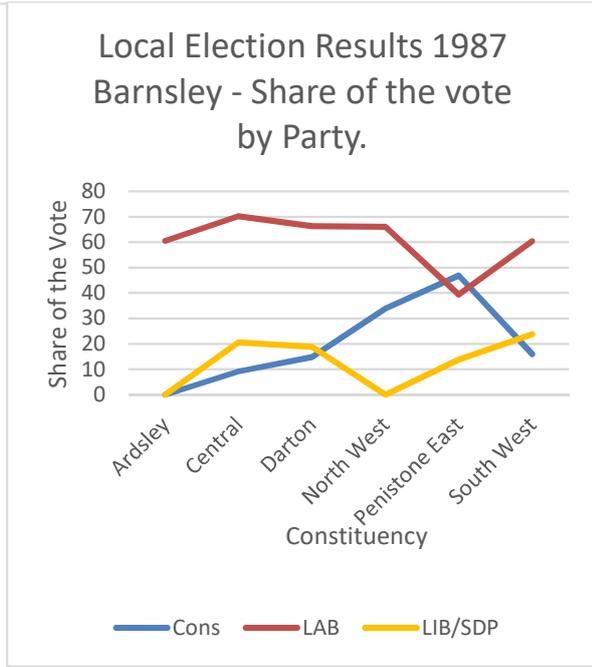
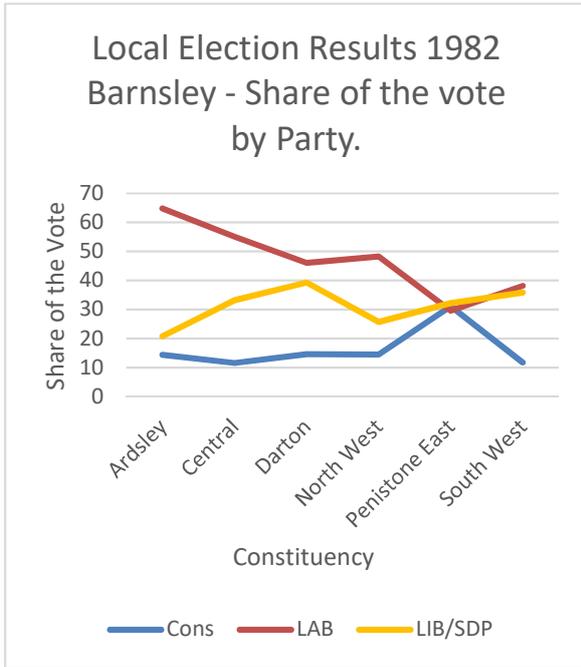




A brief comparison of the local election results between 1982 and 1987 in Barnsley and Leeds

The results in Barnsley show that from 1982 to 1987 the Conservatives do seem to lose significant support in the aftermath of the miners' strike. In Ardsley, for instance, we see no Conservative presence when compared to the start of the decade. There was no Lib/SDP candidate and the nobody stood as a candidate for the Conservatives. Another difference we see is that the support for the Lib/SDP begins to fade away by 1987 as compared with the 1982 local elections. In Leeds, however, we still see that they have support and they still split the vote in constituencies.

The results also show that the Conservatives remain fairly dominant in Leeds in 1987. Although, compared to 1982 the tables show that from Aireborough to Garforth & Swillington the Conservatives do lose support and drop below the 40 per cent mark that they had previously been above. This example tells us that there is a fall in the Conservatives share of the vote, but not so much to warrant such a spike in the Labour share. The SPD had an impact in the area because as their share of the vote fell, Labour's support grew. However, on its own this does not account for the spike in Labour support. This example clearly shows us that Labour voters were abstaining to some extent in 1982 as by 1987 their share of the vote increases dramatically as does their vote in real terms. The results also show that Halton has a particularly strong Conservative presence which seems to be unwavering throughout the period.



Yorkshire Local Election Results 1980s: A Decade Overview

West Yorkshire politics at the local level in the 1980s is fascinating. The raw data from the local elections is certainly revealing. This chapter has analysed the data for the local elections in 1982, 1983, 1986 and 1987. Through data analysis it is clear that the Conservatives were clearly successful in the North – it is simply a case that mining towns exaggerate Labour's success in the North, as shown through the examination of the results in Barnsley and Doncaster.

It is also important to briefly explore the ideals of Thatcherism and how this had an impact on Yorkshire during the period. On the surface, three consecutive wins suggest that Thatcherism may have been relatively popular in Yorkshire, hence why it was winning. Stephen Edgell and Vic Duke defined Thatcherism as 'opposed to the economic theory of Keynesian demand management and its related political ideology of state interventionism [and] that Thatcherism favours individualism and an enhanced role for the market in economic life'.¹³¹ The Conservative strategy had been to enlarge its base of Conservative support during the post-war period by 'identifying prosperity and all forms of property ownership with Conservative voting'.¹³² The ownership of property was tied to Thatcherite policies and was a policy that Thatcher pushed forward quite significantly in the sale of council houses, which was popular within Yorkshire as was noted by David Hinchcliffe in the next chapter.

However, most historians tend to argue that Thatcherism was relatively unpopular with the electorate and it is difficult disagree with this. Edgell and Duke, writing in 1991 argued that 'the Thatcherite political programme to change British society was far less popular outside Parliament. Public support was limited to the Conservative policy to reform trade unions plus certain forms of privatization, notably council house sales at discounted prices'.¹³³ This seems to be the case in West Yorkshire too as the sale of council houses was popular, but other Thatcherite policies such as cuts to welfare were not. Peter Riddell, a British journalist author, writing in 1983, would argue that Thatcherism had 'not generated any great enthusiasm[,] the

¹³¹ Edgell, S., & Duke, V. (1991). *A Measure of Thatcherism a Sociology of Britain*. London: HarperCollinsAcademic. p.215.

¹³² Gamble, A. (1994). *The Free Economy and The Strong State. The Politics of Thatcherism*. London: Macmillan. p.219.

¹³³ Edgell, S., & Duke, V. (1991). *A Measure of Thatcherism a Sociology of Britain*. London: HarperCollinsAcademic. p.222.

Conservatives' share of the vote fell by two percentages points in the 1983 election compared with that of 1979'.¹³⁴This is echoed in the general election results earlier on in the chapter which points towards Thatcherism not being particularly popular in Yorkshire. The average share falls slightly, yet, they are still successful in gaining seats in the area. The Conservatives had cohesion and stability within the party compared to Labour, and this helped them electorally; it made Thatcherism appear to be popular on the surface. Robert Skidelsky put it nicely, stating, '[c]ohesion, purpose and success take precedence over policy and ideology in the voters' eyes; that is the lesson of Mrs Thatcher's and Thatcherism's astonishing success'.¹³⁵ This suggests that Thatcherism only appeared to be popular because the Conservatives were electorally dominant over Labour in the general elections.

The policies of Thatcherism also appeared to be unpopular as '[t]he *British Social Attitudes Surveys* showed that remarkably large majorities remained opposed to many of the policy shifts in welfare and social policy most sought by the Thatcher government'.¹³⁶ References to Thatcherite policy being unpopular can be heard in the music at the time. References of Thatcherite policy appear in Pink Floyd's album '*The Final Cut*' released in March 1983 where it can be suggested they make references to England and the death of the 'post war dream' and decline of industry in Britain under Thatcher. It would appear that Thatcherism did not have a significantly positive impact on Yorkshire as shown in the general election results. The only notable policy that can be described as popular in Yorkshire was the right to buy the council houses.

Conservatism throughout the 1980s has a strong foothold in West Yorkshire, and importantly, remains a prominent feature throughout. The results show that the Conservatives were successful and that victory in the local elections underpins the support in the parliamentary constituencies. This was clear upon exploring the general election results in 1983 as there were correlations between the local results, and national results in both Bradford and Leeds.

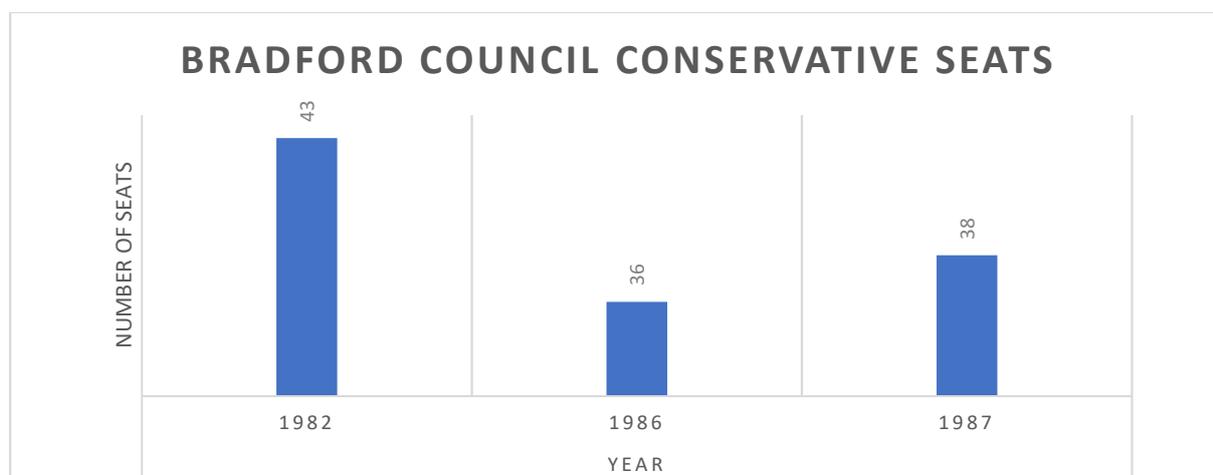
¹³⁴ Riddell, P. (1983). *The Thatcher Government*. Oxford: Martin Robertson. p.235.

¹³⁵ Skidelsky, R. (1989). *Thatcherism*. London: Chatto & Windus. p.49.

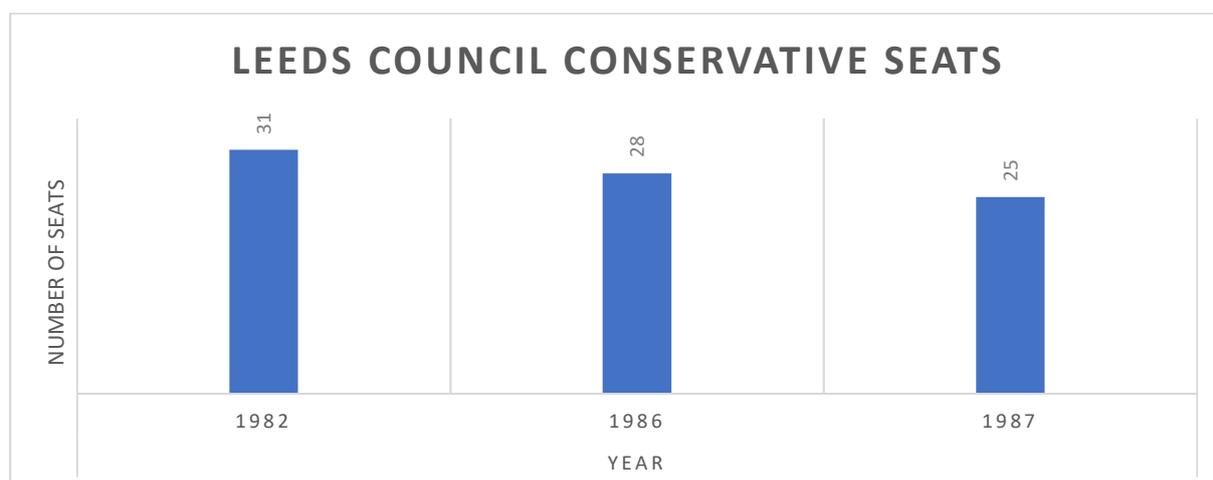
¹³⁶ Gamble, A. (1994). *The Free Economy and The Strong State. The Politics of Thatcherism*. London: Macmillan. p.220.

The results for four elections allow us to see trends in the data. Conservative support begins to lose momentum after 1983 but remains consistent. The data reveals this through the composition of Bradford council, and Leeds council throughout the 1980s. Appendix E1 reveals that the Conservatives had 43 councillors, but by 1987 it had fallen to 38 – which was still showing there was a strong Conservative foothold. Similarly, in Leeds council, the Conservatives lose councillors – 31 in 1983 to 25 in 1987 as revealed in appendix E2. However, they still seem to have a strong foothold.

Appendix E1.



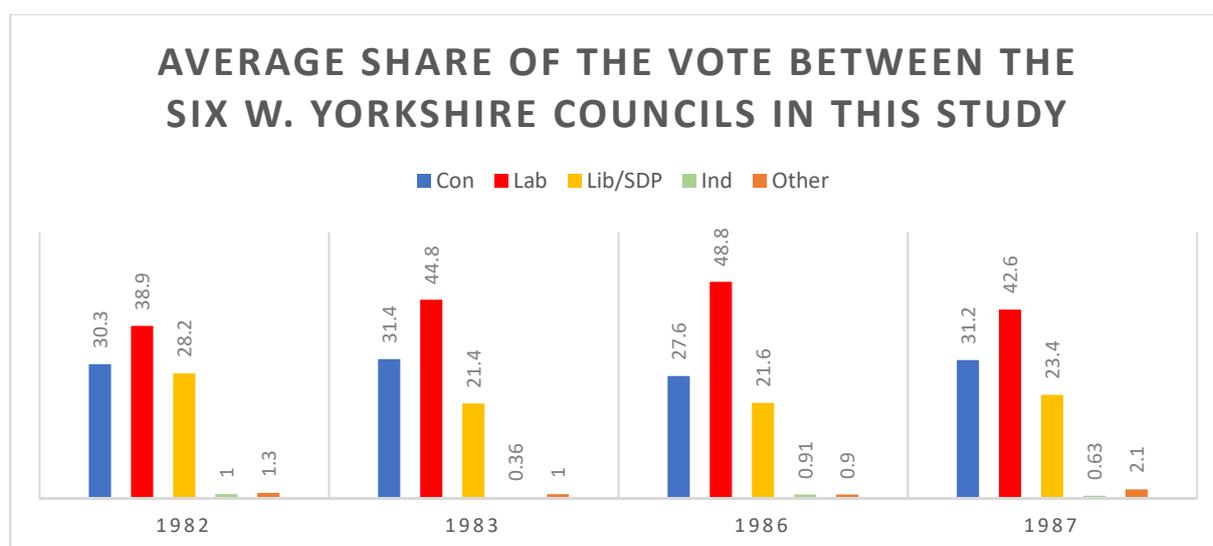
Appendix E2.



The Conservatives do have a strong foothold in Yorkshire throughout the 1980s. Certainly, this is down to their success in 1982 and 1983, taking advantage of the splits within the Labour Party and riding a wave of nationalism on the back of the Falklands War. This chapter has answered one of the main questions that was posed in the beginning of the thesis which is asking the question of whether there was 'a rise' in Conservatism in Yorkshire. Examining the statistics, we see that there

is a spike in Conservative support in the 1982 and 1983 local elections off the back of the Falklands and the chaos within the Labour Party. Although, generally, the Conservatives seem to be consistent in their share of the vote from 1982 to 1987 as shown in Appendix E3. The overall trend in the vote, in the six West Yorkshire Council's, shows us that the split in the opposition vote is most likely key in understanding why the Conservatives did so well in the region and continued to throughout the decade. The split in the vote hindered Labour's ability to win.

Appendix E3.



This is further supported by results shown in a government publication, showing that from 1979 to 1983 the Conservative share in the vote across the whole West Yorkshire region fell by '0.8 per cent'.¹³⁷ This was compared with Labours support which fell by a staggering '9.5 per cent',¹³⁸ coupled with a '10.7 per cent'¹³⁹ increase in the Lib/SDP alliance' share of the vote. This clearly split the opposition vote and allowed Conservative success to continue in West Yorkshire. Ultimately, the statistics show that there was no 'rise' in Conservatism, there was just a brief spike in popularity. The fact that there is no 'rise' in Conservatism can also be shown in their support in the general elections. The Conservatives have always had an underlying presence and Conservative support can be traced back to the 1950s, where their presence was similar to that of the 1980s. However, that is not to say

¹³⁷ House of Commons Public Information Office. (1984 June.). *Factsheet No.22 General Election Results, 9 June 1983*. p.7.

¹³⁸ Ibid., p.7.

¹³⁹ Ibid., p.7.

that the Conservatives were not successful in Yorkshire – they were, and they took advantage of Labour while it was in disarray.

Chapter Three – Strikes, events and issues in Yorkshire 1979-1985

This chapter will briefly cover some additional areas that are important in underpinning Conservative success in Yorkshire throughout the 1980s. This will be done using qualitative data. The previous chapter has analysed the specific election results and has shown that the Conservatives had a strong foothold in Yorkshire. Consequently, it is important to understand the further context surrounding that success to gain a broader understanding of why the Conservatives remain a prominent feature throughout the decade. The additional factors that will be discussed in the chapter include: The Yorkshire Winter of Discontent, the Conservatives policy on the right to buy council houses, the Falklands factor, the fragmentation of Labour politics and finally and the Miners' strikes.

The Yorkshire Winter of Discontent 1979

There has been little to no coverage of the Winter of Discontent within Yorkshire by historians and commentators when analysing Conservative success in the 1980s. Yet, it was fundamental in shaping voter behaviour in West Yorkshire in the short-term. It must be considered a contributing factor to explain why Conservatism remained strong in West Yorkshire throughout the 1980s, therefore should be analysed.

The Winter of Discontent has been covered as a national phenomenon, with coverage mainly coming from the likes of London and Liverpool. However, Yorkshire had significant problems too, especially in cities such as Leeds. The *Yorkshire Post* printed that '[f]lying pickets at supermarkets and at the Leeds wholesale fruit and vegetable market have drastically cut food supplies'.¹⁴⁰ This was all bound to have an impact on voter behaviour, especially since food supplies are an everyday essential part of life. Yorkshire had problems with industrial action too, The *Yorkshire Post* reported that 'Further industrial action is on the way in Yorkshire and Humberside by members of the National Union of Public Employees'.¹⁴¹ (NUPE) William Gregory, NUPE's regional officer stated that 'a programme of selective

¹⁴⁰ Yorkshire Post Reporter. (1979, January 11). Yorkshire workers laid off. *Yorkshire Post*. p.1.

¹⁴¹ Fisher, J. (1979, January 24). Yorkshire strike plan stays a union secret. *Yorkshire Post*. p.1.

strikes will begin immediately and last indefinitely'.¹⁴² The action would also include the General and Municipal Health Service Employees. (GMHSE)

The strike by the GMHSE would exacerbate the situation in Yorkshire. The *Yorkshire Post* reported with one headline 'Sick man left by ambulancemen',¹⁴³ NUPE refused to take responsibility and blamed 'management for the mix-up'.¹⁴⁴ NUPE were causing untold problems in Yorkshire, it was a prime target as they wanted to cause 'maximum disruption in Ministers constituencies'.¹⁴⁵ Yorkshire saw job loses too, the *Yorkshire Post* reported with one headline, 'Jobs queue starts to grow'.¹⁴⁶ The economic situation was far from ideal in Yorkshire.

The lorry drivers strike in 1979 caused issues in Yorkshire too. This would have an impact on shops and businesses. This was publicised in the *Yorkshire Post*, who reported 'shops in Yorkshire and Humberside are expected to be short of bread today after lorry drivers' pickets tighten the screw another turn'.¹⁴⁷ This strike was not supported by the Transport and General Workers Union, (TGWU) which shows a further problem in Yorkshire, and that was flying pickets. The *Yorkshire Post* reported 'the militant pickets had ignored TGWU orders to lift their blockade' -¹⁴⁸ a clear example of disorder and chaos. This only raises more questions as to how many more strikes were not supported, and how many were militant in Yorkshire.

The Winter of Discontent heralded national headlines in places like Liverpool and London, but there was very little coverage of Yorkshire's problems in the national press. Yorkshire had suffered through the Winter of Discontent and some of the instances were troublesome, especially the problems with flying pickets. Certainly, this sheds light on the impacts of the Winter of Discontent in Yorkshire. The newspapers reveal evidence that bolsters the view that it certainly had a part to play in Conservative success in the region.

The bad weather combined with the disruption had enormous implications for the populaces ability to travel. This would also have huge effects on businesses and

¹⁴² Ibid., p.1.

¹⁴³ Brown, C. (1979 January 27). Sick man left by ambulancemen. *Yorkshire Post* p.1.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., p.1.

¹⁴⁵ Brown, C. & Allan, G. (1979, February 7). Prime targets: Strike squeeze on Yorkshire. *Yorkshire Post*. p.1.

¹⁴⁶ Fisher, J. (1979, January 24). Jobs queue starts to grow. *Yorkshire Post*. p.1.

¹⁴⁷ Yorkshire Post Reporter. (1979, January 18). Bread famine in Yorkshire. *Yorkshire Post*. p.1.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., p.1.

other industry that were still operational. Industrial action also began to have an impact on the M62. The gritters, who were council workers, were on strike. *The Yorkshire Post* reported that a '16-MILE section the M62 might be closed if wintry weather continues'.¹⁴⁹This was again down to NUPE, who were instrumental in causing much of the disruption in Yorkshire.

The NUPE were causing a wide range of problems in Yorkshire and were having an impact on many different areas within Yorkshire. For instance, they began to effect schools – they threatened them with closures, as caretakers had been called out on strike. Ripon Grammar School, which had 675 pupils was threatened with closure. However, their headmaster was quoted say 'we are going to stay open'.¹⁵⁰Although, the *Yorkshire Post* noted that pupils were 'likely to be faced with pickets'.¹⁵¹

The Winter of Discontent was certainly a significant contributor to the Conservative vote in the Yorkshire region. This was evident in the general election in 1983 which saw Yorkshire vote Conservative, but the *Yorkshire Post* also makes an interesting observation when it states 'voters in a wide area of the North showed that whatever the economic hardships of the previous years, they did not blame the Conservatives'¹⁵² – suggesting that people blamed Labour for that. It is obvious that the industrial unrest will not have helped the economy. This was a clear vote against Labour and by association – the unions. This is further supported by a poll which was conducted by Gallup at the time. The poll found that 'the unions had reached a level of unpopularity unknown since such surveys had first started forty years earlier; 44 per cent even thought the very existence of unions was a bad thing'.¹⁵³When asked a question on whether people were still concerned about the winter of discontent and the unions in the 1983 general election, Norman Hazell replied 'oh yes, they came up, and I answered every question straight'.¹⁵⁴

¹⁴⁹ Brown, C. (1979, January 27). Strike could close M-way. *Yorkshire Post*. p.1.

¹⁵⁰ Yorkshire Post Reporter. (1979, January 29). Drivers ready to roll for Yorkshire deal. *Yorkshire Post*. p.1.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., p.1.

¹⁵² Shearing, D. (1983, June 10.). Thatcher gets second term. Big names sink in Tory tidal wave. *Yorkshire Post*. p.1.

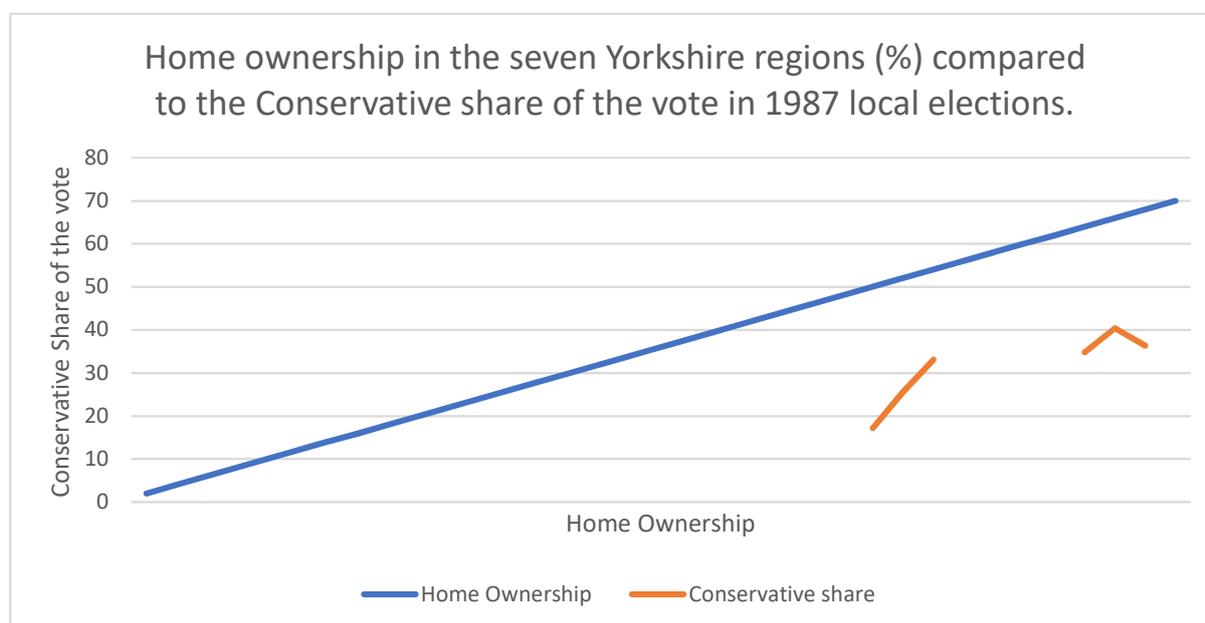
¹⁵³ Turner, W., A. (2008) *Crisis? What Crisis? Britain in the 1970s*. London: Aurum Press Ltd. p.267.

¹⁵⁴ Hazell, N.J., (September, 2017) Interviewed by J. Hazell [digital recording] Heritage Quay, University of Huddersfield.

Ultimately, it is clear that the Yorkshire Winter of Discontent was a factor in the Conservative's success in the local elections in 1982 and the local and general elections in 1983. It is an issue that is not specifically discussed when looking at the national results. However, it has already been shown that the local election underpins the support for the Conservatives in Yorkshire constituencies in the 1983 general election. Therefore, local issues like the Yorkshire of Winter of Discontent cannot be ignored.

Home Ownership and Council House Sales

Moreover, the Conservative policy on the sale of council houses proved to be a popular one in the early 1980s. The policy is certainly crucial in understanding why the Conservatives won the popular vote nationally in 1983, but also why they are successful locally, right up until the elections in 1987. Exploring the statistics in Yorkshire between the seven regions analysed in the earlier chapters: Barnsley, Bradford, Calderdale, Doncaster, Kirklees, Leeds and Wakefield – we see a positive correlation between home ownership and vote share for the Conservatives in 1987 as shown in Appendix F.



The Y-axis shows the Conservative share of the vote in the local elections in 1987, and the X-axis shows the percentage of home ownership, which is the blue line. What we see is a direct positive correlation between the Y-axis and the X-axis, which shows us that the higher home ownership is in a constituency, the more votes the

Conservatives get. West Yorkshire certainly fits this trend in 1987. Is this support for the sales of council house ownership? This information on its own is a very simplistic way to make the connection between council house sales and success in the Conservative vote. However, *The Times* reported 'Council house sales help the Tory vote'.¹⁵⁵ It goes on to further state that 'according to *The Times* panel the chance of owning their own home is persuading some life-long Labour supporters to switch to the Conservatives'.¹⁵⁶ Dennis Skinner would also claim that 'the great giveaway with council house ownership ... shifted half to one per cent in every constituency',¹⁵⁷ when talking about the 1979 general election, and following elections in 1983. David Hinchcliffe would also make a similar statement about the sale of council houses, stating 'the Conservatives brought in a very clever policy on selling council houses'.¹⁵⁸ When asked specifically whether he thought the sale of council houses led to Conservative victories in the 1980s he replied

Yes, yes – I think so. I think they (the Conservatives) were more attuned to where our traditional supporters were, particularly with the aspirational side of being a Labour supporter. We were deemed to be containing people in council estates, and not giving the opportunities to own their own homes. We were looking at it from the perspective of the 'have nots'. [...] We missed the fact that a lot of our supporters didn't see that. They were seeing it from the perspective that – we want to get on, and Thatcher was giving them a pathway to get on.¹⁵⁹

David Hinchcliffe is reflecting on his general election campaign of 1987 in this interview and makes specific references to places like Lupset, in Wakefield, where many would have benefitted from the Conservatives' policy on council house sales. The Labour Party did lose support, they had 'failed to understand that the old working class was becoming a new middle class'.¹⁶⁰ It is clear from the evidence that the policy on council house ownership was still a prominent pull factor to the

¹⁵⁵ Times reporter. (1983, June 3). Council house sales help Tory vote. *The Times Digital Archive*. p.5.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., p.5.

¹⁵⁷ Skinner, D., (March, 2016). Interviewed by J. Hazell [digital recording]. Heritage Quay, University of Huddersfield.

¹⁵⁸ Hinchcliffe, D., (September, 2017). Interviewed by J. Hazell [digital recording]. Heritage Quay, University of Huddersfield.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.,

¹⁶⁰ Gould, P. (1998). *The Unfinished Revolution, How the Modernisers Saved the Labour Party*. London: Little Brown. p.4.

Conservatives in 1987. To some extent, it does help to explain the Conservatives continued success in Yorkshire and is the link between home ownership and support for council house sales. What is certain is that it was popular in Wakefield during the early 1980s. It was reported that 'Of the 48,000 dwellings at 1979, 3000 has now been sold, with many more in the process'.¹⁶¹ Overall, the evidence is clear – council house ownership and home ownership contributed to the continued success of the Conservatives in West Yorkshire during the 1980s.

The Falklands Factor

The Falklands War was without a doubt the driving force behind the Conservatives massive landslide in 1983. The debates in the historiography surrounding the Conservatives success in 1983 overwhelmingly suggest that victory in the Falklands War was the primary reason for the scale of the Conservatives landslide victory. It suggests that the Falklands was the changing point for Conservatism, changing its support in local elections, even though the Labour Party did support the war.

However, as mentioned in the introduction Margaret Thatcher had many difficulties in becoming leader of the party and struggled while she was in opposition. The difficulties continued when she became prime minister. Had the Falklands War not happened it would have been interesting to see how long the Thatcher Government would have persisted, specifically, how long Margaret Thatcher would have remained leader of the Conservative Party. Her poll rating had plummeted in 1981 because of austerity and poor economic performance. Although, the lack of an effective opposition meant that Thatcher had the opportunity to consolidate her power through two cabinet reshuffles. The changes themselves were a symptom of party divisions. The first being quite unusual – a January reshuffle, giving a sense of emergency.

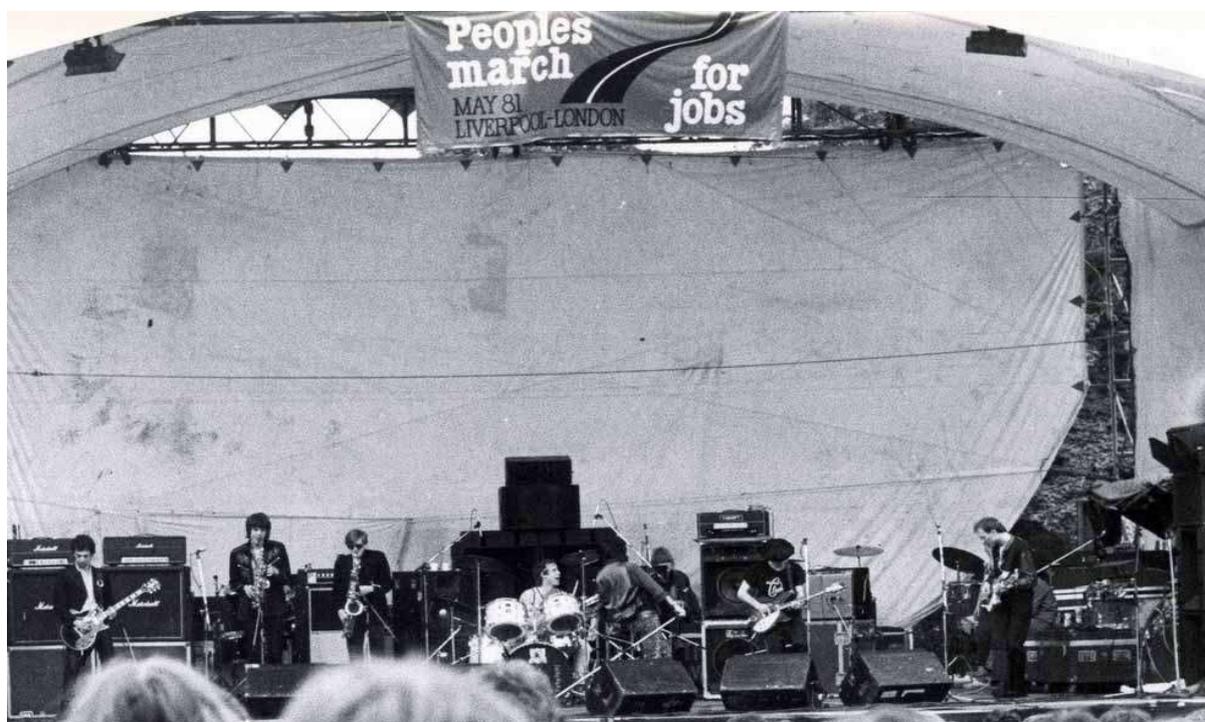
The 1981 March budget had also been a disaster for Thatcher. It had proved to be unpopular by some in her cabinet – again showing divisions in Government. A Gallup poll published in the *Daily Telegraph* suggested that the budget was 'the most

¹⁶¹ Opening attack on Labour. (1983, undated). Unattributed newspaper cutting. Political papers of Norman J Hazell, private collection 1983.

unpopular for 30 years [and that] 73 per cent thought the budget unfair'¹⁶²- showing a lack of confidence in the Government, which translates into a lack of confidence in Margaret Thatcher.

Furthermore, the March for jobs that started on May 1, 1981. It began in Liverpool where 500 marched over 200 miles to London protesting austerity. The march ended in London where a concert was held in support of the march – headlining Pete Townsend.

Figure 5. The end of the 1981 march for jobs. 'The Members' playing at the Brockwell Park.



The march exposed the Thatcher Government to be failing on tackling issues of poverty and unemployment. It was the first sign of a real 'hunger march' since the Jarrow March in 1936. The 1983 march for jobs was larger, but the 1981 march was important as it urged the Government to change its policies on austerity and was the first organised jobs march for some time.

¹⁶² Margaret Thatcher Foundation. (n.d.). *Release of MT's private files for 1981 - (2) Reshuffles & budget to remember.*

Thatcher's poll rating had dropped considerably because of the many issues facing people up and down the country. At the time there were cabinet divisions as shown by her two reshuffles in 1981. There was a prospect that Francis Pym, and others, would oust her from power as a result. The 1983 general election results allowed Thatcher to reconstruct the Cabinet, 'she was determined to get rid of Francis Pym whom she regarded as 'wet' over the Falklands'.¹⁶³ However, with the Labour Party in disarray it allowed Thatcher to consolidate her power, making it difficult to remove her.

The Falklands War victory showed Margaret Thatcher to be a leader who was decisive and firm – while standing up for Britain on the world stage. This strength in leadership was conveyed through the media. One *Yorkshire Post* headline read 'Mrs Thatcher wins full NATO support'.¹⁶⁴ Note how it does not say 'UK wins full NATO support'. The public saw these headlines and saw that Thatcher was someone who could lead the country.

Thatcher was shown to have great resolve on the issue, especially when NATO called for peace talks. The American's had drawn up plans which included Britain [conceding] the islands to Argentina in exchanged for their being leased back to Britain for a certain number of years'.¹⁶⁵ The sovereignty of the Falkland Islands was non-negotiable, and that was the position that Thatcher took. After the war had been won, she was not only seen as victorious, but she was seen as someone who was tough on the world stage. This was conveyed in the media throughout the nation, and subsequently, the elections in 1982 and 1983 were won. The *Yorkshire Post* reported with a sub-headline 'Falklands factor helps the Tories'.¹⁶⁶

The Labour Party would quickly respond to the results in 1982 stating 'the Falklands had overshadowed the local elections and the Tories had cashed in on national unity'.¹⁶⁷ However, from the research and discussions covered in this thesis, we know that there were other factors which enabled the Conservatives to be successful in

¹⁶³ Blake, R. (1997). *The Conservative Party from Peel to Major*. London: Arrow p.359.

¹⁶⁴ Williams, H. (1982, May 8). Mrs Thatcher wins full NATO support. *Yorkshire Post*. p.1.

¹⁶⁵ Ashford, N. (1982, April 8). Reagan dispatches Haig on peace mission to London. *The Times Digital Archive*. p.1.

¹⁶⁶ Yorkshire Post Political Correspondent. (1982, May 9). Do

¹⁶⁷ Hannam, P. (1982, May 8). Tory joy, as patriotism helps vote. *Yorkshire Post*. p.1.

elections throughout the 1980s. Government Ministers at the time were seen to acknowledge the Falklands as they ‘admitted the Falklands crisis helped them significantly, but pointed to a change in support for other reasons’.¹⁶⁸

Thatcher would use her handling of the Falklands crisis to her advantage when making a statement on how the Conservatives were going to handle the economy going forward. *The Times* reported on her message to her supporters where she said, ‘the resolution which characterized the Government’s handling of the Falklands conflict will continue to be applied to its running of the economy’.¹⁶⁹

The Falklands factor is echoed in Yorkshire, throughout 1982 and 1983. We see this in the form of the *Yorkshire Post*, who report about Thatcher’s success after winning the Falklands War. Therefore, the assumption could be made that the Falklands War was certainly a factor the public considered when they went to the polls in 1982 and 1983 and to some extent in 1986 and 1987. However, we are beginning to see the Falklands factor fade away by that point. The Falklands factor was also fairly significant in Yorkshire because Norman Hazell reflects on that time when he states, ‘it was put on a plate for me’,¹⁷⁰ suggesting that patriotism played a role in the Wakefield general election in 1983. Norman expanded on this by saying that ‘the Falklands was the biggest issue of all’.¹⁷¹ Overall, victory in the Falklands and the ensuing fallout was one of the most significant factors in explaining Conservative success in the early part of the decade – it certainly helped maintain Conservative support throughout the early part of the decade.

The Fragmentation of Labour Politics

The fragmentation of Labour politics in the 1980s has been discussed in the historiography as one of the explanations why the Conservatives were successful in the 1980s. Therefore, it is an issue that needs to be considered – particularly on the local level and how this impacted on voting within Yorkshire. Labour was in complete disarray in the early 1980s with infighting between the left and right of the party.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., p.1.

¹⁶⁹ Webster, P. (1983, June 3). Thatcher’s message is ‘no compromise’. *The Times Digital Archive*. p.4.

¹⁷⁰ Hazell, N.J., (September, 2017) Interviewed by J. Hazell [digital recording] Heritage Quay, University of Huddersfield.

¹⁷¹ Ibid.,

Although, it is prudent to explore the source of these divisions and where they started to emerge.

By the end of the late 1970s we see 'the complete breakdown of the post-war settlement. Unresolved tensions between trade unions and the social democratic state rendered British corporatism unworkable'.¹⁷²The emergence of neoliberalism has to have factored into this. It is at this point in the late 1970s and early 1980s that we begin to see prominent infighting between the Labour left and Labour right.

The transformation of British society in the 1970s exposed divisions across the political spectrum but were especially fractious within the Labour Party. To the left were the Bennites, anti-European and committed to full implementation of Labour's Clause IV commitments to nationalisations; to the right were those who came increasingly organised around Denis Healy who accepted some of the reforms proposed by the 'New Right' as a means of winning the next general election. The centre of the party considered the 'soft left' included Michael Foot and Neil Kinnock who were to varying degrees inclined to the left's stance. It is important to note, however, that Labour has always been divided into factions along a left-right spectrum, which is the framework for potential divisions. For example, Atlee's Cabinet consisted of members from the centre and right of the party and this created minor friction with the left who saw the government as 'practicing policies which did not amount to socialism. [L]eft-wing Labourites claimed, with some legitimacy, that the leaders had abandoned the path which they themselves, in concert with the Labour left, had chartered and foretold in June and July 1945'.¹⁷³Frictions existed in the Labour Party years before the 1980s.

Britain was transforming into a post industrialised society which saw 'the decline of male, manual, manufacturing work, growing gender and ethnic diversity and rising consumerism'.¹⁷⁴Traditionally, the working class would be in manual, manufacturing work – heavily dominated by men. This decline cannot be blamed solely on the 'new

¹⁷² Ackers, P. & Reid, J. R. (2016) *Alternatives to State-Socialism in Britain: Other Worlds of Labour in the Twentieth Century*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan. p.20.

¹⁷³ Schneer, J. (1988). *Labour's Conscience: The Labour Left 1945-51*. London: Unwin Hyman Ltd. p.26.

¹⁷⁴ Ackers, P. & Reid, J. R. (2016) *Alternatives to State-Socialism in Britain: Other Worlds of Labour in the Twentieth Century*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan. p.21.

right' (Thatcherites) as 'these trends began well before 1979, but this year conveniently marks the end of an era and the beginning of a different sort of society. For instance, the statistics on trade union membership and the coverage of collective bargaining peaked in 1979 and have fallen ever since'.¹⁷⁵ This is also echoed in the closure of the mines – coalfields had been shrinking since the 1920s.

The disarray within Labour certainly had an impact on its ability to be an effective opposition, but more importantly – a potential government in waiting. This was certainly made clear in the 1983 general election with its disastrous election manifesto which endorsed 'unilateral disarmament, withdrawal from the EEC, large-scale nationalisation, and the go-it-alone concept of an Alternative Economic Strategy'-¹⁷⁶ all of which were incredibly unpopular as shown by the general election result. One of the sources of this infighting was this element; 'the left-wing impossibilism that Kinnock had bemoaned in the 1979-83 period'.¹⁷⁷ Militant Tendency and entryism had come to dominate 'Liverpool city council',¹⁷⁸ there was also 'a systematic campaign to secure deselection of sitting Labour MPs and their replacement by militants'.¹⁷⁹ A few examples where this had been successful was in Liverpool, with the election of Terry Fields and in Coventry, with the election of Dave Nellist.

The militant had also managed to penetrate Bradford politics as was revealed by the Bradford North general election defeat discussion in chapter two. Pat Wall was selected as the Labour candidate and ended up splitting the vote with Ben Ford who was deselected but stood as an independent. The split and infighting in the party were having a direct impact on the election outcome in Yorkshire – consequently, allowing the Conservatives to gain ground they might not have necessarily acquired. This correlates with the change in the popularity of the Labour Party a few years before. Labour was polling at '45 per cent in 1980 and then decreased dramatically

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., p.21.

¹⁷⁶ Clarke, C. & James, T. S. (2015). *British Labour Leaders*. London: Biteback Publishing. p.253.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., p.253.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., p.253.

¹⁷⁹ Rosen, G. (2005). *Old Labour to New: The dreams that inspired, the battles that divided*. London: Politico's. p.441.

in 1981 to 35 per cent. [...] [T]he subsequent split in the party, and then the bitter deputy leadership campaign, not surprisingly, was electorally damaging'.¹⁸⁰

Wakefield also saw its share of divisions and infighting within the local Labour Party in the early 1980s. David Hinchcliffe recalled that

Wakefield council very early on in the 80s, when major cuts were coming through, took the decision to close their entire day nursery care provision. We (the people cast as the left of the Labour group) were not happy about it and we got into quite a big battle. There was one nursery in South Kirby and the other was in Sandal. We fought it all the way, we voted against the Labour group – but we were losing the fight. We were determined to take it further and I remember one night, where we occupied the nursery. It got very nasty within the Labour group because they took us to the High Court in Leeds – it was seen to be a battle against the Conservative cuts and the Labour controlled council limply implemented them. That was an issue and there were tensions within the party.¹⁸¹

This got national exposure and coverage within Wakefield, the electorate could see this very public infighting and it lost Labour votes. David Hinchcliffe recalled that 'our internal divisions let the Conservatives through in so many respects'.¹⁸² David Hinchcliffe admits that he was not a militant supporter, but recalled that in the build up to the 1987 general election he was 'portrayed as a dangerous left-winger'.¹⁸³ He further recalled that '*The Sunday Times* ran a huge front page piece headlined '*Kinnock's Hard Left Nightmare*' with photographs of about three or four of us that were standing in seats expected to win'.¹⁸⁴ Unfortunately, even though David Hinchcliffe was fighting against the cuts coming through, which he argued was 'the right thing to do',¹⁸⁵ the press mainly covered it as a division within Labour and not a moral fight against the Conservatives cuts. It does not come as a surprise that David Hinchcliffe fought against the cuts, seen as though he had been a social worker within local government. However, the infighting was happening throughout the Labour Party nationally and was shown to be happening in Yorkshire too, in

¹⁸⁰ Seyd, P. (1987). *The Rise & Fall of the Labour Left*. London: Macmillan Education. p.180.

¹⁸¹ Hinchcliffe, D., (September, 2017). Interviewed by J. Hazell [digital recording]. Heritage Quay, University of Huddersfield.

¹⁸² Ibid.,

¹⁸³ Ibid.,

¹⁸⁴ Ibid.,

¹⁸⁵ Ibid.,

Wakefield for example, the party was 'riven with disputes between left and right'.¹⁸⁶ These disputes and the implementation of Conservative cuts would not just be shown to be happening in Wakefield but were happening throughout Labour controlled councils in Yorkshire during the 1980s. By 1987 'Labour controlled councils, including Kirklees, adopted a new realism, which involved accepting the local government agenda of the Conservatives'.¹⁸⁷ Ultimately, this was driven by the Thatcherite ambition to reduce public expenditure.

Overall, the fragmentation of Labour politics had an impact nationally and locally on the election results and Yorkshire was no exception. The fragmentation allowed the Conservatives to make gains in the local elections, which translated into making gains where they should not have in the 1983 general election – Bradford North a safe Labour seat for instance. Continued Conservative success in West Yorkshire in the 1980s can be explained by citing the fragmentation of Labour politics and there is clear evidence of that.

The Miners' Strike and Pit Closures

The miners' strike was another factor which did have an impact on the Conservative vote in certain areas. The miners' strike is perceived to be the pivotal moment in the loss of support for the Conservatives in the North. Yet, we see that the Conservatives still have a strong foothold in West Yorkshire. We can see this from the results that were analysed in the last chapter. Specifically, the results which show the average popular vote in Yorkshire in the local elections from 1982 through to 1987. The research has shown that the Conservative share in the vote did begin to fall by 1987. Although, it did remain relatively consistent in West Yorkshire throughout the period. A lot of news coverage around the miners' strike in Yorkshire comes from South Yorkshire - specifically, news relating to the Cortonwood Colliery.

The miners' strike had more of an impact in South Yorkshire, than it did on West Yorkshire. However, there were some serious impacts that the strikes and closures had on certain areas in West Yorkshire. This is seen in the share of the vote the

¹⁸⁶ Ibid.,

¹⁸⁷ Evans, B., Laybourn, K., Lancaster, J., & Haigh, B. (2007). *Sons and Daughters of Labour. A History and recollection of the Labour Party within the historic boundaries of the West Riding of Yorkshire*. Huddersfield: University of Huddersfield Press. p.78.

Conservatives received in the elections in 1986 and 1987 – particularly in the Barnsley and Doncaster results. The overriding results in West Yorkshire reflect the public mood toward the miners' strikes, in some respect. Norman Hazell remembers that 'the public were worried about trade unions and the power of trade unions, and there was a whisper of the miners' union'.¹⁸⁸ This suggests it might have had an influence on why the public still voted for the Conservatives throughout the period.

When the miners' strike was coming to an end the newspapers portrayed the miners going back to work as disorderly. The *Yorkshire Post* reported with the headline 'Pit return chaos. Sting in tail of dispute as pickets turn away Yorkshire miners.'¹⁸⁹ The *Yorkshire Post* expanded by stating that 'THE (sic) miners return to work was reduced to a farce at several pit gates yesterday as ceremonial processions turned around when confronted with rebel pickets'.¹⁹⁰

Figure 6. – NO RETURN: Yorkshire miners procession turned around.



NO RETURN: Yorkshire miners marching back to Cortonwood Colliery yesterday behind their NUM branch banner. But they found Kent men picketing the pit and refused to cross their line.

Overmen's

A day later, the miners return to work. The *Yorkshire Post* reported on the event and there was still a picket, all be it a single man. It was reported that 'Miners ignore lone picket to over-run Alamo'.¹⁹¹

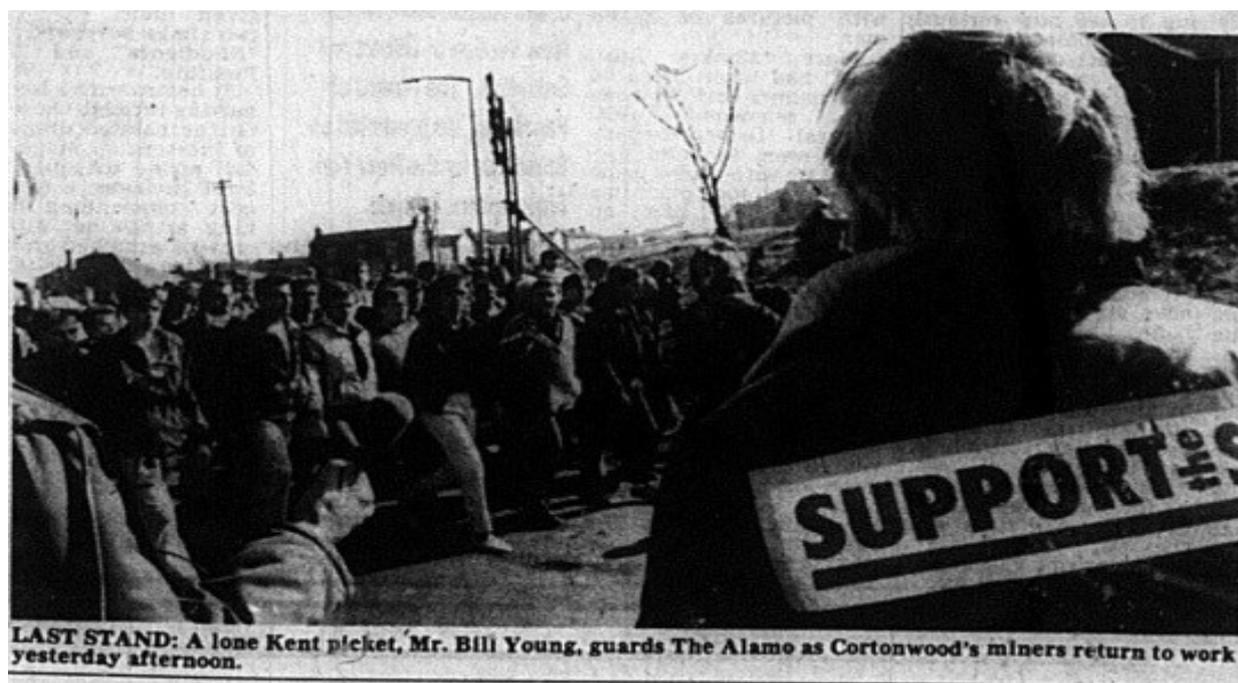
¹⁸⁸ Hazell, N.J., (September, 2017) Interviewed by J. Hazell [digital recording] Heritage Quay, University of Huddersfield.

¹⁸⁹ Morgan, R. & Chadwick, A. (1985, March 6). Pit return chaos. *Yorkshire Post*. p.1.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p.1.

¹⁹¹ Calverley, P. (1985, March 7). Miners ignore lone picket to over-run Alamo. *Yorkshire Post*. p.7.

Figure 7. – LAST STAND: A lone Kent picket, Mr. Bill Young.



This would also reveal the bitterness that the miners felt toward each other. Miners had to go back to work, so they could earn a living. However, other miners still wanted to strike. The strikes were certainly unpleasant and caused a lot of confrontation between police, strikers and between other miners. Families were split on the issues, and lifelong friends were at odds with each other.

The bitterness is depicted in what Mr. Young allegedly shouts at the miners as they cross the unofficial picket. The *Yorkshire Post* claims that Mr. Young shouted 'I hope you dip your heads. I never thought I would see the day Yorkshiremen crossed a picket line. We came out for you lads, I hope you feel proud of yourselves'. Miners replied with 'It is not a picket line, we're glad to be back'.¹⁹²The bitterness and unpleasant nature of this strike was further captured when the Cortonwood miners decided to vote to go back to work. Upon leaving the club, reporters 'asked the Kent pickets' leader, Mr. Jimmy Crews, the outcome, he could only mutter: "ask those bastards"¹⁹³. Certainly, the miners' strike was unpleasant, and this is just another reason why members of the public still voted Conservative – it was a vote against the unions.

¹⁹² Ibid., p.7.

¹⁹³ Ibid., p.7.

However, that is not to say that the collapse of the mining industry did not have negative outcomes in West Yorkshire, it did. David Hinchcliffe reflects on this when discussing his 1987 general election campaign. He remembers the social impacts that closing the mines down had on Wakefield, specifically relating to unemployment, maintaining

it was a very challenging time because we had very significant unemployment. We were facing continuing closures – particularly of the collieries in the Wakefield area, which employed a significant number of people. [It was] not just the collieries, but many of the industries were basically rooted in the coalfields. So, for example, my father worked at Richard Sutcliffe's at Horbury, which was producing materials for the coal industry – that closed. [...] The engineering sector in Wakefield was almost wiped out.¹⁹⁴

Another striking point David made was that the closure of the colliers resulted in some men committing suicide. He said 'If you look back at the suicides around that time, there is a significant number of men that couldn't (sic) handle the fact that they had no longer got a role in life'.¹⁹⁵ When asked a question about whether or not it became a huge social issue in Wakefield, he replied 'Yes, absolutely – [...] mining is very much a community of people, often in villages like Sharlston where the pit was the centre – they lost everything'.¹⁹⁶

Ultimately, we see that the aftermath of the strikes was quite severe in certain areas. This was evident with what David Hinchcliffe had to say about the issues he was facing in Wakefield. David does reveal that, like Norman, he got asked questions relating to the strikes stating 'There was a view that the miners were badly led by Arthur Scargill, so questions arose: *What were my views on Arthur Scargill? What were my views on the miners' strike?* and this was a difficult one'.¹⁹⁷ The miners' strike was a defensive strike to protect the mines from being closed. David represented those miners in the area which certainly put him in a tough spot during the general election of 1987, as '[p]ublic opinion was against Scargill from the start and moved overwhelmingly and decisively against him as the dispute

¹⁹⁴ Hinchcliffe, D., (September, 2017). Interviewed by J. Hazell [digital recording]. Heritage Quay, University of Huddersfield.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid.,

¹⁹⁶ Ibid.,

¹⁹⁷ Ibid.,

progressed'.¹⁹⁸At the time a gallop opinion poll in July 1984 suggested that '[a] full 79 per cent disapproved of the miners' militant approach'.¹⁹⁹ We now know that there was a pit closure programme that Thatcher and MacGregor denied existed, as was revealed in secret papers released into the national archives. It is plausible to assert that had the public been made aware of this list, it could have eroded Conservative support much more significantly – public opinion polls might have been completely the opposite of what they were. However, this does not take away from the fact that sections of the voting public were concerned about the unions, and this was true of Wakefield constituents. The Conservatives still maintained a strong presence in West Yorkshire, even after the miners' strike.

Overall, the miners' strike had an impact on Yorkshire and this is clear through the analysis of the *Yorkshire Post* and the interviews with David Hinchcliffe and Norman Hazell. The miners' strike was divisive and extremely unpleasant at times and the public saw this. The Conservatives share of the vote did fall in Yorkshire after the strikes and they lost some local support over this conflict; this was particularly true in Barnsley, but overall, the Conservatives still seemed to be a predominant feature in Yorkshire. This suggests that the strikes mainly affected the Conservative share of the vote in areas with a mining populous.

¹⁹⁸ Rosen, G. (2005). *Old Labour to New: The dreams that inspired, the battles that divided*. London: Politico's. p. 454.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p.454.

Chapter Four - Activist Perception and Campaigns in Wakefield 1983-1987

This thesis has covered a wide range of topics surrounding the Conservatives success in Yorkshire throughout the 1980s. The previous chapters have both discussed national issues. This thesis has also focused on the regional aspect, but this chapter will specifically focus in on the constituency level, specifically, Wakefield.

It cannot be stressed enough how interesting the Wakefield General Elections are in 1983 and 1987. This is an area that has not been covered by historians or commentators alike, it is a very rare, and unique insight into the Wakefield General Elections in the 1980s. The rare and unique insight comes from the political papers of Norman Hazell, which will be used in this chapter. Nobody apart from myself has had access to these documents since they were created. They provide a much deeper insight into how local issues, and factors can have an influence on the national outcome. This chapter will also show that national successes of the Conservatives would significantly contribute to the results in Wakefield during the 1983 and 1987 General Elections. Local elections and regional trends have been shown to have a significant impact on the massive successes in the General Elections. Therefore, it is reasonable to investigate the very specific nature of the constituency General Election.

General Election 1983: Wakefield

On 7 April 1983, a letter was received from the Conservative Central Office from Victoria Walker in the Candidates Department, to Councillor A. E. Lofthouse, stating '[t]he Standing Advisory Committee on Candidates has now given its approval to Councillor Norman Hazell's candidature for Wakefield in the forthcoming General Election'.²⁰⁰ This was certainly an exciting time for politics in Wakefield as [t]he last local to represent the Conservatives in a General Election was Ald. Harry Watson in the early 1950s'.²⁰¹

²⁰⁰ Letter from Conservative Central Office to Councillor Lofthouse. (1983, April 7). Political papers of Norman J Hazell, private collection 1983.

²⁰¹ Local Tory picked to fight seat. (undated). Unattributed newspaper cutting. Ibid.,

Norman would receive letters from many to congratulate him on his candidature. Mr. Cecil Parkinson, the Chairman of the Party, would write saying '[m]any congratulations on your selection as Prospective Parliamentary Candidate for Wakefield. I would like to wish you every possible success'.²⁰² The level of enthusiasm for a local being selected was certainly apparent. An example of this was in a letter Norman received from the Conservative Trade Unionists, in Leeds, which read

'Congratulations on winning selection as the prospective candidate for Wakefield, no item of news has given me greater pleasure since the election of Mrs. Thatcher's Government. If Wakefield is to be won, then I am convinced you are the one to do it. [...] Westminster needs you, so do us all a great favour – get there at the first hurdle, C.T.U and the Wakefield Party will help I am sure'.²⁰³

The enthusiasm for a local standing in Wakefield was certainly a factor in why the Conservatives did so well in Wakefield in 1983. This is evident when Norman reflected on his campaign stating, 'it was exciting really, word went around – Norman's [running] – people were so enthusiastic to think of having a local – somebody they knew'.²⁰⁴ When he was selected as the official candidate this was apparent from start. Norman was told to go wait in another room with the other potential candidates, while the Wakefield Association voted on prospective candidates. Norman recalls that 'suddenly there was a tremendous cheering that came from in the hall, the solicitor turned to the stock broker and said, "there's only one reason for that then"'.²⁰⁵ The other candidates were not locals, and were candidates the Conservative Party had sent to get experience of running an election campaign.

The enthusiasm would carry through to the General Election campaign too, which is a fundamental, local reason to explain why the Conservatives did so well. Norman would recall that 'I asked people to come and help me, and it was astonishing – the

²⁰² Letter from Mr. Cecil Parkinson to Norman Hazell. (1983, April 8). Ibid.,

²⁰³ Letter from the Conservative Trade Unionists to Norman Hazell. (1983, April 3). Ibid.,

²⁰⁴ Hazell, N.J., (September, 2017) Interviewed by J. Hazell [digital recording] Heritage Quay, University of Huddersfield.

²⁰⁵ Ibid.,

way the people rolled up – people who had no interest in politics. I found myself in the evenings, canvassing – struggling to find things for people to do'.²⁰⁶ Norman reveals something quite astonishing about the way in which the Labour Party campaigned in the area. At the time Wakefield was a safe seat, Walter Harrison had a reasonable majority. When Norman was answering a question on his campaign in the 1983 election, he recalled that 'I saw his (Walter Harrison') supporters going off in cars, to campaign in Bradford, for the left-wing Labour man'.²⁰⁷ It is clear from this statement alone that many did not realise what was about to happen in Wakefield – the biggest shake up in West Yorkshire politics for a long time. This was shown in an unattributed newspaper cutting which showed that 'Wakefield was in 79th place on the Conservatives constituency target list'.²⁰⁸

The local campaign in 1983 focused on local issues, but the Conservatives and Labour rallied around their national stances too. This was shown in both Party's literatures in Appendix G1 and G2. Walter Harrison is shown to support Labour's stance on cancelling the Trident programme, which was unpopular across the country. It is conceivable that this lost him support in Wakefield. However, in contrast Norman would argue that '37 years of peace in Europe is due to all governments recognising the need to defend ourselves. No one wants nuclear war. Having our own nuclear deterrent means that we never will'.²⁰⁹

Another significant difference between the local candidates was that Norman pointed out the key differences in the sales of council houses between the Conservatives and Labour, claiming that 'Labour's manifesto states they will end and enforce council house sales and give councils the power to buy back houses sold under the Tories'.²¹⁰ We already know from earlier discussion that the policy on the sales of council houses was extremely popular in Yorkshire, specifically in Wakefield. Norman would be quoted in an unattributed newspaper claiming the 'Conservatives are allowing up to 50 per cent discounts to tenants of long standing and I feel we must spell this out clearly to the electors of Eastmoor, Kettlethorpe, Lupset and

²⁰⁶ Ibid.,

²⁰⁷ Ibid.,

²⁰⁸ Vulnerability of the marginals. How the Commons may be reshaped. (undated). Unattributed newspaper cutting. Political papers of Norman J Hazell, private collection 1983.

²⁰⁹ Local Conservative General Election campaign leaflet (1983). Ibid.,

²¹⁰ Ibid.,

others'.²¹¹ These were all areas in Wakefield with a significant number of council houses.

Ultimately, there were some stark differences of opinion in this election between the Labour candidate and the Conservative candidate. This gave people a real, and clear choice at the General Election and to some extent polarised the vote in some respects. Norman Hazell was well known for being a middle of the road Conservative which many would have seen as a safe and sensible vote. On the other hand, Walter Harrison had been the Wakefield MP for quite some time, and was a familiar face for many.

Furthermore, another local factor which significantly helped the Conservatives were the boundary changes in Wakefield and wider West Yorkshire. An unattributed newspaper cutting would claim 'THE PARLIAMENTARY boundary changes and the arrival of the Alliance will make the General Election in West Yorkshire one of the widest open for years'.²¹² It further goes onto report that '[t]he boundary changes and the rise of the Alliance has made the idea of marginal seats much more problematic'.²¹³ Norman would use the boundary changes to try and get people out, who may not have normally voted, stating in an election leaflet 'I believe that in this Election, with the new boundary changes, the Conservatives have a REAL chance of winning Wakefield. It is my intention to achieve this[.]'²¹⁴The boundary changes had a real impact on the vote outcome - particularly because Royston, typically a Labour stronghold, was no longer part of the Wakefield constituency.

The other factor that has to be considered here is the man himself, Norman was a local, 'he was not some sort of Tory parachuted in from London, he was a bloke who was known, he came from Eastmoor, and people liked him'.²¹⁵ To have this kind of praise coming from someone in the opposition is a testament to his character and the way in which he fought both of his General Election campaigns. Therefore, personality must factor into the equation when discussing Conservative success in Wakefield. When Norman lost he would receive many letters congratulating him on

²¹¹ Opening attack on Labour. (Undated). Unattributed newspaper cutting. Ibid.,

²¹² Battles to come in Yorkshire. (undated). Unattributed newspaper cutting. Ibid.,

²¹³ Ibid.,

²¹⁴ General Election, 9th June 1983. Wakefield Parliamentary Division leaflet. Ibid.,

²¹⁵ Hazell, N.J., (September, 2017) Interviewed by J. Hazell [digital recording] Heritage Quay, University of Huddersfield.

such an astounding result. One letter from Pontefract, Castleford & Knottingley Conservative Association put it nicely

Dear Norman, on behalf of the many friends and well-wishers you have in Pontefract, I would like to congratulate you on the magnificent fight you put up in Wakefield. [Y]ou came so very, very near to capturing what has always been regarded as a 'safe' Labour seat. I know what a disappointment it was for you not to be elected. But I am sure no other man could have worked harder or achieved such a close result.²¹⁶

Certainly, it cannot be a complete coincidence that the Conservatives have not really got close to any of Norman's results since the 1980s.

Norman also pointed to a significant local issue, that he claims lost him the seat. In the interview he begins to describe his election campaign in 1983, but states

'[t]he one thing that did me no good at all – Margaret Thatcher's decision to pack up the County Council's, [...] and such a lot of people who worked in the County Hall lived in Wakefield. They told me – quite frankly, "we cannot vote for you Norman, if Mrs. Thatcher gets in, the Government will be abolishing the County Council's, and I will be out of a job". That was a negative, particularly to me, living in Wakefield, fighting in Wakefield and Wakefield being a County Headquarters.²¹⁷

Understandably, this was a significant local issue that lost Norman votes, and played its part in the Conservatives losing the seat – displaying that local issues certainly do have an impact on General Election results. This could potentially have huge consequences on the national outlook, especially if a Government only has a tiny majority in the House of Commons.

When the votes came through it was clear that the Conservatives had been hugely successful in Wakefield. Labour received '19,166 votes, the Conservatives, 18,806, and the SDP 9,166' -²¹⁸a slim majority of 360 remained. David Hinchcliffe reflects on the occasion stating 'I was there at the count, with your Grandad and Walter – I [had] never seen Walter sweat as much in his life'.²¹⁹This was certainly a spectacular

²¹⁶ A letter from the Conservative Association for Pontefract, Castleford & Knottingley to Norman Hazell. (1983, June 14). Political papers of Norman J Hazell, private collection 1983.

²¹⁷ Hazell, N.J., (September, 2017) Interviewed by J. Hazell [digital recording] Heritage Quay, University of Huddersfield.

²¹⁸ Yorkshire Post Reporter. (1983, June 10). Election 83: The Results. Yorkshire at a glance. The *Yorkshire Post*. p.10.

²¹⁹ Hinchcliffe, D., (September, 2017). Interviewed by J. Hazell [digital recording]. Heritage Quay, University of Huddersfield.

event, Wakefield had not seen this kind of challenge to an opposing party since 1932, as shown in The *Daily Herald*, which ran with a headline 'Mr. A. Greenwood Wins Back Wakefield',²²⁰ in that case the result was 'Greenwood, 13,586 and Greaves, 13,242'-²²¹ a slim majority of just 344.

The Wakefield result sent ripples throughout Yorkshire – Wakefield was now a priority target for the Conservatives as it had been a 'safe' Labour seat for many years. An unattributed newspaper headline would put it very simply - 'Wakefield seat is now a marginal'.²²²

There are many factors that ultimately led to Conservative success in Wakefield, many of them very local, and specific to Wakefield. However, we see trends seen in other constituencies in the region, such as the vote for patriotism as a result of the Falklands, Norman would point to this as a significant factor, explaining that 'the Falklands helped me tremendously'.²²³ The other trend we see is that the Lib/SDP alliance split the vote, and that is evident in the Wakefield General Election results.

General Election 1987: Wakefield

After exploring the General Election in 1983 it is important to briefly look at the Wakefield General Election in 1987. This will allow us to solidify the point that local issues can be magnified, and have an impact on the national scale through the medium of the General Election. The Wakefield General Election in 1987, like the General Election in 1983 would be hugely interesting. The Conservatives were now focusing on it, specifically because of the previous result in 1983. Norman Hazell reflects on the election saying 'I really enjoyed that campaign with David Hinchcliffe, and this time the Conservatives let me have a few MP's. Geoffrey Archer came and Cecil Parkinson – we got some good support'.²²⁴

An unattributed newspaper cutting would show that the Wakefield had gone from 79th on the Conservatives target list to 7th showing a majority of 0.8 per

²²⁰ Daily Herald Special Correspondent. (1932, April 22). Mr. A Greenwood Wins Back Wakefield. *Daily Herald*. p.1.

²²¹ Ibid., p.1.

²²² Archer, S. General Election Round – Up. Wakefield seat is now a marginal. (Undated). Unattributed newspaper cutting. Political papers of Norman J Hazell, private collection 1983.

²²³ Hazell, N.J., (September, 2017) Interviewed by J. Hazell [digital recording] Heritage Quay, University of Huddersfield.

²²⁴ Ibid.,

cent'.²²⁵Wakefield got a lot of attention because of this. The *Yorkshire Post* reported 'Labour dominated seat becomes 'flimsy' marginal'.²²⁶The attention on Wakefield was amplified for two reasons: the first, was that Thatcher and the Conservatives were on track for another national win. The *Yorkshire Post* reported with the headline 'Polls agree on Tory win'.²²⁷This was echoed in a guardian article headed 'Where Labour needs true grit'.²²⁸The article would resonate the difficulties Labour were going to have in Yorkshire, claiming 'THE (sic) extra seats which Labour needs to gain to see Mr Kinnock into Downing Street look like being harder to get in the rolling acres of Yorkshire than in any other and more politically volatile parts of the North'.²²⁹ This is a clear example of the point this thesis has been making throughout – the Conservatives had a strong foothold in Yorkshire throughout the whole decade and were a predominant feature.

The second, the seat was now a marginal, and the incumbent MP, Walter Harrison, was stepping down. The *Yorkshire Post* reported that Walter Harrison 'leaves behind him the most open contest Labour could imagine, or the Conservative and Alliance parties could dream of'.²³⁰The Wakefield General Election in 1987 was made more interesting by the fact that most of the candidates standing for election to Parliament were locals, meaning that the 'local candidate' factor that was discussed in the Wakefield General Election in 1983 was not such a significant factor in this General Election. Overall, there was huge anticipation about what the General Election result in Wakefield would be. The local newspaper *The Express* would start to ramp up the excitement with the headline 'Wakefield election fever hots up'.²³¹

The Conservatives remained strong in Wakefield in the 1987 General Election. Norman recalled 'both David, and I increased our majority (sic)'.²³²Both parties put

²²⁵ The Marginals. (Undated). Unattributed newspaper cutting. Political papers of Norman J Hazell, private collection 1987.

²²⁶ Brough, G. (1987, May 23). Labour dominated seat becomes 'flimsy' marginal. *Yorkshire Post*. No page number.

²²⁷ Jones J. (1987, June 11). Polls agree on Tory Win. *Yorkshire Post*. p.1.

²²⁸ Lewis, J. (1987, May 29). Election 87: The Campaign. Where Labour needs true grit. *The Guardian*. p.5.

²²⁹ Ibid., p.5.

²³⁰ Brough, G. (1987, May 23). Labour dominated seat becomes 'flimsy' marginal. *Yorkshire Post*. No page number.

²³¹ Express Reporter. (1987, May 22). General Election 87. Wakefield election fever hots up. *The Express*. p.1.

²³² Ibid.,

much more of a focus on Wakefield than they did in the 1983 election, and that ultimately, resulted in both parties getting more votes. This is certainly clear because 'Labour put out a full blast campaign'²³³

Furthermore, local issues were at the forefront of this campaign. David Hinchcliffe would recall 'In terms of Wakefield as an area it was a very challenging time because we had very significant unemployment, and we were facing continuing closures – particularly with the collieries'.²³⁴ David ran his campaign based on protecting the mines and dealing with the huge social issues that arose because of that.

Norman would emphasise that the economy was improving stating 'Unemployment, at three million nationally, and just over 5000 in Wakefield was still too high. But sensible steps were being taken by creating real jobs or providing opportunities for real training'.²³⁵ Norman was fighting on some of the Conservative successes in Government. For instance, a local Conservative General Election leaflet that was put out in Wakefield, reinstated the Conservatives commitment to Trident. It stated '[m]ultilateral disarmament is our aim, but Labour's one-sided nuclear disarmament policy would leave Britain open to nuclear blackmail'.²³⁶

When the results were announced it was clear that Labour had won. Labour received '24,509, the Conservatives, 21,720, SDP alliance, 6,350'.²³⁷ However, it was still close – the SDP alliance is still shown to split the vote in the opposition, resulting in a lower majority for Labour.

When David Hinchcliffe was asked a question on why he thought it was a close result in Wakefield he said, 'We had not recovered from 1983, there were still big divisions being portrayed in the Labour Party and there was still the intervention of the SDP'.²³⁸ As David Hinchcliffe states, Labour was still having problems with

²³³ Hazell, NJ., (September, 2017) Interviewed by J. Hazell [digital recording] Heritage Quay, University of Huddersfield.

²³⁴ Hinchcliffe, D., (September, 2017). Interviewed by J. Hazell [digital recording]. Heritage Quay, University of Huddersfield.

²³⁵ Tory man aims for 'great prize'. (Undated). Unattributed newspaper clipping. Political papers of Norman J Hazell, private collection 1987.

²³⁶ Local Conservative Wakefield General Election leaflet. (Undated).

²³⁷ Politics Resources (Undated). UK General Election results June 1987. Retrieved from <http://www.politicsresources.net/area/uk/ge87/i20.htm>

²³⁸ Hinchcliffe, D., (September, 2017). Interviewed by J. Hazell [digital recording]. Heritage Quay, University of Huddersfield.

infighting. This was still going on earlier in the year with *The Sunday Times* publishing the headline 'The week that Labour fell apart'.²³⁹ This did not help Labour in Yorkshire as they were still being perceived as a party not fit for Government.

Finally, the Conservatives were still a significant force in Wakefield – even though they lost. They had increased their total number of votes and had broken their record and still had quite a considerable foothold in the constituency. This chapter has shown through the discussion of the Wakefield General Elections in 1983 and 1987, that local issues can transform a constituency' General Election results. This in turn can have wider implications on the national scale. It is also clear that the split in the vote was still a trend that was going on throughout Wakefield, and throughout the wider region resulting in Labour not gaining as many seats as they should have.

²³⁹ Jones, M. (1987, March 8). The week that Labour fell apart. *The Sunday Times*. No page number.

Conclusion

To conclude, this thesis has set out to answer the question of whether there was a 'rise' in Conservatism throughout the 1980s in Yorkshire, it has done that. The research also set out to understand why the Conservatives had a strong foothold in Yorkshire during the 1980s, using the medium of the local election results.

Ultimately, through the analysis of the statistics and discussion in the qualitative chapters it has come to several conclusions. The first chapter, because of its size and magnitude are where most of the conclusions are drawn from.

The first conclusion to be drawn is that there was no 'rise' in Conservatism in Yorkshire throughout the 1980s, and this is discussed within the analysis of the first chapter. The statistics reveal that in the six West Yorkshire regions being studied: Bradford, Calderdale, Doncaster, Kirklees, Leeds and Wakefield, we see a spike in popularity. The Conservatives do well because of the patriotic vote after the Falklands victory in the 1982 and 1983 local elections. After that point, the Conservatives do very well to hold some of their gains from the late 1970s. The Conservatives share of the vote remains relatively consistent from 1983 through to 1987 in the six West Yorkshire regions being studied in the research. This is shown through the table on page 67 or appendix E3 – it gives a visualisation of how the Conservative share in the vote remains consistent in West Yorkshire throughout the 1980s. The political landscape section also assists in drawing on this conclusion – it shows that Conservative support remains fairly consistent from around the 1950s; it also gives a context of early support at the beginning of the twentieth century. Therefore, it is quite reasonable to argue that there was no rise - just reliable, consistent support. That is not to say the Conservatives were not successful, they were incredibly successful in Yorkshire, and this is understood through the individual statistics which demonstrate a strong Conservative foothold in Yorkshire throughout the 1980s. The question begs as to why the Conservatives remain a predominant feature, and this leads onto the second conclusion that has been drawn.

The second conclusion that this thesis has reached, is that Conservative success was sustained throughout the 1980s because of the split in the opposition vote, and the Labour Party's own weaknesses - shown through its divisions and infighting. Obviously, the Conservatives have their own support in constituencies, but the data

shows a significant number of areas where the Conservatives won because of this split in the opposition vote – both on the local, and national level. The overall trend in the vote, in the six West Yorkshire council's, shows us that the split in the opposition vote is most likely key in understanding why the Conservatives did so well in the region, and continued to do so throughout the decade.

However, it must be noted that the Lib/SDP alliance did take votes away from both parties, but principally, they had an impact on Labour's ability to win elections. This is certainly echoed by David Hinchcliffe. David was asked a question about why he thought Labour lost the general election in 1987, he stated very clearly 'there were still big divisions being portrayed in the Labour Party, and there was still the intervention of the SDP'.²⁴⁰ A perfect example of this infighting, was shown in the statistical analysis of the local elections in chapter two. The Labour Party somehow managed to split the opposition vote between themselves because of the militant presence, in the fiasco that was the Bradford North Parliamentary Constituency general election in 1983 – resulting in a Conservative win. This constituency had traditionally been a Labour stronghold, so the infighting and divisions certainly had a direct, and significant impact on the loss of a safe seat. We also see this fallout from the infighting in the general election results, which show a drop in Labour's share of the vote as Labour voters abstain from voting.

The third conclusion that can be drawn from the second chapter is that the Conservatives are successful in the North. Conservatism and Thatcherism is successful in the North. At the beginning of the thesis it was suggested that the Conservatives were successful, but not necessarily popular. This is also discussed in chapter two. The Conservatives were successful because they were winning, they were not necessarily popular because they were not making gains in their share of the vote. The very fact there is 'no rise' in Conservatism means that Thatcherism in itself was not popular in West Yorkshire. If it had been popular we would have seen a rise in Conservative support. However, that should not take away from the fact that the Conservatives are shown to do incredibly well in West Yorkshire. Indeed, one of the aims the first chapter set out to do was to combat the perception that the North

²⁴⁰ Hinchcliffe, D., (September, 2017). Interviewed by J. Hazell [digital recording]. Heritage Quay, University of Huddersfield.

does not vote Conservative. We see that in the local election results from 1982 to 1987 Yorkshire does have a significant Conservative presence.

The Conservatives are successful in West Yorkshire during the 1980s. Clearly, this is largely down to the split in the opposition vote as discussed earlier, but the Conservative share of the vote in the West Yorkshire region remains consistent and strong in the areas discussed. We see this is the Wakefield General Election in 1987, where the Conservatives increased their popular vote from 18,806 to 21,720, showing that the Conservatives were still strong in Yorkshire.

The fourth conclusion that this thesis is drawn to make, is that the local elections in West Yorkshire during the 1980s are vital in underpinning the support for the Conservatives in constituencies in Yorkshire in the general election in 1983. There are specific examples of this given in the analysis chapter, one example was the local elections in Bradford in 1983, they underpin support in the general election in that area. The main aim of this thesis was to show the impact of local issues and how they can influence the wider national aspect. This was done by using Wakefield as a case study to show how important the local aspect is. What the analysis of Wakefield showed was that local issues can impact on the national result, through the medium of a general election. This could include local factors, such as the candidate themselves, local boundary changes or other specific local issues.

Finally, this thesis has explored the strike action in West Yorkshire as a result of the Winter of Discontent to show why Yorkshire may have been voting Conservative. The fact is that locally, the public were worried about the unions and the power of the unions. This was the case in Wakefield where Norman Hazell remembers getting questions about the Trade Unions – people were worried about them. The other factor to consider is the Conservatives policy on home ownership and having the right to buy your own council house - it proved to be popular in Yorkshire, with David Hinchcliffe admitting, 'we were missing where people were at'.²⁴¹ The miners' strike, and the closure of the mines was also a factor to consider as this saw the Conservatives start to lose some local support. We see clear examples of this is Barnsley, where the Conservatives are virtually wiped out in 1986. The strikes and

²⁴¹ Ibid.,

closures also had an impact on the local economy as emphasised by David Hinchcliffe. Ultimately, these were all sub-factors; they can be used to explain why the Conservatives had support, or did not have support in certain areas, but it does not underpin their success.

Overall, the main conclusions are clear: there was no rise in Conservatism in West Yorkshire during the 1980s, local elections underpinned the support in Yorkshire constituencies when it came to the general election results and local issues were at the forefront of this. The Conservatives had strong, consistent support throughout Yorkshire as a result of the Yorkshire Winter of Discontent, Conservative policy on the right to buy council houses, and the Falklands factor. However, they remained a prominent feature in Yorkshire because of their consistent support. Boundary changes would also benefit the Conservatives, but ultimately, the Labour Party was in turmoil and the fragmentation of Labour politics in Yorkshire let the Conservatives in. The Lib/SDP alliance were also still splitting the vote – impeding Labour's ability to win seats - allowing the Conservatives to win.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Newspapers

Daily Herald Special Correspondent. (1932, April 22). Mr. A Greenwood Wins Back Wakefield. *Daily Herald*.

Fisher, J. (1979, January 24). Jobs queue starts to grow. *Yorkshire Post*.

Yorkshire Post Reporter. (1979, January 11). Yorkshire workers laid off. *Yorkshire Post*.

Yorkshire Post Reporter. (1979, January 18). Bread famine in Yorkshire. *Yorkshire Post*.

Fisher, J. (1979, January 24). Yorkshire strike plan stays a union secret. *Yorkshire Post*.

Brown, C. (1979 January 27). Sick man left by ambulancemen. *Yorkshire Post*.

Brown, C. (1979, January 27). Strike could close M-way. *Yorkshire Post*.

Yorkshire Post Reporter. (1979, January 29). Drivers ready to roll for Yorkshire deal. *Yorkshire Post*.

Brown, C. & Allan, G. (1979, February 7). Prime targets: Strike squeeze on Yorkshire. *Yorkshire Post*.

Bolton, D. (1982, May 7). Tories slash Labour's lead. *Yorkshire Post*.

Gledhill, R. (1982, May 8). Labour delighted to keep dominance. *Yorkshire Post*.

Hannam, P. (1982, May 8). Tory joy, as patriotism helps vote. *Yorkshire Post*.

Fisher, J. (1983, May 24.). Thatcher fury over Labour's 'grab' plan. *Yorkshire Post*.

Williams, H. (1982, May 8). Mrs Thatcher wins full NATO support. *Yorkshire Post*.

Yorkshire Post Reporter. (1983, June 10). Election 83: The Results. Yorkshire at a glance. *The Yorkshire Post*.

Shearing, D. (1983, June 10). Thatcher gets second term. Big names sink in Tory tidal wave. *Yorkshire Post*.

Fisher, J. & Hannam, P. (1983, June 10). Thatcher gets second term. Big names sink in Tory tidal wave. *Yorkshire Post*.

Morgan, R. & Chadwick, A. (1985, March 6). Pit return chaos. *Yorkshire Post*.

Calverley, P. (1985, March 7). Miners ignore lone picket to over-run Alamo. *Yorkshire Post*.

Fisher, J. & Sadler, R. (1986, May 9). Labour in sweeping poll gains. *Yorkshire Post*.

Jones, M. (1987, March 8). The week that Labour fell apart. *The Sunday Times*.

Express Reporter. (1987, May 22). General Election 87. Wakefield election fever hots up. *The Express*.

Brough, G. (1987, May 23). Labour dominated seat becomes 'flimsy' marginal. *Yorkshire Post*.

Lewis, J. (1987, May 29). Election 87: The Campaign. Where Labour needs true grit. *The Guardian*.

Jones J. (1987, June 11). Polls agree on Tory Win. *Yorkshire Post*

Newspapers retrieved from an online archive

Wood, D. (1975, February 5). Mr Heath steps down as leader after 11 vote defeat by Mrs Thatcher. *The Times Digital Archive*.

Wood, D. (1975, February 12). Mrs Thatcher wins outright and asks shadow team to stay on. *The Times Digital Archive*.

Westlake, M. (1982, March 24). Jobless dips below 3m. *The Times Digital Archive*.

Ashford, N. (1982, April 8). Reagan dispatches Haig on peace mission to London. *The Times Digital Archive*.

Times reporter. (1983, January 3). Thatcher clashes with Foot over Andropov disarmament proposals. *The Times Digital Archive*.

Times reporter. (1983, June 3). Council house sales help Tory vote. *The Times Digital Archive*.

Webster, P. (1983, June 3). Thatcher's message is 'no compromise'. *The Times Digital Archive*.

Statistical Collections

Election Results

F.W.S., Craig. (1977). *British Parliamentary Election Results 1918-1949 (Revised Edition)* Basingstoke: Macmillan Press LTD.

Rallings, C. & Thrasher, M. *Local Elections Handbook 1982. The 1982 Local Election Results*. Plymouth: The Local Elections Centre.

Rallings, C. & Thrasher, M. *Local Elections Handbook 1983. The 1983 Local Elections Results*. Plymouth: The Local Elections Centre.

Rallings, C. & Thrasher, M. *Local Elections Handbook 1986. The 1986 Local Elections Results. Volume 1*. Plymouth: The Local Elections Centre.

Rallings, C. & Thrasher, M. *Local Elections Handbook 1986. The 1986 Local Elections Results. Volume 2*. Plymouth: The Local Elections Centre.

Rallings, C. & Thrasher, M. *Local Elections Handbook 1987. The 1987 Local Elections Results. Volume 1.* Plymouth: The Local Elections Centre.

Rallings, C. & Thrasher, M. *Local Elections Handbook 1987. The 1987 Local Elections Results. Volume 2.* Plymouth: The Local Elections Centre.

Yorkshire Post Reporter, (1982, May 7). District results: Bradford. *Yorkshire Post*.

Yorkshire Post Reporter. (1983, June 10). Election 83: The Results. Yorkshire at a glance. *Yorkshire Post*.

Published Primary

Autobiographies

Healey, D. (1990). *The Time of My Life*. London: Penguin.

Heath, E. (1998). *The Autobiography of Edward Heath the Course of My Life*. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

Electronic Government Publication

House of Commons Public Information Office. (1984, June.). *Factsheet No.22 General Election Results, 9 June 1983*. Retrieved from <https://www.parliament.uk/documents/commons-information-office/m09.pdf>

Hansard

Hansard (1924). *Attorney-General's explanation. HC Deb 08 October 1924 vol 177 cc581-704*.

Political Party Manifesto's

The Labour Party. (1987). *1987 Labour Manifesto: Britain will win with Labour*. Retrieved from <http://labourmanifesto.com/1987/1987-labour-manifesto.shtml>

Online Archive

Margaret Thatcher Foundation. (n.d.). *Release of MT's private files for 1981 - (2) Reshuffles & budget to remember*. Retrieved from <https://www.margaretthatcher.org/archive/1981cac2.asp>

Unpublished

Private Collections

Political papers of Norman J Hazell, private collection 1983.

Political papers of Norman J Hazell, private collection 1987.

Digital Recordings (Interviews)

Skinner, D., (March, 2016). Interviewed by J. Hazell [digital recording]. Heritage Quay, University of Huddersfield.

Hinchcliffe, D., (September, 2017) Interviewed by J. Hazell [digital recording].
Heritage Quay, University of Huddersfield.

Hazell, NJ., (September, 2017) Interviewed by J. Hazell [digital recording] Heritage
Quay, University of Huddersfield.

Cabinet Papers – National Archives

Cabinet (1979). *Conclusions of a meeting of the Cabinet held at 10 Downing Street on Thursday 10 May 1979 at 10:30am.* (CAB/128/66/1).

Website

Politics Resources (Undated). UK General Election results June 1987. Retrieved from <http://www.politicsresources.net/area/uk/ge87/i20.htm>

Youtube

BBC Parliament [Andy JS]. (2016, December 7). Election 1987 – Part Two. [Video File]. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uzeUp1xJ22Y>

Secondary Sources

Books

Ackers, P. & Reid, J. R. (2016) *Alternatives to State-Socialism in Britain: Other Worlds of Labour in the Twentieth Century.* Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

Ball, S. & Holliday, I. (2002). *Mass Conservatism The Conservatives and the Public since 1880s.* London: Frank Cass.

Blake, R. (1997). *The Conservative Party from Peel to Major.* London: Arrow.

Charmley, J. (2008). *A History of Conservative Politics since 1830.* Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

Clarke, C. & James, T. S. (2015). *British Labour Leaders.* London: Biteback Publishing.

Edgell, S., & Duke, V. (1991). *A Measure of Thatcherism a Sociology of Britain.* London: HarperCollinsAcademic.

Evans, B. (1999). *Thatcherism and British Politics 1975-1999.* Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing Limited.

Evans, B., & Taylor, A. (1996). *From Sailsbury to Major. Continuity and Change in Conservative politics.* Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Evans, B., Laybourn, K., Lancaster, J., & Haigh, B. (2007). *Sons and Daughters of Labour. A History and recollection of the Labour Party within the historic boundaries of the West Riding of Yorkshire.* Huddersfield: University of Huddersfield Press.

Gamble, A. (1994). *The Free Economy and The Strong State. The Politics of Thatcherism.* London: Macmillan.

- Gould, P. (1998). *The Unfinished Revolution, How the Modernisers Saved the Labour Party*. London: Little Brown.
- Holmes, M. (1985). *The First Thatcher Government 1979-1983 Contemporary Conservatism and Economic Change*. Sussex: Wheatsheaf Books LTD.
- Kavanagh, D. (1995). *Thatcherism and British Politics The End of Consensus?* New York: Oxford University Press.
- Laybourn, K. (2002). *Fifty Key Figures in Twentieth-century British Politics*. London: Routledge.
- Miller, W. (1991). *Media and Voters The Audience, Content, and Influence of Press and Television at the 1987 General Election*. New York: Clarendon Press. Oxford.
- Mitchell, A. (1983) *Four Years in the Death of the Labour Party*. London: Methuen.
- Perks, R. & Thomson, A. (2016). *The Oral History Reader*. (3rd ed.). New York: Routledge.
- Ramsden, J. (1998). *An appetite for Power. A History of the Conservative Party since 1830*. London: HarperCollinsPublishers.
- Riddell, P. (1983). *The Thatcher Government*. Oxford: Martin Robertson.
- Rosen, G. (2005). *Old Labour to New: The dreams that inspired, the battles that divided*. London: Politico's.
- Sandbrook, D. (2013). *Seasons in the Sun – The Battle for Britain, 1974-1979*. London: Penguin Books.
- Schneer, J. (1988). *Labour's Conscience: The Labour Left 1945-51*. London: Unwin Hyman Ltd.
- Seldon, A. (1996). *How Tory Governments Fall The Tory Party Since 1783*. London: Fontana Press.
- Seldon, A., & Ball, S. (1994). *Conservative Century: The Conservative Party since 1900*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Seyd, P. (1987). *The Rise & Fall of the Labour Left*. London: Macmillan Education.
- Shepherd, J. (2013). *Crisis What Crisis? The Callaghan Government and the British 'Winter of Discontent'*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Skidelsky, R. (1989). *Thatcherism*. London: Chatto & Windus.
- Thompson, P. (2000). *The Voice of the Past Oral History*. (3rd ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Thorpe, A. (2008) *A History of The British Labour Party*. (3rd ed.). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Turner, W. A. (2008). *Crisis? What Crisis?* London: Aurum Press Ltd.

Wickham-Jones, W. (1996). *Economic Strategy and the Labour Party Politics and Policy-Making, 1970-83*. London: Macmillan Press Ltd.

Williams, Lee. G. and Williams, Lee. A. (1989). *Labour's Decline and the Social Democrats' Fall*. London: Macmillan Press Ltd.

Worley M. (2005). *Labour's Grass Roots*. Wiltshire: Ashgate.

Journal Articles

Alvarez, M. R., Nagler, J. and Bowler, S. (2000). Issues, Economics, and the Dynamics of Multiparty Elections: The British 1987 General Election. *The American Political Science Review*, 94 (1), 131-149. DOI: 10.2307/2586385

Bingham, A. (2010). The Digitization of Newspaper Archives: Opportunities and Challenges for Historians. *Twentieth Century British History*, 21 (2), 225-231. DOI:10.1093/tcbh/hwq007.

Curtice, J. (2010). So What Went Wrong with the Electoral System? The 2010 Election Result and the Debate About Electoral Reform. *Parliamentary Affairs*, 63 (4), 623-638.

Denver, D. (1987). The British general election of 1987: Some preliminary reflections. *Parliamentary affairs*, 40 (4), 449-457.

Johnston, R. J. and Pattie, C. J. (1988). People, Attitudes, Milieux and Votes: An Exploration of Voting at the 1983 British General Election. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 13 (3), 303-323.

Whitley, P. (1984). Perceptions of Economic Performance and Voting Behavior in the 1983 General Election in Britain. *Political Behavior*, 6 (4), 395-410.

Appendices

Appendix A – Unemployment stood at 1,455,275 in the UK during January 1979 according to the *Yorkshire Post*. 125,478 in the Yorkshire region counts for around 8.6 per cent of that total.

Appendix B – Consent form from Dennis Skinner MP for an interview I conducted on 14th March 2016.

University of Huddersfield
School of Music Humanities and Media

Participant Consent Form (E4)

Title of Research Study:

Name of Researcher: Mr. Joseph C. N. Hazell

Participant Identifier Number: 001

- I confirm that I have read and understood the participant Information sheet related to this research, and have had the opportunity to ask questions.
- I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason.
- I am happy to go on the record. Responses will not be anonymised. *
- I am happy for this interview to be given to the University Archive. *
- I would like this interview destroyed after it has been used for the initial purpose of the research. *
- I would like all my responses to be anonymised. *
- I give permission for members of the research team to have access to my anonymised responses. *
- I agree to take part in the above study.

*Choices.

Name of Participant: Dennis Skinner MP

Signature of Participant:

Date: 14.03.16

Name of Researcher: Mr. Joseph C. N. Hazell

Signature of Researcher:

Date: 14.03.16

Appendix B2 – Participation Information Sheet for the interview with Dennis Skinner, explaining what I was doing.

University of Huddersfield
School of Music Humanities and Media

Participant Information Sheet

Research Project Title:

Name of Researcher: MR. Joseph C. N. Hazell

Contact Details of Researcher: Viaduct Works, Apartment 4
Ray Street,
Huddersfield, HD1 6BB
Mobile: 07479612215
Email: joe.hazell4@gmail.com

You are being invited to take part in a research project. Before you decide, it is important for you to understand why this research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. May I take this opportunity to thank you for taking time to read this.

1. What is the purpose of the project?
The research project is intended to provide the research focus for my dissertation, which forms a significant part of my degree. Research will be used to determine what caused the downfall of the Callaghan Government in 1979.

2. Why have I been chosen?
You have been chosen for this study because you have been an MP since 1970. The research covers the years 1976-80 and would benefit from your input.

3. Do I have to take part?
Participation on this study is entirely voluntary, so please do not feel obliged to take part. Refusal will involve no penalty whatsoever and you may withdraw from the study at any stage without giving an explanation to the researcher.

4. What do I have to do?
You will be invited to take part in an interview. This should take no more than half an hour of your time.

5. Are there any disadvantages to taking part?
There should be no foreseeable disadvantages to your participation. If you are unhappy or have further questions at any stage in the process, please address your concerns initially to the researcher if this is appropriate. Alternatively, please contact Professor Barry Doyle (B.M.Doyle@hud.ac.uk) at the School of Music, Humanities and Media, University of Huddersfield.

6. Will all my details be kept confidential?
All information which is collected will be strictly confidential and anonymised before the data is presented in any work, in compliance with the Data Protection Act and ethical research guidelines and principles. The information will be anonymised unless you grant permission to be identified in the study as per the consent form.

Appendix C1 – Participation Information Sheet for the interview with David Hinchcliffe and Norman J Hazell.

University of Huddersfield
School of Music, Humanities and Media

Participant Information Sheet

Research Project Title: A Rise in Conservatism? West Yorkshire politics 1979-87 and the aftermath of the Winter of Discontent

Name of Researcher: Mr Joseph C. N. Hazell BA

Contact Details of Researcher: 4 Hare Park Lane, Crofton, Wakefield, WF4 1HW
Mobile: 07479612215
Email: joe.hazell4@gmail.com

You are being invited to take part in a research project. Before you decide, it is important for you to understand why this research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. May I take this opportunity to thank you for taking the time to read this.

- 1. What is the purpose of this project?**

The research project is intended to provide the research focus for my Master's Thesis, which forms the full amount of my degree. Research will be used to determine what political events were occurring in West Yorkshire during 1983-87 elections.
- 2. Why have I been chosen?**

You have been chosen for this study because you were a Councillor/MP/MP candidate for constituencies within West Yorkshire during the 1980s.
- 3. Do I have to take part?**

Participation on this study is entirely voluntary, so please do not feel obliged to take part. Refusal will involve no penalty whatsoever and you may withdraw from the study at any stage without giving an explanation to the researcher.
- 4. What do I have to do?**

You will be invited to take part in an interview. This should take no more than half an hour of your time.
- 5. Are there any disadvantages to taking part?**

There are no foreseeable disadvantages to your participation. If you are unhappy or have further questions at any stage in the process, please address your concerns initially to the researcher if this is appropriate. Alternatively, please contact Professor Barry Doyle (B.M.Doyle@hud.ac.uk) at the School of Music, Humanities and Media, University of Huddersfield.
- 6. Will all my details be kept confidential?**

All information which is collected will be strictly confidential and anonymised before the data is presented in any work, in compliance with the Data Protection Act and ethical research guidelines and principles. The information will be anonymised unless you grant permission to be identified in the study as per the consent form.

7. What will happen to the results of the research study?

The results of this research will be written up and will be part of a 22,000 word thesis. If you would like a copy please contact the researcher.

8. What happens to the data collected?

The data collected will be used by Joseph Hazell to write a thesis on Yorkshire Politics and the aftermath of the Winter of Discontent from the years 1979-1987. The data (interview) will also be given to the University of Huddersfield archive (Heritage Quay) in order to assist in future research. However, this will only occur if you give your permission. The research will be destroyed if you have opted for this option on the consent form.

9. Will I be paid for participating in the research?

Not Applicable.

10. Where will the research be conducted?

A location of the participants choosing.

11. Criminal Records check (if applicable)

Not Applicable.

12. Who has reviewed and approved the study, and who can be contacted for further information?

Professor Barry Doyle is the supervisor for this dissertation and can be contacted here:

Telephone: 01484 472452.

Email: B.M.Doyle@hud.ac.uk

Appendix C2 – Consent form – David Hinchcliffe

(MP for Wakefield from 1987 – 2005)

University of Huddersfield
School of Music, Humanities and Media

Participant Consent Form (E4)

Title of Research Study: A Rise in Conservatism? West Yorkshire politics 1979-87 and the aftermath of the Winter of Discontent

Name of Researcher: Mr. Joseph C. N. Hazell BA

Participant Identifier Number: 001M

I confirm that I have read and understood the participation information sheet related to this research, and have had the opportunity to ask questions.

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason.

I am happy to go on the record. Responses will not be anonymised. *

I am happy for this interview to be given to the University Archive. *

I would like this interview destroyed after it has been used for the initial purpose of the research. *

I would like all my responses anonymised. *

I give permission for members of the research team to have access to my anonymised responses. *

I agree to take part in the above study.

*Choices

Name of Participant: David H. Hinchcliffe Name of Researcher: Mr. Joseph Hazell

Signature of Participant: [Signature] Signature of Researcher: [Signature]

Date: 19/09/17. Date: 19-09-17.

Appendix D – Consent form which Norman Hazell and myself signed.

University of Huddersfield
School of Music, Humanities and Media

Participant Consent Form (E4)

Title of Research Study: A Rise in Conservatism? West Yorkshire politics 1979-87 and the aftermath of the Winter of Discontent

Name of Researcher: Mr. Joseph C. N. Hazell BA

Participant Identifier Number: 002M

I confirm that I have read and understood the participation information sheet related to this research, and have had the opportunity to ask questions.

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason.

I am happy to go on the record. Responses will not be anonymised. *

I am happy for this interview to be given to the University Archive. *

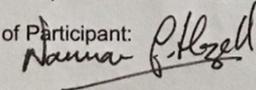
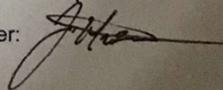
I would like this interview destroyed after it has been used for the initial purpose of the research. *

I would like all my responses anonymised. *

I give permission for members of the research team to have access to my anonymised responses. *

I agree to take part in the above study.

*Choices

Name of Participant: Norman J Hazell	Name of Researcher: Mr. Joseph Hazell
Signature of Participant: 	Signature of Researcher: 
Date: 27.09.17	Date: 27.09.17

Appendix E1 – This table shows the number of conservative councillors that sat on Bradford council in 1982, 1986 and 1987. Statistics come from the *Yorkshire Post* and Rallings, C. & Thrasher, M. *Local Elections Handbook 1986 and 1987 Volume 1*.

Appendix E2 – This table shows the number of conservative councillors that sat on the Leeds council in 1982, 1986 and 1987. Statistics come from the *Yorkshire Post* and Rallings, C. & Thrasher, M. *Local Elections Handbook 1986 and 1987 Volume 1*.

Appendix E3. – This table shows the average share of the vote between the six West Yorkshire constituencies being studied: Bradford, Calderdale, Doncaster, Kirklees, Leeds and Wakefield in all 4 local elections being studied. Statistics come from Rallings, C. & Thrasher, M. *Local Elections Handbook 1982 and 1983, 1986 Volume 1 and 1987 Volume 1*.

Appendix F – This table shows the correlation between home ownership in the seven Yorkshire regions being studied in the local elections chapter compared with the Conservative vote. These figures originate from *Local Elections Handbook 1982 and 1983, 1986 Volume 1 and 1987 Volume 1*.

Appendix G1 – Conservative Party: Wakefield local election leaflet, 1983. Retrieved from Political papers of Norman J Hazell, private collection 1983.

CONSERVATIVE VOTE HAZELL VOTE CONSERVATIVE

● **UNEMPLOYMENT:**
The rise in the number of unemployed is due to a world recession, and to the introduction of new technology.
The Conservative Party, by reducing inflation, is laying a solid foundation for the future prosperity of our Country.
Labour's proposals would lead to a disastrous slump. Unemployment doubled under the last Labour government.

● **LAW & ORDER:**
Conservatives have:
- increased police strength by over 9,000.
- put extra police on the beat
- increased expenditure on crime fighting
- introduced the short, sharp, shock treatment for young offenders.
- made parents more responsible for their children.

Much more remains to be done.

● **THE COMMON MARKET:**
To withdraw from Europe would place two million jobs at risk. Since joining the Community ten years ago, 43% of all our exports now go to member countries.

● **HOUSING:**
The Conservatives gave council tenants the Right to Buy their own homes.
Labour's manifesto states they will end enforced council house sales and give councils the power to buy back houses sold under the Tories.

● **DEFENCE :**
37 years of peace in Europe is due to all governments recognising the need to defend ourselves.
No one wants a nuclear war. Having our own nuclear deterrent means that we never will.



Meeting the Prime Minister

● **EDUCATION:**
The 1980 Education Act is our Parents' Charter. It gives parents the right to choose which school their children will attend. This is every parent's right.
The Assisted Places Scheme helps academically bright children to attend the independent schools. Labour are pledged to abolish this Scheme, as part of their attack on private education.

● **THE TRADE UNIONS:**
I am a union representative and my Party recognises the importance of the Trade Unions. Union members have democratic rights to take part in secret ballots for the election of Officers, or before a strike is called.
All of us have a vital interest in ensuring that the power of the Trade Unions is used democratically and responsibly.

● **EARLY RETIREMENT:**
I firmly believe that the retiring age for men should be lowered to 60, on full pension.
This, of course, would have to be implemented in stages over the next decade.



**NORMAN
HAZELL**

CONSERVATIVE 

Published by A. Bolton, 24 Zetland Street, Wakefield.
Printed by Wakefield Printing Co. Ltd., 10/12 Westgate, Wakefield.

Appendix G2 – The Labour Party: Wakefield local election leaflet, 1983. Retrieved from Political papers of Norman J Hazell, private collection 1983.

THINK POSITIVE. ACT POSITIVE. VOTE POSITIVE.

LABOUR's top priority will be to cut the dole queues and get Britain working again.

We recognise the enormous scale of this task, but the truth is, a government that really cares about unemployment can cut it. We don't have to live with the waste of three million workless.

We can invest in building new homes, repairing roads, electrifying the railways. We can boost industry with new orders at home and overseas. We can increase public spending to create real, lasting jobs and improve services at the same time.

We can launch an emergency programme of training and jobs for young people.

How will we pay for this plan for jobs? For a start, we'll be saving some of the £17 billion now wasted each year keeping people out of work and on the dole.

We'll also put to good use some of the £10 billion a year of Britain's savings now flowing overseas and some of the £8 billion collected each year in revenue from North Sea oil.

Labour will also use some of the billions the Tories plan to squander on nuclear weapons and nuclear power.

Britain is a rich country. Labour's job is to invest that wealth in the country's future. It's a question of priorities.

INVESTING IN THE FUTURE

Tory policies have left industry smaller, weaker, and more vulnerable to our competitors. They've turned industrial relations into a battlefield.

We need a completely new approach. We must invest money in new technology and launch a new National Investment Bank to rebuild industry.

Above all, we must work together with both sides of industry to plan for the future.

The Labour government will plan to ensure that expansion in its first year leads on to sustained recovery. That means new price controls to keep inflation in check and a tighter rein on imports to balance our trade.

Labour will take Britain out of the Common Market so we can buy our food from the best sources, and protect our industry.

NO TO NUCLEAR WAR

The Labour Party will cancel the Trident programme and refuse to deploy Cruise missiles.

Stopping Trident will save £10 billion – money that can be spent on conventional defence as well as jobs and services.

Labour believes Britain can play a major part in the struggle to end the international arms race. We must work to prevent a nuclear third world war which would destroy civilisation.

CARING FOR OTHERS

The creation of the National Health Service is one of the Labour Party's greatest achievements. That health service is now under attack from the Tories.

The Labour government will phase out all health charges, increase health spending, and pay NHS staff a fair wage for their dedication.

There'll be better care for the elderly and better maternity services. Labour plans more GPs, community nurses, health visitors and dentists.

Labour will give pensioners a new deal. The pension will be increased in November, both to match the rise in inflation, and give pensioners the money they've lost (£2.25 a week for married couples), because the Tories broke the link between pensions and earnings.

We'll double the Christmas bonus to £20 and phase out the TV licence fee for pensioners within five years.

The new government will work towards a common pension age of 60, give women the additional tax allowance at 60, increase the death grant to £200, and give more help with fuel costs.

HELP FOR FAMILIES

Labour will help families. The first step will be a £2 a week increase in child benefit and we'll make sure it maintains its value in future.

In education, we'll spend more money so there are smaller classes, better teacher training and more books. We aim to provide a nursery place for every child under five whose parents want it.

The eleven-plus and corporal punishment will be abolished. Private schools will lose their charitable status and fee-paying will be phased out.

The Tory cuts in personal social services such as childcare, home helps and meals on wheels have hit women hardest.

EQUAL RIGHTS FOR ALL

Labour's objective is to achieve equality between men and women. We will help women to get better jobs through positive action programmes and try to give them a genuine choice between staying at home to look after the family or going to work.

We will strengthen the laws on equal pay, sex and race discrimination.

There will be a campaign against racial disadvantage, discrimination, and harassment. Labour will work towards equality of opportunity and treatment for the ethnic minorities, particularly in employment.

We will replace the 1971 Immigration and 1981 Nationality Acts with laws which respect family life and do not discriminate on grounds of race or sex.

We believe all animals should be properly treated and we will ban hunting and work to end the use of live animals in experiments.

With Labour's plan, Britain can look forward to a new future. Together we can end the despair of Tory unemployment and build a society of which we can be proud.

X VOTE LABOUR.

ON THURSDAY, 9 JUNE – VOTE LABOUR

VOTE

HARRISON

IT WOULD BE APPRECIATED IF YOU WOULD DISPLAY THIS IN YOUR WINDOW

Appendix H1 - This set of charts show the Conservative and Labour share of the vote for each constituency between 1918 and 1992. Bradford Central, (p.99.) Dewsbury, (p.126.) Halifax, (p.140.) Huddersfield, (p.149.) Leeds (p.160.) and Wakefield (p.261.) Statistics retrieved from *British Parliamentary Election Results 1918-1949 (Revised Edition)*. Statistics from 1950–1992 come from various other reliable sources.

Appendix H2 – This chart shows the average share of the vote between the Conservatives and Labour in West Yorkshire from 1918 – 1992. Results are from Bradford Central, Dewsbury, Halifax, Huddersfield, Leeds and Wakefield. Statistics come from *British Parliamentary Election Results 1918-1949 (Revised Edition)*. Statistics from 1950–1992 come from various other reliable sources.

Results Tables

1982

Tables 1.01 – 1.06 Barnsley local election results.

Rallings, C. & Thrasher, M. *Local Elections Handbook 1982. The 1982 Local Election Results*. Plymouth: The Local Elections Centre. p.1.

Tables 1.07 – 1.12 Bradford local election results.

Ibid., pp.4 – pp.5.

Tables 1.13 – 1.16 Calderdale local election results.

Ibid., pp.5 – pp.6.

Tables 1.17 – 1.22 Doncaster local election results.

Ibid., p.7.

Tables 1.23 – 1.28 Kirklees local election results.

Ibid., pp.9 – pp.10.

Tables 1.29 – 1.35 Leeds local election results.

Ibid., pp.11 – pp.12.

Tables 1.36 – 1.40 Wakefield local election results.

Ibid., p.28.

1983

Tables 2.01 – 2.06 Barnsley local election results.

Rallings, C. & Thrasher, M. *Local Elections Handbook 1983. The 1983 Local Elections Results*. Plymouth: The Local Elections Centre. p.1.

Tables 2.07 – 2.12 Bradford local election results.

Ibid., pp.3 – pp.4.

Tables 2.13 – 2.17 Calderdale local election results.

Ibid., p.5.

Tables 2.18 – 2.23 Doncaster local election results.

Ibid., p.6.

Tables 2.24 – 2.29 Kirklees local election results.

Ibid., p.8.

Tables 2.30 – 2.36 Leeds local election results.

Ibid., pp.9 – pp.10.

Tables 2.37 – 2.41 Wakefield local election results.

Ibid., pp.23 – pp.24.

1986**Tables 3.01 – 3.06 Barnsley local election results**

Rallings, C. & Thrasher, M. *Local Elections Handbook 1986. The 1986 Local Elections Results. Volume 2.* Plymouth: The Local Elections Centre. p.1.

Tables 3.07 – 3.13 Bradford local election results

Ibid., pp.3 – pp.4.

Tables 3.14 – 3.19 Calderdale local election results

Ibid., pp.4 – pp.5.

Tables 3.20 – 3.25 Doncaster local election results

Ibid., p.6.

Tables 3.26 – 3.32 Kirklees local election results

Ibid., p.8.

Tables 3.33 – 3.39 Leeds local election results

Ibid., pp.9 – pp.10.

Tables 3.40 – 3.43 Wakefield local election results

Ibid., p.23.

1987**Tables 4.01 – 4.06 Barnsley local election results**

Rallings, C. & Thrasher, M. *Local Elections Handbook 1987. The 1987 Local Elections Results. Volume 2.* Plymouth: The Local Elections Centre. p.1.

Tables 4.07 – 4.13 Bradford local election results

Ibid., pp.3 – pp.4.

Tables 4.14 – 4.19 Calderdale local election results

Ibid., p.5.

Tables 4.20 – 4.25 Doncaster local election results

Ibid., p.6.

Tables 4.26 – 4.32 Kirklees local election results

Ibid., pp.8 – pp.9.

Tables 4.33 – 4.39 Leeds local election results

Ibid., pp.9 – pp.10.

Tables 4.40 – 4.43 Wakefield local election results

Ibid., p.23 – pp.24.

Table 1a – Composition of Bradford Council 1982

Yorkshire Post Reporter, (1982, May 7) District results: Bradford. *Yorkshire Post*. No page number.

Table 1b – Composition of Bradford Council 1986

Rallings, C. & Thrasher, M. *Local Elections Handbook 1986. The 1986 Local Elections Results. Volume 1*. Plymouth: The Local Elections Centre. p.193.

Table 1c – Composition of Bradford Council 1987

Rallings, C. & Thrasher, M. *Local Elections Handbook 1987. The 1987 Local Elections Results. Volume 1*. Plymouth: The Local Elections Centre. p.193.

Table 2a – Composition of Leeds Council 1982

Gledhill, R. (1982, May 8). Labour delighted to keep dominance. *Yorkshire Post*. p.9.

Table 2b – Composition of Leeds Council 1986

Rallings, C. & Thrasher, M. *Local Elections Handbook 1986. The 1986 Local Elections Results. Volume 1*. Plymouth: The Local Elections Centre. p.211.

Table 2c – Composition of Leeds Council 1987

Rallings, C. & Thrasher, M. *Local Elections Handbook 1987. The 1987 Local Elections Results. Volume 1*. Plymouth: The Local Elections Centre. p.211.

Local Election Results 1982 (Results by constituency)**Barnsley 1982 Results****Table 1.01**

<u>Ardsley</u>		(7608)	Votes	Share (%)
Turnout (%): 27.0 1979: Lab	Shirt R.	Lab	1,330	64.8
	French W.	Lib/SDP	426	20.8
	Oldfield H.	Con	296	14.4

Table 1.02

<u>Central</u>		(8397)	Votes	Share (%)
Turnout (%): 38.9 1979: Lab	Wood J.	Lab	1,803	55.1
	Taylor M. Ms.	Lib/SDP	1,087	33.2
	Booth D.	Con	380	11.6

Table 1.03

<u>Darton</u>		(8979)	Votes	Share (%)
Turnout (%): 36.8 1979: Res	Driver J.	Lab	1,524	46.1
	Evans J.	Lib/SDP	1,301	39.3
	Slater A.	Con	482	14.6

Table 1.04

<u>North West</u>		(7739)	Votes	Share (%)
Turnout (%): 40.2 1979: Res	Williams A.	Lab	1,505	48.3
	Appleyard J. Ms.	Lib/SDP	799	25.7
	Jubb M.	Con	450	14.5
	Harris M. Ms.	Res	360	11.6

Table 1.05

<u>Penistone East</u>		(6681)	Votes	Share (%)
Turnout (%): 44.1 1979: Lab	Peach E. Ms.	Lib/SDP	949	32.2
	Dews R.	Con	916	31.1
	Banner K.	Lab	872	29.6
	Ryalls G.	Res	208	7.1

Table 1.06

<u>South West</u>		(7466)	Votes	Share (%)
Turnout (%): 41.3 1979: Res	O'Rourke J.	Lab	1,179	38.2
	Bickley K. Ms.	Lib/SDP	1,104	35.8
	Kent J.	Res	441	14.3
	England G.	Con	363	11.8

Bradford 1982 Results

Composition of the Council – Table 1a – p.118.

Party	Seats
Labour	41
Conservatives	43
Lib/SDP	6
Independent	-

Table 1.07

<u>Baildon</u>	(11521)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 48.3	Greenwood K. Ms.	Lib/SDP	2,456	44.2
	Moore D. Ms.	Con	2,384	42.9
1980: Lib	Wardman C.	Lab	720	12.9

Table 1.08

<u>Bingley</u>	(10000)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> :48.2	Nunn W.	Con	2,469	51.3
	Mould M. Ms.	Lab	1,183	24.6
1980: Con	Ryan J.	Lib/SDP	1,162	24.1

Table 1.09

<u>Bingley Rural</u>	(11053)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> :41.8	Nelson E. Ms.	Con	2,782	60.2
	Greenwood M.	Lib/SDP	1,076	23.3
1980: Con	Leman S.	Lab	760	16.5

Table 1.10

<u>Bolton</u>	(9685)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> :43.5	Lee F.	Con	1,748	41.5
	Minshull J.	Lib/SDP	1,277	30.3
1980: Lab	Allinson J. Ms.	Lab	1,189	28.2

Table 1.11

<u>Bowling</u>	(13110)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> :29.3	Walters M.	Lab	2,226	58.1
	Ridgway P.	Con	825	21.5
1980: Lab	Sutcliffe G.	Lib/SDP	780	20.4

Table 1.12

<u>Wyke</u>	(12024)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> :31.3	Mangham D.	Lab	1,564	41.7
	Owen D.	Con	1,191	31.8
1980: Lab	Thompson R.	Lib/SDP	996	26.6

Calderdale 1982 Results**Table 1.13**

<u>Brighouse</u>	(7621)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> :42.5	Hions E. Ms.	Lab	1,233	38.0
	Mullen W.	Con	1,138	35.1
1980: Lab	Ellis D.	Lib/SDP	871	26.9

Table 1.14

<u>Calder Valley</u>	(8285)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> :47.3	Round J. Ms.	Lib/SDP	1,715	43.7
	Greenwood R.	Con	1,178	30.0
1980: Lib	Winstanley J.	Lab	1,028	26.2

Table 1.15

<u>Rastrick</u>	(7652)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> :46.0	Hardcastle P.	Con	1,483	42.1
	Binns P.	Lib/SDP	1,384	39.3
1980: Con	Anderson D. Ms.	Lab	653	18.6

Table 1.16

<u>Skircoat</u>	(8703)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> :46.3	Culpan A. Ms.	Con	2,001	49.7
	Osborne D.	Lib/SDP	1,537	38.1
1980: Con	Jordan J.	Lab	492	12.2

Doncaster 1982 Results**Table 1.17**

<u>Bessacarr</u>	(10921)		Votes	Share (%)
Turnout (%):46.3	Prior I	Con	2,272	45.0
	Hartshom J.	Lab	1,402	27.8
1980: Con	Mangan G.	Lib/SDP	1,376	27.2

Table 1.18

<u>Hatfield</u>	(10027)		Votes	Share (%)
Turnout (%):31.0	McDade G. Ms.	Lab	1,521	49.0
	Fisher R. Ms.	Con	1,024	33.0
1980: Lab	Golding M.	Lib/SDP	557	18.0

Table 1.19

<u>Intake</u>	(9208)		Votes	Share (%)
Turnout (%):46.9	Marshall B. Ms.	Lab	1,783	41.3
	Wood J.	Lib/SDP	1,411	32.7
1980: Lab	Rhoden J.	Con	1,126	26.1

Table 1.20

<u>Richmond</u>	(10469)		Votes	Share (%)
Turnout (%):40.6	Hall A.	Lab	1,690	39.9
	Beard M. Ms.	Con	1,665	39.3
1980: Lab	Machin J.	Lib/SDP	885	20.9

Table 1.21

<u>South East</u>	(10499)		Votes	Share (%)
Turnout (%): 37.8	Speakman M. Ms.	Con	2,504	63.3
	Titley M.	Lib/SDP	764	19.3
1980: Con	Calton M. Ms.	Lab	690	17.4

Table 1.22

<u>Southern Parks</u>	(9962)		Votes	Share (%)
Turnout (%):46.2	Stephenson G.	Con	2,071	45.0
	Parker C. Ms.	Lib/SDP	1,939	42.2
1980: Lib	Judge L.	Lab	590	12.8

Kirklees 1982 Results**Table 1.23**

<u>Birkby</u>	(10361) 3 seats		Votes	Share (%)
Turnout (%):46.2	Slater D. Ms.	Con	2,136	44.6
	Kaye S.	Con	2,013	-
	Crowther A. Ms.	Con	2,007	-
	Inniss S.	Lab	1,468	30.7
	Gimblett F.	Lab	1,427	-
	Akhtar J.	Lab	1,250	-

Hall P. Ms.	Lib/SDP	1,060	22.1
Penn C. Ms.	Lib/SDP	921	-
Williams D.	Lib/SDP	853	-
Hirst H.	Ind	123	2.6

Table 1.25

<u>Holme Valley</u> <u>North</u>	(11690) 3 seats		Votes	Share (%)
Turnout (%):44.5	Illingworth W.	Con	1,865	35.9
	Crossley J.	Lib/SDP	1,792	34.4
	Bower M. Ms.	Lib/SDP	1,739	-
	Dyson A.	Lab	1,545	29.7
	Haigh D.	Lib/SDP	1,472	-
	Lyons T.	Lab	1,451	-
	Tankard W.	Lab	1,242	-

Table 1.24

<u>Birstall &</u> <u>Birkenshaw</u>	(13283) 3 Seats		Votes	Share (%)
Turnout (%): 39.2	Kershaw L.	Con	1,961	37.7
	McKennan M.	Con	1,860	-
	Shaw C.	Con	1,776	-
	Calvert A.	Lab	1,548	29.7
	Hellowell J. Ms.	Lab	1,540	-
	Palfreman A.	Lib/SDP	1,411	27.1
	Prest M. Ms.	Lib/SDP	1,410	-
	Smith S. Ms.	Lab	1,401	-
	Prentice M. Ms.	Lib/SDP	1,280	-
	Lord C.	Ecol	287	5.5

Table 1.26

<u>Holme Valley</u> <u>South</u>	(12444) 3 seats		Votes	Share (%)
Turnout (%):45.0	Garrood A.	Lib/SDP	2,049	36.6
	Kilner R.	Con	2,020	36.1
	Smith H. Ms.	Lib/SDP	1,723	-
	Evans M. Ms	Con	1,594	-
	Mellor B.	Lab	1,531	27.3
	Broadbent V. Ms.	Lab	1,507	-
	Collins C.	Lib/SDP	1,484	-
	McKenna	Con	1,471	-
	Holgate W.	Lab	1,458	-

Table 1.27

<u>Kirkburton</u>	(12020) 3 seats		Votes	Share (%)
Turnout (%):40.2	Mason A.	Con	1,953	40.4
	Haigh B.	Lab	1,863	38.6
	Dibb E.	Con	1,846	-
	Coombes E. Ms.	Con	1,753	-
	Haigh J.	Lab	1,685	-
	Prior C.	Lab	1,507	-
	McGill H. Ms.	Lib/SDP	1,016	21.0
	Donald J.	Lib/SDP	918	-
	Tallon W.	Lib/SDP	858	-

Table 1.28

<u>Paddock</u>	(11183) 3 seats		Votes	Share (%)
Turnout (%):43.6	Mathieson M.	Lib/SDP	2,116	43.4
	Ms.			
	Mathieson K.	Lib/SDP	1,976	-
	Hasler K. Ms.	Lib/SDP	1,921	-
	Weir E.	Con	1,399	28.7
	Greenwood V.	Lab	1,361	27.9
	Ms.			
	Derych J.	Lab	1,360	-
	Brice A.	Con	1,284	-
	Small N.	Lab	1,256	-
	Peagram M.	Con	1,226	-

Leeds 1982 Results

Composition of the Council – Table 2a – p.118.

Party	Seats
Labour	56
Conservatives	31
Liberal	11
SDP	1
Independent	-

Table 1.29

<u>Aireborough</u>	(19010)		Votes	Share (%)
Turnout (%):44.1	Hawkins T.	Con	3,530	42.1
	McCabe G	Lib/SDP	3,062	36.6
1980: Con	Booth P.	Lab	1,783	21.3

Table 1.30

<u>Cookridge</u>	(16526)		Votes	Share (%)
Turnout (%):41.9	Carter J.	Con	3,869	55.9
	Johnson J.	Lib/SDP	2,152	31.1
1980: Con	Wadsworth U.	Lab	897	13.0

Table 1.31

<u>Garforth & Swillington</u>	(17978)		Votes	Share (%)
Turnout (%):39.7	Schofield D.	Con	2,895	40.5
	Smith E.	Lab	2,473	34.6
1980: Lab	Wilson P.	Lib/SDP	1,777	24.9

Table 1.32

<u>Halton</u>	(15630)		Votes	Share (%)
Turnout (%):41.0	Wood D. Ms.	Con	3,578	55.9
	Ratcliffe J.	Lib/SDP	1,675	26.2
1980: Con	McGreevy P.	Lab	1,151	18.0

Table 1.33

<u>Horsforth</u>	(17090)		Votes	Share (%)
Turnout (%):44.5	Cummins J.	Lib/SDP	3,469	45.6
	Stevens V.	Con	3,335	43.8
1980: Lib	Monksfield	Lab	803	10.6

Table 1.34

<u>Morley North</u>	(16714)		Votes	Share (%)
Turnout (%):39.9	Verity R. Ms.	Con	2,748	41.2
	Hirst N.	Lab	2,334	35.0
1980: Lab	Smith H.	Lib/SDP	1,594	23.9

Table 1.35

<u><i>Pudsey North</i></u>	(17988)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> :42.2	Bashall J.	Con	3,386	44.6
	Rhodes N.	Lab	2,140	28.2
1980: <i>Con</i>	Fothergill J.	Lib/SDP	2,070	27.3

Wakefield 1982 Results**Table 1.36**

<u>Crofton & Ackworth</u>	(11330) 3 Seats		Votes	Share (%)
Turnout (%): 46.0	Dando T.	Lab	1,966	32.7
	Daley H.	Lab	1,842	-
	Wooffindin J.	Lib/SDP	1,716	28.5
	Noble A.	Lab	1,685	-
	Stevens H.	Res	1,425	23.7
	Wadsworth J.	Lib/SDP	1,352	-
	Ms.			
	Arstall J.	Lib/SDP	1,267	-
	Elden S. Ms.	Con	906	15.1
	Paul A.	Con	869	-
	Wall D.	Con	823-	-

Table 1.37

<u>Ossett</u>	(11175) 3 seats		Votes	Share (%)
Turnout (%): 39.8	Vickery D.	Lib/SDP	1,902	44.2
	Metcalf A.	Lib/SDP	1,702	-
	Blockley P. Ms.	Lib/SDP	1,471	-
	Tate K.	Lab	1,241	28.8
	Sykes W.	Lab	1,229	-
	Harwood D.	Con	1,164	27.0
	Williamson E.	Lab	1,135	-
	Senior C. Ms.	Con	1,122	-
	Parkinson M.	Con	1,102	-

Table 1.38

<u>Pontefract South</u>	(10896) 3 Seats		Votes	Share (%)
Turnout (%): 43.2	Brennan T.	Lab	2,048	41.4
	Bloomer I.	Con	1,789	36.6
	Bullock B.	Lab	1,602	-
	Dean A.	Lab	1,601	-
	Holt G.	Con	1,569	-
	Lunn A.	Con	1,423	-
	Mills A.	Lib/SDP	1,113	22.5
	Shay D.	Lib/SDP	918	-
	Mills C. Ms.	Lib/SDP	914	-

Table 1.39

<u>Wakefield Rural</u>	(11422) 3 Seats		Votes	Share (%)
Turnout (%): 39.8	Chandler M.	Lab	1,688	36.4
	Henshaw J.	Con	1,649	35.6
	Major R.	Con	1,569	-
	Morris M. Ms.	Lab	1,383	-
	Heinitz C.	Lab	1,318	-
	Senior M. Ms	Lib/SDP	1,300	28.0
	Porteus R.	Lib/SDP	1,155	-
	Tinto W.	Lib/SDP	837	-

Table 1.40

<u>Wakefield</u> <u>South</u>	(11548) 3 Seats		Votes	Share (%)
Turnout (%): 45.7	Hazell N.	Con	2,546	48.0
	Howcroft P.	Con	2,521	-
	Lofthouse A.	Con	2,244	-
	Moody C. Ms.	Lab	1,387	26.2
	Holwell P.	Lib/SDP	1,370	25.8
	Tibble P.	Lab	1,331	-
	Osborn S.	Lab	1,318	-
	Thompson P.	Lib/SDP	1,192	-
	Markey K.	Lib/SDP	1,058	-

Local Election Results 1983 (Results by constituency)**Barnsley 1983 Results****Table 2.01**

<u>Ardasley</u>	(7598)		Votes	Share (%)	
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 27.7		Galvin E.	Lab	1,603	76.3
		Dobbin J.	Con	499	23.7
1979: Lab		-	-	-	-

Table 2.02

<u>Central</u>	(8336)		Votes	Share (%)	
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 42.5		Fisher R.	Lab	2,109	59.5
		Taylor M. Ms.	Lib/SDP	1,160	32.7
1979: Lab		Gibson L.	Con	273	7.7

Table 2.03

<u>Darton</u>	(9116)		Votes	Share (%)	
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 44.5		Norbury W.	Lab	1,815	44.8
		Evans J.	Lib/SDP	1,497	36.9
1979: Res		Slater A.	Con	469	11.6
		Hutchinson M.	Ind Lab	273	6.7

Table 2.04

<u>North West</u>	(7774)		Votes	Share (%)	
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 41.1		Hadfield P.	Lab	1,783	55.9
		Harris J.	Res	587	18.4
1979: Res		Jubb M.	Con	497	15.6
		Appleyard J. Ms	LIB/SDP	325	10.2

Table 2.05

<u>Penistone East</u>	(6742)		Votes	Share (%)	
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 50.1		Wade J.	Con	1,506	44.6
		Hunter D.	Lab	1,215	36.0
1979: Lab		Hanstock O.	Lib/SDP	656	19.4

Table 2.06

<u>South West</u>	(7581)		Votes	Share (%)	
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 52.2		Hall M.	Lab	1,707	43.1
		Bickley K. Ms.	Lib/SDP	1,554	39.3
1979: Res		England G.	Con	377	9.5
		Addison M. Ms.	Res	320	8.1

Bradford 1983 Results**Table 2.07**

<u>Baildon</u>	(11614)		Votes	Share (%)	
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 52.4		Lightowler A.	Con	2,780	45.7
		Blaine I.	Lib/SDP	2,419	39.8
<i>1980: Lib</i>		English E.	Lab	878	14.4

Table 2.08

<u>Bingley</u>	(10102)		Votes	Share (%)	
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 52.8		Shaw T.	Con	2,536	47.6
		Foster G.	Lab	1,847	34.7
<i>1980: Con</i>		Tregoning N.	Lib/SDP	943	17.7

Table 2.09

<u>Bingley Rural</u>	(11089)		Votes	Share (%)	
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 46.6		Conquest D.	Con	3,203	62.2
		Ball T.	Lab	1,099	21.3
<i>1980: Con</i>		Greenwood M.	Lib/SDP	849	16.5

Table 2.10

<u>Bolton</u>	(9815)		Votes	Share (%)	
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 47.5		Hall T.	Con	2,096	45.0
		Porter G.	Lab	1,638	35.2
<i>1980: Lab</i>		Minshull J.	Lib/SDP	925	19.9

Table 2.11

<u>Bowling</u>	(13178)		Votes	Share (%)	
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 35.8		Coughlin D.	Lab	2,923	62.0
		Moore B.	Con	1,083	23.0
<i>1980: Lab</i>		Sutcliffe G.	Lib/SDP	707	15.0

Table 2.12

<u>Wyke</u>	(14469)		Votes	Share (%)	
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 40.3		Ewart D.	Lab	2,679	45.9
		Morse J.	Con	2,118	36.3
<i>1980: Lab</i>		Davis A.	Lib/SDP	1,040	17.8

Calderdale 1983 Results**Table 2.13**

<u>Brighouse</u>	(7658)		Votes	Share (%)	
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 47.5		Mullen W.	Con	1,452	39.9
		Stout C.	Lab	1,294	35.5
1980: Lab		Ellis D.	Lib/SDP	894	24.6

Table 2.14

<u>Calder Valley</u>	(8307)		Votes	Share (%)	
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 54.3		Scott G.	Lib/SDP	1,622	36.0
		Featherstone G.	Con	1,475	32.7
1980: Lib		Scott E.	Lab	1,414	31.3

Table 2.15

<u>Hipperholme & Lightcliffe</u>	(7633)		Votes	Share (%)	
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 42.8		Woodward B.	Con	1,877	57.5
		Pye D.	Lab	797	24.4
1980: Con		Robinson G. Ms.	Lib/SDP	593	18.2

Table 2.16

<u>Rastrick</u>	(7676)		Votes	Share (%)	
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 50.2		Binns P.	Lib/SDP	1,728	44.9
		Barraclough J.	Con	1,410	36.6
1980: Con		Armitage R.	Lab	712	18.5

Table 2.17

<u>Skircoat</u>	(8752)		Votes	Share (%)	
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 44.5		Whitehead E.	Con	2,604	66.8
		Watkinson H.	Lib/SDP	814	20.9
1980: Con		Najib M.	Lab	481	12.3

Doncaster 1983 Results**Table 2.18**

<u>Bessacarr</u>	(11049)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 47.4	Haigh P. Ms.	Con	2,695	51.4
	Neilson C.	Lab	1,550	29.6
<i>1980: Con</i>	Lewis G.	Lib/SDP	995	19.0

Table 2.19

<u>Hatfield</u>	(10353)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 35.4	Knight J. Ms.	Lab	1,742	47.5
	Fisher R. Ms.	Con	1,582	43.2
<i>1980: Lab</i>	Holmes A.	All	342	9.3

Table 2.20

<u>Intake</u>	(9220)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 50.3	Hall L.	Lab	2,184	47.1
	Rhoden J.	Con	1,586	34.2
<i>1980: Lab</i>	Haddow E. Ms.	Lib/SDP	867	18.7

Table 2.21

<u>Richmond</u>	(10570)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 48.5	Chapman A. Ms.	Lab	2,372	46.3
	Beard M. Ms.	Con	2,313	45.1
<i>1980: Lab</i>	Titley M. Ms	Lib/SDP	443	8.6

Table 2.22

<u>South East</u>	(10603)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 35.8	Dawson P.	Con	2,440	64.2
	Calton M. Ms.	Lab	750	19.7
<i>1980: Con</i>	Hampson C.	Lib/SDP	405	10.7
	Baker J. Ms.	Ind Res	203	5.3

Table 2.23

<u>Southern Parks</u>	(10086)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 52.8	Scales T.	Con	2,375	45.0
	Lange D.	Lib/SDP	2,202	41.7
<i>1980: Con</i>	Perry C.	Lab	706	13.4

Kirklees 1983 Results**Table 2.24**

<u>Birkby</u>	(11394)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 45.4	Crowther A. Ms.	Con	2,420	46.8
	Inniss. S	Lab	1,792	34.6
1982: Con	Ramsden J.	Lib/SDP	866	16.7
	Hirst H.	Ind	95	1.8

Table 2.25

<u>Birstall & Birkenshaw</u>	(13376)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 41.7	Shaw C.	Con	2,396	43.0
	Calvert A.	Lab	1,955	35.0
1982: Con	Prest M. Ms	Lib/SDP	1,089	19.5
	Lord C.	Ecol	138	2.5

Table 2.26

<u>Holme Valley North</u>	(10768)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 45.3	Pickering C. Ms.	Con	1,699	34.8
	Dyson A.	Lab	1,640	33.6
1982: Con	Bower M. Ms.	Lib/SDP	1,539	31.5

Table 2.27

<u>Holme Valley South</u>	(11806)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 46.3	Thorpe J.	Con	1,918	35.1
	Smith H. Ms.	Lib/SDP	1,898	34.7
1982: Lib/SDP	Broadbent V. Ms.	Lab	1,650	30.2

Table 2.28

<u>Kirkburton</u>	(10989)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 46.1	Dibb E. Ms.	Con	2,602	51.4
	Haigh J.	Lab	1,768	35.3
1982: Con	Donald J.	Lib/SDP	676	13.3

Table 2.29

<u>Paddock</u>	(11653)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 42.4	Hasler K. Ms.	Lib/SDP	1,795	36.3
	Greenwood V. Ms.	Lab	1,594	32.3
1982: Lib/SDP	Margrave J.	Con	1,552	31.4

Leeds 1983 Results**Table 2.30**

<u>Aireborough</u>	(19042)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 48.1	Barber H.	Con	3,958	43.2
	Cooksey M.	Lib/SDP	2,678	29.2
1980: Con	Booth P.	Lab	2,532	27.6

Table 2.31

<u>Cookridge</u>	(16636)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 44.5	Wheatley A. Ms.	Con	4,141	55.9
	Kelley P.	Lib/SDP	1,900	25.7
1980: Con	Davis F.	Lab	1,362	18.4

Table 2.32

<u>Garforth & Swillington</u>	(18156)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 45.9	Lambert D.	Lab	3,673	44.1
	May N.	Con	3,562	42.8
1980: Lab	Wilson P.	Lib/SDP	1,095	13.1

Table 2.33

<u>Halton</u>	(15949)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 42.6	Hyde W.	Con	4,025	59.2
	Prichard W.	Lab	1,700	25.0
1980: Con	Ratcliffe J.	Lib/SDP	1,069	15.7

Table 2.34

<u>Horsforth</u>	(17357)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 48.7	Stevens V.	Con	3,875	45.8
	Crossfield M.	Lib/SDP	3,720	44.0
1980: Lib	Radford A.	Lab	858	10.2

Table 2.35

<u>Morley North</u>	(16913)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 44.8	Marshall G.	Con	3,522	46.5
	Cordingley R.	Lab	3,168	41.8
1980: Lab	Smith H	Lib/SDP	886	11.7

Table 2.36

<u>Pudsey North</u>	(18099)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 44.4	Favell I. Ms.	Con	4,031	50.1
	Burnley F.	Lab	2,444	30.4
1980: Con	Hudson V.	Lib/SDP	1,569	19.5

Wakefield 1983 Results**Table 2.37**

<u>Crofton & Ackworth</u>	(11474)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 41.8	Wooffindin J.	Lib/SDP	2,032	42.7
	Hirst R.	Lab	2,018	42.4
1982: Lab	Elden S. Ms.	Con	711	14.9

Table 2.38

<u>Ossett</u>	(11469)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 39.3	Williamson E.	Lab	1,595	35.9
	Blockley P. Ms.	Lib/SDP	1,549	34.9
1982: Lib/SDP	Parkinson M.	Con	1,297	29.2

Table 2.39

<u>Pontefract South</u>	(11043)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 40.2	Bullock B.	Lab	2,220	50.00
1982: Lab	Holt G.	Con	2,218	50.00

Table 2.40

<u>Wakefield Rural</u>	(11608)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 39.4	Major R.	Con	1,809	39.5
	Morris M. Ms.	Lab	1,210	26.4
1982: Lab	Barlow A.	True Lab	1,077	23.5
	Lowe P. Ms.	Lib/SDP	488	10.6

Table 2.41

<u>Wakefield South</u>	(11796)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 42.3	Lofthouse A.	Con	2,738	55.0
	Brighton L.	Lab	1,336	26.9
1982: Con	Walsh T.	Lib/SDP	901	18.1

Local Election Results 1986 (Results by constituency)**Barnsley 1986 Results****Table 3.01**

<u>Ardasley</u>	(7722)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 26.3	Shirt R.	Lab	1,504	74.1
1982: Lab	Swift D.	Lib/SDP	525	25.9

Table 3.02

<u>Central</u>	(8631)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 34.4	Wood J.	Lab	2,245	75.7
1982: Lab	Major C.	Lib/SDP	720	24.3

Table 3.03

<u>Darton</u>	(9280)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 38.6	McKenna E.	Lab	2,463	68.7
1982: Lab	Smith A.	Lib/SDP	1,120	31.3

Table 3.04

<u>North West</u>	(7670)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 35.1	Williams A.	Lab	1,807	67.2
1982: Lab	Price E.	Lib/SDP	882	32.8

Table 3.05

<u>Penistone East</u>	(6993)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 48.4	Hunter D.	Lab	1,600	47.2
1982: Lib/SDP	Wardle M. Ms	Con	1,178	34.8
	Marshall J. Ms.	Lib/SDP	610	18.0

Table 3.06

<u>South West</u>	(7672) 2 Seats		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 39.7	Foster D.	Lab	1,938	63.3
1982: Lab	Parry L.	Lab	1,705	-
	Hallam D.	Lib/SDP	1,109	36.4

Bradford 1986 Results

Composition of the Council – Table 1b – p.118.

Party	Seats
Labour	51
Conservatives	36
Liberal	3
SDP	-
Independent	-

Table 3.07

<u>Baildon</u>		(11990)	Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 51.4	Charlesworth C.	Con	3,014	48.9
	Greenwood K.*	Lib/SDP	1,876	30.4
1982: <i>Lib/SDP</i>	Ms.			
	Baxter R.	Lab	1,092	17.7
	Harris C.	Green	185	3.0

Table 3.08

<u>Bingley</u>		(10317)	Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 49.1	Nunn W.*	Con	2,255	44.5
	Tough Y. Ms.	Lab	1,805	35.6
1982: <i>Con</i>	Whitehead S.	Lib/SDP	1,005	19.8

Table 3.09

<u>Bingley Rural</u>		(11438)	Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 45.2	Eaton E. Ms.	Con	2,673	51.7
	Leitch J. Ms.	Lab	1,280	24.8
1982: <i>Con</i>	Parker B.	Lib/SDP	1,218	23.6

Table 3.10

<u>Bolton</u>		(10181)	Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 44.0	Young M.	Lab	1,690	37.7
	Lee F.*	Con	1,504	33.6
1982: <i>Con</i>	Hare C.	Lib/SDP	1,283	28.7

Table 3.11

<u>Bowling</u>		(13460)	Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 32.6	Walters M.*	Lab	3,021	68.8
	Siddique M.	Con	690	15.7
1982: <i>Lab</i>	Beacher G.	Lib/SDP	682	15.5

Table 3.12

<u>Worth Valley</u>		(10396)	Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 42.6	Midgley S.*	Con	2,125	54.5
	Kelly R.	Lab	1,520	34.3
1982: <i>Con</i>	Quayle R>	Lib/SDP	782	17.7

Table 3.13

<u>Wyke</u>		(12371)	Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 42.6	Mangham D.*	Lab	2,320	54.5
	Owen V. Ms.	Con	1,101	25.9
1982: <i>Lab</i>	Blagboro R.	Lib/SDP	834	19.6

Calderdale 1986 Results**Table 3.14**

<u>Brighouse</u>	(7813)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 45.0	Hions. E. Ms.*	Lab	1,732	49.3
	O'Connor C.	Con	1,122	31.9
1982: Lab	Smith W.	Lib/SDP	662	18.8

Table 3.15

<u>Calder Valley</u>	(8447)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 51.0	Rogers J.	Lab	1,872	43.5
	Kilbey D.*	Lib/SDP	1,402	32.5
1982: Lib/SDP	Steen T.	Con	1,034	24.0

Table 3.16

<u>Hipperholme & Lightcliffe</u>	(7969)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 41.7	Sharp W.*	Con	1,394	42.0
	Preston R.	Lab	1,067	32.1
1982: Con	Robinson G. Ms.	Lib/SDP	862	25.9

Table 3.17

<u>Northowram & Shelf</u>	(8344)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 38.9	Bradley J.*	Con	1,466	45.2
	Reynolds M.	Lab	998	30.7
1982: Con	Plunkett M.	Lib/SDP	782	24.1

Table 3.18

<u>Rastrick</u>	(7816)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 46.2	Maesden B.*	Lib/SDP	1,321	36.6
	Goldthorpe J.	Con	975	27.0
1982: Con	Jagger P.	Lab	813	22.5
	Kokans E.	Res	502	13.9

Table 3.19

<u>Skircoat</u>	(8883)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 42.0	Culpan A. Ms.	Con	1,852	49.6
	Hoare R.	Lib/SDP	1,098	29.4
1982: Con	Clements R.	Lab	781	20.9

Doncaster 1986 Results**Table 3.20**

<u>Bessacarr</u>	(11037)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 48.7	Prior I.*	Con	2,355	43.8
	Thomson D.	Lab	2,104	39.3
1982: Con	Lewis G.	Lib/SDP	912	17.0

Table 3.21

<u>Hatfield</u>	(10817)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 34.0	McDade G. Ms.	Lab	2,380	64.7
1982: Lab	Chappell J.	Con	1,299	35.3

Table 3.22

<u>Intake</u>	(8921)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 42.2	Marshall B. Ms.*	Lab	2,197	58.3
	Spencer W.	Con	1,024	27.2
1982: Lab	Hampson C.	Lib/SDP	546	14.5

Table 3.23

<u>Richmond</u>	(10719)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 45.1	Rose R.	Lab	2,928	60.5
1982: Lab	Beard D.	Con	1,909	39.5

Table 3.24

<u>South East</u>	(11167)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 34.1	Speakman M. Ms	Con	2,129	56.0
	Tapson B.	Lab	927	24.4
1982: Con	Timiney K. Ms.	Lib/SDP	748	19.7

Table 3.25

<u>Southern Parks</u>	(10534)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 48.9	Stephenson G.	Con	2,310	44.9
	Lange D.	Lib/SDP	2,048	39.8
1982: Con	Molloy H. Ms.	Lab	792	15.4

Kirklees 1986 Results**Table 3.26**

<u>Birkby</u>	(11240)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 50.8	Harris D.	Lab	2,483	43.5
	Slater D. Ms.*	Con	2,125	37.2
1982: Con	Johnson W.	Lib/SDP	1,102	19.3

Table 3.27

<u>Birstall and Birkenshaw</u>	(13512)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 41.1	Kershaw L.*	Con	2,214	39.9
	Dick B. Ms.	Lab	2,183	39.3
1982: Con	Watersworth A.	Lib/SDP	933	16.8
	Lord C.	Green	222	4.0

Table 3.28

<u>Holme Valley North</u>	(11154)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 48.0	Illingworth W.*	Con	2,145	40.1
	Haigh D.	Lib/SDP	1,953	36.5
1982: Con	Belcher A.	Lab	1,256	23.5

Table 3.29

<u>Holme Valley South</u>	(12099)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 48.5	Smith H. Ms.	Lib/SDP	2,245	38.3
	Ayoubi S. Ms.	Con	2,045	34.9
1982: Lib/SDP	Snape D.	Lab	1,578	26.9

Table 3.30

<u>Kirkburton</u>	(12093)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 44.7	Kaye S.*	Con	2,467	45.6
	Haigh B.	Lab	1,898	35.1
1982: Con	Donald J.	Lib/SDP	1,042	19.3

Table 3.31

<u>Lindley</u>	(12297)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 45.4	Holt J.*	Con	3,030	54.3
	Hogley I.	Lib/SDP	1,701	30.5
1982: Con	Akhtar J.	Lab	852	15.3

Table 3.32

<u>Paddock</u>	(11369)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 49.6	Harman A.	Lab	2,170	38.5
	Mathieson M.	Ind	1,954	34.7
	Ms.*			
1982: Lib/SDP	O'Malley M. Ms.	Con	926	16.4
	O'Grady M.	Lib/SDP	589	10.4

Leeds 1986 Results

Composition of the Council – Table 2b – p.118.

Party	Seats
Labour	58
Conservatives	28
Liberal	10
SDP	1
Independent	2

Table 3.33

<u>Aireborough</u>	(19472)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 43.8	Atkinson J.	Con	3,260	38.2
	Brown J. Ms.	Lib/SDP	2,841	33.3
1982: Con	Dunn M. Ms.	Lab	2,432	28.5

Table 3.34

<u>Cookridge</u>	(17214)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 46.1	Carter J.*	Con	3,788	47.7
	Cooksey M. Ms.	Lib/SDP	2,748	34.6
1982: Con	Dale B.	Lab	1,406	17.7

Table 3.35

<u>Garforth & Swillington</u>	(18547)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 44.9	Groves A.	Lab	3,743	45.0
	May N.	Con	2,825	34.0
1982: Con	Ayres E.	Lib/SDP	1,752	21.1

Table 3.36

<u>Halton</u>	(16785) 2 seats		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 41.3	Schofield D.	Con	3,142	44.1
	Wood D. Ms.	Con	3,028	-
	Burton M.	Lab	2,270	31.9
	Prior K.	Lab	2,099	-
	Readman A.	Lib/SDP	1,712	24.0
1982: Con	Ayres T.	Lib/SDP	1,608	-

Table 3.37

<u>Horsforth</u>	(17608)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 45.6	Cummins J.*	Lib/SDP	3,704	46.2
	Whitehead S.	Con	3,112	38.8
1982: Lib/SDP	Hamilton F.	Lab	1,210	15.1

Table 3.38

<u>Morley North</u>	(17235)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 41.1	Fitzpatrick P. Ms.	Lab	3,126	44.2
	Verity R. Ms.*	Con	2,650	37.5
1982: Con	Haywood P.	Lib/SDP	1,300	18.4

Table 3.39

<u>Pudsey North</u>	(18302)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 44.5	Bashall J.*	Con	3,175	39.0
	McKenna J.	Lab	2,585	31.7
1982: Con	Garner C. Ms.	Lib/SDP	2,383	29.3

Wakefield 1986 Results**Table 3.40**

<u>Crofton & Ackworth</u>	(11587)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 42.2	Noble A.*	Lab	2,665	54.4
	Murphy P.	Lib/SDP	1,613	33.0
1982: Lab	Snow M.	Con	610	12.5

Table 3.41

<u>Ossett</u>	(11449)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 36.6	Rochester N.*	Lib/SDP	1,786	42.7
	Crook T.	Lab	1,629	38.9
1982: Lib/SDP	Brocklesby W.	Con	770	18.4

Table 3.42

<u>Wakefield Rural</u>	(11920)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 38.0	Chandler M.*	Lab	2,656	58.6
1982: Lab	Turner M. Ms.	Con	1,874	41.4

Table 3.43

<u>Wakefield South</u>	(11807)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 44.2	Hazell N.*	Con	3,023	57.9
1982: Con	Council R.	Lab	2,201	42.1

Local Election Results 1987 (Results by constituency)**Barnsley 1987 Results****Table 4.01**

<u>Ardasley</u>	(7628)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 31.5	Clowery F.	Lab	1,453	60.5
1983: Lab	Parkin A.	Ind Lab	948	39.5

Table 4.02

<u>Central</u>	(8729)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 36.0	Fisher R*	Lab	2,207	70.2
1982: Lab	Major C.	Lib/SDP	648	20.6
	Dobbin J.	Con	290	9.2

Table 4.03

<u>Darton</u>	(9265)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 40.1	Norbury R.*	Lab	2,467	66.3
1983: Lab	Smith A.	Lib/SDP	703	18.9
	Thorpe P.	Con	549	14.8

Table 4.04

<u>North West</u>	(7659)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 33.2	Hadfield P.*	Lab	1,679	66.1
1983: Lab	Carrington C. Ms.	Con	860	33.9

Table 4.05

<u>Penistone East</u>	(7026)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 52.9	Wade J.*	Con	1,743	46.9
1983: Con	O'Connell P.	Lab	1,464	39.4
	Marshall J. Ms.	Lib/SDP	513	13.8

Table 4.06

<u>South West</u>	(7771)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 42.7	Hall M.*	Lab	2,004	60.4
1983: Lab	Hallam D.	Lib/SDP	789	23.8
	Carrington J.	Con	527	15.9

Bradford 1987 Results

Composition of the Council – Table 1c – p.118.

Party	Seats
Labour	49
Conservatives	38
Liberal	3
SDP	-
Independent	-

Table 4.07

<u>Baildon</u>	(12007)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 57.0	Poulton K.	Con	3,010	44.0
	Duckham S.	Lib/SDP	2,939	43.0
	Callaghan S-J	Lab	777	11.4
	Ms.			
1983: Con	Harris C.	Green	112	1.6

Table 4.08

<u>Bingley</u>	(10260) 2 Seats		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 54.4	Shaw T.*	Con	2,404	40.8
	Seager G.	Con	2,058	-
	Beeley M. Ms.	Lab	1,287	21.8
	Womersley J.	Lab	1,267	-
	Ms.			
	Jackson R.	Res	1,103	18.7
	Whitehead S.	Lib/SDP	1,098	18.6
1983: Con	Mawhinney C.	Lib/SDP	841	-

Table 4.09

<u>Bingley Rural</u>	(11551)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 50.3	Conquest D.*	Con	2,762	47.6
	Reay L. Ms.	Res	1,216	20.9
	Parker B.	Lib/SDP	1,053	18.1
	1983: Con	Gregory M.	Lab	777

Table 4.10

<u>Bolton</u>	(10188)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 46.1	Lee F.*	Con	2,150	45.8
	English E. Ms.	Lab	1,514	32.2
	1983: Con	Glenn I.	Lib/SDP	1,031

Table 4.11

<u>Bowling</u>	(13176)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 34.6	Coughlin D.*	Lab	2,767	60.7
	Moore G.	Con	1,048	23.0
	1983: Lab	Beacher G.	Lib/SDP	747

Table 4.12

<u>Worth Valley</u>	(10603)		Votes	Share (%)
Turnout (%): 47.8	Pickles E.*	Con	2,842	56.1
	Grievson D. Ms.	Lab	1,305	25.8
1983: Con	Malone M. Ms.	Lib/SDP	917	18.1

Table 4.13

<u>Wyke</u>	(12410)		Votes	Share (%)
Turnout (%): 40.0	Wardman C.	Lab	2,055	41.4
	Buonvino R.	Con	1,698	34.2
1983: Lab	Blagboro R.	Lib/SDP	1,208	24.3

Calderdale 1987 Results**Table 4.14**

<u>Brighouse</u>	(7777)		Votes	Share (%)
Turnout (%): 48.4	Mullen W.	Con	1,509	40.1
	McDonagh T. Ms.	Lab	1,282	34.1
1983: Con	Smith A.	Lib/SDP	971	25.8

Table 4.15

<u>Calder Valley</u>	(8570)		Votes	Share (%)
Turnout (%): 55.3	Scott G.	Lib/SDP	1,669	35.2
	Carson R.	Lab	1,627	34.3
1983: Lib/SDP	Sutcliffe D. Ms.	Con	1,441	30.4

Table 4.16

<u>Hipperholme & Lightcliffe</u>	(8070)		Votes	Share (%)
Turnout (%): 50.9	Scott M. Ms.	Con	2,019	49.1
	Kalanovic A.	Lab	1,046	25.5
1983: Con	Adshead N. Ms.	Lib/SDP	1,043	24.4

Table 4.17

<u>Northowram & Shelf</u>	(8534)		Votes	Share (%)
Turnout (%): 41.9	Carpenter W.	Con	1,987	55.6
	Reynolds M.	Lab	820	22.9
1983: Con	Plunkett. M.	Lib/SDP	766	21.4

Table 4.18

<u>Rastrick</u>	(7952)		Votes	Share (%)
Turnout (%): 56.3	Hall G.*	Con	2,095	46.8
	Popps J.	Lib/SDP	1,348	30.1
1983: Con	Nicholson M.	Lab	1,032	23.1

Table 4.19

<u>Skircoat</u>	(9030)		Votes	Share (%)
Turnout (%): 46.4	Whitehead E.*	Con	2,373	56.6
	Hoare B.	Lib/SDP	1,069	25.5
1983: Con	Smallwood M.	Lab	751	17.9

Doncaster 1987 Results**Table 4.20**

<u>Bessacarr</u>	(11132)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 56.7	Somers J.	Con	3,227	51.1
	Thomson D.	Lab	2,344	37.1
1983: Con	Skipworth	Lib/SDP	742	11.8

Table 4.21

<u>Hatfield</u>	(11162)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 40.3	Knight J. Ms.*	Lab	2,544	56.6
1983: Lab	Brown J.	Con	1,950	43.4

Table 4.22

<u>Intake</u>	(8809)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 45.7	Hall L.*	Lab	2,117	52.6
	Spencer W.	Con	1,249	31.0
1983: Lab	Hampson C.	Lib/SDP	658	16.4

Table 4.23

<u>Richmond</u>	(10739)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 46.9	Hawley J. Ms.	Lab	2,612	51.9
	Beard D.	Con	1,690	33.6
1983: Lab	Garbutt F. Ms.	Lib/SDP	731	14.5

Table 4.24

<u>South East</u>	(11501)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 40.3	Dawson P.*	Con	2,759	59.5
	Wilcox T.	Lab	1,044	22.5
1983: Con	Timiney K. Ms.	Lib/SDP	835	18.0

Table 4.25

<u>Southern Parks</u>	(10684)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 55.1	Scales T.*	Con	2,623	44.5
	Lange D.	Lib/SDP	2,225	37.8
1983: Con	Molloy H. Ms.	Lab	1,040	17.7

Kirklees 1987 Results**Table 4.26**

<u>Birkby</u>	(11197)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 55.6	McBride P.	Lab	2,587	41.6
	Weir E.	Con	2,013	35.4
1983: Con	Johnson W.	Lib/SDP	1,621	26.1

Table 4.27

<u>Birkenstall & Birkenshaw</u>	(13395)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 51.9	Light R.	Con	3,252	46.8
	Dick B. Ms.	Lab	2,526	36.3
	Thornton S.	Lib/SDP	1,033	14.9
1983: Con	Lord C.	Green	143	2.1

Table 4.28

<u>Home Valley North</u>	(11141)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 52.8	Bower M. Ms.	Lib/SDP	2,379	40.4
	Craven N.	Con	1,954	33.2
1983: Con	Seale T.	Lab	1,555	26.4

Table 4.29

<u>Holme Valley South</u>	(12113)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 54.2	Thorpe J.*	Con	3,028	46.1
	Garnett T.	Lib/SDP	1,907	29.0
	Dixon S.	Lab	1,458	22.2
1983: Con	Ward B.	Green	172	2.6

Table 4.30

<u>Kirkburton</u>	(11656)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 51.8	Sykes J.	Con	3,041	50.3
	Haigh B.	Lab	1,890	31.3
1983: Con	Grange I.	Lib/SDP	1,111	18.4

Table 4.31

<u>Lindley</u>	(12466)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 49.8	Parfitt L.*	Con	2,758	44.4
	Farnan D.	Lib/SDP	2,394	38.5
	Robinson C.	Lab	891	14.3
1983: Con	Mullany M.	Green	171	2.8

Table 4.32

<u>Paddock</u>	(11396)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 55.5	Mathieson M. Ms.	Con	2,499	39.5
	Harman S. Ms.	Lab	2,225	35.7
	Hasler K. Ms.	Lib/SDP	1,476	23.3
1983: Lib.SDP	Barnes T.	Green	92	1.5

Leeds 1987 Results

Composition of the Council – Table 2c – p.118.

Party	Seats
Labour	58
Conservatives	25
Liberal	12
SDP	2
Independent	2

Table 4.33

<u>Aireborough</u>	(19557)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 46.1	Brown J. Ms.	Lib/SDP	3,937	43.7
	Bainbridge S.	Con	3,324	36.9
1983: Con	Dunn M. Ms.	Lab	1,752	19.4

Table 4.34

<u>Cookridge</u>	(17270)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 49.4	McBride P.	Lab	2,587	41.6
	Weir E.	Con	2,013	35.4
1983: Con	Johnson W.	Lib/SDP	1,621	26.1

Table 4.35

<u>Garforth & Swillington</u>	(18623)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 49.3	Ratchford J.	Lab	4,065	44.3
	Stelling M. Ms.	Con	3,367	36.7
1983: Lab	Ayres E.	Lib/SDP	1,749	19.1

Table 4.36

<u>Halton</u>	(17019)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 46.7	Hyde W.*	Con	4,378	55.1
	Burton M.	Lab	1,845	23.2
1983: Con	Ayres T.	Lib/SDP	1,726	21.7

Table 4.37

<u>Horsforth</u>	(17776)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 47.3	Rich B.	Lib/SDP	3,708	44.1
	Lavery H.	Con	3,465	41.3
1983: Con	Hugill I.	Lab	1,227	14.6

Table 4.38

<u>Morley North</u>	(17235)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 45.3	Binks R.	Con	3,547	45.4
	Jones F. Ms.	Lab	3,074	39.4
1983: Con	Haywood P.	Lib/SDP	1,184	15.2

Table 4.39

<u>Pudsey North</u>	(18199)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 50.2	Favell I. Ms.*	Con	4,017	43.9
	Garner C. Ms.	Lib/SDP	2,871	31.4
1983: Con	McKenna J.	Lab	2,253	24.6

Wakefield 1987 Results**Table 4.40**

<u>Crofton & Ackworth</u>	(11588)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 50.7	Woofindin J.*	Lib/SDP	3,266	55.6
1983: Lib/SDP	Bridges P.	Lab	2,613	44.4

Table 4.41

<u>Ossett</u>	(11513)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 43.7	Williamson E.*	Lab	2,015	40.0
	Bryan R.	Lib/SDP	1,718	34.1
1983: Lab	Scott H.	Con	1,299	25.8

Table 4.42

<u>Wakefield Rural</u>	(12118) 2 Seats		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 44.7	Kenworthy M.	Lab	2,377	43.9
	Reilly K. Ms.	Lab	2,264	-
1983: Con	Major R.*	Con	2,171	40.1
	Holwell A. Ms.	Con	1,960	-
	Banks R.	Lib/SDP	864	16.0

Table 4.43

<u>Wakefield South</u>	(11792)		Votes	Share (%)
<i>Turnout (%)</i> : 46.6	Lofthouse A.*	Con	3,042	55.3
	Tibble C. Ms.	Lab	1,667	30.3
1983: Con	Minich J.	Lib/SDP	790	14.4