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## UK Election Statistics：1918－ 2023，A Long Century of Elections



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## 1 <br> Introduction

This paper provides summary results for UK elections from 1918 to 2022, giving more extensive details about UK general elections.

1918 marked a major shift in British electoral politics. An extension of the electoral franchise meant women aged over 30 were able to vote in general elections for the first time. It was also no longer necessary to hold property to be able to vote, thus bringing many more working-class men into the electorate too. The Liberals' position as one of the two dominant parties in British politics alongside the Conservatives was threatened by splits in the party leadership. Labour became the main opposition party at the 1918 General Election as a consequence of a Conservative-Liberal coalition, and by 1922 Labour had supplanted the Liberals as the Conservatives' main challenger.

Since 1918, British elections have been dominated by the Conservatives and Labour. In 18 out of 28 general elections since 1918 the Conservative Party won most seats, while Labour won most seats on the other ten occasions. In all general elections between 1918 and 1935 the Conservatives received more votes than any other party. Since 1945 the Conservatives' lowest vote share was 31\% in 1997, and Labour's 28\% in 1983.

Labour did not win a House of Commons majority until 1945, although it twice formed minority governments after the 1923 and 1929 elections. Labour became the second largest party at Westminster behind the Conservatives in 1922, when it received slightly more votes than the Liberals but won more than twice as many seats.

Between 1945 and 1970 all but a handful of House of Commons seats were held by the Conservatives and Labour, who together took about nine in every ten votes cast in general elections over this period. From 1974 to 2010 an increasing share of the vote went to the Liberal Party and its successor, the Liberal Democrats. The Scottish National Party became the third largest in Parliament in 2015 with 56 MPs and retained that position with 48 seats in 2019. The number of Liberal Democrat MPs decreased from 57 in 2010 to 8 in 2015 before rising to 12 in 2017 and 11 in 2019. Support for independent candidates and candidates from parties other than the largest four (those with eight or more MPs) increased from less than 1\% in 1951 to nearly $20 \%$ in 2015, but since fell to 8\% in 2019.

The profile of Members of Parliament elected at general elections has altered since 1918. Only one of the 707 MPs elected in 1918 was a woman, compared to 220 out of 650 MPs in 2019. Four Labour MPs elected in 1987 were the first MPs with a minority ethnic background to sit in the House in the post-war era; it is
estimated that 65 MPs elected in 2019 were from minority ethnic backgrounds. Today more MPs have been to university than was the case sixty years ago, while the numbers who attended private schools or went to Oxbridge has decreased.

The growth in support for other parties at general elections can also be observed in local government elections and elections to the European Parliament. The Conservative, Labour and Liberal Democrat parties won 97\% of the vote in the 1979 European Parliament elections but only 56\% in 2014 and $43 \%$ in 2019. The introduction of a proportional voting system for European Parliament elections in 1999 was a factor in more MEPs being elected from other parties. The First Past the Post electoral system used in Westminster elections and local elections in England and Wales means that the increase in votes for other parties has not translated to the same extent into an increase in their number of MPs or councillors.

The Scottish National Party (SNP) and Plaid Cymru have generally performed better in devolved elections than in Westminster elections. While the SNP has improved on its performance in the first Scottish Parliament election in 1999, Plaid Cymru has been unable to match its performance in 1999 at subsequent elections.

Parliamentary by-elections are now less common than 50 years ago and in areas that have moved from a two-tier structure to unitary status, local elections are less frequent. However, devolution in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland and the introduction of elected mayors and police and crime commissioners mean additional events have been added to the electoral calendar.

## 1 Further information

Detailed results from individual elections can be found in relevant House of Commons Library research papers, and underlying data for each chart and figure and additional statistics can be found in the accompanying Excel file. This paper replaces Library Briefing Paper 7529 "Election Statistics: 1918-2021: A Century of Elections" ( $18^{\text {th }}$ August 2021) and has been updated to include results of the 2022 Northern Ireland Assembly and local elections. It will be updated to take account of any subsequent elections and when new data becomes available.

## 2

 General elections since 1918
## 2.1 Summary of results

There have been 28 UK general elections since 1918. On 18 occasions the Conservatives won the most seats while Labour won the most seats on ten occasions.

On three occasions, the party with the most votes did not win the most seats. In 1929 and in February 1974, Labour polled fewer votes than the Conservatives but had more MPs. In 1951 the Conservatives won the most seats but received fewer votes than Labour.

Most recently, in 2019, the Conservatives won the largest number of seats and votes with 365 seats and $43.6 \%$ of votes across the UK. The Party's share of the vote was the highest for any single party since their $43.9 \%$ share in 1979. Detailed analysis of the 2019 General Election is available in House of Commons Library Briefing Paper CBP-8749.

Share of the vote by party: UK General Elections, 1918-2019


Seats won by party at UK General Elections: 1918-2019


[^0]
## Conservative vote share

1918-2019


Labour vote share


## Conservatives

The Conservatives' best results in terms of both share of the vote and seats was in the 1931 General Election, which followed the creation of a National Coalition government between Ramsay MacDonald's National Labour, the Conservatives and some Liberal Members. The Conservatives received 55.5\% of the vote and won 474 seats ( $60.8 \%$ of the vote and 522 seats if National, National Liberal and National Labour candidates are included). The Party's best result in terms of seats won since 1945 was at the 1983 General Election, when 397 Conservative MPs were elected. Its highest share of the vote was $49.7 \%$ in 1955. At the 1997 General Election, there were 165 Conservative MPs elected and the Party received $30.7 \%$ of the vote. This was its worst performance in terms of share of the vote and seats since 1918.

## Labour

The first Labour majority government was elected in 1945, although it had twice formed a minority government (following the 1923 and 1929 general elections). After the 1918 election, a coalition between Conservatives and Liberals meant Labour became the largest opposition party despite having only 59 MPs. The 1929 election was the first time they were the largest party in terms of MPs elected, winning 287 out of 615 seats. However, only 52 Labour MPs were returned in the 1931 General Election, following the formation of the National Coalition government.

418 Labour MPs were elected in 1997, the highest number ever. The highest share of the vote received by Labour in a general election was $48.8 \%$ in 1951, when the Conservatives won the most seats despite polling fewer votes.

Labour's lowest vote share of the post-war years was in 1983, with $27.6 \%$ of the vote and 209 seats. In 2019, Labour won 32.1\% of the total votes and 202 seats, their lowest number since 1935.

## Lib Dem vote share

1918-2019


PC/SNP vote share
1918-2019


Note: horizontal axis range is $0-10 \%$

## Liberal Democrats (Liberals)

The Liberal Party was replaced by Labour as the main challenger to the Conservatives in the aftermath of the First World War. The Liberal Party won 399 seats at the 1906 General Election, a majority of 129, and in both elections of 1910 they were the largest party in terms of seats won.

However, after the 1929 election, when 59 Liberal MPs were elected, the party ceased to challenge on the same scale as the Conservatives and Labour. The party split in 1931/32, with National Liberals in government under Ramsay MacDonald. Only 117 Liberal candidates contested the 1931 election; 36 were elected.

The Liberal Party contested the 1983 and 1987 elections in alliance with the Social Democratic Party (SDP), before the two parties merged in 1988 to form the Liberal Democrat Party. The SDP had been established in January 1981 and by March 1982 it had 29 MPs, most of whom had defected from Labour. The Alliance received a quarter of votes cast in the 1983 election but won only 23 seats.

62 Liberal Democrat MPs were elected in 2005, the highest number for the Party and its predecessors since 1923 (when the Liberals won 158 seats). In 2010, there were 57 Liberal Democrat MPs, but their number fell to 8 in 2015. In 2017 the number of Liberal Democrat MPs rose to 12, before decreasing to 11 in 2019.

## Scottish National Party

The Scottish National Party (SNP) won its first seat at a general election in 1970, although it had previously won seats at by-elections in 1945 and 1967. The May 2015 election, when the party received $50 \%$ of the vote in Scotland and won 56 seats, was the SNP's best performance. In 2019, the SNP won 48 seats and $45 \%$ of the vote share. This was 8.0 percentage points up on 2017, although below its previous height of $50 \%$ in 2015.

## Plaid Cymru

Plaid Cymru won its first seats in a general election in February 1974, having previously won a by-election in 1966. Its highest share of the vote in Wales was $14.3 \%$ in 2001. The most seats won by Plaid Cymru at a general election is four, in 1992, 1997, 2001, 2017 and 2019.

## Others vote share

1918-2019


Note: horizontal axis range is $0-30 \%$

## Other parties

In 2019 the 'Other' political parties received $8.4 \%$ of the UK vote, this was an increase from 6.8\% in 2017 - the lowest percentage of the vote since 1997. In 2019, 'Other' parties also secured $3.1 \%$ of Commons seats, compared to 14.9\% in 1918.

The UK Independence Party (UKIP) received its highest share of votes (with $12.6 \%$ of the total vote) in 2015 when it won its first ever seat. The Party lost this seat in 2017 and failed to regain it in 2019. In the 2019 General Election, UKIP recorded its lowest vote share since its establishment in 1991. It is likely that it lost some of its support to the Conservatives and the Brexit Party, headed by its former leader, Nigel Farage. The Brexit Party won $2 \%$ of the vote across the UK and did not win any seats in 2019.

The Green Party won a House of Commons seat for the first time at the 2010 General Election, this seat (Brighton Pavilion) remained the only Green seat after the 2015, 2017 and 2019 General Elections. In 2019, the party increased its vote share compared with 2017. However, it did not equal the record 3.8\% vote share it won at the 2015 General Election.

In the years after Northern Ireland was established in 1922, the Ulster Unionists dominated elections to Westminster as well as to the devolved Northern Ireland Parliament, and the few seats that did not return Unionist candidates were generally won by the Nationalist Party. Northern Ireland politics altered in the early 1970s when new parties were created. On the unionist side, there were the Democratic Unionists and the Vanguard Unionists, while the SDLP swiftly emerged as the main nationalist party after its formation in 1970. ${ }^{1}$ The Ulster Unionists took the Conservative whip at Westminster until 1972. In this paper, Ulster Unionist general election candidates are listed as Conservatives for elections up to 1970 but are listed separately from 1974.

The Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) replaced the Ulster Unionist Party (UUP) as the main unionist party in 2001. In 2019, the DUP won eight seats, two fewer than in 2017. Unionists now have fewer Westminster seats than Nationalists for the first time since Northern Ireland's establishment in 1922.

Sinn Féin had seven MPs after the 2019 General Election, the same as in 2017. This is their highest number since the establishment of Northern Ireland in 1922. Sinn Féin has an abstentionist policy and its MPs have not taken their seats in the House of Commons.

The Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP) gained two seats in 2019. This was a recovery from failing to win any seats in the House of Commons in the 2017 General Election - the first time since the Party's formation in 1970.

[^1]
## Speaker

The Speaker of the House of Commons now contests general elections as "the Speaker seeking re-election" rather than as a party candidate. By convention the main parties generally do not stand against the Speaker in a general election, although there have been occasions on which the Speaker faced opposition from candidates for the main parties (most recently in 1987). In this paper, the Speaker is listed under 'Other' for elections from 1997 onwards. For elections before 1997, the Speaker is listed under the party for which he or she was formerly a Member.

## 2.2

## Governments formed

Since 1918 there have been thirteen Conservative governments, eleven Labour governments, two national governments and two coalition governments.

The Conservatives held the most seats following the 1923 General Election but resigned government to be replaced by a minority Labour administration. Labour was the largest party in the House of Commons after the 1929 and February 1974 general elections and on both occasions formed a minority government. In 2010, the Conservatives were the largest party and formed a coalition government with the Liberal Democrats. In 2017, the Conservatives lost the majority they had in 2015. They had the highest number of seats but were ten seats short of a majority and formed a minority government. In 2019, the Party regained its majority position with 365 seats in the House of Commons.

The table below shows governments formed following general elections since 1918.

## Governments formed following general elections

| Date |  | Party forming government | Prime Minister | Majority ${ }^{1}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 14/12/1918 | 2 | Coalition | David Lloyd George | 283 |
| 15/11/1922 |  | Conservative | Andrew Bonar Law | 74 |
| 06/12/1923 | 3 | Labour | Ramsay MacDonald | None |
| 29/10/1924 |  | Conservative | Stanley Baldwin | 210 |
| 30/05/1929 |  | Labour | Ramsay MacDonald | None |
| 27/10/1931 | 4 | National | Ramsay MacDonald | 492 |
| 14/11/1935 | 5 | National | Stanley Baldwin | 242 |
| 05/07/1945 |  | Labour | Clement Attlee | 147 |
| 23/02/1950 |  | Labour | Clement Attlee | 6 |
| 25/10/1951 |  | Conservative | Sir Winston Churchill | 16 |
| 26/05/1955 |  | Conservative | Sir Anthony Eden | 59 |
| 08/10/1959 |  | Conservative | Harold Macmillan | 99 |
| 15/10/1964 |  | Labour | Harold Wilson | 5 |
| 31/03/1966 |  | Labour | Harold Wilson | 97 |
| 18/06/1970 |  | Conservative | Edward Heath | 31 |
| 28/02/1974 |  | Labour | Harold Wilson | None |
| 10/10/1974 |  | Labour | Harold Wilson | 4 |
| 03/05/1979 |  | Conservative | Margaret Thatcher | 44 |
| 09/06/1983 |  | Conservative | Margaret Thatcher | 144 |
| 11/06/1987 |  | Conservative | Margaret Thatcher | 101 |
| 09/04/1992 |  | Conservative | John Major | 21 |
| 01/05/1997 |  | Labour | Tony Blair | 178 |
| 07/06/2001 |  | Labour | Tony Blair | 166 |
| 05/05/2005 |  | Labour | Tony Blair | 65 |
| 06/05/2010 | 6 | Coalition | David Cameron | 77 |
| 07/05/2015 |  | Conservative | David Cameron | 11 |
| 08/06/2017 |  | Conservative | Theresa May | None |
| 12/12/2019 |  | Conservative | Boris Johnson | 81 |

## Notes:

1. Government majority is calculated as the number of seats held by the governing parties minus the number of seats held by all other parties or independent Members. The Speaker is excluded when calculating the majority, but MPs who did not take their seats (for example Sinn Féin Members) are included.
2. The Conservatives and Prime Minister David Lloyd George's wing of the Liberal Party contested the 1918 General Election as a Coalition. More than half of House of Commons seats were won by Conservative candidates, so that the subsequent Coalition government was Conservative dominated.
3. Majority of 283 is calculated including the 73 Sinn Fein Members who did not take their seats.
4. Labour formed a government after the 1923 election but the Conservatives had won the most seats (although not a majority).
5. Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald led a 'National Government' into the 1931 election which consisted of the Conservative and Liberal parties along with a few National Labour Members like MacDonald. Conservatives won over three quarters of seats so that the National Government was Conservative dominated.
6. The Conservatives contested the 1935 election again as part of a National Government. The Prime Minister before and after the election, Stanley Baldwin, was a Conservative. The National Government remained Conservative dominated as over half of House of Commons seats were won by Conservative candidates.
7. The Conservatives were the largest party following the 2010 election but did not have a majority. A coalition government was formed with the Liberal Democrats.

## Sources:

Colin Rallings and Michael Thrasher, British Electoral Facts 1832-2006
Peter Joyce, Politico's Guide to UK General Elections 1832-2001
House of Commons Library, General Election 2017: results and analysis
House of Commons Library, General Election 2019: results and analysis

## 2 National and Coalition Governments 1918-2022

## National Governments:

- 1931: Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald led a 'National Government' into the 1931 election which consisted of the Conservative and Liberal parties along with a few National Labour Members like MacDonald. Conservatives won more than three quarters of seats so that the National Government was Conservative dominated.
- 1935: The Conservatives contested the 1935 election again as part of a National Government. The Prime Minister before and after the election, Stanley Baldwin, was a Conservative. The National Government remained Conservative dominated as over half of House of Commons seats were won by Conservative candidates.

Coalition Governments:

- 1918: The Conservatives and Prime Minister David Lloyd George's wing of the Liberal Party contested the 1918 General Election as a Coalition. The subsequent Coalition government was Conservative dominated, as the Conservatives won more than half of seats.
- 2010: The Conservatives were the largest party following the 2010 election but did not have a majority. A coalition government was formed with the Liberal Democrats.

The chart below shows the number of years each Prime Minister since 1916 spent in office. Margaret Thatcher was the longest serving Prime Minister and Liz Truss the shortest.

Years spent in office by Prime Ministers 1916-2023
As at 9 August 2023


Source: David Butler and Gareth Butler (2011), British Political Facts, House of Commons Library CBP7979 \& CBP-8749

The tables below show the results for all general elections since 1918 for the UK, Great Britain and England, Wales, Scotland, and Northern Ireland.


Number of candidates


Number of seats won


Table 1b: General Election Results, 1918-2019: UK ${ }^{1}$
Candidates

|  | CON | LAB | LD $^{\mathbf{3}}$ | PC/SNP | Other | Total |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| 1918 | 4 | 445 | 361 | 421 | .. | 396 |
| 1922 | 482 | 414 | 485 | .. | 60 | 1,623 |
| 1923 | 536 | 427 | 457 | .. | 26 | 1441 |
| 1924 | 534 | 514 | 339 | .. | 41 | 1,446 |
| 1929 | 590 | 569 | 513 | 3 | 55 | 1,730 |
| 1931 | 583 | 516 | 117 | 7 | 69 | 1,292 |
| 1935 | 583 | 552 | 161 | 9 | 43 | 1,348 |
| 1945 | 618 | 603 | 306 | 15 | 141 | 1,683 |
| 1950 | 619 | 617 | 475 | 10 | 147 | 1,868 |
| 1951 | 617 | 617 | 109 | 6 | 27 | 1,376 |
| 1955 | 624 | 620 | 110 | 13 | 42 | 1,409 |
| 1959 | 625 | 621 | 216 | 25 | 49 | 1,536 |
| 1964 | 630 | 628 | 365 | 38 | 96 | 1,757 |
| 1966 | 629 | 622 | 311 | 43 | 102 | 1,707 |
| 1970 | 628 | 625 | 332 | 101 | 151 | 1,837 |
| 1974 | Feb | 623 | 623 | 517 | 106 | 266 |
| 1974 | Oct | 622 | 623 | 619 | 107 | 281 |
| 1979 | 622 | 623 | 577 | 107 | 647 | 2,135 |
| 1983 | 633 | 633 | 633 | 110 | 569 | 2,252 |
| 1987 | 633 | 633 | 633 | 109 | 317 | 2,578 |
| 1992 | 645 | 634 | 632 | 107 | 931 | 2,325 |
| 1997 | 648 | 639 | 639 | 112 | 1,686 | 2,949 |
| 2001 | 643 | 640 | 639 | 112 | 1,285 | 3,724 |
| 2005 | 630 | 627 | 626 | 99 | 1,572 | 3,319 |
| 2010 | 631 | 631 | 631 | 99 | 2,158 | 4,150 |
| 2015 | 647 | 631 | 631 | 99 | 1,963 | 3,971 |
| 2017 | 638 | 631 | 629 | 99 | 1,307 | 3,304 |
| 2019 | 635 | 631 | 611 | 95 | 1,348 | 3,320 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

Seats won

|  | CON |  | LAB | LD $^{\mathbf{3}}$ | PC/SNP | Other |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | Total



Table 1c: General Election Results, 1918-2019: GB ${ }^{1}$

|  | Votes (millions) |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | CON ${ }^{2}$ | LAB | LD ${ }^{3}$ | PC/SNP | Other | Total |
| 1918 | 3.85 | 2.25 | 2.79 | .. | 0.86 | 9.75 |
| 1922 | 5.39 | 4.24 | 4.14 | . | 0.41 | 14.18 |
| 1923 | 5.40 | 4.44 | 4.30 | .. | 0.17 | 14.31 |
| 1924 | 7.40 | 5.49 | 2.93 | .. | 0.30 | 16.12 |
| 1929 | 8.30 | 8.37 | 5.21 | .. | 0.25 | 22.14 |
| 1931 | 13.01 | 6.64 | 1.48 | 0.02 | 0.23 | 21.37 |
| 1935 | 11.46 | 8.33 | 1.44 | 0.03 | 0.28 | 21.55 |
| 1945 | 9.58 | 11.90 | 2.25 | 0.05 | 0.59 | 24.38 |
| 1950 | 12.14 | 13.20 | 2.62 | 0.03 | 0.22 | 28.21 |
| 1951 | 13.44 | 13.89 | 0.73 | 0.02 | 0.05 | 28.13 |
| 1955 | 12.87 | 12.37 | 0.72 | 0.06 | 0.10 | 26.11 |
| 1959 | 13.31 | 12.17 | 1.64 | 0.10 | 0.07 | 27.29 |
| 1964 | 11.60 | 12.10 | 3.08 | 0.13 | 0.10 | 27.02 |
| 1966 | 11.05 | 13.02 | 2.30 | 0.19 | 0.11 | 26.67 |
| 1970 | 12.72 | 12.11 | 2.11 | 0.48 | 0.15 | 27.57 |
| 1974 Feb | 11.87 | 11.65 | 6.06 | 0.80 | 0.24 | 30.62 |
| 1974 Oct | 10.46 | 11.46 | 5.35 | 1.01 | 0.21 | 28.49 |
| 1979 | 13.70 | 11.53 | 4.31 | 0.64 | 0.34 | 30.53 |
| 1983 | 13.01 | 8.46 | 7.78 | 0.46 | 0.20 | 29.91 |
| 1987 | 13.76 | 10.03 | 7.34 | 0.54 | 0.13 | 31.80 |
| 1992 | 14.05 | 11.56 | 6.00 | 0.78 | 0.44 | 32.83 |
| 1997 | 9.59 | 13.52 | 5.24 | 0.78 | 1.36 | 30.50 |
| 2001 | 8.34 | 10.72 | 4.81 | 0.66 | 1.02 | 25.56 |
| 2005 | 8.78 | 9.55 | 5.99 | 0.59 | 1.52 | 26.43 |
| 2010 | 10.70 | 8.61 | 6.84 | 0.66 | 2.21 | 29.01 |
| 2015 | 11.29 | 9.35 | 2.42 | 1.64 | 5.29 | 29.98 |
| 2017 | 13.63 | 12.88 | 2.37 | 1.14 | 1.37 | 31.39 |
| 2019 | 13.96 | 10.27 | 3.70 | 1.40 | 1.89 | 31.22 |


|  | Share of vote (\%) |  |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
|  | CON | LAB | LD $^{3}$ | PC/SNP | Other | Total |
| 1918 | $39.5 \%$ | $23.0 \%$ | $28.6 \%$ |  | $9.0 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 1922 | $38.0 \%$ | $29.9 \%$ | $29.2 \%$ |  | $2.9 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 1923 | $37.7 \%$ | $31.0 \%$ | $30.1 \%$ |  | $1.2 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 1924 | $45.9 \%$ | $34.0 \%$ | $18.2 \%$ |  | $1.9 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 1929 | $37.5 \%$ | $37.8 \%$ | $23.5 \%$ | $0.0 \%$ | $1.2 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 1931 | $60.9 \%$ | $31.1 \%$ | $6.9 \%$ | $0.1 \%$ | $1.0 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 1935 | $53.2 \%$ | $38.6 \%$ | $6.7 \%$ | $0.1 \%$ | $1.4 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 1945 | $39.3 \%$ | $48.8 \%$ | $9.2 \%$ | $0.2 \%$ | $2.4 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 1950 | $43.0 \%$ | $46.8 \%$ | $9.3 \%$ | $0.1 \%$ | $0.8 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 1951 | $47.8 \%$ | $49.4 \%$ | $2.6 \%$ | $0.1 \%$ | $0.2 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 1955 | $49.3 \%$ | $47.4 \%$ | $2.8 \%$ | $0.2 \%$ | $0.4 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 1959 | $48.8 \%$ | $44.6 \%$ | $6.0 \%$ | $0.4 \%$ | $0.3 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 1964 | $42.9 \%$ | $44.8 \%$ | $11.4 \%$ | $0.5 \%$ | $0.4 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 1966 | $41.4 \%$ | $48.8 \%$ | $8.6 \%$ | $0.7 \%$ | $0.4 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 1970 | $46.2 \%$ | $43.9 \%$ | $7.6 \%$ | $1.7 \%$ | $0.5 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 1974 Feb | $38.8 \%$ | $38.0 \%$ | $19.8 \%$ | $2.6 \%$ | $0.8 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 1974 Oct | $36.7 \%$ | $40.2 \%$ | $18.8 \%$ | $3.5 \%$ | $0.8 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 1979 | $44.9 \%$ | $37.8 \%$ | $14.1 \%$ | $2.1 \%$ | $1.1 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 1983 | $43.5 \%$ | $28.3 \%$ | $26.0 \%$ | $1.5 \%$ | $0.7 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 1987 | $43.3 \%$ | $31.5 \%$ | $23.1 \%$ | $1.7 \%$ | $0.4 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 1992 | $42.8 \%$ | $35.2 \%$ | $18.3 \%$ | $2.4 \%$ | $1.3 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 1997 | $31.5 \%$ | $44.3 \%$ | $17.2 \%$ | $2.6 \%$ | $4.5 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 2001 | $32.6 \%$ | $42.0 \%$ | $18.8 \%$ | $2.6 \%$ | $4.0 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 2005 | $33.2 \%$ | $36.1 \%$ | $22.6 \%$ | $2.2 \%$ | $5.8 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 2010 | $36.9 \%$ | $29.7 \%$ | $23.6 \%$ | $2.3 \%$ | $7.6 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 2015 | $37.7 \%$ | $31.2 \%$ | $8.1 \%$ | $5.5 \%$ | $17.7 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 2017 | $43.4 \%$ | $41.0 \%$ | $7.6 \%$ | $3.6 \%$ | $4.4 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 2019 | $44.7 \%$ | $32.9 \%$ | $11.8 \%$ | $4.5 \%$ | $6.1 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

Number of candidates


Number of seats won


Table 1d: General Election Results, 1918-2019: GB ${ }^{1}$

|  | Candidates |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | CON ${ }^{2}$ | LAB | LD ${ }^{3}$ | PC/SNP | Other | Total |
| 1918 | 409 | 361 | 421 |  | 228 | 1,419 |
| 1922 | 470 | 414 | 485 |  | 57 | 1,426 |
| 1923 | 524 | 427 | 457 |  | 22 | 1,430 |
| 1924 | 522 | 514 | 339 |  | 31 | 1,406 |
| 1929 | 580 | 569 | 507 | 3 | 49 | 1,708 |
| 1931 | 571 | 515 | 117 | 7 | 66 | 1,276 |
| 1935 | 571 | 552 | 161 | 9 | 38 | 1,331 |
| 1945 | 606 | 598 | 306 | 15 | 134 | 1,659 |
| 1950 | 607 | 612 | 475 | 10 | 141 | 1,845 |
| 1951 | 605 | 613 | 109 | 6 | 23 | 1,356 |
| 1955 | 612 | 617 | 110 | 13 | 29 | 1,381 |
| 1959 | 613 | 618 | 215 | 25 | 36 | 1,507 |
| 1964 | 618 | 618 | 361 | 38 | 83 | 1,718 |
| 1966 | 617 | 618 | 308 | 43 | 94 | 1,680 |
| 1970 | 616 | 618 | 328 | 101 | 134 | 1,797 |
| 1974 Feb | 623 | 623 | 517 | 106 | 218 | 2,087 |
| 1974 Oct | 622 | 623 | 619 | 107 | 238 | 2,209 |
| 1979 | 622 | 623 | 577 | 107 | 583 | 2,512 |
| 1983 | 633 | 633 | 633 | 110 | 474 | 2,483 |
| 1987 | 633 | 633 | 633 | 109 | 240 | 2,248 |
| 1992 | 634 | 634 | 632 | 107 | 842 | 2,849 |
| 1997 | 640 | 639 | 639 | 112 | 1,569 | 3,599 |
| 2001 | 640 | 640 | 639 | 112 | 1,188 | 3,219 |
| 2005 | 627 | 627 | 626 | 99 | 1,470 | 3,449 |
| 2010 | 631 | 631 | 631 | 99 | 2,050 | 4,042 |
| 2015 | 631 | 631 | 631 | 99 | 1,841 | 3,833 |
| 2017 | 631 | 631 | 629 | 99 | 1,205 | 3,195 |
| 2019 | 631 | 631 | 611 | 95 | 1,250 | 3,218 |


|  | Seats won |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | CON ${ }^{2}$ | LAB | LD ${ }^{3}$ | PC/SNP | Other | Total |
| 1918 | 359 | 57 | 163 |  | 27 | 606 |
| 1922 | 334 | 142 | 115 |  | 12 | 603 |
| 1923 | 248 | 191 | 158 |  | 6 | 603 |
| 1924 | 400 | 151 | 40 |  | 12 | 603 |
| 1929 | 250 | 287 | 59 | 0 | 7 | 603 |
| 1931 | 512 | 52 | 36 | 0 | 3 | 603 |
| 1935 | 419 | 154 | 21 | 0 | 9 | 603 |
| 1945 | 202 | 393 | 12 | 0 | 21 | 628 |
| 1950 | 288 | 315 | 9 | 0 | 1 | 613 |
| 1951 | 312 | 295 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 613 |
| 1955 | 335 | 277 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 618 |
| 1959 | 353 | 258 | 6 | 0 | 1 | 618 |
| 1964 | 292 | 317 | 9 | 0 | 0 | 618 |
| 1966 | 242 | 364 | 12 | 0 | 0 | 618 |
| 1970 | 322 | 288 | 6 | 1 | 1 | 618 |
| 1974 Feb | 297 | 301 | 14 | 9 | 2 | 623 |
| 1974 Oct | 277 | 319 | 13 | 14 | 0 | 623 |
| 1979 | 339 | 269 | 11 | 4 | 0 | 623 |
| 1983 | 397 | 209 | 23 | 4 | 0 | 633 |
| 1987 | 376 | 229 | 22 | 6 | 0 | 633 |
| 1992 | 336 | 271 | 20 | 7 | 0 | 634 |
| 1997 | 165 | 418 | 46 | 10 | 2 | 641 |
| 2001 | 166 | 412 | 52 | 9 | 2 | 641 |
| 2005 | 198 | 355 | 62 | 9 | 4 | 628 |
| 2010 | 306 | 258 | 57 | 9 | 2 | 632 |
| 2015 | 330 | 232 | 8 | 59 | 3 | 632 |
| 2017 | 317 | 262 | 12 | 39 | 2 | 632 |
| 2019 | 365 | 202 | 11 | 52 | 2 | 632 |



Share of votes (\%)


Table 1e: General Election Results, 1918-2019: England ${ }^{1}$

|  | Votes (millions) |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
|  | CON | LAB | LD $^{\mathbf{3}}$ | Other | Total |
| 1918 | 3.41 | 1.81 | 2.14 | 0.69 | 8.05 |
| 1922 | 4.81 | 3.37 | 3.21 | 0.31 | 11.70 |
| 1923 | 4.73 | 3.55 | 3.57 | 0.07 | 11.93 |
| 1924 | 6.46 | 4.47 | 2.39 | 0.25 | 13.56 |
| 1929 | 7.18 | 6.85 | 4.34 | 0.13 | 18.50 |
| 1931 | 11.48 | 5.46 | 1.04 | 0.10 | 18.08 |
| 1935 | 9.99 | 7.05 | 1.11 | 0.12 | 18.27 |
| 1945 | 8.27 | 9.97 | 1.91 | 0.38 | 20.54 |
| 1950 | 10.50 | 11.05 | 2.25 | 0.16 | 23.95 |
| 1951 | 11.62 | 11.63 | 0.54 | 0.04 | 23.83 |
| 1955 | 11.17 | 10.36 | 0.57 | 0.04 | 22.14 |
| 1959 | 11.56 | 10.09 | 1.45 | 0.03 | 23.13 |
| 1964 | 10.11 | 9.98 | 2.78 | 0.07 | 22.94 |
| 1966 | 9.69 | 10.89 | 2.04 | 0.08 | 22.69 |
| 1970 | 11.28 | 10.13 | 1.85 | 0.09 | 23.36 |
| 1974 Feb | 10.51 | 9.84 | 5.57 | 0.22 | 26.14 |
| 1974 Oct | 9.41 | 9.70 | 4.88 | 0.20 | 24.19 |
| 1979 | 12.26 | 9.53 | 3.88 | 0.31 | 25.97 |
| 1983 | 11.71 | 6.86 | 6.71 | 0.18 | 25.47 |
| 1987 | 12.55 | 8.01 | 6.47 | 0.11 | 27.13 |
| 1992 | 12.80 | 9.55 | 5.40 | 0.40 | 28.15 |
| 1997 | 8.78 | 11.35 | 4.68 | 1.25 | 26.06 |
| 2001 | 7.71 | 9.06 | 4.25 | 0.86 | 21.87 |
| 2005 | 8.11 | 8.05 | 5.20 | 1.34 | 22.70 |
| 2010 | 9.91 | 7.04 | 6.08 | 2.06 | 25.08 |
| 2015 | 10.45 | 8.09 | 2.10 | 4.94 | 25.57 |
| 2017 | 12.35 | 11.39 | 2.11 | 1.31 | 27.16 |
| 2019 | 12.71 | 9.13 | 3.34 | 1.73 | 26.91 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |

Share of vote (\%)

|  | CON | LAB | LD $^{\mathbf{3}}$ | Other | Total |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| 1918 | $42.6 \%$ | $22.6 \%$ | $26.3 \%$ | $8.5 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 1922 | $41.5 \%$ | $28.8 \%$ | $27.2 \%$ | $2.5 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 1923 | $39.8 \%$ | $29.7 \%$ | $29.9 \%$ | $0.6 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 1924 | $47.7 \%$ | $32.8 \%$ | $17.6 \%$ | $1.9 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 1929 | $38.8 \%$ | $36.9 \%$ | $23.6 \%$ | $0.7 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 1931 | $63.3 \%$ | $30.2 \%$ | $6.0 \%$ | $0.5 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 1935 | $54.5 \%$ | $38.5 \%$ | $6.3 \%$ | $0.7 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 1945 | $40.2 \%$ | $48.5 \%$ | $9.4 \%$ | $1.9 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 1950 | $43.8 \%$ | $46.1 \%$ | $9.4 \%$ | $0.7 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 1951 | $48.8 \%$ | $48.8 \%$ | $2.3 \%$ | $0.1 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 1955 | $50.4 \%$ | $46.8 \%$ | $2.6 \%$ | $0.2 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 1959 | $50.0 \%$ | $43.6 \%$ | $6.3 \%$ | $0.1 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 1964 | $44.1 \%$ | $43.5 \%$ | $12.1 \%$ | $0.3 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 1966 | $42.7 \%$ | $48.0 \%$ | $9.0 \%$ | $0.3 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 1970 | $48.3 \%$ | $43.4 \%$ | $7.9 \%$ | $0.4 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 1974 Feb | $40.2 \%$ | $37.7 \%$ | $21.3 \%$ | $0.8 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 1974 Oct | $38.9 \%$ | $40.1 \%$ | $20.2 \%$ | $0.8 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 1979 | $47.2 \%$ | $36.7 \%$ | $14.9 \%$ | $1.2 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 1983 | $46.0 \%$ | $26.9 \%$ | $26.4 \%$ | $0.7 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 1987 | $46.2 \%$ | $29.5 \%$ | $23.8 \%$ | $0.4 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 1992 | $45.5 \%$ | $33.9 \%$ | $19.2 \%$ | $1.4 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 1997 | $33.7 \%$ | $43.5 \%$ | $18.0 \%$ | $4.8 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 2001 | $35.2 \%$ | $41.4 \%$ | $19.4 \%$ | $3.9 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 2005 | $35.7 \%$ | $35.5 \%$ | $22.9 \%$ | $5.9 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 2010 | $39.5 \%$ | $28.1 \%$ | $24.2 \%$ | $8.2 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 2015 | $40.9 \%$ | $31.6 \%$ | $8.2 \%$ | $19.3 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 2017 | $45.5 \%$ | $41.9 \%$ | $7.8 \%$ | $4.8 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 2019 | $47.2 \%$ | $33.9 \%$ | $12.4 \%$ | $6.4 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |



Table 1f: General Election Results, 1918-2019: England ${ }^{1}$

|  | Candidates |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
|  | CON ${ }^{2}$ | LAB | LD $^{\mathbf{3}}$ | Other | Total |
| 1918 | 352 | 291 | 327 | 181 | 1,151 |
| 1922 | 406 | 340 | 368 | 42 | 1,156 |
| 1923 | 444 | 350 | 362 | 10 | 1,166 |
| 1924 | 440 | 414 | 280 | 25 | 1,159 |
| 1929 | 469 | 467 | 422 | 30 | 1,388 |
| 1931 | 476 | 428 | 87 | 41 | 1,032 |
| 1935 | 473 | 452 | 132 | 21 | 1,078 |
| 1945 | 507 | 494 | 265 | 97 | 1,363 |
| 1950 | 504 | 505 | 413 | 106 | 1,528 |
| 1951 | 502 | 506 | 91 | 13 | 1,528 |
| 1955 | 509 | 510 | 95 | 20 | 1,134 |
| 1959 | 509 | 511 | 191 | 23 | 1,234 |
| 1964 | 511 | 511 | 323 | 64 | 1,409 |
| 1966 | 510 | 511 | 273 | 69 | 1,363 |
| 1970 | 510 | 511 | 282 | 100 | 1,403 |
| 1974 Feb | 516 | 516 | 452 | 190 | 1,674 |
| 1974 Oct | 515 | 516 | 515 | 220 | 1,766 |
| 1979 | 516 | 516 | 506 | 536 | 2,074 |
| 1983 | 523 | 523 | 523 | 431 | 2,000 |
| 1987 | 523 | 523 | 523 | 213 | 1,782 |
| 1992 | 524 | 524 | 522 | 758 | 2,328 |
| 1997 | 528 | 527 | 527 | 1,363 | 2,945 |
| 2001 | 529 | 529 | 528 | 1,002 | 2,588 |
| 2005 | 529 | 529 | 528 | 1,231 | 2,817 |
| 2010 | 532 | 532 | 532 | 1,829 | 3,425 |
| 2015 | 532 | 532 | 532 | 1,613 | 3,209 |
| 2017 | 532 | 532 | 530 | 1,122 | 2,716 |
| 2019 | 532 | 532 | 520 | 1,126 | 2,710 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |


| Number of seats won |  |  | Seats won |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1918 |  |  | CON ${ }^{2}$ | LAB | LD ${ }^{3}$ | Other | Total |
| 1922 |  | 1918 | 315 | 42 | 107 | 21 | 485 |
| 1923 |  | 1922 | 307 | 95 | 75 | 8 | 485 |
| 1924 |  | 1923 | 221 | 138 | 123 | 3 | 485 |
| 1929 |  | 1924 | 347 | 109 | 19 | 10 | 485 |
| 1931 |  | 1929 | 221 | 226 | 35 | 3 | 485 |
| 1935 |  | 1931 | 436 | 29 | 19 | 1 | 485 |
| 1945 |  | 1935 | 357 | 116 | 11 | 1 | 485 |
| 1950 |  | 1945 | 167 | 331 | 5 | 7 | 510 |
| 1951 |  | 1950 | 253 | 251 | 2 | 0 | 506 |
| 1955 |  | 1951 | 271 | 233 | 2 | 0 | 506 |
| 1959 |  | 1955 | 293 | 216 | 2 | 0 | 511 |
| 1964 |  | 1959 | 315 | 193 | 3 | 0 | 511 |
| 1966 |  | 1964 | 262 | 246 | 3 | 0 | 511 |
| 1970 |  | 1966 | 219 | 285 | 6 | 1 | 511 |
| 1974 |  | 1970 | 292 | 216 | 2 | 1 | 511 |
| 1974 |  | 1974 Feb | 268 | 237 | 9 | 2 | 516 |
| 1979 |  | 1974 Oct | 253 | 255 | 8 | 0 | 516 |
| 1983 |  | 1979 | 306 | 203 | 7 | 0 | 516 |
| 1987 |  | 1983 | 362 | 148 | 13 | 0 | 523 |
| 1992 |  | 1987 | 358 | 155 | 10 | 0 | 523 |
| 1997 |  | 1992 | 319 | 195 | 10 | 0 | 524 |
| 2001 |  | 1997 | 165 | 328 | 34 | 2 | 529 |
| 2005 |  | 2001 | 165 | 323 | 40 | 1 | 529 |
| 2010 |  | 2005 | 194 | 286 | 47 | 2 | 529 |
| 2015 |  | 2010 | 297 | 191 | 43 | 2 | 533 |
| 2017 |  | 2015 | 318 | 206 | 6 | 3 | 533 |
| 2019 |  | 2017 | 296 | 227 | 8 | 2 | 533 |
|  | $0 \quad 200 \quad 400 \quad 600$ | 2019 | 345 | 179 | 7 | 2 | 533 |



Table 1g: General Election Results, 1918-2019: Wales ${ }^{1}$

|  | Votes (thousands) |  |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
|  | CON | LAB | LD $^{3}$ | PC | Other | Total |
| 1918 | 59.6 | 163.1 | 258.8 |  | 47.6 | 529.0 |
| 1922 | 190.9 | 363.6 | 306.0 |  | 32.3 | 892.7 |
| 1923 | 178.1 | 355.2 | 299.3 |  | 12.5 | 845.1 |
| 1924 | 224.0 | 320.4 | 244.8 |  | 0.0 | 789.2 |
| 1929 | 289.7 | 577.6 | 440.9 | 0.6 | 8.1 | 1316.9 |
| 1931 | 340.7 | 479.5 | 229.0 | 1.1 | 38.2 | 1088.5 |
| 1935 | 292.5 | 395.8 | 157.1 | 2.5 | 23.3 | 871.3 |
| 1945 | 316.7 | 779.2 | 198.6 | 14.3 | 21.9 | $1,330.7$ |
| 1950 | 418.7 | 888.0 | 193.1 | 17.6 | 11.2 | $1,528.6$ |
| 1951 | 471.3 | 925.8 | 116.8 | 10.9 | 4.6 | $1,529.4$ |
| 1955 | 428.9 | 825.7 | 104.1 | 45.1 | 30.0 | $1,433.7$ |
| 1959 | 486.3 | 841.5 | 79.0 | 77.6 | 7.0 | $1,491.3$ |
| 1964 | 425.0 | 837.0 | 106.1 | 69.5 | 9.4 | $1,447.0$ |
| 1966 | 396.8 | 863.7 | 89.1 | 61.1 | 12.8 | $1,423.4$ |
| 1970 | 419.9 | 781.9 | 103.7 | 175.0 | 36.0 | $1,516.6$ |
| 1974 | Feb | 412.5 | 745.5 | 255.4 | 171.4 | 9.0 |
| 1974 | Oct | 367.2 | 761.4 | 239.1 | 166.3 | 3.8 |
| 1979 | 526.3 | 795.5 | 173.5 | 132.5 | 8.8 | $1,537.8$ |
| 1983 | 499.3 | 603.9 | 373.4 | 125.3 | 7.2 | $1,609.6$ |
| 1987 | 501.3 | 765.2 | 304.2 | 123.6 | 3.7 | $1,698.1$ |
| 1992 | 499.7 | 865.7 | 217.5 | 154.9 | 11.0 | $1,748.8$ |
| 1997 | 317.1 | 886.9 | 200.0 | 161.0 | 54.9 | $1,620.1$ |
| 2001 | 268.7 | 667.0 | 189.4 | 195.9 | 51.6 | $1,372.5$ |
| 2005 | 297.8 | 594.8 | 256.2 | 174.8 | 69.0 | $1,392.7$ |
| 2010 | 382.7 | 531.6 | 295.2 | 165.4 | 91.8 | $1,466.7$ |
| 2015 | 407.8 | 552.5 | 97.8 | 181.7 | 258.3 | $1,498.1$ |
| 2017 | 528.8 | 771.4 | 71.0 | 164.5 | 40.1 | $1,575.8$ |
| 2019 | 557.2 | 632.0 | 92.2 | 153.3 | 109.7 | $1,544.4$ |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |



|  |  | Share of vote (\%) |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
|  | CON | LAB | LD $^{\mathbf{3}}$ | PC | Other | Total |
| 1918 | $11.3 \%$ | $30.8 \%$ | $48.9 \%$ |  | $9.0 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 1922 | $21.4 \%$ | $40.8 \%$ | $34.2 \%$ |  | $3.6 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 1923 | $21.1 \%$ | $42.0 \%$ | $35.4 \%$ |  | $1.5 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 1924 | $28.4 \%$ | $40.6 \%$ | $31.0 \%$ |  | $0.0 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 1929 | $22.0 \%$ | $43.9 \%$ | $33.5 \%$ | $0.0 \%$ | $0.6 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 1931 | $31.3 \%$ | $44.1 \%$ | $21.1 \%$ | $0.1 \%$ | $3.4 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 1935 | $33.6 \%$ | $45.4 \%$ | $18.0 \%$ | $0.3 \%$ | $2.7 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 1945 | $23.8 \%$ | $58.5 \%$ | $14.9 \%$ | $1.1 \%$ | $1.7 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 1950 | $27.4 \%$ | $58.1 \%$ | $12.6 \%$ | $1.2 \%$ | $0.7 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 1951 | $30.8 \%$ | $60.5 \%$ | $7.6 \%$ | $0.7 \%$ | $0.3 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 1955 | $29.9 \%$ | $57.6 \%$ | $7.3 \%$ | $3.1 \%$ | $2.1 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 1959 | $32.6 \%$ | $56.4 \%$ | $5.3 \%$ | $5.2 \%$ | $0.5 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 1964 | $29.4 \%$ | $57.8 \%$ | $7.3 \%$ | $4.8 \%$ | $0.6 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 1966 | $27.9 \%$ | $60.7 \%$ | $6.3 \%$ | $4.3 \%$ | $0.9 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 1970 | $27.7 \%$ | $51.6 \%$ | $6.8 \%$ | $11.5 \%$ | $2.4 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 1974 | Feb | $25.9 \%$ | $46.8 \%$ | $16.0 \%$ | $10.8 \%$ | $0.6 \%$ |
| 1974 | Oct | $23.9 \%$ | $49.5 \%$ | $15.5 \%$ | $10.8 \%$ | $0.2 \%$ |
| 1979 | $32.2 \%$ | $48.6 \%$ | $10.6 \%$ | $8.1 \%$ | $0.5 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 1983 | $31.0 \%$ | $37.5 \%$ | $23.2 \%$ | $7.8 \%$ | $0.4 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 1987 | $29.5 \%$ | $45.1 \%$ | $17.9 \%$ | $7.3 \%$ | $0.2 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 1992 | $28.6 \%$ | $49.5 \%$ | $12.4 \%$ | $8.9 \%$ | $0.6 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 1997 | $19.6 \%$ | $54.7 \%$ | $12.3 \%$ | $9.9 \%$ | $3.4 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 2001 | $19.6 \%$ | $48.6 \%$ | $13.8 \%$ | $14.3 \%$ | $3.8 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 2005 | $21.4 \%$ | $42.7 \%$ | $18.4 \%$ | $12.6 \%$ | $5.0 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 2010 | $26.1 \%$ | $36.2 \%$ | $20.1 \%$ | $11.3 \%$ | $6.3 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 2015 | $27.2 \%$ | $36.9 \%$ | $6.5 \%$ | $12.1 \%$ | $17.2 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 2017 | $33.6 \%$ | $49.0 \%$ | $4.5 \%$ | $10.4 \%$ | $2.5 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 2019 | $36.1 \%$ | $40.9 \%$ | $6.0 \%$ | $9.9 \%$ | $7.1 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |



Table 1h: General Election Results, 1918-2019: Wales ${ }^{1}$

|  |  | Candidates |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | CON ${ }^{2}$ | LAB | LD ${ }^{3}$ | PC | Other | Total |
| 1918 |  | 8 | 25 | 29 |  | 9 | 71 |
| 1922 |  | 19 | 28 | 30 |  | 3 | 80 |
| 1923 |  | 19 | 27 | 31 |  | 1 | 78 |
| 1924 |  | 17 | 33 | 21 |  | 0 | 71 |
| 1929 |  | 35 | 33 | 34 | 1 | 3 | 106 |
| 1931 |  | 20 | 30 | 14 | 1 | 7 | 72 |
| 1935 |  | 20 | 33 | 12 | 1 | 2 | 68 |
| 1945 |  | 27 | 34 | 17 | 6 | 3 | 87 |
| 1950 |  | 35 | 36 | 21 | 7 | 6 | 105 |
| 1951 |  | 33 | 36 | 9 | 4 | 2 | 84 |
| 1955 |  | 32 | 36 | 10 | 11 | 2 | 91 |
| 1959 |  | 34 | 36 | 8 | 20 | 3 | 101 |
| 1964 |  | 36 | 36 | 12 | 23 | 5 | 112 |
| 1966 |  | 36 | 36 | 11 | 20 | 8 | 111 |
| 1970 |  | 36 | 36 | 19 | 36 | 11 | 138 |
| 1974 | Feb | 36 | 36 | 31 | 36 | 9 | 148 |
| 1974 | Oct | 36 | 36 | 36 | 36 | 6 | 150 |
| 1979 |  | 35 | 36 | 28 | 36 | 19 | 154 |
| 1983 |  | 38 | 38 | 38 | 38 | 17 | 169 |
| 1987 |  | 38 | 38 | 38 | 38 | 6 | 158 |
| 1992 |  | 38 | 38 | 38 | 35 | 31 | 180 |
| 1997 |  | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 63 | 223 |
| 2001 |  | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 64 | 224 |
| 2005 |  | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 90 | 250 |
| 2010 |  | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 108 | 268 |
| 2015 |  | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 118 | 278 |
| 2017 |  | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 53 | 213 |
| 2019 |  | 40 | 40 | 32 | 36 | 68 | 216 |


| Number of seats won |  |  |  | Seats won |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1918 |  |  |  | CON ${ }^{2}$ | LAB | LD ${ }^{3}$ | PC | Other | Total |
| 1922 |  | 1918 |  | 4 | 9 | 20 |  | 2 | 35 |
| 1923 |  | 1922 |  | 6 | 18 | 10 |  | 1 | 35 |
| 1929 |  | 1923 |  | 4 | 19 | 11 |  | 1 | 35 |
| 1931 |  | 1924 |  | 9 | 16 | 10 |  | 0 | 35 |
| 1935 |  | 1929 |  | 1 | 25 | 9 | 0 | 0 | 35 |
| 1945 |  | 1931 |  | 11 | 16 | 8 | 0 | 0 | 35 |
| 1950 |  | 1935 |  | 11 | 18 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 35 |
| 1951 |  | 1945 |  | 4 | 25 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 35 |
| 1955 |  | 1950 |  | 4 | 27 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 36 |
| 1959 |  | 1951 |  | 6 | 27 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 36 |
| 1964 |  | 1955 |  | 6 | 27 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 36 |
| 1966 |  | 1959 |  | 7 | 27 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 36 |
| 1970 |  | 1964 |  | 6 | 28 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 36 |
| 1974 |  | 1966 |  | 3 | 32 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 36 |
| 1974 |  | 1970 |  | 7 | 27 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 36 |
| 1979 |  | 1974 | Feb | 8 | 24 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 36 |
| 1983 |  | 1974 | Oct | 8 | 23 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 36 |
| 1987 |  | 1979 |  | 11 | 22 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 36 |
| 1992 |  | 1983 |  | 14 | 20 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 38 |
| 1997 |  | 1987 |  | 8 | 24 | 3 | 3 | 0 | 38 |
| 2001 |  | 1992 |  | 6 | 27 | 1 | 4 | 0 | 38 |
| 2005 |  | 1997 |  | 0 | 34 | 2 | 4 | 0 | 40 |
| 2010 |  | 2001 |  | 0 | 34 | 2 | 4 | 0 | 40 |
| 2015 |  | 2005 |  | 3 | 29 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 40 |
| 2017 |  | 2010 |  | 8 | 26 | 3 | 3 | 0 | 40 |
| 2019 |  | 2015 |  | 11 | 25 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 40 |
|  |  | 2017 |  | 8 | 28 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 40 |
|  | $\begin{array}{llllll}0 & 10 & 20 & 30 & 40\end{array}$ | 2019 |  | 14 | 22 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 40 |



Table 1i: General Election Results, 1918-2019: Scotland ${ }^{1}$

|  | Votes (thousands) |  |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
|  | CON | LAB | LD $^{3}$ | SNP | Other | Total |
| 1918 | 358.5 | 265.7 | 385.1 |  | 117.4 | 1126.7 |
| 1922 | 379.4 | 501.3 | 617.2 |  | 71.5 | 1569.4 |
| 1923 | 468.5 | 532.5 | 423.0 |  | 77.4 | 1501.3 |
| 1924 | 688.3 | 697.1 | 286.5 |  | 45.1 | 1717.1 |
| 1929 | 792.1 | 937.3 | 407.1 | 3.3 | 103.2 | 2242.9 |
| 1931 | 1180.0 | 696.2 | 205.4 | 21.0 | 71.7 | 2174.3 |
| 1935 | 1135.4 | 863.8 | 174.2 | 25.7 | 124.7 | 2323.8 |
| 1945 | 964.1 | $1,144.3$ | 132.8 | 30.6 | 118.0 | $2,389.9$ |
| 1950 | $1,222.0$ | $1,259.4$ | 180.3 | 9.7 | 55.3 | $2,726.7$ |
| 1951 | $1,349.3$ | $1,330.2$ | 76.3 | 7.3 | 14.7 | $2,777.8$ |
| 1955 | $1,273.9$ | $1,188.1$ | 47.3 | 12.1 | 21.9 | $2,543.3$ |
| 1959 | $1,260.3$ | $1,245.3$ | 109.0 | 21.7 | 31.3 | $2,667.5$ |
| 1964 | $1,069.7$ | $1,283.7$ | 200.1 | 64.0 | 17.1 | $2,634.5$ |
| 1966 | 960.7 | $1,273.9$ | 172.4 | 128.5 | 16.9 | $2,552.4$ |
| 1970 | $1,020.7$ | $1,197.1$ | 147.7 | 306.8 | 16.0 | $2,688.2$ |
| 1974 | Feb | 950.7 | $1,057.6$ | 229.2 | 633.2 | 16.5 |
| 1974 | Oct | 681.3 | $1,000.6$ | 228.9 | 839.6 | 7.7 |
| 1979 | 916.2 | $1,211.4$ | 262.2 | 504.3 | 22.6 | $2,985.1$ |
| 1983 | 801.5 | 990.7 | 692.6 | 332.0 | 7.8 | $2,824.6$ |
| 1987 | 713.1 | $1,258.1$ | 570.1 | 416.5 | 10.1 | $2,967.8$ |
| 1992 | 752.0 | $1,142.9$ | 383.9 | 629.6 | 23.4 | $2,931.7$ |
| 1997 | 493.1 | $1,283.4$ | 365.4 | 621.6 | 53.4 | $2,816.7$ |
| 2001 | 360.7 | $1,001.2$ | 378.0 | 464.3 | 109.5 | $2,313.7$ |
| 2005 | 369.4 | 907.2 | 528.1 | 412.3 | 116.9 | $2,333.9$ |
| 2010 | 412.9 | $1,035.5$ | 465.5 | 491.4 | 60.5 | $2,465.8$ |
| 2015 | 434.1 | 707.1 | 219.7 | $1,454.4$ | 95.2 | $2,910.5$ |
| 2017 | 757.9 | 717.0 | 179.1 | 977.6 | 18.1 | $2,649.7$ |
| 2019 | 692.9 | 511.8 | 263.0 | $1,242.4$ | 48.5 | $2,759.1$ |


|  |  | Share of vote (\%) |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
|  | CON | LAB | LD $^{3}$ | SNP | Other | Total |
| 1918 | $32.8 \%$ | $22.9 \%$ | $34.1 \%$ |  | $10.2 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 1922 | $25.1 \%$ | $32.2 \%$ | $39.2 \%$ |  | $3.5 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 1923 | $31.6 \%$ | $35.9 \%$ | $28.4 \%$ |  | $4.1 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 1924 | $40.7 \%$ | $41.1 \%$ | $16.6 \%$ |  | $1.6 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 1929 | $35.9 \%$ | $42.3 \%$ | $18.1 \%$ | $0.2 \%$ | $3.5 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 1931 | $55.4 \%$ | $32.6 \%$ | $8.6 \%$ | $1.0 \%$ | $2.4 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 1935 | $49.8 \%$ | $36.8 \%$ | $6.7 \%$ | $1.1 \%$ | $5.6 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 1945 | $40.3 \%$ | $47.9 \%$ | $5.6 \%$ | $1.3 \%$ | $4.9 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 1950 | $44.8 \%$ | $46.2 \%$ | $6.6 \%$ | $0.4 \%$ | $2.0 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 1951 | $48.6 \%$ | $47.9 \%$ | $2.7 \%$ | $0.3 \%$ | $0.5 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 1955 | $50.1 \%$ | $46.7 \%$ | $1.9 \%$ | $0.5 \%$ | $0.9 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 1959 | $47.2 \%$ | $46.7 \%$ | $4.1 \%$ | $0.8 \%$ | $1.2 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 1964 | $40.6 \%$ | $48.7 \%$ | $7.6 \%$ | $2.4 \%$ | $0.6 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 1966 | $37.6 \%$ | $49.9 \%$ | $6.8 \%$ | $5.0 \%$ | $0.7 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 1970 | $38.0 \%$ | $44.5 \%$ | $5.5 \%$ | $11.4 \%$ | $0.6 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 1974 | Feb | $32.9 \%$ | $36.6 \%$ | $7.9 \%$ | $21.9 \%$ | $0.6 \%$ |
| 1974 Oct | $24.7 \%$ | $36.3 \%$ | $8.3 \%$ | $30.4 \%$ | $0.3 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 1979 | $31.4 \%$ | $41.5 \%$ | $9.0 \%$ | $17.3 \%$ | $0.8 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 1983 | $28.4 \%$ | $35.1 \%$ | $24.5 \%$ | $11.8 \%$ | $0.3 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 1987 | $24.0 \%$ | $42.4 \%$ | $19.2 \%$ | $14.0 \%$ | $0.3 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 1992 | $25.6 \%$ | $39.0 \%$ | $13.1 \%$ | $21.5 \%$ | $0.8 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 1997 | $17.5 \%$ | $45.6 \%$ | $13.0 \%$ | $22.1 \%$ | $1.9 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 2001 | $15.6 \%$ | $43.3 \%$ | $16.3 \%$ | $20.1 \%$ | $4.7 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 2005 | $15.8 \%$ | $38.9 \%$ | $22.6 \%$ | $17.7 \%$ | $5.0 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 2010 | $16.7 \%$ | $42.0 \%$ | $18.9 \%$ | $19.9 \%$ | $2.5 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 2015 | $14.9 \%$ | $24.3 \%$ | $7.5 \%$ | $50.0 \%$ | $3.3 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 2017 | $28.6 \%$ | $27.1 \%$ | $6.8 \%$ | $36.9 \%$ | $0.7 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
| 2019 | $25.1 \%$ | $18.6 \%$ | $9.5 \%$ | $45.0 \%$ | $1.8 \%$ | $100 \%$ |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |



Table 1j: General Election Results, 1918-2019: Scotland ${ }^{1}$

|  | Candidates |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | CON ${ }^{2}$ | LAB | LD ${ }^{3}$ | SNP | Other | Total |
| 1918 | 37 | 39 | 61 |  | 28 | 165 |
| 1922 | 36 | 43 | 81 |  | 8 | 168 |
| 1923 | 52 | 48 | 59 |  | 8 | 167 |
| 1924 | 56 | 63 | 34 |  | 3 | 156 |
| 1929 | 65 | 66 | 45 | 2 | 14 | 192 |
| 1931 | 65 | 57 | 14 | 5 | 14 | 155 |
| 1935 | 69 | 63 | 16 | 7 | 12 | 167 |
| 1945 | 68 | 68 | 22 | 8 | 18 | 184 |
| 1950 | 68 | 71 | 41 | 3 | 29 | 212 |
| 1951 | 70 | 71 | 9 | 2 | 8 | 160 |
| 1955 | 71 | 71 | 5 | 2 | 7 | 156 |
| 1959 | 70 | 71 | 16 | 5 | 10 | 172 |
| 1964 | 71 | 71 | 26 | 15 | 14 | 197 |
| 1966 | 71 | 71 | 24 | 23 | 17 | 206 |
| 1970 | 70 | 71 | 27 | 65 | 23 | 256 |
| 1974 Feb | 71 | 71 | 34 | 70 | 19 | 265 |
| 1974 Oct | 71 | 71 | 68 | 71 | 12 | 293 |
| 1979 | 71 | 71 | 43 | 71 | 28 | 284 |
| 1983 | 72 | 72 | 72 | 72 | 26 | 314 |
| 1987 | 72 | 72 | 72 | 71 | 21 | 308 |
| 1992 | 72 | 72 | 72 | 72 | 53 | 341 |
| 1997 | 72 | 72 | 72 | 72 | 143 | 431 |
| 2001 | 71 | 71 | 71 | 72 | 122 | 407 |
| 2005 | 58 | 58 | 58 | 59 | 149 | 382 |
| 2010 | 59 | 59 | 59 | 59 | 113 | 349 |
| 2015 | 59 | 59 | 59 | 59 | 110 | 346 |
| 2017 | 59 | 59 | 59 | 59 | 30 | 266 |
| 2019 | 59 | 59 | 59 | 59 | 56 | 292 |




| Share of votes (\%) |  | Share of vote (\%) |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | CON ${ }^{2}$ | NAT | LAB | LD ${ }^{3}$ | Other | Total |
| 1918 |  | $1918{ }^{4}$ | 28.4\% | 22.0\% | .. | .. | 49.6\% | 100\% |
| 1922 |  | 1922 | 55.8\% | 36.3\% | .. | .. | 7.9\% | 100\% |
| 1923 |  | 1923 | 49.4\% | 27.3\% | .. | . | 23.3\% | 100\% |
| 1924 |  | 1924 | 83.8\% | .. | . | .. | 16.2\% | 100\% |
| 1929 |  | 1929 | 68.0\% | 6.6\% | .. | 16.8\% | 8.6\% | 100\% |
| 1931 |  | 1931 | 56.1\% | 38.9\% | 5.0\% | .. | .. | 100\% |
| 1935 |  | 1935 | 64.9\% | 18.3\% | .. | .. | 16.8\% | 100\% |
| 1945 |  | 1945 | 53.7\% | 18.8\% | 11.4\% | . | 16.1\% | 100\% |
| 1950 |  | 1950 | 62.8\% | 11.6\% | 12.1\% | .. | 13.6\% | 100\% |
| 1951 |  | 1951 | 59.4\% | 20.0\% | 13.5\% | .. | 7.2\% | 100\% |
| 1955 |  | 1955 | 68.5\% | .. | 5.5\% | .. | 26.0\% | 100\% |
| 1959 |  | 1959 | 77.2\% | . | 7.7\% | 0.6\% | 14.5\% | 100\% |
| 1964 |  | 1964 | 63.0\% | .. | 16.1\% | 2.7\% | 18.2\% | 100\% |
| 1966 |  | 1966 | 61.8\% | 3.7\% | 12.2\% | 4.9\% | 17.4\% | 100\% |
| 1970 |  | 1970 | 54.2\% | . | 12.6\% | 1.5\% | 31.7\% | 100\% |
| 1974 |  |  | UUP ${ }^{5}$ | SDLP | DUP | SF ${ }^{6}$ | Other | Total |
| 1974 |  | 1974 Feb | 45.5\% | 22.4\% | 8.2\% | .. | 24.0\% | 100\% |
| 1979 | $\square$ | 1974 Oct | 36.5\% | 22.0\% | 8.5\% | . | 33.1\% | 100\% |
| 1983 |  | 1979 | 36.6\% | 18.2\% | 10.2\% | . | 35.1\% | 100\% |
| 1987 |  | 1983 | 34.0\% | 17.9\% | 20.0\% | 13.4\% | 14.7\% | 100\% |
| 1992 |  | 1987 | 37.8\% | 21.1\% | 11.7\% | 11.4\% | 17.9\% | 100\% |
| 1997 |  | 1992 | 34.5\% | 19.7\% | 13.1\% | 10.0\% | 22.7\% | 100\% |
| 2001 |  | 1997 | 32.7\% | 24.1\% | 13.6\% | 16.1\% | 13.6\% | 100\% |
| 2005 |  | 2001 | 26.8\% | 21.0\% | 22.5\% | 21.7\% | 8.1\% | 100\% |
| 2010 |  | 2005 | 17.8\% | 17.5\% | 33.7\% | 24.3\% | 6.7\% | 100\% |
| 2015 |  | 2010 | 15.2\% | 16.5\% | 25.0\% | 25.5\% | 17.9\% | 100\% |
| 2017 |  | 2015 | 16.0\% | 13.9\% | 25.7\% | 24.5\% | 19.9\% | 100\% |
| 2019 |  | 2017 | 10.3\% | 11.7\% | 36.0\% | 29.4\% | 12.6\% | 100\% |
|  | 0\% 50\% 100\% | 2019 | 11.7\% | 14.9\% | 30.6\% | 22.8\% | 20.2\% | 100\% |

Number of candidates


Number of seats won


Table 1l: General Election Results, 1918-2019: Northern Ireland ${ }^{1}$

|  | Candidates |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | CON ${ }^{2}$ | NAT | LAB | LD ${ }^{3}$ | Other | Total |
| $1918{ }^{4}$ | 36 | 56 | .. | . | 112 | 204 |
| 1922 | 12 | 2 | . | . | 1 | 15 |
| 1923 | 12 | 2 | .. | . | 2 | 16 |
| 1924 | 12 | .. | .. | . | 10 | 22 |
| 1929 | 10 | 3 | .. | 6 | 3 | 22 |
| 1931 | 12 | 3 | 1 | .. | .. | 16 |
| 1935 | 12 | 2 | .. | .. | 3 | 17 |
| 1945 | 12 | 3 | 5 | . | 4 | 24 |
| 1950 | 12 | 2 | 5 | . | 4 | 23 |
| 1951 | 12 | 3 | 4 | . | 1 | 20 |
| 1955 | 12 | . | 3 | . | 13 | 28 |
| 1959 | 12 | . | 3 | 1 | 13 | 29 |
| 1964 | 12 | .. | 10 | 4 | 13 | 39 |
| 1966 | 12 | 1 | 4 | 3 | 7 | 27 |
| 1970 | 12 | . | 7 | 4 | 17 | 40 |
|  | UUP ${ }^{5}$ | SDLP | DUP | SF ${ }^{6}$ | Other | Total |
| 1974 Feb | 14 | 12 | 2 | . | 20 | 48 |
| 1974 Oct | 7 | 9 | 2 | .. | 25 | 43 |
| 1979 | 11 | 9 | 5 | . | 39 | 64 |
| 1983 | 16 | 17 | 14 | 14 | 34 | 95 |
| 1987 | 12 | 13 | 4 | 14 | 34 | 77 |
| 1992 | 13 | 13 | 7 | 14 | 53 | 100 |
| 1997 | 16 | 18 | 9 | 17 | 65 | 125 |
| 2001 | 17 | 18 | 14 | 18 | 33 | 100 |
| 2005 | 18 | 18 | 18 | 18 | 33 | 105 |
| 2010 | 17 | 18 | 16 | 17 | 40 | 108 |
| 2015 | 15 | 18 | 16 | 18 | 71 | 138 |
| 2017 | 14 | 18 | 17 | 18 | 42 | 109 |
| 2019 | 16 | 15 | 17 | 15 | 39 | 102 |


|  | Seats won |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | CON ${ }^{2}$ | NAT | LAB | LD ${ }^{3}$ | Other | Total |
| $1918{ }^{4}$ | 23 | 6 | .. | .. | 72 | 101 |
| 1922 | 10 | 2 | .. | . | 0 | 12 |
| 1923 | 10 | 2 | .. | . | 0 | 12 |
| 1924 | 12 | .. | . | .. | 0 | 12 |
| 1929 | 10 | 2 | . | 0 | 0 | 12 |
| 1931 | 10 | 2 | 0 | .. | .. | 12 |
| 1935 | 10 | 2 | .. | . | 0 | 12 |
| 1945 | 8 | 2 | 0 | . | 2 | 12 |
| 1950 | 10 | 2 | 0 | . | 0 | 12 |
| 1951 | 9 | 2 | 0 | . | 1 | 12 |
| 1955 | 10 | .. | 0 | . | 2 | 12 |
| 1959 | 12 | . | 0 | 0 | 0 | 12 |
| 1964 | 12 | . | 0 | 0 | 0 | 12 |
| 1966 | 11 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 12 |
| 1970 | 8 | . | 0 | 0 | 4 | 12 |
|  | UUP ${ }^{5}$ | SDLP | DUP | SF ${ }^{6}$ | Other | Total |
| 1974 Feb | 7 | 1 | 1 | .. | 3 | 12 |
| 1974 Oct | 6 | 1 | 1 | . | 4 | 12 |
| 1979 | 5 | 1 | 3 | . | 3 | 12 |
| 1983 | 11 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 17 |
| 1987 | 9 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 17 |
| 1992 | 9 | 4 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 17 |
| 1997 | 10 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 18 |
| 2001 | 6 | 3 | 5 | 4 | 0 | 18 |
| 2005 | 1 | 3 | 9 | 5 | 0 | 18 |
| 2010 | 0 | 3 | 8 | 5 | 2 | 18 |
| 2015 | 2 | 3 | 8 | 4 | 1 | 18 |
| 2017 | 0 | 0 | 10 | 7 | 1 | 18 |
| 2019 | 0 | 2 | 8 | 7 | 1 | 18 |

## Notes for tables 1a-1I

1. For elections up to 1992, the Speaker of the House of Commons is listed under the party he represented before his appointment. From 1997 the Speaker is listed under 'Other'. 2. Includes Coalition Conservative for 1918; National, National Liberal and National Labour candidates for 1931-1935; National and National Liberal candidates for 1945; National Liberal \& Conservative candidates 1945-1970.
2. Includes Coalition Liberal Party for 1918; National Liberal for 1922; and Independent Liberal for 1931. Figures show Liberal/SDP Alliance vote for 1983-1987 and Liberal Democrat vote from 4. 1918 figures include all of Ireland. After the creation of the Irish Free State in 1922 Northern Ireland remained part of the United Kingdom.
3. The formation of new parties in the early 1970 s altered the pattern of party competition at Westminster elections. The SDLP (formed 1970) and the DUP (formed 1971) are included in the table from 1974 onwards. Ulster Unionists took the Conservative whip at Westminster until 1972 and are listed as Conservatives for general elections up to 1970; from 1974 they are listed as UUP.
4. Includes Irish Nationalist/Anti-Partitionist

Sources for tables 1a-1I
Colin Rallings and Michael Thrasher, British Electoral Facts 1832-2006
House of Commons Library general elections papers (results and analysis): 2010, 2015, 2017 \& 2019

## 2.3 <br> Turnout and electorate

Up to 1997, turnout at UK general elections had generally been above 70\%. Turnout was only $57 \%$ in the 1918 General Election, although this was partly due to a low service (armed forces) vote and a large number of uncontested seats ( 107 out of a total of 707 seats).

In 2001, turnout fell to 59\%, its lowest level since 1918 and down 12 percentage points compared with 1997. Although turnout rose from its 2001 low point, it has remained below 70\% in each of the last six general elections.

|  | Table 2a: Turnout at UK <br> Valid votes as \% of electorate |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Turnout at UK General Elections |  |  | England | Wales | Scotland | Northern Ireland | United Kingdom |
| 1918 | 1918 | 1 | 55.7\% | 65.9\% | 55.1\% | 69.5\% | 57.2\% |
| 1922 | 1922 |  | 72.8\% | 79.4\% | 70.4\% | 77.2\% | 73.0\% |
| 1923 | 1923 |  | 71.1\% | 77.3\% | 67.9\% | 76.5\% | 71.1\% |
| 1924 | 1924 |  | 77.4\% | 80.0\% | 75.1\% | 66.7\% | 77.0\% |
| 1929 | 1929 |  | 76.6\% | 82.4\% | 73.5\% | 63.8\% | 76.3\% |
| 1931 | 1931 |  | 76.1\% | 79.3\% | 77.4\% | 74.5\% | 76.4\% |
| 1935 | 1935 |  | 70.7\% | 76.4\% | 72.6\% | 72.0\% | 71.1\% |
| 1945 | 1945 |  | 73.4\% | 75.7\% | 69.0\% | 67.4\% | 72.8\% |
| 1950 | 1950 |  | 84.4\% | 84.8\% | 80.9\% | 77.4\% | 83.9\% |
| 1951 | 1951 |  | 82.7\% | 84.4\% | 81.2\% | 79.9\% | 82.6\% |
| 1955 | 1955 |  | 76.9\% | 79.6\% | 75.1\% | 74.1\% | 76.8\% |
| 1959 | 1959 |  | 78.9\% | 82.6\% | 78.1\% | 65.9\% | 78.7\% |
| 1964 | 1964 |  | 77.0\% | 80.1\% | 77.6\% | 71.7\% | 77.1\% |
| 1966 | 1966 |  | 75.9\% | 79.0\% | 76.0\% | 66.1\% | 75.8\% |
| 1970 | 1970 |  | 71.4\% | 77.4\% | 74.1\% | 76.6\% | 72.0\% |
| 1974 | 1974 | Feb | 79.0\% | 80.0\% | 79.0\% | 69.9\% | 78.8\% |
| 1974 | 1974 | Oct | 72.6\% | 76.6\% | 74.8\% | 67.7\% | 72.8\% |
| 1979 | 1979 |  | 75.9\% | 79.4\% | 76.8\% | 67.7\% | 76.0\% |
| 1983 | 1983 |  | 72.5\% | 76.1\% | 72.7\% | 72.9\% | 72.7\% |
| 1987 | 1987 |  | 75.4\% | 78.9\% | 75.1\% | 67.0\% | 75.3\% |
| 1992 | 1992 |  | 78.0\% | 79.7\% | 75.5\% | 69.8\% | 77.7\% |
| 1997 | 1997 |  | 71.4\% | 73.5\% | 71.3\% | 67.1\% | 71.4\% |
| 2001 | 2001 |  | 59.2\% | 61.6\% | 58.2\% | 68.0\% | 59.4\% |
| 2005 | 2005 |  | 61.3\% | 62.6\% | 60.8\% | 62.9\% | 61.4\% |
| 2010 | 2010 |  | 65.5\% | 64.8\% | 63.8\% | 57.6\% | 65.1\% |
| 2015 | 2015 |  | 66.0\% | 65.7\% | 71.0\% | 58.1\% | 66.2\% |
| 2017 | 2017 |  | 69.1\% | 68.6\% | 66.4\% | 65.4\% | 68.8\% |
| $2019$ | 2019 |  | 67.5\% | 66.6\% | 68.1\% | 61.8\% | 67.3\% |
| 0\% 50\% 100\% |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

Note: 1. 1918 figures include all of Ireland.
Sources: Colin Rallings and Michael Thrasher, British Electoral Facts 1832-2006; House of Commons Library general election papers 2015, 2017 \& 2019

The franchise for voting in Parliamentary elections has expanded since the start of the twentieth century. Prior to 1918, only male householders aged over 21 who paid taxes had the vote. The Representation of the People Act 1918 extended the franchise to women aged 30 and over and removed the property requirement. Women aged 21 and over were given the vote in 1928. The voting age for both men and women was lowered on an equal basis to 18 in 1969.

The 1918 Act permitted an extra vote to people who occupied business premises worth more than $£ 10$ per year, and to their spouse, provided the premises were in a different constituency to their residence. This extra business vote was abolished in 1949. ${ }^{2}$

[^2]Until 1945 there were University constituencies with their own MPs (12 in 1945). Graduates of these universities could vote for their university seats in addition to any other vote that they might have, regardless of where they lived. The number of Members elected per university constituency varied between three for the Combined Scottish Universities to one for London University. University representation was abolished by the time of the 1950 General Election.

The total registered electorate at the 2019 General Election was 47.6 million, 0.8 million higher than the electorate in 2017.

## Table 2b: Electorates in the UK

Number of registered voters at the start of the register

| Year | England | Wales | Scotland | Northern Ireland | UK |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1945 | 27,544,167 | 1,824,517 | 3,451,935 | 851,417 | 33,672,036 |
| 1946 | 28,865,697 | 1,871,665 | 3,584,289 | 864,709 | 35,186,360 |
| 1947 | 29,376,680 | 1,893,824 | 3,614,201 | 865,558 | 35,750,263 |
| 1948 | 29,715,892 | 1,913,969 | 3,642,497 | 874,342 | 36,146,700 |
| 1949 | 28,371,842 | 1,802,124 | 3,370,320 | 865,421 | 34,409,707 |
| 1950 | 28,408,683 | 1,797,984 | 3,404,101 | 865,364 | 34,476,132 |
| 1951 | 28,813,384 | 1,812,676 | 3,421,433 | 871,905 | 34,919,398 |
| 1952 | 28,896,772 | 1,813,666 | 3,413,792 | 873,596 | 34,997,826 |
| 1953 | 28,904,032 | 1,813,088 | 3,408,777 | 874,958 | 35,000,855 |
| 1954 | 28,923,119 | 1,814,300 | 3,407,253 | 874,701 | 35,019,373 |
| 1955 | 29,018,827 | 1,815,011 | 3,414,592 | 877,051 | 35,125,481 |
| 1956 | 29,117,160 | 1,810,769 | 3,410,718 | 875,384 | 35,214,031 |
| 1957 | 29,173,270 | 1,807,892 | 3,410,152 | 873,987 | 35,265,301 |
| 1958 | 29,237,876 | 1,808,422 | 3,407,801 | 872,647 | 35,326,746 |
| 1959 | 29,303,126 | 1,805,686 | 3,413,732 | 874,739 | 35,397,283 |
| 1960 | 29,415,941 | 1,803,777 | 3,414,572 | 880,202 | 35,514,492 |
| 1961 | 29,469,255 | 1,801,781 | 3,402,449 | 880,149 | 35,553,634 |
| 1962 | 29,589,260 | 1,804,483 | 3,404,172 | 883,693 | 35,681,608 |
| 1963 | 29,684,814 | 1,805,495 | 3,397,839 | 888,490 | 35,776,638 |
| 1964 | 29,804,374 | 1,805,495 | 3,393,391 | 891,043 | 35,894,303 |
| 1965 | 30,025,849 | 1,813,203 | 3,389,908 | 899,427 | 36,128,387 |
| 1966 | 30,185,780 | 1,816,565 | 3,385,710 | 906,634 | 36,294,689 |
| 1967 | 30,290,803 | 1,817,616 | 3,374,151 | 909,841 | 36,392,411 |
| 1968 | 30,570,603 | 1,827,670 | 3,387,905 | 916,866 | 36,703,044 |
| 1969 | 30,819,095 | 1,842,335 | 3,398,392 | 926,549 | 36,986,371 |
| 1970 | 32,960,554 | 1,971,629 | 3,659,107 | 1,025,215 | 39,616,505 |
| 1971 | 33,186,051 | 1,990,094 | 3,685,283 | 1,033,801 | 39,895,229 |
| 1972 | 33,316,464 | 1,997,400 | 3,691,007 | 1,033,608 | 40,038,479 |
| 1973 | 33,412,961 | 2,005,749 | 3,688,186 | 1,032,034 | 40,138,930 |
| 1974 | 33,492,353 | 2,016,741 | 3,704,631 | 1,041,886 | 40,255,611 |
| 1975 | 33,755,747 | 2,032,966 | 3,733,232 | 1,041,117 | 40,563,062 |
| 1976 | 33,928,554 | 2,046,444 | 3,764,194 | 1,033,240 | 40,772,432 |
| 1977 | 34,084,807 | 2,055,172 | 3,786,051 | 1,032,914 | 40,958,944 |
| 1978 | 34,279,940 | 2,065,019 | 3,809,091 | 1,033,702 | 41,187,752 |
| 1979 | 34,611,408 | 2,083,772 | 3,837,019 | 1,040,506 | 41,572,705 |
| 1980 | 34,831,958 | 2,098,552 | 3,860,551 | 1,049,466 | 41,840,527 |
| 1981 | 35,068,122 | 2,115,093 | 3,885,462 | 1,053,332 | 42,122,009 |
| 1982 | 35,363,733 | 2,127,935 | 3,913,385 | 1,057,263 | 42,462,316 |

## Table 2b: Electorates in the UK (continued)

| 1983 | 35,569,726 | 2,138,385 | 3,934,220 | 1,061,185 | 42,703,516 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1984 | 35,800,362 | 2,148,484 | 3,957,276 | 1,077,605 | 42,983,727 |
| 1985 | 35,937,374 | 2,142,609 | 3,967,943 | 1,082,609 | 43,130,535 |
| 1986 | 36,158,417 | 2,160,147 | 3,986,654 | 1,087,399 | 43,392,617 |
| 1987 | 36,393,203 | 2,175,168 | 3,994,893 | 1,103,111 | 43,666,375 |
| 1988 | 36,448,414 | 2,180,269 | 3,967,377 | 1,109,011 | 43,705,071 |
| 1989 | 36,364,782 | 2,194,625 | 3,932,911 | 1,120,508 | 43,612,826 |
| 1990 | 36,388,575 | 2,207,542 | 3,936,704 | 1,130,602 | 43,663,423 |
| 1991 | 36,302,099 | 2,207,283 | 3,914,590 | 1,132,811 | 43,556,783 |
| 1992 | 36,435,873 | 2,218,551 | 3,928,996 | 1,141,466 | 43,724,886 |
| 1993 | 36,411,280 | 2,222,624 | 3,931,429 | 1,153,204 | 43,718,537 |
| 1994 | 36,455,151 | 2,222,091 | 3,947,157 | 1,162,335 | 43,786,734 |
| 1995 | 36,544,929 | 2,220,290 | 3,961,566 | 1,169,423 | 43,896,208 |
| 1996 | 36,626,853 | 2,217,893 | 3,963,072 | 1,176,927 | 43,984,745 |
| 1997 | 36,806,467 | 2,222,533 | 3,984,406 | 1,190,198 | 44,203,604 |
| 1998 | 36,885,805 | 2,230,452 | 3,992,502 | 1,188,034 | 44,296,793 |
| 1999 | 36,947,525 | 2,227,571 | 4,011,450 | 1,202,339 | 44,388,885 |
| 2000 | 36,994,211 | 2,232,474 | 3,992,034 | 1,204,721 | 44,423,440 |
| 2001 | 37,101,328 | 2,238,211 | 4,001,018 | 1,205,097 | 44,545,654 |
| 2002 | 37,296,327 | 2,235,666 | 3,966,801 | 1,196,970 | 44,695,764 |
| 2003 | 37,179,095 | 2,225,599 | 3,887,059 | 1,071,600 | 44,363,353 |
| 2004 | 36,972,519 | 2,219,973 | 3,857,997 | 1,067,564 | 44,118,053 |
| 2005 | 37,043,608 | 2,233,467 | 3,857,631 | 1,045,537 | 44,180,243 |
| 2006 | 37,151,991 | 2,236,808 | 3,861,207 | 1,153,409 | 44,403,415 |
| 2007 | 37,588,775 | 2,243,244 | 3,872,901 | 1,070,265 | 44,775,185 |
| 2008 | 37,817,466 | 2,257,474 | 3,887,571 | 1,120,343 | 45,082,854 |
| 2009 | 37,912,549 | 2,261,769 | 3,885,148 | 1,134,983 | 45,194,449 |
| 2010 | 38,129,082 | 2,261,269 | 3,869,700 | 1,160,757 | 45,420,808 |
| 2011 | 38,443,481 | 2,281,596 | 3,928,979 | 1,190,635 | 45,844,691 |
| 2012 | 38,654,024 | 2,298,569 | 3,941,592 | 1,212,967 | 46,107,152 |
| 2013 | 38,597,137 | 2,297,250 | 4,027,187 | 1,218,366 | 46,139,940 |
| 2014 | 37,831,553 | 2,225,749 | 4,035,394 | 1,232,382 | 45,325,078 |
| 2015 | 37,399,942 | 2,181,841 | 3,896,852 | 1,243,369 | 44,722,004 |
| 2016 | 38,386,864 | 2,243,919 | 3,929,963 | 1,205,683 | 45,766,429 |
| 2017 | 38,693,859 | 2,261,233 | 3,950,643 | 1,242,300 | 46,148,035 |
| 2018 | 38,371,414 | 2,230,104 | 3,925,820 | 1,248,420 | 45,775,758 |
| 2019 | 39,476,140 | 2,313,851 | 3,988,550 | 1,296,307 | 47,074,848 |
| 2020 | 39,298,264 | 2,304,640 | 4,012,429 | 1,290,937 | 46,906,270 |
| 2021 | 38,889,429 | 2,307,877 | 4,028,717 | 1,334,429 | 46,560,452 |
| 2022 | 38,822,827 | 2,304,723 | 4,012,718 | 1,337,369 | 46,477,637 |

Source: Colin Rallings and Michael Thrasher, British Electoral Facts 1832-2012, ONS electoral statistics

## 2.4 <br> Spoilt Ballots

Statistics relating to spoilt ballots (votes cast but which cannot be included in the count of votes) have been routinely collated for general elections since 1964. In 2019, there were 117,101 spoilt ballots. ${ }^{3}$ This was 747 fewer than the

[^3]highest number ever recorded in 1979, when the general election coincided with local elections and many voters received two ballot papers.

There have also been relatively large numbers of spoilt ballots in general elections since 1997, particularly those which have coincided with local elections. The lowest number of spoilt ballots per constituency was 57 or $0.11 \%$ of all ballots, which was recorded in 1987.

## Table 3: Spoilt Ballot Papers in UK General Elections, 1964-2019

| Years | Number of ballots rejected at the count |  |  |  |  | Number per constituency | \% of all ballots |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Want of Official Mark | gor more than one candidate | Writing or mark by which voter could be identified | Unmarked or void for uncertainty | Total |  |  |
| 1964 | 2,826 | 15,486 | 6,787 | 15,974 | 41,073 | 65 | 0.15\% |
| 1966 | 2,061 | 11,519 | 8,525 | 27,794 | 49,899 | 79 | 0.18\% |
| 1970 | 2,118 | 14,144 | 7,541 | 17,544 | 41,347 | 66 | 0.15\% |
| 1974 Feb | 3,176 | 12,214 | 7,320 | 19,542 | 42,252 | 67 | 0.13\% |
| 1974 Oct | 2,938 | 13,492 | 6,009 | 15,267 | 37,706 | 59 | 0.13\% |
| 1979 | 3,282 | 72,515 | 5,801 | 36,250 | 117,848 | 186 | 0.38\% |
| 1983 | 2,819 | 27,938 | 4,693 | 15,654 | 51,104 | 79 | 0.17\% |
| 1987 | 2,408 | 14,216 | 4,976 | 15,345 | 36,945 | 57 | 0.11\% |
| 1992 | 2,593 | 14,538 | 5,008 | 17,587 | 39,726 | 61 | 0.12\% \| |
| 1997 | 2,169 | 25,234 | 4,421 | 61,415 | 93,408 | 142 | 0.30\% |
| 2001 | 2,548 | 22,590 | 3,760 | 69,910 | 100,005 | 152 | 0.38\% |
| 2005 | 2,971 | 20,595 | 4,439 | 54,377 | 85,038 | 132 | 0.31\% |
| 2010 | 640 | 21,996 | 2,522 | 50,964 | 81,879 | 117 | 0.28\% |
| 2015 | 1,355 | 26,406 | 2,453 | 69,462 | 102,639 | 158 | 0.33\% |
| 2017 | 594 | 18,533 | 1,401 | 53,431 | 74,289 | 114 | 0.23\% |
| 2019 | 574 | 20,983 | 1,585 | 93,959 | 117,101 | 180 | 0.36\% |

Notes: Rows may not sum to the total. For some constituencies in some years the number of spoilt ballots by reason is not available. The total column also includes spoilt ballots classified as 'rejected in part'.

Sources: Colin Rallings and Michael Thrasher, British Electoral Facts 1832-2006 and later editions; Electoral Commission, Electoral data files and reports, accessed 19 November 2018; Data for 2019: Electoral Commission, Report overview: 2019 Parliamentary general election, accessed 27th July 2021.

## 2.5 <br> Postal votes

Figures on postal voting have been compiled since the 1945 General Election, when temporary provision was made for postal voting by service voters. The Representation of the People Act 1948 introduced postal voting for both service personnel and certain groups of civilians.

Since February 2001 it is possible to get a postal vote on demand; electors no longer have to state a reason for applying for an absent vote or to obtain attestation of illness (etc.) from a medical practitioner or employer. As a result, the number of postal votes issued at general elections rose from 800,000 before the change to around 6.9 million in 2019.

The number of postal votes returned in 2019 fell by just under 300,000 from a previous all-time peak of around 7.2 million in 2017.

## Table 4: Postal Ballot Papers in UK Elections, 1945-2019

|  |  | Number of posta ballot paper issued | Covering envelopes returned before close of poll | Postal votes included in count |  | Postal votes as \% of total valid votes |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |  | Number | $\%$ of all postal ballot papers issued |  |
| 1945 |  | 1,219,519 | 1,032,688 | 1,018,329 | 83.5\% | 3.9\% |
| 1950 |  | 507,717 | 478,038 | 466,347 | 91.9\% | 1.6\% |
| 1951 |  | 831,877 | 756,967 | 742,574 | 89.3\% | 2.5\% |
| 1955 |  | 595,000 | 526,904 | 515,593 | 86.7\% | 1.9\% |
| 1959 |  | 692,827 | 612,231 | 598,559 | 86.4\% | 2.1\% |
| 1964 |  | 818,901 | 723,927 | 707,636 | 86.4\% | 2.5\% |
| 1966 |  | 617,481 | 528,006 | 513,041 | 83.1\% | 1.8\% |
| 1970 |  | 731,249 | 639,674 | 625,355 | 85.5\% | 2.2\% |
| 1974 | Feb | 743,441 | 645,080 | 628,907 | 84.6\% | 2.0\% |
| 1974 | Oct | 1,075,131 | 875,324 | 850,105 | 79.1\% | 2.8\% |
| 1979 |  | 847,335 | 714,892 | 691,969 | 81.7\% | 2.2\% |
| 1983 |  | 757,604 | 643,634 | 623,554 | 82.3\% | 2.0\% |
| 1987 |  | 947,948 | 818,349 | 793,062 | 83.7\% | 2.4\% |
| 1992 |  | 835,074 | 714,895 | 692,139 | 82.9\% | 2.0\% |
| 1997 |  | 937,205 | 764,366 | 738,614 | 78.8\% | 2.3\% |
| 2001 |  | 1,758,055 | 1,402,073 | 1,402,073 | 79.8\% | 5.0\% |
| 2005 |  | 5,362,501 | 4,110,039 | 3,963,792 | 73.9\% | 12.7\% |
| 2010 |  | 6,996,006 | 5,818,853 | 5,596,865 | 80.0\% | 18.8\% |
| 2015 |  | 7,592,735 | 6,516,228 | 6,302,073 | 83.0\% | 20.5\% |
| 2017 |  | 8,412,060 | 7,155,315 | 6,986,581 | 83.1\% | 21.7\% |
| 2019 |  | 8,034,718 | 6,866,494 | 6,717,670 | 83.6\% | 21.0\% |

Source for table and chart below: Colin Rallings and Michael Thrasher, British Electoral Facts 1832-2006; Electoral Commission results data


## 2.6



## Characteristics of Members of Parliament

Data on the social background of MPs is not collected centrally. This section includes data published by David Butler, Dennis Kavanagh and others in the 'The British General Election of...' series. House of Commons Library Briefing Paper CBP-7583 Social background of Members of Parliament 1979-2019 provides further analysis of the characteristics of MPs.

In the period from 1951 to 2010, $97 \%$ of elected MPs represented the Conservative, Labour and Liberal Democrat parties. After the 2019 election, $89 \%$ of seats were held by these parties, a two-percentage point decrease compared to $91 \%$ in 2017.

## Gender

220 women were elected at the 2019 General Election ( $34 \%$ of all MPs), more than at any previous election. Women were first able to stand for Parliament in 1918 from the age of 21 years. ${ }^{4}$ Constance Markievicz became the first woman elected, at the 1918 General Election, but she did not take her seat along with other Sinn Féin MPs. Nancy Astor, elected in a 1919 by-election, became the first woman to sit in the House of Commons.

Until 1997, women had never held more than $10 \%$ of seats. The proportion of seats held by women doubled in 1997, when 120 female MPs were elected ( $18 \%$ of all MPs). In total, 552 women have been elected to the House of Commons since 1918, of whom four did not take their seat.

[^4]Table 5: Women MPs elected at general elections, by party

|  | CON $^{1}$ | LAB | LD $^{\mathbf{2}}$ | Other | Total | $\%$ MPs |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| $1918^{3}$ | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | $0.1 \%$ |
| 1922 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 2 | $0.3 \%$ |
| 1923 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 0 | 8 | $1.3 \%$ |
| 1924 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 4 | $0.7 \%$ |
| 1929 | 3 | 9 | 1 | 1 | 14 | $2.3 \%$ |
| 1931 | 13 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 15 | $2.4 \%$ |
| 1935 | 6 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 9 | $1.5 \%$ |
| 1945 | 1 | 21 | 1 | 1 | 24 | $3.8 \%$ |
| 1950 | 6 | 14 | 0 | 1 | 21 | $3.4 \%$ |
| 1951 | 6 | 11 | 0 | 0 | 17 | $2.7 \%$ |
| 1955 | 10 | 14 | 0 | 0 | 24 | $3.8 \%$ |
| 1959 | 12 | 13 | 0 | 0 | 25 | $4.0 \%$ |
| 1964 | 11 | 18 | 0 | 0 | 29 | $4.6 \%$ |
| 1966 | 7 | 19 | 0 | 0 | 26 | $4.1 \%$ |
| 1970 | 15 | 10 | 0 | 1 | 26 | $4.1 \%$ |
| 1974 Feb | 9 | 13 | 0 | 1 | 23 | $3.6 \%$ |
| 1974 Oct | 7 | 18 | 0 | 2 | 27 | $4.3 \%$ |
| 1979 | 8 | 11 | 0 | 0 | 19 | $3.0 \%$ |
| 1983 | 13 | 10 | 0 | 0 | 23 | $3.5 \%$ |
| 1987 | 17 | 21 | 2 | 1 | 41 | $6.3 \%$ |
| 1992 | 20 | 37 | 2 | 1 | 60 | $9.2 \%$ |
| 1997 | 13 | 101 | 3 | 3 | 120 | $18.2 \%$ |
| 2001 | 14 | 95 | 5 | 4 | 118 | $17.9 \%$ |
| 2005 | 17 | 98 | 10 | 3 | 128 | $19.8 \%$ |
| 2010 | 49 | 81 | 7 | 6 | 143 | $22.0 \%$ |
| 2015 | 68 | 99 | 0 | 24 | 191 | $29.4 \%$ |
| 2017 | 67 | 119 | 4 | 18 | 208 | $32.0 \%$ |
| 2019 | 87 | 104 | 7 | 22 | 220 | $33.8 \%$ |
|  |  |  |  |  |  | 2 |

Notes:

1. Includes Coalition Conservative for 1918; National, National Liberal and National Labour for 1931-35; National and National Liberal for 1945; National Liberal \& Conservative for 1945-70.
2. Includes Coalition Liberal Party for 1918; National Liberal for 1922; Independent Liberal for 1931; Liberal/SDP Alliance for 1983-87; Liberal Democrats from 1922.
3. Figures for all Ireland, not just Northern Ireland.

Sources: Colin Rallings and Michael Thrasher, British Electoral Facts 1832-2006; House of Commons Library general election papers, 2010, 2015, 2017 \& 2019

## Age of MPs

In the period from 1979 to 2019, the average age of MPs at elections has been consistently around 50 years. From 1997 to 2005 the average age of MPs elected rose, from 49.3 years in 1997 to 51.2 years in 2005, before falling to 51 in 2019.

## Table 6: Ages of Members of Parliament

Age at the time of general election

|  | Average Age at <br> Election (Years) | $18-29$ | $30-39$ | $40-49$ | $50-59$ | $60-69$ | $70+$ | Total |
| :---: | :---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| 1979 | 49.6 | 6 | 120 | 205 | 203 | 87 | 14 | 635 |
| 1983 | 48.8 | 10 | 120 | 223 | 201 | 86 | 9 | 649 |
| 1987 | 49.0 | 4 | 112 | 252 | 197 | 79 | 6 | 650 |
| 1992 | 50.0 | 1 | 82 | 259 | 211 | 95 | 3 | 651 |
| 1997 | 49.3 | 10 | 92 | 255 | 225 | 69 | 8 | 659 |
| 2001 | 50.3 | 4 | 79 | 236 | 247 | 83 | 10 | 659 |
| 2005 | 51.2 | 3 | 89 | 191 | 249 | 100 | 14 | 646 |
| 2010 | 49.9 | 15 | 108 | 196 | 216 | 99 | 16 | 650 |
| 2015 | 50.6 | 13 | 89 | 205 | 212 | 107 | 24 | 650 |
| 2017 | 50.5 | 13 | 105 | 188 | 202 | 114 | 28 | 650 |
| 2019 | 49.3 | 21 | 120 | 189 | 199 | 101 | 20 | 650 |

Note: MPs report their date of birth voluntarily and some choose to exclude this information from the House of Commons Members' Names Information Service database (MNIS).

Sources: MNIS, Wikidata
Conservative MPs elected at general elections over the past sixty years have tended to be younger than their Labour counterparts, a roughly two-year gap separates the two at the most recent general election of 2019. The average age of Labour, Conservative and Liberal Democrat MPs increased from 47 in 1951 to 52 in 2019.


[^5]Source: David Butler, Dennis Kavanagh and others, The British General Election of... (1951-2019)

## Ethnicity

As an individual's ethnicity is self-defined, it is hard to obtain historical records of MPs' ethnicity. It is generally said that the first MPs from minority ethnic backgrounds since World War II were elected in 1987, when four Labour MPs were from such backgrounds.

The first MP from a minority ethnic background elected at a post-war General Election for a party other than Labour and the Conservatives was Tasmina Ahmed-Sheikh, who was elected for the SNP in Ochil and South Perthshire in 2015.

The 2019 General Election saw 66 MPs from a minority ethnic background elected (an increase from 52 in 2017), making up 10\% of all MPs.

Table 8: MPs from minority ethnic backgrounds elected at general elections 1987-2019

| 1987 | - CON |  | Number |  |  |  |  |  |  | \% of all MPs |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |  | ON | LAB | LD | SNP | Other | Total | CON | LAB | LD | SNP | Other | Total |
| 1992 |  | - LAB | Non-white |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1997 |  | - LD | 1987 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 0\% | 2\% | 0\% | 0\% | 0\% | 1\% |
| 2001 |  |  | 1992 | 1 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 6 | 0\% | 2\% | 0\% | 0\% | 0\% | 1\% |
| 2005 |  |  | 1997 | 0 | 9 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 9 | 0\% | 2\% | 0\% | 0\% | 0\% | 1\% |
|  |  |  | 2001 | 0 | 12 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 12 | 0\% | 3\% | 0\% | 0\% | 0\% | 2\% |
| 2010 |  |  | 2005 | 2 | 13 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 15 | 1\% | 4\% | 0\% | 0\% | 0\% | 2\% |
| 2015 |  |  | 2010 | 11 | 16 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 27 | 4\% | 6\% | 0\% | 0\% | 0\% | 4\% |
| 2017 |  |  | 2015 | 18 | 23 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 42 | 5\% | 10\% | 0\% | 1\% | 0\% | 6\% |
| 2019 |  |  | 2017 | 20 | 32 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 53 | 6\% | 12\% | 8\% | 0\% | 0\% | 8\% |
|  | 20 | 4060 | 2019 | 23 | 41 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 66 | 6\% | 20\% | 18\% | 0\% | 0\% | 10\% |

Sources: Colin Rallings and Michael Thrasher, British Electoral Facts 1832-2006; House of Commons Library general election papers, 2010, 2015, 2017 \& 2019, Ethnic diversity in politics and public life; Operation Black Vote, BME politicians; British Future, ' 52 minority MPs to sit in 'most diverse UK Parliament ever' (2017), '"Diversity milestone" as one in ten MPs now from an ethnic minority background' (2019), personal correspondence

## Number of new MPs



## Parliamentary experience

A record number of first time MPs were returned in the 1945 General Election. 324 out of 640 MPs ( $51 \%$ ) had no prior experience of the House of Commons. ${ }^{5}$ The election resulted in a landslide Labour victory and a change of government. The previous general election had been held ten years earlier in 1935.

Table 9 shows the number of MPs new to the House of Commons at general elections since 1979. At the 1997 and 2010 elections, over a third of MPs elected were new to the House. The high turnover of MPs on these occasions is attributable not only to the change of government but also the large numbers of incumbent MPs who did not seek re-election. 117 MPs stood down in 1997 and in 2010 there were 149 MPs who chose not to stand again. ${ }^{6}$

Table 9: MPs entering House of Commons for first time at general elections
1979-2019

|  | New MPs ${ }^{1}$ |  |  |  |  | \% of MPs who are new ${ }^{1}$ |  |  |  |  | Total MPs elected |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | CON | LAB | $\mathbf{L D}^{2}$ | Other | Total | CON | LAB | LD ${ }^{2}$ | Other | Total | CON | LAB | LD ${ }^{2}$ | Other | Total |
| 1979 | 77 | 37 | 0 | 2 | 116 | 23\% | 14\% | 0\% | 12\% | 18\% | 339 | 268 | 11 | 17 | 635 |
| 1983 | 100 | 34 | 7 | 9 | 150 | 25\% | 16\% | 30\% | 43\% | 23\% | 397 | 209 | 23 | 21 | 650 |
| 1987 | 53 | 62 | 3 | 3 | 121 | 14\% | 27\% | 14\% | 13\% | 19\% | 375 | 229 | 22 | 24 | 650 |
| 1992 | 54 | 66 | 4 | 3 | 127 | 16\% | 24\% | 20\% | 13\% | 20\% | 336 | 271 | 20 | 24 | 651 |
| 1997 | 33 | 178 | 26 | 6 | 243 | 20\% | 43\% | 57\% | 20\% | 37\% | 165 | 418 | 46 | 30 | 659 |
| 2001 | 26 | 38 | 14 | 14 | 92 | 16\% | 9\% | 27\% | 48\% | 14\% | 166 | 412 | 52 | 29 | 659 |
| 2005 | 51 | 41 | 20 | 7 | 119 | 26\% | 12\% | 32\% | 23\% | 18\% | 198 | 355 | 62 | 31 | 646 |
| 2010 | 147 | 63 | 10 | 7 | 227 | 48\% | 24\% | 18\% | 24\% | 35\% | 306 | 258 | 57 | 29 | 650 |
| 2015 | 73 | 50 | 0 | 54 | 177 | 22\% | 22\% | 0\% | 68\% | 27\% | 330 | 232 | 8 | 80 | 650 |
| 2017 | 30 | 46 | 4 | 7 | 87 | 9\% | 18\% | 33\% | 12\% | 13\% | 317 | 262 | 12 | 59 | 650 |
| 2019 | 97 | 24 | 3 | 16 | 140 | 27\% | 14\% | 27\% | 16\% | 22\% | 365 | 176 | 11 | 98 | 650 |

Notes:

1. Excludes former MPs returning to the Commons after time away from Parliament
2. Liberal Democrat includes predecessor parties

Source: Members Name Information Service

At three general elections since 1979 'Other’ parties have had the largest proportion of new Members of Parliament.

Most recently in 2019, 27\% of Conservative and Liberal Democrat MPs were new to Parliament, as were $14 \%$ of Labour MPs.

[^6]
## Education

Around $88 \%$ of MPs elected in 2019 were university graduates. Just under one-third of MPs went to fee-paying schools. The Universities most attended by MPs were Oxford and Cambridge.

The proportions of MPs from Oxbridge and private (fee-paying) schools have fallen over the last 60 years. 338 out of a total number of 650 Conservative, Labour and Liberal Democrat MPs elected in 1951 went to university, including 229 who went to Oxford or Cambridge. By comparison of the MPs with a known university level background (629) in the current parliament, $87 \%$ had been to university, and $22 \%$ went to Oxbridge.
$65 \%$ of Conservative MPs elected in 1951 had been to university and $52 \%$ went to Oxford or Cambridge. By comparison 61\% of Conservative MPs elected in 2019 had been to university and $27 \%$ went to Oxbridge.

In 1951, 19\% of Labour MPs went to Oxbridge and $41 \%$ attended university. In 2019, $72 \%$ of Labour MPs went to university and $18 \%$ had graduated from Oxford or Cambridge. The share of Liberal Democrats that are Oxbridge graduates has fallen, from $83 \%$ in 1959 to $18 \%$ in 2019.

The proportion of Conservative, Labour and SNP MPs who attended university rose between 2017 and 2019, by 5, 6 and 8 percentage points respectively whilst Liberal Democrats' proportion fell by 1 percentage point.

## Table 10: Education of Members of Parliament 1951-2019

Percentage of parties' MPs, by general election

|  | 51 | 55 | 59 | 64 | 66 | 70 | 74 | 74 | 79 | 83 | 87 | 92 | 97 | 01 | 05 | 10 | 15 | 17 | 19 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Conservative |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Private School | 75 | 76 | 72 | 75 | 81 | 74 | 74 | 75 | 73 | 70 | 68 | 62 | 66 | 64 | 60 | 54 | 50 | 44 | 41 |
| University | 65 | 63 | 60 | 63 | 67 | 63 | 67 | 69 | 68 | 71 | 70 | 73 | 81 | 83 | 81 | 80 | 81 | 83 | 88 |
| Oxbridge | 52 | 53 | 50 | 52 | 57 | 52 | 54 | 56 | 49 | 48 | 44 | 45 | 51 | 48 | 43 | 34 | 30 | 34 | 27 |
| Labour |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Private School | 20 | 22 | 18 | 18 | 18 | 17 | 16 | 18 | 18 | 14 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 12 | 16 | 13 | 14 |
| University | 41 | 40 | 39 | 42 | 51 | 54 | 53 | 57 | 59 | 53 | 56 | 61 | 66 | 67 | 64 | 61 | 77 | 84 | 90 |
| Oxbridge | 19 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 23 | 25 | 20 | 25 | 21 | 15 | 15 | 16 | 15 | 16 | 16 | 15 | 21 | 20 | 18 |
| Liberal Democrat |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Private School | 50 | 50 | 67 | 33 | 58 | 50 | 71 | 69 | 55 | 52 | 45 | 50 | 41 | 35 | 39 | 39 | 13 | 30 | 30 |
| University | 100 | 100 | 100 | 78 | 83 | 100 | 71 | 62 | 45 | 65 | 73 | 75 | 70 | 69 | 79 | 81 | 100 | 92 | 91 |
| Oxbridge | 67 | 67 | 83 | 44 | 50 | 50 | 43 | 38 | 27 | 30 | 27 | 30 | 33 | 27 | 31 | 28 | 13 | 17 | 18 |
| Scottish National |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Private School |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 7 | 6 | 7 |
| University |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 75 | 62 | 70 |
| Oxbridge |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 0 | 0 | 0 |

[^7]
## Occupation

The occupational backgrounds of Members have changed over the past sixty years. ${ }^{7}$ In 1951, $18 \%$ of MPs from the three historically dominant parties were former manual workers, compared with none in 2019. The proportion of MPs who are barristers/legal professionals has also declined, from 16\% in 1959 to 7\% in 2019. Meanwhile, there has been an increase in the number of MPs entering the House of Commons with a background in politics: $3 \%$ of MPs elected for the three historically dominant parties in 1983 were previously politicians, political organisers or councillors, compared with roughly $30 \%$ of MPs elected for the four largest parties in 2015.

The proportion of MPs who were previously teachers (in schools or in further/higher education) peaked at around one-fifth in 1997, but decreased to $2 \%$ in 2019. MPs with a teaching background have tended to be Labour. Members with a background in business made up just under one-fifth of the MPs from the four largest parties in 2019 and are most often Conservatives.

The majority of MPs from the biggest four parties now have a background in 'instrumental' jobs closely related to formal politics.

Data for 2017 and 2019 have been compiled on a different basis and is not comparable with previous years; this data is presented below.

[^8]
## Table 11a: Summary (Con, Lab, SNP ${ }^{1}$ and LD)

1951-2015

|  | 51 | 55 | 59 | 64 | 66 | $70$ | Feb Oct |  |  | 83 | 87 | 92 | 97 | 01 | 05 | $1015^{1}$ |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 74 | 74 | 79 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Professions |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Barrister | 93 | 97 | 103 | 100 | 94 | 97 | 93 | 90 | 67 | 69 | 57 | 53 | 36 | 33 | 34 | 38 | 38 |
| Solicitor | 24 | 21 | 25 | 29 | 33 | 28 | 23 | 22 | 29 | 35 | 31 | 30 | 28 | 35 | 38 | 48 | 51 |
| Civil service/local government | 18 | 21 | 22 | 25 | 22 | 15 | 13 | 14 | 30 | 27 | 22 | 19 | 37 | 35 | 28 | 18 | 15 |
| Teachers | 47 | 43 | 41 | 57 | 77 | 66 | 77 | 92 | 77 | 75 | 84 | 102 | 126 | 117 | 91 | 49 | 32 |
| Armed services | 34 | 50 | 40 | 30 | 22 | 24 | 9 | 8 | 20 | 19 | 16 | 15 | 10 | 12 | 14 | 16 | 13 |
| Other Professions | 24 | 32 | 39 | 39 | 31 | 61 | 66 | 66 | 55 | 53 | 52 | 39 | 35 | 38 | 37 | 49 | 45 |
| Business |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Company Executive/Director | 80 | 64 | 94 | 66 | 69 | 108 | 82 | 79 | 71 | 105 | 123 | 123 | 78 | 77 | 87 | 115 | 135 |
| Other business | 66 | 73 | 46 | 50 | 41 | 21 | 44 | 41 | 67 | 57 | 38 | 29 | 35 | 30 | 31 | 41 | 57 |
| White collar |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Politician/political organiser | 18 | 24 | 18 | 18 | 12 | 21 | 13 | 12 | 21 | 20 | 34 | 46 | 60 | 66 | 87 | 90 | 107 |
| Publisher/journalist | 46 | 46 | 51 | 47 | 46 | 58 | 56 | 50 | 46 | 45 | 43 | 44 | 47 | 50 | 43 | 38 | 34 |
| Miscellaneous white collar | 16 | 9 | 10 | 17 | 29 | 4 | 7 | 10 | 9 | 21 | 28 | 46 | 72 | 76 | 80 | 94 | 23 |
| Manual Workers |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Miner | 35 | 33 | 34 | 31 | 32 | 22 | 19 | 19 | 21 | 20 | 17 | 13 | 13 | 12 | 11 | 7 | $7^{2}$ |
| Other Manual | 74 | 65 | 57 | 74 | 79 | 56 | 71 | 72 | 65 | 54 | 52 | 50 | 43 | 41 | 27 | 24 | 19 |
| Miscellaneous |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Other | 47 | 50 | 49 | 47 | 41 | 42 | 39 | 34 | 30 | 29 | 30 | 18 | 9 | 8 | 7 | 0 | 57 |
| Total | 622 | 628 | 629 | 630 | 628 | 623 | 612 | 609 | 608 | 629 | 627 | 627 | 629 | 630 | 615 | 621 | 626 |

## Table 11b: Main former occupation of Members of Parliament

1951-2015


## Table 11b: Main former occupation of Members of Parliament (continued)

1951-2015

\[

\]

## Liberal Democrat \& predecessors

## Professions

| Barrister | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Solicitor | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| Civil service/local government | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 2 |
| Teachers | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 7 | 12 | 12 | 10 | 2 |
| Armed services | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Other Professions | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 7 | 6 | 6 | 5 | 0 |
| Business |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Company Executive/Director | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 9 | 13 | 13 | 7 | 2 |
| Other business | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 5 | 4 | 0 |
| White collar |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Politician/political organiser | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 5 | 4 | 7 | 7 | 0 |
| Publisher/journalist | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 5 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 0 |
| Miscellaneous white collar | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 6 | 11 | 0 |
| Manual Workers |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Miner | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Other Manual | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Miscellaneous |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Other | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Total | 6 | 6 | 6 | 9 | 12 | 6 | 14 | 13 | 11 | 23 | 22 | 20 | 46 | 52 | 62 | 57 | 8 |

## Scottish National Party (2015 only)

| Professions | Business | Manual Workers |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Barrister | 1 Company Executive/Director | 8 Miner | $\ldots$ |
| Solicitor | 4 Other business | 11 Other Manual | 0 |
| Civil service/local government | 1 White collar | Miscellaneous |  |
| Teachers | 5 Politician/political organiser | 8 Other | 7 |
| Armed services | 0 Publisher/journalist | 4 Total | 56 |
| Other Professions | 6 Miscellaneous white collar | 1 |  |

## Notes for tables 11a and 11b:

1. Scottish National Party data is only included from 2015;
2. The number of former miners is not recorded in the British General Election of 2015. The number for 2015 is based on the House of Commons Library calculations.
3. From 2010, Nuffield study category 'White collar' includes: misc. white collar; union official; public relations; and charity/voluntary sector

## Sources for tables 11a and 11b:

P. Cowley and D. Kavanagh (eds), The British General Election of 2015 \& earlier editions.

Main former occupations of Members of Parliament
1951-2015


Table 11c shows MPs' occupations immediately before the 2017 and 2019 general elections. 'Instrumental' backgrounds were most common among MPs from all parties in 2019, ranging from 63.6\% (Liberal Democrat MPs) to 74.4\% (Labour MPs). The second category among Conservative MPs was a 'business/commerce' background (25.2\% in 2019 and $41.0 \%$ in 2017), while for Labour MPs this was 'brokerage' (11.6\%) in 2019 and 'Other' (24.4\%) in 2017 with most of these MPs coming from the voluntary sector.

Newly elected MPs' former occupations
Immediately before the 2017 and 2019 general elections

|  | 2017 |  |  |  |  | 2019 |  |  |  |  | Change |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | CON | LAB | SNP | LD | Total | CON | LAB | SNP | LD | Total |  |
| Brokerage | 55 | 50 | 7 | 4 | 116 | 33 | 23 | 4 | 2 | 62 | -54 |
| Legal profession | 38 | 25 | 1 | 2 | 66 | 29 | 15 | 2 | 1 | 47 |  |
| Education | 6 | 20 | 3 | 2 | 31 | 4 | 8 | 2 | 1 | 15 |  |
| Physicians/dentists | 7 | 3 | 2 | -- | 12 | 4 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 5 |  |
| Architects/surveyors/engineers | 4 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 7 | 8 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 8 |  |
| Instrumental | 101 | 129 | 13 | 3 | 246 | 201 | 148 | 31 | 7 | 387 | 141 |
| Councillor/other elected office | 28 | 47 | 5 | 2 | 82 | 157 | 103 | 25 | 4 | 289 |  |
| Political/social/policy research | 30 | 27 | 5 | 0 | 62 | 34 | 19 | 30 | 2 | 85 |  |
| Party official | 14 | 14 | 2 | 0 | 30 | 10 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 14 |  |
| Journalism/broadcast/media | 10 | 6 | 1 | 1 | 18 | 10 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 12 |  |
| Trade union official | 0 | 30 | 0 | 0 | 30 | 0 | 23 | 0 | 0 | 23 |  |
| Lobbyist | 19 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 24 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |  |
| Business/commerce | 130 | 15 | 6 | 4 | 155 | 92 | 10 | 8 | 2 | 112 | -43 |
| Other | 29 | 64 | 8 | 1 | 102 | 39 | 18 | 5 | 0 | 62 | -40 |
| Agriculture/farmers | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 6 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |  |
| Armed forces | 2 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 7 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 10 |  |
| Civil service/local authority | 5 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 9 | 4 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 6 |  |
| Clergy | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |  |
| NHS | 2 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 9 | 3 | 6 | 1 | 0 | 10 |  |
| Other | 0 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 7 | 4 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 8 |  |
| Other white collar | 6 | 8 | 2 | 0 | 16 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 2 |  |
| Retired | 2 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 2 |  |
| Social worker | 0 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |  |
| Voluntary sector | 5 | 32 | 2 | 0 | 39 | 5 | 4 | 2 | 0 | 11 |  |
| Writer/literary/artist | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 4 |  |
| Manual | 2 | 4 | 1 | 0 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | -7 |
| Total | 317 | 262 | 35 | 12 | 626 | 365 | 199 | 48 | 11 | 623 |  |

[^9]
## 3 House of Commons by-elections

## $3.1 \quad$ Great Britain

Average change in share of vote since previous election




Party politics in Northern Ireland differs substantially from that in Great Britain. House of Commons by-elections for these parts of the UK are therefore presented separately in this section.

By-elections have been less frequent in recent Parliaments than in the immediate post-war years. There has been only one Parliament since 1979 when there were more than twenty by-elections (1987-92) and between 2001 and 2005 there were just six. By contrast, during the 1959-64 Parliament there were 61 by-elections. Average turnout at by-elections has fallen in recent years.

Generally, parties in government perform poorly at by-elections while opposition parties have the chance to make gains. For example, in the 2010-15 Parliament the Conservative Party lost three of the four by-elections in seats it previously held. Historically, the Liberal Democrats (and their predecessor parties) have performed well; they gained seats in every Parliament since 1959, with the exception of the eight-month Parliament of 1974 and the 2010 Parliament (when they were in government). The 19972001 Parliament was the only one since 1951-1955 where a governing party did not lose a single seat at a by-election.

Most recently in the 2019 Parliament both the Conservative and the Labour Parties received a lower share of the vote at some by-elections than they did at the 2019 General Election.

Table 12: Summary of parliamentary by-elections in Great Britain
By Parliament, 1945-2023

| Number of by-elections |  | Net Seat Gains and Losses |  |  |  |  |  | Average change in share of vote since previous |  |  |  |  | Average turnout |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | CON | LAB | LD | PC/SNP | Other | No change | CON | LAB | LD | PC/SNP | Other |  |
| 1945-50 | 50 | +4 | -1 | ... | ... | -3 | 45 | 3.7\% | -2.3\% | -1.1\% |  | -1.0\% | 67.3\% |
| 1950-51 | 14 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 14 | +6.8\% | -2.0\% | -4.6\% | ... | -0.2\% | 68.8\% |
| 1951-55 | 44 | +1 | -1 | ... | ... | ... | 43 | -0.6\% | +0.3\% | -0.6\% | +0.6\% | +0.3\% | 58.6\% |
| 1955-59 | 49 | -2 | +4 | $\ldots$ | ... | -2 | 34 | -8.7\% | +1.3\% | +6.2\% | +0.3\% | +0.9\% | 63.5\% |
| 1959-64 | 61 | -5 | +4 | +1 | ... | ... | 54 | -14.1\% | -2.1\% | +13.7\% | +1.2\% | +1.5\% | 62.9\% |
| 1964-66 | 13 | ... | -1 | +1 | $\ldots$ | ... | 11 | +1.3\% | -1.8\% | +0.5\% | +0.3\% | +0.4\% | 58.2\% |
| 1966-70 | 37 | +11 | -15 | +1 | +2 | +1 | 22 | +6.8\% | -17.3\% | +3.3\% | +5.5\% | +1.7\% | 62.1\% |
| 1970-74 | 30 | -5 | ... | +5 | +1 | -1 | 20 | -10.7\% | -4.2\% | +9.0\% | +4.0\% | +1.9\% | 56.5\% |
| 1974 | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | -1.1\% | -3.4\% | -2.3\% | $\ldots$ | +6.8\% | 25.9\% |
| 1974-79 | 30 | +6 | -6 | +1 | ... | -1 | 23 | +9.9\% | -9.3\% | -4.9\% | -0.3\% | +4.6\% | 57.5\% |
| 1979-83 | 17 | -3 | +1 | +4 | ... | -2 | 11 | -11.4\% | -10.2\% | +18.6\% | +1.6\% | +1.4\% | 56.7\% |
| 1983-87 | 16 | -4 | ... | +4 | ... | ... | 11 | -14.0\% | +0.4\% | +12.3\% | +0.1\% | +1.2\% | 63.5\% |
| 1987-92 | 23 | -7 | +3 | +3 | +1 | ... | 15 | -11.0\% | -0.8\% | -0.6\% | +5.7\% | +6.6\% | 57.4\% |
| 1992-97 | 17 | -8 | +3 | +4 | +1 | ... | 9 | -19.9\% | +7.4\% | +5.2\% | +2.4\% | +4.9\% | 52.7\% |
| 1997-01 | 15 | -2 | +1 | +2 | ... | -1 | 14 | -0.6\% | -11.1\% | +5.0\% | +3.1\% | +3.6\% | 42.4\% |
| 2001-05 | 6 | ... | -2 | +2 | ... | ... | 4 | -4.2\% | -19.8\% | +15.8\% | +1.1\% | +7.0\% | 39.3\% |
| 2005-10 | 14 | ... | -1 | +1 | ... | ... | 9 | +2.6\% | -10.4\% | +2.0\% | +4.3\% | +5.3\% | 48.8\% |
| 2010-15 | 19 | -3 | ... | $\ldots$ | ... | +3 | 13 | -6.4\% | +5.4\% | -7.6\% | +1.1\% | +17.9\% | 39.6\% |
| 2015-17 | 10 | -1 | ... | +1 | ... | ... | 8 | -4.7\% | +3.9\% | +7.7\% | +5.7\% | -6.6\% | 44.1\% |
| 2017-19 | 4 | -1 | ... | +1 | ... | ... | 3 | -14.1\% | -13.9\% | +11.5\% | +0.7\% | +16.7\% | 44.5\% |
| 2019-23 | 16 | -5 | +1 | +4 | ... | ... | 9 | -10.3\% | 1.2\% | 7.5\% | 0.1\% | 3.3\% | 39.4\% |

Sources: F.W.S. Craig, Chronology of British Parliamentary By-elections 1833-1987; Colin Rallings \& Michael Thrasher, British Electoral Facts 1832-2006; House of Commons Library, RP10/50 By-election results 2005-10; SN05833 By-elections 2010-15; CBP 7417 By-election results since the 2015 General Election; CBP-8280 By-elections in the 2017 Parliament; CBP09225 By-elections in the 2019 Parliament


The largest swing at a by-election since 1945 was in Southwark, Bermondsey in February 1982. Liberal candidate Simon Hughes won the seat on a $44.2 \%$ point swing from Labour. Hughes retained the seat until the 2015 General Election. Respect candidate George Galloway won Bradford West from Labour on a 36.5\% point swing in March 2012.

In the early 1990s, Liberal Democrats secured a number of by-election wins in what were previously safe Conservative seats. For example, in Christchurch in July 1993 a Conservative majority of 23,000 at the previous general election became a Liberal Democrat majority of over 16,000. Other gains included Eastbourne (October 1990), Ribble Valley (March 1991), Newbury (May 1993) and Eastleigh (June 1994).

Notable retentions of seats at by-elections include Hull North (January 1966), when a swing to Labour influenced Prime Minister Harold Wilson to call a general election. Labour holds in by-elections in Darlington (March 1983) and Glenrothes (November 2008) were significant in relieving pressure on the party leadership at the time. ${ }^{8}$ None of the other parties stood against the parties holding the Batley and Spen (2016 by-election, Labour hold) and

[^10]Southend West (2022 by-election, Conservative hold) seats where byelections were called following the murder of the sitting MP.

By-elections in the 2019 Parliament have recorded some relatively large swings: the Liberal Democrats gained the North Shropshire, Tiverton and Honiton, and Somerton and Frome seats from the Conservatives on $34.2 \%$, $29.9 \%$ and $29.0 \%$-point swings respectively. See CBPO9225 By-elections in the 2019 Parliament for more information.

## Gains and losses in Parliamentary by-elections

Great Britain, 1945-50 to 2019-July 2023


Number of Parliamentary by-elections
Great Britain, 1945-50 to 2019-July 2023


Table 13: Parliamentary by-elections in Great Britain since 1945

| Date | Constituency | Result | CON | LAB | LD | PC/SNP | Other | Turnout |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| GENERAL ELECTION 1945 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 01/10/1945 | Smethwick | LAB hold | -2.9\% | +2.9\% | ... | ... | ... | 65.4\% |
| 02/10/1945 | Ashton-under-Lyme | LAB hold | -8.6\% | -2.3\% | +10.9\% | ... | ... | 70.5\% |
| 03/10/1945 | Edinburgh E | LAB hold | +1.1\% | +5.2\% |  | -6.3\% | ... | 51.0\% |
| 30/10/1945 | Monmouth | CON hold | +0.8\% | -0.8\% | ... | ... | ... | 66.7\% |
| 31/10/1945 | City of London ${ }^{1,2}$ | CON gain | -3.8\% | ... | +14.0\% | ... | -10.2\% | 51.6\% |
| 14/11/1945 | Bromley | CON hold | +4.6\% | +5.0\% | -9.6\% | ... | ... | 56.5\% |
| 15/11/1945 | Bournemouth | CON hold | -8.7\% | +12.0\% | -3.3\% | ... | ... | 56.5\% |
| 20/11/1945 | Kensington South | CON hold | +11.9\% | +7.0\% | +18.9\% | ... | ... | 36.8\% |
| 13/12/1945 | Tottenham North | LAB hold | +8.2\% | -8.2\% | ... | ... | ... | 39.5\% |
| 31/01/1946 | Preston ${ }^{1}$ | LAB gain | +2.6\% | ... | -6.1\% | ... | -3.8\% | 64.9\% |
| 07/02/1946 | Ayrshire South | LAB hold | -2.3\% | +2.3\% | ... | ... | ... | 69.0\% |
| 12/02/1946 | Glasgow, Cathcart | CON hold | -6.3\% | -4.1\% | ... | +10.4\% | ... | 55.6\% |
| 21/01/1946 | Heywood and Radcliffe | LAB hold | +0.5\% | -0.5\% | ... | ... | $\ldots$ | 75.6\% |
| 22/02/1946 | Hemsworth | LAB hold | By-election uncontested |  |  |  |  |  |
| 13/03/1946 | Combined English Universities ${ }^{3}$ | CON gain from Ind | Not Comparable |  |  |  |  | 42.1\% |
| 04/06/1946 | Ogmore | LAB hold | -18.0\% | -5.8\% | ... | +23.8\% | ... | 33.1\% |
| 22/07/1946 | Bexley | LAB hold | +17.7\% | -4.4\% | -13.3\% | ... | ... | 61.2\% |
| 23/07/1946 | Pontypool | LAB hold | +4.1\% | -4.1\% | ... | ... | ... | 64.8\% |
| 25/07/1946 | Battersea North | LAB hold | +3.5\% | -5.0\% | ... | ... | +1.5\% | 55.4\% |
| 29/08/1946 | Glasgow, Bridegton | ILP hold | -12.0\% | +28.0\% | ... | ... | -16.0\% | 53.3\% |
| 19/11/1946 | Bermondsey, Rotherhithe | LAB hold | -11.2\% | -14.1\% | +25.3\% | ... | ... | 50.9\% |
| 20/11/1946 | Paddington North | LAB hold | +6.1\% | -5.6\% | ... | ... | -0.5\% | 53.9\% |
| 22/11/1946 | Combined Scottish Universities ${ }^{3}$ | CON gain from Ind | Not Comparable |  |  |  |  | 50.7\% |
| 26/11/1946 | Aberdeen South | CON hold | +8.0\% | +2.9\% | -10.9\% | ... | ... | 65.6\% |
| 05/12/1946 | Aberdare | LAB hold | -4.0\% | -16.0\% | ... | +20.0\% | ... | 65.7\% |
| 05/12/1946 | Kilmarnock | LAB hold | -8.1\% | +0.3\% | ... | +7.8\% | ... | 68.4\% |
| 11/02/1947 | Normanton | LAB hold | +2.1\% | -4.5\% | ... | ... | +2.4\% | 54.6\% |
| 07/05/1947 | Jarrow | LAB hold | +3.5\% | -6.7\% | ... | ... | +3.2\% | 73.4\% |
| 11/09/1947 | Liverpool, Edge Hill | LAB hold | +7.5\% | -12.8\% | +4.4\% | ... | +0.9\% | 62.7\% |
| 25/09/1947 | Islington West | LAB hold | +0.4\% | -16.6\% | +16.0\% | ... | +0.2\% | 51.4\% |
| 26/11/1947 | Gravesend | LAB hold | +12.9\% | -0.7\% | -12.2\% | ... | ... | 77.3\% |
| 27/11/1947 | Howdenshire | CON hold | +8.0\% | -3.7\% | -4.3\% | ... | ... | 67.0\% |
| 27/11/1947 | Edinburgh East | LAB hold | -3.0\% | -5.8\% | +10.1\% | -1.3\% | ... | 63.0\% |
| 04/12/1947 | Epsom | CON hold | +11.0\% | -6.3\% | -4.7\% | ... | ... | 70.5\% |
| 28/01/1948 | Glasgow, Camlachie | CON gain from ILP | +1.4\% | +42.1\% | +1.2\% | ... | -44.7\% | 56.8\% |
| 18/02/1948 | Paisley | LAB hold | +10.5\% | +1.2\% | -10.0\% | ... | -1.7\% | 76.0\% |
| 04/03/1948 | Wigan | LAB hold | +3.9\% | -9.2\% | ... | ... | +1.9\% | 81.4\% |
| 11/03/1948 | Croydon North | CON hold | +12.9\% | -3.5\% | -9.4\% | ... | ... | 74.8\% |
| 24/03/1948 | Brigg | LAB hold | +4.3\% | -4.3\% | ... | ... | ... | 77.1\% |
| 29/04/1948 | Southwark Central | LAB hold | +6.5\% | -6.5\% | ... | ... | ... | 48.7\% |
| 30/09/1948 | Glasgow, Gorbals | LAB hold | +8.6\% | -25.5\% | ... | ... | +16.9\% | 50.0\% |
| 07/10/1948 | Stirling and Falkirk | LAB hold | -1.1\% | -7.1\% | ... | +8.2\% | $\cdots$ | 72.9\% |


| Date | Constituency | Result | CON | LAB | LD | PC/SNP | Other | Turnout |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| GENERAL ELECTION 1945 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 13/11/1948 | Edmonton | LAB hold | +17.6\% | -14.8\% | ... | ... | -2.8\% | 62.7\% |
| 25/11/1948 | Glasgow, Hillhead | CON hold | +9.9\% | -2.0\% | -7.9\% | $\ldots$ | ... | 56.7\% |
| 17/02/1949 | Batley and Morley | LAB hold | +12.3\% | +1.2\% | -13.5\% | ... | ... | 81.3\% |
| 24/02/1949 | Hammersmith South | LAB hold | +5.2\% | -5.2\% | ... | ... | ... | 60.6\% |
| 10/03/1949 | St.Pancras North | LAB hold | +4.8\% | -6.3\% | ... | ... | +1.5\% | 65.1\% |
| 16/03/1949 | Sowerby | LAB hold | +16.0\% | +2.3\% | -18.3\% | ... | ... | 80.7\% |
| 21/07/1949 | Leeds West | LAB hold | +17.2\% | -3.9\% | -13.3\% | $\ldots$ | ... | 65.1\% |
| 08/12/1949 | Bradford South | LAB hold | +9.3\% | -1.2\% | -14.4\% | ... | +6.3\% | 75.4\% |
| GENERAL ELECTION 1950 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 05/04/1950 | Sheffield, Neepsend | LAB hold | -0.4\% | -1.9\% | ... | ... | +2.3\% | 62.9\% |
| 25/04/1950 | Dunbartonshire West | LAB hold | +1.8\% | +1.1\% | ... | ... | -2.9\% | 83.4\% |
| 04/05/1950 | Brighouse and Spenborough | LAB hold | +1.7\% | -1.7\% | ... | ... | ... | 85.4\% |
| 28/09/1950 | Leicester NE | LAB hold | +8.8\% | +1.4\% | -9.5\% | ... | -0.7\% | 63.0\% |
| 25/10/1950 | Glasgow, Scotstoun | CON hold | +4.3\% | +1.3\% | -4.9\% | ... | -0.7\% | 73.7\% |
| 02/11/1950 | Oxford | CON hold | +10.6\% | +1.8\% | -11.6\% | ... | -0.8\% | 69.3\% |
| 16/11/1950 | Bimingham, Handsworth | CON hold | +10.2\% | -1.1\% | -10.3\% | ... | +1.2\% | 63.2\% |
| 30/11/1950 | Bristol SE | LAB hold | +8.4\% | -5.9\% | -1.4\% | $\ldots$ | -1.1\% | 61.1\% |
| 30/11/1950 | Abertillery | LAB hold | +0.6\% | -0.6\% | ... | ... | ... | 71.1\% |
| 15/02/1951 | Bristol West | CON hold | +22.5\% | -11.4\% | -11.1\% | ... | ... | 53.6\% |
| 08/04/1951 | Ormskirk | CON hold | +5.2\% | -7.2\% | ... | $\ldots$ | +2.0\% | 64.7\% |
| 21/04/1951 | Harrow West | CON hold | +13.4\% | -1.5\% | -11.9\% | ... | ... | 68.0\% |
| 14/06/1951 | Woolwich East | LAB hold | +6.3\% | -0.8\% | -3.5\% | $\ldots$ | -2.0\% | 66.8\% |
| 21/06/1951 | Westhoughton | LAB hold | +1.9\% | -1.9\% | ... | ... | $\ldots$ | 76.5\% |
| GENERAL ELECTION 1951 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 06/02/1952 | Bournemouth East and Christ | CON hold | -1.5\% | -1.7\% | -1.5\% | ... | +4.7\% | 63.8\% |
| 06/02/1952 | Southport | CON hold | +1.8\% | +3.7\% | -5.5\% | ... | ... | 61.0\% |
| 07/02/1952 | Leeds SE | LAB hold | -2.7\% | +2.7\% | ... | ... | ... | 55.7\% |
| 17/07/1952 | Dundee East | LAB hold | -10.6\% | +2.5\% | ... | +7.4\% | +0.7\% | 55.7\% |
| 23/10/1952 | Cleveland | LAB hold | +0.7\% | -0.7\% | ... | $\cdots$ | ... | 71.4\% |
| 04/11/1952 | Wycombe | CON hold | +0.3\% | -0.3\% | $\cdots$ | ... | ... | 83.9\% |
| 27/11/1952 | Birmingham, Small Heath | LAB hold | +2.1\% | +3.6\% | -5.7\% | $\ldots$ | ... | 46.6\% |
| 27/11/1952 | Farnworth | LAB hold | -0.7\% | +0.7\% | ... | ... | ... | 71.0\% |
| 12/02/1953 | Canterbury | CON hold | +6.0\% | +1.9\% | -7.9\% | ... | ... | 49.2\% |
| 12/03/1953 | Isle of Thanet | CON hold | -0.3\% | +0.3\% | ... | ... | $\cdots$ | 58.7\% |
| 31/03/1953 | Barnsley | LAB hold | +9.8\% | +3.2\% | -13.0\% | ... | ... | 57.9\% |
| 31/03/1953 | Stoke-on-Trent North | LAB hold | -4.1\% | +4.1\% | ... | ... | ... | 50.5\% |
| 01/04/1953 | Hayes and Harlington | LAB hold | +0.9\% | -0.9\% | ... | ... | ... | 45.0\% |
| 13/05/1953 | Sunderland South | CON gain from LAB | -1.1\% | -4.2\% | +5.3\% | ... | ... | 72.7\% |
| 30/06/1953 | Abingdon | CON hold | -2.3\% | -4.8\% | +7.1\% | ... | $\ldots$ | 75.9\% |
| 02/07/1953 | Birmingham, Edgbaston | CON hold | +3.3\% | -3.3\% | ... | ... | $\ldots$ | 50.2\% |
| 17/09/1953 | Broxtowe | LAB hold | -1.4\% | +1.4\% | ... | ... | ... | 63.5\% |
| 12/11/1953 | Crosby | CON hold | -2.8\% | +1.5\% | ... | ... | +4.3\% | 62.5\% |
| 12/11/1953 | Ormskirk | CON hold | -2.0\% | +2.0\% | $\cdots$ | $\cdots$ | ... | 54.1\% |


| Date | Constituency | Result | CON | LAB | LD | PC/SNP | Other | Turnout |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 19/11/1953 | Holborn and St.Pancras S | LAB hold | -0.2\% | +1.9\% | -1.7\% | ... | ... | 56.2\% |
| 03/12/1953 | Paddington North | LAB hold | +1.0\% | -1.9\% | ... | ... | +0.9\% | 60.3\% |
| 03/02/1954 | Ilford North | CON hold | +4.3\% | -5.7\% | +1.4\% | ... | ... | 45.4\% |
| 11/02/1954 | Kingston upon Hull, Halt | CON hold | +3.7\% | -3.7\% | ... | ... | ... | 45.7\% |
| 11/02/1954 | Harwich | CON hold | +0.2\% | -0.2\% | ... | ... | ... | 58.8\% |
| 18/02/1954 | Bournemouth West | CON hold | +4.2\% | -4.2\% | ... | ... | ... | 45.1\% |
| 09/03/1954 | Arundel and Shoreham | CON hold | +1.1\% | -1.1\% | ... | ... | ... | 54.2\% |
| 11/03/1954 | Harrogate | CON hold | +0.2\% | -0.2\% | ... | ... | ... | 55.3\% |
| 08/04/1954 | Edinburgh East | LAB hold | -3.5\% | +3.5\% | ... | ... | ... | 61.8\% |
| 14/04/1954 | Motherwell | LAB hold | -3.4\% | -0.9\% | ... | ... | +4.3\% | 70.5\% |
| 30/09/1954 | Croydon East | CON hold | -2.2\% | -5.8\% | +8.0\% | ... | ... | 57.5\% |
| 21/10/1954 | Shoreditch and Finsbury | LAB hold | -5.6\% | +5.6\% | ... | ... | ... | 40.7\% |
| 21/10/1954 | Wakefield | LAB hold | +0.2\% | -0.2\% | ... | ... | ... | 68.6\% |
| 28/10/1954 | Aldershot | CON hold | -0.2\% | +0.2\% | ... | ... | ... | 58.7\% |
| 28/10/1954 | Aberdare | LAB hold | -0.9\% | -9.0\% | ... | +9.9\% | ... | 69.7\% |
| 04/11/1954 | Sutton And Cheam | CON hold | +3.7\% | -3.7\% | ... | ... | ... | 55.6\% |
| 04/11/1954 | Morpeth | LAB hold | +0.6\% | -0.6\% | ... | ... | ... | 73.0\% |
| 18/11/1954 | Liverpool, West Derby | CON hold | +1.6\% | -1.6\% | ... | ... | ... | 58.9\% |
| 21/12/1954 | Inverness | CON hold | -23.1\% | +36.0\% | -12.9\% | ... | ... | 49.2\% |
| 13/01/1955 | Norfolk South | CON hold | -3.0\% | +3.0\% | ... | ... | ... | 66.6\% |
| 20/01/1955 | Orpington | CON hold | +3.1\% | -3.1\% | ... | ... | ... | 55.4\% |
| 25/01/1955 | Twickenham | CON hold | +1.9\% | -1.9\% | ... | ... | ... | 47.3\% |
| 27/01/1955 | Edinburgh North | CON hold | +0.6\% | -0.6\% | ... | ... | ... | 46.4\% |
| 03/02/1955 | Stockport South | CON hold | +0.1\% | -0.1\% | ... | ... | ... | 64.6\% |
| 17/03/1955 | Wrexham | LAB hold | -4.0\% | -3.7\% | ... | +7.7\% | ... | 62.4\% |
| GENERAL ELECTION 1955 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 07/12/1955 | Gateshead West | LAB hold | -1.2\% | +1.2\% | ... | ... | ... | 42.3\% |
| 08/12/1955 | Greenock | LAB hold | -2.3\% | +2.3\% | ... | $\cdots$ | ... | 75.3\% |
| 15/12/1955 | Torquay | CON hold | -9.4\% | -0.2\% | +9.6\% | ... | ... | 62.6\% |
| 02/02/1956 | Blaydon | LAB hold | -3.4\% | +3.4\% | ... | ... | ... | 56.5\% |
| 09/02/1956 | Leeds NE | CON hold | +1.8\% | -1.8\% | ... | ... | ... | 39.9\% |
| 14/02/1956 | Hereford | CON hold | -7.5\% | +11.6\% | -4.1\% | ... | ... | 61.5\% |
| 14/02/1956 | Gainsborough | CON hold | -15.0\% | -6.6\% | +21.6\% | ... | ... | 61.9\% |
| 14/02/1956 | Taunton | CON hold | -1.9\% | +9.7\% | -8.4\% | $\cdots$ | $\ldots$ | 75.0\% |
| 01/03/1956 | Walthamstow West | LAB hold | -14.1\% | -1.0\% | +14.7\% | ... | ... | 52.0\% |
| 07/06/1956 | Tonbridge | CON hold | -8.4\% | +8.4\% | ... | ... | ... | 60.6\% |
| 06/07/1956 | Newport(Mon.) | LAB hold | -6.4\% | +2.6\% | +3.8\% | ... | ... | 72.1\% |
| 27/09/1956 | Cheter-le-Street | LAB hold | -4.5\% | +4.5\% | ... | ... | ... | 64.9\% |
| 15/11/1956 | City of Chester | CON hold | -5.0\% | +4.6\% | +0.4\% | ... | ... | 71.5\% |
| 19/12/1956 | Melton | CON hold | -7.6\% | +7.6\% | ... | ... | ... | 56.5\% |
| 14/02/1957 | Lewisham North | LAB gain from CON | -7.5\% | +3.5\% | ... | ... | +4.0\% | 70.8\% |
| 28/02/1957 | Wednesbury | LAB hold | -11.6\% | +1.7\% | $\cdots$ | ... | +9.9\% | 60.0\% |
| 28/02/1957 | Carmathen | LAB gain from Lib | ... | +4.6\% | -8.3\% | +3.7\% | $\ldots$ | 87.5\% |
| 07/03/1957 | Bristol West | CON hold | -5.1\% | +5.1\% | $\cdots$ | $\cdots$ | $\cdots$ | 61.1\% |
| 07/03/1957 | Warwick and Lemington | CON hold | -12.2\% | +12.2\% | $\cdots$ | ... | ... | 77.9\% |
| 21/03/1957 | Beckenham | CON hold | -6.1\% | +6.1\% | ... | ... | $\cdots$ | 64.7\% |


| Date | Constituency | Result | CON | LAB | LD | PC/SNP | Other | Turnout |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 21/03/1957 | Newcastle upon Tyne | CON hold | -3.6\% | +3.6\% | ... | ... | ... | 64.1\% |
| 29/05/1957 | Edinburgh South | CON hold | -21.9\% | -1.6\% | +23.5\% | ... | ... | 65.8\% |
| 30/05/1957 | East Ham North | LAB hold | -11.5\% | -2.8\% | ... | ... | +14.3\% | 57.3\% |
| 30/05/1957 | Hornsey | CON hold | -6.7\% | +9.3\% | ... | ... | -2.6\% | 63.0\% |
| 27/06/1957 | Dorset North | CON hold | -7.0\% | +2.8\% | +3.7\% | ... | +0.5\% | 75.8\% |
| 12/09/1957 | Gloucester | LAB hold | -20.5\% | +0.4\% | +20.1\% | ... | ... | 71.0\% |
| 24/10/1957 | Ipswich | LAB hold | -14.4\% | -7.1\% | +21.5\% | ... | ... | 75.6\% |
| 28/11/1957 | Leicester SE | CON hold | -3.2\% | +3.2\% | ... | ... | ... | 56.4\% |
| 05/12/1957 | Liverpool, Garston | CON gain from Ind CON | -14.3\% | -0.9\% | +15.2\% | ... | ... | 49.7\% |
| 12/02/1958 | Rochdale | LAB gain from CON | -31.7\% | -3.8\% | +35.5\% | ... | ... | 80.2\% |
| 13/03/1958 | Glasgow, Kelvingrove | LAB gain from CON | -13.8\% | +3.4\% | ... | ... | +10.4\% | 60.5\% |
| 27/03/1958 | Torrington | Lib gain from CON | -27.7\% | -10.3\% | +38.0\% | ... | ... | 80.6\% |
| 15/05/1958 | Islington North | LAB hold | -10.4\% | +7.4\% | ... | $\ldots$ | +3.0\% | 35.6\% |
| 12/06/1958 | Ealing South | CON gain from Ind CON | -9.2\% | +1.6\% | +7.6\% | ... | ... | 64.5\% |
| 12/06/1958 | St.Helens | LAB hold | -0.4\% | +0.4\% | ... | ... | ... | 54.6\% |
| 12/06/1958 | Wigan | LAB hold | -5.7\% | +6.6\% | ... | ... | -0.9\% | 70.3\% |
| 12/06/1958 | Weston-super-Mare | CON hold | -13.4\% | -11.1\% | +24.5\% | ... | ... | 72.2\% |
| 12/06/1958 | Argyll | CON hold | -20.8\% | -6.7\% | +27.5\% | ... | ... | 67.1\% |
| 06/11/1958 | Morecambe and Lonsdale | CON hold | -5.9\% | +5.9\% | ... | ... | ... | 63.8\% |
| 06/11/1958 | Chichester | CON hold | +0.1\% | -0.1\% | ... | ... | ... | 51.7\% |
| 10/11/1958 | Pontypool | LAB hold | -5.6\% | -4.4\% | ... | +10.0\% | ... | 61.7\% |
| 20/11/1958 | Aberdeenshire East | CON hold | -19.9\% | -4.4\% | +24.3\% | ... | ... | 65.9\% |
| 27/11/1958 | Shoreditch and Finsbury | LAB hold | -2.5\% | +2.5\% | ... | ... | ... | 24.9\% |
| 29/01/1959 | Southend West | CON hold | -8.6\% | -0.6\% | +9.2\% | ... | ... | 42.9\% |
| 19/03/1959 | Harrow East | CON hold | -1.6\% | +0.6\% | ... | ... | +1.0\% | 68.9\% |
| 25/03/1959 | Norfolk SW | LAB hold | +0.7\% | -3.3\% | ... | ... | +2.6\% | 75.2\% |
| 09/04/1958 | Galloway | CON hold | -16.5\% | -9.2\% | +25.7\% | ... | ... | 72.7\% |
| 11/06/1959 | Penistone | LAB hold | -1.8\% | +1.8\% | ... | ... | ... | 65.0\% |
| 18/06/1959 | Whitehaven | LAB hold | -0.6\% | +0.6\% | ... | ... | ... | 79.2\% |
| GENERAL ELECTION 1959 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 17/03/1960 | Brighouse and Spenborough | CON gain from LAB | +0.9\% | -0.9\% | ... | ... | ... | 82.4\% |
| 17/03/1960 | Harrow West | CON hold | -15.2\% | -10.9\% | +21.4\% | ... | +4.7\% | 61.6\% |
| 19/05/1960 | Edinburgh North | CON hold | -9.8\% | -5.7\% | +15.5\% | ... | ... | 53.8\% |
| 16/11/1960 | Bolton East | CON hold | -15.0\% | -11.0\% | +24.8\% | ... | +1.2\% | 68.2\% |
| 16/11/1960 | Bedfordshire Mid | CON hold | -1.4\% | -6.2\% | +7.0\% | ... | +0.6\% | 71.1\% |
| 16/11/1960 | Tiverton | CON hold | -9.9\% | -7.6\% | +17.5\% | ... | $\cdots$ | 68.4\% |
| 16/11/1960 | Petersfield | CON hold | -6.5\% | -4.7\% | +11.2\% | ... | $\cdots$ | 53.6\% |
| 16/11/1960 | Ludlow | CON hold | -13.9\% | -13.4\% | +27.3\% | $\cdots$ | $\cdots$ | 63.6\% |
| 16/11/1960 | Carshalton | CON hold | -2.3\% | -9.8\% | +12.1\% | ... | $\cdots$ | 54.2\% |
| 17/11/1960 | Ebbw Vale | LAB hold | -6.3\% | -12.2\% | +11.5\% | +7.0\% | $\cdots$ | 76.1\% |
| 24/11/1960 | Blyth | LAB hold | -3.8\% | -5.7\% | +9.5\% | ... | $\ldots$ | 54.1\% |
| 16/03/1961 | Worcester | CON hold | -18.0\% | -12.1\% | +30.1\% | $\cdots$ | $\cdots$ | 64.2\% |
| 16/03/1961 | Cambridgeshire | CON hold | -12.0\% | -12.0\% | +24.0\% | ... | $\cdots$ | 62.4\% |
| 16/03/1961 | High Peak | CON hold | -8.6\% | -1.9\% | +10.5\% | $\cdots$ | $\cdots$ | 72.5\% |
| 16/03/1961 | Colchester | CON hold | -4.4\% | -2.8\% | +7.2\% | $\cdots$ | $\cdots$ | 64.9\% |


| Date | Constituency | Result | CON | LAB | LD | PC/SNP | Other | Turnout |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 23/03/1961 | Brimingham, Small Heath | LAB hold | -13.8\% | +1.8\% | +12.0\% | ... | ... | 42.6\% |
| 20/04/1961 | Warrington | LAB hold | -12.1\% | -0.4\% | +12.5\% | ... | ... | 56.7\% |
| 20/04/1961 | Paisley | LAB hold | -29.5\% | -11.9\% | +41.4\% | ... | ... | 68.1\% |
| 04/05/1961 | Bristol SE | LAB hold | -13.3\% | +13.3\% | ... | ... | ... | 56.7\% |
| 07/11/1961 | Manchester, Moss Side | CON hold | -21.1\% | -11.9\% | +27.8\% | ... | +5.2\% | 46.7\% |
| 08/11/1961 | Oswestry | CON hold | -15.1\% | +0.0\% | +12.3\% | ... | +2.8\% | 60.8\% |
| 08/11/1961 | Fife East | CON hold | -22.4\% | -3.7\% | +26.1\% | ... | ... | 67.3\% |
| 16/11/1961 | Glasgow, Bridgeton | LAB hold | -15.9\% | -5.9\% | ... | +18.7\% | +3.1\% | 41.9\% |
| 08/03/1962 | Lincoln | LAB hold | -14.7\% | -4.6\% | +18.2\% | ... | +1.1\% | 75.0\% |
| 13/03/1962 | Blackpool North | CON hold | -19.5\% | +4.8\% | +14.7\% | ... | ... | 55.2\% |
| 14/03/1962 | Middlesbrough | LAB hold | -23.7\% | -1.0\% | +22.9\% | ... | +1.8\% | 52.2\% |
| 14/03/1962 | Orpington | Lib gain from CON | -21.9\% | -9.8\% | +31.7\% | ... | ... | 80.3\% |
| 22/03/1962 | Pontefract | LAB hold | -4.2\% | +0.9\% | ... | ... | +3.3\% | 63.3\% |
| 05/04/1962 | Stockton-on-Tees | LAB hold | -18.5\% | -8.4\% | +26.9\% | ... | ... | 81.5\% |
| 17/04/1962 | Derby North | LAB hold | -24.7\% | -3.4\% | +25.4\% | ... | +2.7\% | 60.5\% |
| 15/05/1962 | Montgomeryshire | Lib hold | -9.4\% | -6.0\% | +9.2\% | +6.2\% | ... | 85.1\% |
| 06/06/1962 | Middlesbrough West | LAB gain from CON | -21.2\% | +4.3\% | +16.1\% | ... | +0.8\% | 72.2\% |
| 06/06/1962 | Debyshire West | CON hold | -25.2\% | -11.4\% | +32.5\% | ... | +4.1\% | 79.4\% |
| 14/06/1962 | West Lothian | LAB hold | -28.3\% | -9.4\% | +10.8\% | +23.3\% | +3.6\% | 71.1\% |
| 12/07/1962 | Leicester NE | LAB hold | -23.9\% | -10.4\% | +34.3\% | ... | ... | 60.8\% |
| 22/11/1962 | Dorset South | LAB gain from CON | -18.0\% | -1.2\% | +6.2\% | ... | +13.0\% | 70.2\% |
| 22/11/1962 | Norfolk Central | CON hold | -12.6\% | +2.2\% | +7.6\% | ... | +2.8\% | 60.2\% |
| 22/11/1962 | Northamptonshire South | CON hold | -15.8\% | -4.4\% | +19.3\% | ... | +0.9\% | 69.0\% |
| 22/11/1962 | Chippenham | CON hold | -15.2\% | -1.9\% | +15.6\% | ... | +1.5\% | 68.0\% |
| 22/11/1962 | Glasgow, Woodside | LAB gain from CON | -19.1\% | -7.0\% | +14.0\% | +11.1\% | +1.0\% | 54.7\% |
| 21/03/1963 | Colne Valley | LAB hold | -14.5\% | +0.1\% | +13.7\% | ... | +0.7\% | 78.9\% |
| 28/03/1963 | Rotherham | LAB hold | -8.8\% | +6.5\% | ... | ... | +2.3\% | 56.3\% |
| 28/03/1963 | Swansea East | LAB hold | -14.7\% | -6.3\% | +15.8\% | -5.3\% | +10.5\% | 55.9\% |
| 20/06/1963 | Leeds South | LAB hold | -10.9\% | +4.4\% | +4.3\% | ... | +2.2\% | 60.5\% |
| 04/07/1963 | Deptford | LAB hold | -18.9\% | -3.6\% | +22.5\% | ... | ... | 44.1\% |
| 04/07/1963 | West Bromwich | LAB hold | -19.0\% | +1.4\% | +17.6\% | ... | ... | 55.2\% |
| 15/08/1963 | Stratford | CON hold | -25.0\% | +2.6\% | +21.0\% | ... | +1.4\% | 69.4\% |
| 20/08/1963 | Bristol SE | LAB hold | -43.8\% | +23.5\% | ... | ... | +20.3\% | 42.2\% |
| 07/11/1963 | Luton | LAB gain from CON | -15.6\% | +3.1\% | +11.4\% | ... | +1.1\% | 74.0\% |
| 07/11/1963 | Kinross-shire and Perthshire West | CON hold | -10.8\% | -1.6\% | +19.5\% | -7.7\% | +0.6\% | 76.1\% |
| 21/11/1963 | Dundee West | LAB hold | -8.9\% | +1.0\% | ... | +7.4\% | +0.5\% | 71.6\% |
| 05/12/1963 | St.Marylebone | CON hold | -9.6\% | +8.2\% | +1.4\% | ... | ... | 44.2\% |
| 05/12/1963 | Manchester, Openshaw | LAB hold | -10.6\% | +5.7\% | ... | ... | +4.9\% | 46.1\% |
| 05/12/1963 | Sudbury and Woodbridge | CON hold | -3.4\% | +4.0\% | -0.6\% | ... | ... | 70.5\% |
| 12/12/1963 | Dunfriesshire | CON hold | -17.5\% | -3.1\% | +10.9\% | +9.7\% | ... | 71.6\% |
| 14/05/1964 | Winchester | CON hold | -15.1\% | +1.9\% | +13.2\% | ... | ... | 68.7\% |
| 14/05/1964 | Bury St.Edmunds | CON hold | -9.7\% | +2.2\% | +7.5\% | $\ldots$ | ... | 74.6\% |
| 14/05/1964 | Devizes | CON hold | -4.6\% | +1.0\% | +10.3\% | ... | -6.7\% | 75.8\% |
| 14/05/1964 | Rutherglen | LAB gain from CON | -7.6\% | +7.6\% | ... | ... | ... | 82.0\% |
| 04/06/1964 | Faversham | LAB hold | +5.6\% | +4.8\% | ... | ... | +0.8\% | 74.8\% |


| Date | Constituency | Result | CON | LAB | LD | PC/SNP | Other | Turnout |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 11/06/1964 | Liverpool, Scotland | LAB hold | -12.5\% | +12.5\% | ... | ... | ... | 42.0\% |
| GENERAL ELECTION 1964 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 21/01/1965 | Leyton | CON gain from LAB | +9.3\% | -7.9\% | -2.2\% | ... | +0.8\% | 57.7\% |
| 21/01/1965 | Nuneaton | LAB hold | +5.8\% | -3.8\% | -2.0\% | ... | ... | 60.8\% |
| 04/02/1965 | Altrinham and Sale | CON hold | +3.2\% | +1.0\% | +5.8\% | $\ldots$ | +1.6\% | 62.0\% |
| 04/02/1965 | East Grinstead | CON hold | +1.8\% | -6.3\% | +4.5\% | ... | ... | 64.5\% |
| 04/02/1965 | Salisbury | CON hold | -0.1\% | +3.0\% | -4.4\% | ... | +1.5\% | 69.1\% |
| 23/03/1965 | Saffron Walden | CON hold | -0.8\% | +2.1\% | -1.3\% | $\ldots$ | $\ldots$ | 76.1\% |
| 24/03/1965 | Roxburghshire, Selkirkshire and Peeblesshire | Lib gain from CON | -4.2\% | -4.5\% | +10.3\% | -2.5\% | +0.9\% | 82.2\% |
| 01/04/1965 | Abertillery | LAB hold | +0.2\% | -6.9\% | ... | +6.7\% | ... | 63.2\% |
| 06/05/1965 | Birmingham, Hall Green | CON hold | +2.2\% | -3.0\% | +0.8\% | ... | $\ldots$ | 52.4\% |
| 22/07/1965 | Hove | CON hold | -6.2\% | -11.0\% | +16.9\% | ... | +0.3\% | 58.5\% |
| 04/11/1965 | Cities of London and Westminstı | CON hold | +1.2\% | +2.3\% | -4.8\% | ... | ... | 41.8\% |
| 11/11/1965 | Erith and Crayford | LAB hold | +4.9\% | +2.3\% | -7.2\% | ... | ... | 72.0\% |
| 27/01/1966 | Kingston upon Hull North | LAB hold | +0.0\% | +8.9\% | -9.6\% | ... | +0.7\% | 76.3\% |

## GENERAL ELECTION 1966

| 14/07/1966 | Carmarthen | PC gain from LAB | -4.5\% | -13.1\% | -5.3\% | +22.9\% | ... | 74.9\% |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 09/03/1967 | Nuneaton | LAB hold | +1.1\% | -11.8\% | +3.1\% | ... | +7.6\% | 66.1\% |
| 09/03/1967 | Rhondda West | LAB hold | -3.5\% | -27.1\% | ... | +31.2\% | -0.6\% | 82.2\% |
| 09/03/1967 | Glasgow, Pollok | CON gain from LAB | -10.7\% | -21.2\% | +1.9\% | +28.2\% | +1.8\% | 75.7\% |
| 16/03/1967 | Honiton | CON hold | +2.5\% | -6.3\% | +3.8\% | ... | ... | 72.6\% |
| 27/04/1967 | Brierley Hill | CON hold | +2.6\% | -12.6\% | +7.8\% | ... | +2.2\% | 68.0\% |
| 21/09/1967 | Cambridge | CON gain from LAB | +8.2\% | -8.9\% | +1.6\% | ... | -0.9\% | 65.7\% |
| 21/09/1967 | Walthamstow West | CON gain from LAB | +12.2\% | -24.4\% | +8.8\% | ... | +3.4\% | 54.0\% |
| 02/11/1967 | Leicester SW | CON gain from LAB | +10.3\% | -22.8\% | +12.5\% | ... | ... | 57.5\% |
| 02/11/1967 | Manchester, Gorton | LAB hold | +4.6\% | -14.2\% | +5.9\% | ... | +3.7\% | 72.4\% |
| 02/11/1967 | Hamilton | SNP gain from LAB | -16.3\% | -29.7\% | ... | +46.0\% | ... | 73.7\% |
| 23/11/1967 | Derbyshire West | CON hold | +7.0\% | -18.8\% | +6.6\% | ... | +5.2\% | 64.5\% |
| 14/03/1968 | Kensington South | CON hold | +10.3\% | -11.2\% | -2.5\% | ... | +3.4\% | 40.0\% |
| 28/03/1968 | Acton | CON gain from LAB | +6.3\% | -23.8\% | +11.4\% | ... | +6.1\% | 59.7\% |
| 28/03/1968 | Dudley | CON gain from LAB | +17.2\% | -25.1\% | +7.9\% | $\ldots$ | ... | 63.5\% |
| 28/03/1968 | Meriden | CON gain from LAB | +18.4\% | -18.4\% | ... | ... | $\ldots$ | 66.0\% |
| 28/03/1968 | Warwick and Leamington | CON hold | +16.7\% | -19.6\% | +2.9\% | ... | ... | 58.5\% |
| 13/06/1968 | Oldham West | CON gain from LAB | +7.7\% | -27.6\% | +6.7\% | ... | +13.2\% | 54.7\% |
| 13/06/1968 | Sheffield Brightside | LAB hold | +13.5\% | -20.8\% | ... | ... | +7.3\% | 49.8\% |
| 27/06/1968 | Nelson and Colne | CON gain from LAB | +11.9\% | -10.9\% | +9.0\% | ... | -10.0\% | 74.2\% |
| 18/07/1968 | Caerphilly | LAB hold | -4.2\% | -28.7\% | +3.6\% | +29.3\% | ... | 75.9\% |
| 31/10/1968 | Bassetlaw | LAB hold | +9.5\% | -11.9\% | ... | $\ldots$ | +2.4\% | 68.0\% |
| 07/11/1968 | New Forest | CON hold | +15.1\% | -12.9\% | -2.2\% | ... | ... | 55.9\% |
| 27/03/1969 | Brighton, Pavilion | CON hold | +12.5\% | -23.3\% | +10.8\% | ... | ... | 45.1\% |
| 27/03/1969 | Walthamstow East | CON gain from LAB | +20.8\% | -11.0\% | -9.8\% | ... | ... | 51.2\% |
| 27/03/1969 | Weston-super-Mare | CON hold | +13.6\% | -14.2\% | +0.6\% | ... | ... | 60.8\% |
| 22/05/1969 | Chichester | CON hold | +17.0\% | -12.9\% | -4.1\% | ... | ... | 53.4\% |
| 26/06/1969 | Birmingham, Ladywood | Lib gain from LAB | -0.6\% | -33.4\% | +30.6\% | ... | +3.4\% | 51.9\% |


| Date | Constituency | Result | CON | LAB | LD | PC/SNP | Other | Turnout |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | ---: | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $30 / 10 / 1969 ~ I s l i n g t o n ~ N o r t h ~$ | LAB hold | $+8.2 \%$ | $-10.2 \%$ | $+0.3 \%$ | $\ldots$ | $+1.7 \%$ | $32.8 \%$ |  |
| $30 / 10 / 1969$ | Paddington North | LAB hold | $+16.0 \%$ | $-6.7 \%$ | $-9.3 \%$ | $\ldots$ | $\ldots$ | $46.3 \%$ |
| $30 / 10 / 1969$ | Newcastle-under-Lyme | LAB hold | $+5.7 \%$ | $-15.7 \%$ | $+6.4 \%$ | $\ldots$ | $+3.6 \%$ | $72.3 \%$ |
| $30 / 10 / 1969$ | Swindon | CON gain from LAB | $+5.1 \%$ | $-20.8 \%$ | $+15.3 \%$ | $\ldots$ | $+0.4 \%$ | $69.8 \%$ |
| $30 / 10 / 1969$ | Glasgow, Gorbals | LAB hold | $-4.2 \%$ | $-19.7 \%$ | $\ldots$ | $+25.0 \%$ | $-1.1 \%$ | $58.5 \%$ |
| $04 / 12 / 1969$ | Louth | CON hold | $+11.6 \%$ | $-17.0 \%$ | $+1.0 \%$ | $\ldots$ | $+4.4 \%$ | $44.7 \%$ |
| $04 / 12 / 1969$ | Wellingborough | CON gain from LAB | $+6.8 \%$ | $-12.6 \%$ | $\ldots$ | $\ldots$ | $+5.8 \%$ | $69.6 \%$ |
| $12 / 03 / 1970$ | Bridgwater | CON hold | $+11.1 \%$ | $-6.2 \%$ | $-4.9 \%$ | $\ldots$ | $\ldots$ | $70.3 \%$ |
| $19 / 03 / 1970$ | Ayrshire South | LAB hold | $-7.2 \%$ | $-13.2 \%$ | $\ldots$ | $+20.4 \%$ | $\ldots$ | $76.3 \%$ |

## GENERAL ELECTION 1970

| 22/10/1970 | St.Marylebone | CON hold | +1.3\% | -2.3\% | -2.4\% | ... | +3.4\% | 35.3\% |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 19/11/1970 | Enfield West | CON hold | -0.6\% | -0.2\% | -0.5\% | ... | +1.3\% | 49.9\% |
| 01/04/1971 | Liverpool, Scotland | LAB hold | -6.8\% | -3.5\% | ... | ... | +10.3\% | 37.7\% |
| 01/04/1971 | Arundel and Shoreham | CON hold | +3.3\% | -2.0\% | -1.6\% | ... | +0.3\% | 53.1\% |
| 27/05/1971 | Southampton, Itchen | LAB hold | +31.6\% | -11.8\% | +5.4\% | ... | -25.2\% | 50.1\% |
| 27/05/1971 | Bromsgrove | LAB gain from CON | -10.1\% | +10.1\% | ... | ... | ... | 67.0\% |
| 27/05/1971 | Goole | LAB hold | -8.7\% | +8.7\% | ... | ... | ... | 55.6\% |
| 17/06/1971 | Hayes and Harlington | LAB hold | -15.9\% | +17.0\% | ... | ... | -1.1\% | 42.3\% |
| 08/07/1971 | Greenwich | LAB hold | -8.3\% | +9.4\% | -6.4\% | ... | +5.3\% | 39.2\% |
| 16/09/1971 | Stirling and Falkirk | LAB hold | -15.9\% | -4.2\% | ... | +20.1\% | ... | 60.0\% |
| 23/09/1971 | Widnes | LAB hold | -11.4\% | +11.4\% | ... | ... | ... | 45.4\% |
| 30/09/1971 | Macclesfield | CON hold | -7.4\% | +9.4\% | -3.9\% | ... | +1.9\% | 75.8\% |
| 13/04/1972 | Merthyr Tydfil | $L A B$ gain from Ind LAB | -2.4\% | +19.8\% | +2.4\% | +27.4\% | -47.2\% | 79.5\% |
| 04/05/1972 | Southwark | LAB gain from Ind LAB | -10.1\% | +12.0\% | ... | ... | -1.9\% | 32.1\% |
| 04/05/1972 | Kingston upon Thames | CON hold | -4.3\% | -0.7\% | -0.4\% | ... | +5.4\% | 53.6\% |
| 26/10/1972 | Rochdale | Lib gain from LAB | -10.3\% | -10.5\% | +11.9\% | ... | +8.9\% | 69.1\% |
| 07/12/1972 | Sutton and Cheam | Lib gain from CON | -26.2\% | -18.6\% | +39.0\% | ... | +5.8\% | 56.3\% |
| 07/12/1972 | Uxbridge | CON hold | -9.4\% | -5.1\% | +1.3\% | ... | +13.2\% | 54.3\% |
| 01/03/1973 | Lincoln | Dem LAB gain from LAB | -21.5\% | -27.7\% | ... | ... | +49.2\% | 72.6\% |
| 01/03/1973 | Chester-le-Street | LAB hold | -20.0\% | -18.6\% | +38.6\% | ... | ... | 72.3\% |
| 01/03/1973 | Dundee East | LAB hold | -17.2\% | -15.6\% | +8.3\% | +21.3\% | +3.2\% | 70.6\% |
| 24/05/1973 | West Bromwich | LAB hold | -19.4\% | -2.0\% | ... | ... | +21.4\% | 43.6\% |
| 24/05/1973 | Westhoughton | LAB hold | -2.3\% | +1.6\% | ... | ... | +0.7\% | 63.4\% |
| 27/06/1973 | Manchester, Exchange | LAB hold | -20.7\% | -13.2\% | +36.5\% | ... | -2.6\% | 43.7\% |
| 26/07/1973 | Isle of Ely | Lib gain from CON | -24.9\% | -13.4\% | +38.3\% | ... | ... | 65.8\% |
| 26/07/1973 | Ripon | Lib gain from CON | -20.2\% | -12.3\% | +30.4\% | ... | +2.1\% | 64.3\% |
| 08/11/1973 | Hove | CON hold | -20.9\% | -19.7\% | +37.3\% | ... | +3.3\% | 62.4\% |
| 08/11/1973 | Berwick-upon-Tweed | Lib gain from CON | -11.0\% | -7.6\% | +18.0\% | ... | +0.6\% | 75.0\% |
| 08/11/1973 | Edinburgh North | CON hold | -14.1\% | -13.1\% | +8.3\% | +18.9\% | ... | 54.4\% |
| 08/11/1973 | Glasgow, Govan | SNP gain from LAB | -16.5\% | -21.8\% | +8.2\% | +31.6\% | -1.5\% | 51.7\% |
| GENERAL ELECTION 1974 (FEB) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 23/05/1974 | Newham South | LAB hold | -1.1\% | -3.4\% | $-2.3 \%$ | $\ldots$ | +6.8\% | 25.9\% |


| Date | Constituency | Result | CON | LAB | LD | PC/SNP | Other | Turnout |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| GENERAL ELECTION 1974 (OCT) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 26/06/1975 | Greenwich, Woolwich West | CON gain from LAB | +10.2\% | -5.0\% | -9.0\% | ... | +3.8\% | 62.3\% |
| 04/03/1976 | Coventry NW | LAB hold | +5.8\% | -4.2\% | -4.4\% | ... | +2.8\% | 72.9\% |
| 11/03/1976 | Sutton, Carshalton | CON hold | +6.3\% | -10.4\% | -1.7\% | ... | +5.8\% | 60.5\% |
| 11/03/1976 | Wirral | CON hold | +16.0\% | -11.3\% | -6.2\% | ... | +1.5\% | 55.5\% |
| 24/06/1976 | Rotherham | LAB hold | +12.6\% | -13.9\% | -5.5\% | ... | +6.8\% | 46.8\% |
| 15/07/1976 | Thurrock | LAB hold | +11.0\% | -10.3\% | -7.8\% | ... | +7.1\% | 54.1\% |
| 04/11/1976 | Newcastle upon Tyne | LAB hold | +3.2\% | -24.2\% | +17.3\% | ... | +3.7\% | 41.0\% |
| 04/11/1976 | Walsall North | CON gain from ENP | +17.3\% | -27.9\% | -10.2\% | ... | +20.8\% | 51.5\% |
| 04/11/1976 | Workington | CON gain from LAB | +15.9\% | -10.4\% | -5.5\% | ... | ... | 74.2\% |
| 02/12/1976 | Cambridge | CON hold | +9.8\% | -10.0\% | -2.8\% | ... | +3.0\% | 49.2\% |
| 24/02/1977 | City of London and Westminster | CON hold | +7.4\% | -11.2\% | -5.1\% | ... | +8.9\% | 39.6\% |
| 31/03/1977 | Birmingham, Strechford | CON gain from LAB | +15.6\% | -19.6\% | -6.6\% | ... | +10.6\% | 58.8\% |
| 28/04/1977 | Ashfield | CON gain from LAB | +20.8\% | -20.9\% | -4.7\% | ... | +4.8\% | 59.7\% |
| 28/04/1977 | Grimsby | LAB hold | +13.8\% | -0.2\% | -13.9\% | ... | +0.3\% | 70.2\% |
| 07/07/1977 | Saffron Walden | CON hold | +12.0\% | -11.4\% | -5.1\% | ... | +4.5\% | 64.8\% |
| 18/08/1977 | Birmingham, Ladywood | LAB hold | +6.3\% | -11.4\% | -8.5\% | ... | +13.6\% | 42.6\% |
| 24/11/1977 | Bournemouth East | CON hold | +11.7\% | -5.7\% | -11.8\% | ... | +5.8\% | 42.6\% |
| 02/03/1978 | Redbridge, Ilford North | CON gain from LAB | +9.4\% | -4.5\% | -11.6\% | ... | +6.7\% | 69.1\% |
| 13/04/1978 | Glasgow, Garscadden | LAB hold | +5.6\% | -5.5\% | -5.0\% | +1.7\% | +3.2\% | 69.1\% |
| 20/04/1978 | Lambeth Central | LAB hold | +8.2\% | -10.7\% | -7.2\% | ... | +9.7\% | 44.5\% |
| 27/04/1978 | Epsom and Ewell | CON hold | +9.5\% | -2.8\% | -13.8\% | ... | +7.1\% | 54.9\% |
| 27/04/1978 | Wycombe | CON hold | +13.7\% | -2.3\% | -12.0\% | ... | +0.6\% | 59.0\% |
| 31/05/1978 | Hamilton | LAB hold | +3.5\% | +3.5\% | -1.4\% | -5.6\% | ... | 72.1\% |
| 13/07/1978 | Manchester, Moss Side | LAB hold | +6.3\% | -0.7\% | -8.4\% | ... | +2.8\% | 51.6\% |
| 13/07/1978 | Penistone | LAB hold | +8.9\% | -8.7\% | -0.2\% | ... | ... | 59.8\% |
| 26/10/1978 | Pontefract and Castleford | LAB hold | +11.1\% | -4.6\% | -5.4\% | ... | -1.1\% | 48.9\% |
| 26/10/1978 | Berwick and East Lothian | LAB hold | +2.6\% | +4.1\% | -2.3\% | -4.4\% | ... | 71.2\% |
| 01/03/1979 | Clitheroe | CON hold | +17.0\% | -2.8\% | -14.2\% | ... | ... | 62.8\% |
| 01/03/1979 | Knutsford | CON hold | +16.1\% | -7.0\% | -10.6\% | ... | +1.5\% | 57.2\% |
| 29/03/1979 | Liverpool, Edge Hill | Lib gain from LAB | -11.4\% | -28.1\% | +36.8\% | ... | +2.7\% | 57.2\% |
| GENERAL ELECTION 1979 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 27/09/1979 | Manchester Central | LAB hold | -10.1\% | -0.1\% | +8.9\% | $\cdots$ | +1.3\% | 33.6\% |
| 13/12/1979 | Hertfordshire SW | CON hold | -8.8\% | +0.0\% | +7.4\% | ... | +1.4\% | 48.3\% |
| 13/03/1980 | Southend East | CON hold | -19.3\% | +6.5\% | +12.0\% | ... | +0.8\% | 62.5\% |
| 26/06/1980 | Glasgow Central | LAB hold | -7.6\% | -11.7\% | ... | +15.2\% | +4.1\% | 42.8\% |
| 16/07/1981 | Warrington | LAB hold | -21.7\% | -13.2\% | +33.3\% | ... | +1.6\% | 67.0\% |
| 22/10/1981 | Croydon NW | Lib gain from CON | -18.9\% | -14.1\% | +29.5\% | ... | +3.5\% | 62.8\% |
| 26/11/1981 | Crosby | SDP gain from CON | -17.2\% | -15.9\% | +33.8\% | ... | -0.7\% | 69.3\% |
| 25/03/1982 | Glasgow, Hillhead | SDP gain from CON | -14.5\% | -8.5\% | +19.0\% | +1.2\% | +2.8\% | 76.4\% |
| 27/05/1982 | Beaconsfield | CON hold | +0.1\% | -9.7\% | +9.7\% | ... | -0.1\% | 53.9\% |
| 03/06/1982 | Merton, Mitcham and Morden | CON gain from LAB | -0.5\% | -20.8\% | +20.5\% | ... | +0.8\% | 48.5\% |
| 24/06/1982 | Coatbridge and Airdrie | LAB hold | -1.3\% | -5.8\% | +8.2\% | -1.1\% | ... | 56.3\% |
| 16/09/1982 | Gower | LAB hold | -8.4\% | -9.7\% | +16.0\% | +1.5\% | +0.6\% | 65.4\% |
| 28/10/1982 | Southwark, Peckham | LAB hold | -15.7\% | -9.5\% | +25.2\% | $\cdots$ | +0.0\% | 38.0\% |


| Date | Constituency | Result | CON | LAB | LD | PC/ SNP | Other | Turnout |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 28/10/1982 | Birmingham, Northfield | LAB gain from CON | -9.8\% | -8.8\% | +18.0\% | ... | +0.6\% | 55.0\% |
| 02/12/1982 | Glasgow, Queens's Park | LAB hold | -12.0\% | -8.4\% | +9.4\% | +10.3\% | +0.7\% | 47.0\% |
| 24/02/1983 | Southwark, Bermondsey | Lib gain from Ind LAB | -19.4\% | -37.5\% | +50.9\% | ... | +6.0\% | 57.7\% |
| 24/03/1983 | Darlington | LAB hold | -8.5\% | -6.0\% | +14.3\% | ... | +0.2\% | 80.0\% |
| GENERAL ELECTION 1983 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 28/07/1983 | Penrith and The Border | CON hold | -12.8\% | -5.9\% | +16.7\% | ... | +2.0\% | 55.7\% |
| 01/03/1984 | Chesterfield | LAB hold | -17.2\% | -1.6\% | +15.2\% | ... | +3.6\% | 76.9\% |
| 03/05/1984 | Stafford | CON hold | -10.8\% | +3.7\% | +7.1\% | ... | +0.0\% | 65.6\% |
| 03/05/1984 | Surrey SW | CON hold | -10.4\% | -1.5\% | +11.3\% | ... | +0.6\% | 61.7\% |
| 03/05/1984 | Cynon Valley | LAB hold | -6.8\% | +2.8\% | -0.7\% | +1.8\% | +2.9\% | 65.7\% |
| 14/06/1984 | Portsmouth South | SDP gain from CON | -15.7\% | +3.9\% | +12.2\% | ... | -0.4\% | 54.5\% |
| 13/12/1984 | Enfield, Southgate | CON hold | -8.5\% | -5.9\% | +12.2\% | ... | +2.2\% | 50.6\% |
| 04/07/1985 | Brecon and Radnor | Lib gain from CON | -20.5\% | +9.4\% | +11.4\% | -0.6\% | +0.3\% | 79.4\% |
| 05/12/1985 | Tyne Bridge | LAB hold | -14.1\% | +1.3\% | +11.4\% | ... | +1.4\% | 38.1\% |
| 10/04/1986 | Fulham | LAB gain from CON | -11.3\% | +10.4\% | +0.5\% | ... | +0.4\% | 70.8\% |
| 08/05/1986 | Derbyshire West | CON hold | -16.4\% | +2.7\% | +12.4\% | ... | +1.3\% | 71.9\% |
| 08/05/1986 | Ryedale | Lib gain from CON | -17.9\% | -1.9\% | +19.8\% | ... | $\ldots$ | 67.3\% |
| 17/07/1986 | Newcastle-under-Lyme | LAB hold | -17.4\% | -1.2\% | +17.2\% | ... | +1.4\% | 62.2\% |
| 13/11/1986 | Knowsley North | LAB hold | -13.8\% | -8.2\% | +19.8\% | $\ldots$ | +2.2\% | 57.3\% |
| 26/02/1987 | Greenwich | SDP gain from LAB | -23.6\% | -4.5\% | +27.9\% | ... | +0.2\% | 68.2\% |
| 12/03/1987 | Truro | Lib hold | -6.5\% | +2.5\% | +3.1\% | ... | +0.9\% | 70.3\% |
| GENERAL ELECTION 1987 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 14/07/1988 | Kensington | CON hold | -5.9\% | +4.9\% | -6.4\% | ... | +7.4\% | 51.6\% |
| 10/11/1988 | Glasgow, Govan | SNP gain from LAB | -4.6\% | -27.9\% | -8.2\% | +38.4\% | +2.3\% | 60.2\% |
| 15/12/1988 | Epping Forest | CON hold | -21.4\% | +0.3\% | +6.6\% | ... | +14.5\% | 49.1\% |
| 23/02/1989 | Richmond (Yorks) | CON hold | -24.0\% | -6.9\% | -5.0\% | ... | +35.9\% | 64.4\% |
| 23/02/1989 | Pontypridd | LAB hold | -6.0\% | -3.0\% | -15.0\% | +20.0\% | +3.9\% | 62.2\% |
| 04/05/1989 | Vale of Glamorgan | LAB gain from CON | -10.5\% | +14.2\% | -12.5\% | +1.7\% | +7.1\% | 70.7\% |
| 15/06/1989 | Glasgow Central | LAB hold | -5.4\% | -9.9\% | -9.0\% | +20.2\% | +4.1\% | 52.8\% |
| 15/06/1989 | Vauxhall | LAB hold | -10.2\% | +2.6\% | -0.7\% | ... | +8.3\% | 44.4\% |
| 22/03/1990 | Mid Staffordshire | LAB gain from CON | -18.3\% | +24.4\% | -12.0\% | ... | +6.0\% | 77.5\% |
| 24/05/1990 | Bootle | LAB hold | -11.0\% | +8.5\% | -4.0\% | ... | +6.5\% | 50.6\% |
| 27/09/1990 | Knowsley South | LAB hold | -6.4\% | +4.3\% | -5.4\% | ... | +7.5\% | 33.4\% |
| 18/10/1990 | Eastbourne | LD gain from CON | -19.0\% | -3.8\% | +21.1\% | ... | +1.7\% | 60.7\% |
| 08/11/1990 | Bootle | LAB hold | -10.9\% | +11.5\% | -5.1\% | ... | +4.5\% | 39.7\% |
| 08/11/1990 | Bradford North | LAB hold | -22.7\% | +8.9\% | +7.6\% | ... | +6.2\% | 53.4\% |
| 29/11/1990 | Paisley North | LAB hold | -1.0\% | -11.5\% | -7.5\% | +16.5\% | +3.5\% | 53.7\% |
| 29/11/1990 | Paisley South | LAB hold | -1.3\% | -10.1\% | -5.3\% | +13.5\% | +3.2\% | 55.0\% |
| 07/03/1991 | Ribble Valley | LD gain from CON | -22.4\% | -8.3\% | +27.1\% | ... | +3.6\% | 71.2\% |
| 04/04/1991 | Neath | LAB hold | -7.5\% | -11.6\% | -8.3\% | +17.0\% | +10.4\% | 63.7\% |
| 16/05/1991 | Monmouth | LAB gain from CON | -13.5\% | +11.6\% | +0.8\% | -0.2\% | +1.3\% | 75.8\% |
| 04/07/1991 | Liverpool Walton | LAB hold | -11.5\% | -11.3\% | +14.8\% | ... | +8.0\% | 56.7\% |
| 07/11/1991 | Hemsworth | LAB hold. | -6.7\% | -0.7\% | +4.3\% | ... | +3.1\% | 42.6\% |
| 07/11/1991 | Kincardine and Deeside | LD gain from CON | -10.1\% | -8.2\% | +12.7\% | +4.7\% | +0.8\% | 64.6\% |
| 07/11/1991 | Langbaurgh | LAB gain from CON | -2.6\% | +4.5\% | -3.8\% | ... | +1.9\% | 65.3\% |


| Date | Constituency | Result | CON | LAB | LD | PC/ SNP | Other | Turnout |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| GENERAL ELECTION 1992 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 06/05/1993 | Newbury | LD gain from CON | -29.0\% | -4.0\% | +27.8\% | ... | +5.2\% | 71.3\% |
| 29/07/1993 | Christchurch | LD gain from CON | -32.2\% | -9.4\% | +38.6\% | ... | +3.0\% | 74.2\% |
| 05/05/1994 | Rotherham | LAB hold | -13.9\% | -8.3\% | +17.4\% | ... | +4.8\% | 43.7\% |
| 09/06/1994 | Barking | LAB hold | -23.5\% | +20.5\% | -2.5\% | ... | +5.5\% | 38.3\% |
| 09/06/1994 | Eastleigh | LD gain from CON | -26.5\% | +6.8\% | +16.3\% | ... | +3.4\% | 58.7\% |
| 09/06/1994 | Newham North East | LAB hold | -16.0\% | +16.6\% | -7.0\% | ... | +6.3\% | 34.8\% |
| 09/06/1994 | Bradford South | LAB hold | -20.6\% | +7.7\% | +10.2\% | ... | +2.7\% | 44.2\% |
| 09/06/1994 | Dagenham | LAB hold | -26.4\% | +19.7\% | -3.1\% | ... | +9.7\% | 37.0\% |
| 30/06/1994 | Monklands East | LAB hold | -13.7\% | -11.5\% | -2.0\% | +26.9\% | +0.4\% | 70.0\% |
| 15/12/1994 | Dudley West | LAB gain from CON | -30.2\% | +28.1\% | -2.8\% | $\ldots$ | +5.0\% | 47.0\% |
| 16/02/1995 | Islwyn | LAB hold | -10.9\% | -5.2\% | +4.9\% | +8.8\% | +2.3\% | 45.1\% |
| 25/05/1995 | Perth and Kinross | SNP gain from CON | -18.7\% | +10.5\% | +0.4\% | +4.4\% | +3.4\% | 62.1\% |
| 27/07/1995 | Littleborough \& Saddleworth | LD gain from CON | -20.7\% | +13.9\% | +2.7\% | ... | +4.1\% | 64.4\% |
| 01/02/1996 | Hemsworth | LAB hold | -9.8\% | +1.1\% | -3.7\% | ... | +12.4\% | 39.5\% |
| 11/04/1996 | South East Staffordshire | LAB gain from CON | -22.2\% | +22.0\% | -4.9\% | ... | +5.1\% | 59.6\% |
| 12/12/1996 | Barnsley East | LAB hold | -6.9\% | -0.7\% | -0.3\% | ... | +7.9\% | 33.6\% |
| 27/02/1997 | Wirral South | LAB gain from CON | -16.5\% | +18.0\% | -3.0\% | ... | +1.5\% | 73.0\% |
| GENERAL ELECTION 1997 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 31/07/1997 | Uxbridge | CON hold | +7.6\% | -2.5\% | -5.3\% | ... | +0.2\% | 55.5\% |
| 06/11/1997 | Paisley South | LAB hold | -1.7\% | -13.4\% | +1.6\% | +9.1\% | +4.4\% | 43.1\% |
| 20/11/1997 | Beckenham | CON hold | -1.2\% | +4.0\% | +0.2\% | $\ldots$ | -3.0\% | 43.6\% |
| 20/11/1997 | Winchester ${ }^{4}$ | LD hold | -13.6\% | -8.8\% | +26.0\% | ... | -3.6\% | 68.7\% |
| 10/06/1999 | Leeds Central | LAB hold | -1.4\% | -21.4\% | +19.6\% | ... | +3.2\% | 19.6\% |
| 22/07/1999 | Eddisbury | CON hold | +2.3\% | +0.0\% | +0.6\% | $\ldots$ | -2.9\% | 51.4\% |
| 23/09/1999 | Hamilton South | LAB hold | -1.4\% | -28.7\% | -1.9\% | +16.4\% | +15.6\% | 41.3\% |
| 23/09/1999 | Wigan | LAB hold | +1.1\% | -9.0\% | +3.3\% | ... | +4.6\% | 25.0\% |
| 25/11/1999 | Kensington and Chelsea | CON hold | +2.8\% | -5.9\% | -5.9\% | ... | +9.0\% | 29.7\% |
| 03/02/2000 | Ceredigion | PC hold | +1.6\% | -9.9\% | +6.5\% | +1.1\% | +0.7\% | 45.6\% |
| 04/05/2000 | Romsey | LD gain from CON | -4.0\% | -14.8\% | +21.1\% | ... | -2.3\% | 55.5\% |
| 22/06/2000 | Tottenham | LAB hold | +0.3\% | -15.8\% | +8.3\% | ... | +7.2\% | 25.4\% |
| 23/11/2000 | Glasgow, Anniesland | LAB hold | -0.6\% | -9.7\% | +0.8\% | +3.7\% | +5.8\% | 38.4\% |
| 23/11/2000 | Preston | LAB hold | +3.1\% | -15.1\% | +1.5\% | ... | +10.5\% | 29.6\% |
| 23/11/2000 | West Bromwich West ${ }^{5}$ | LAB win | Not Com | mparable |  |  |  | 27.6\% |
| 21/12/2000 | Falkirk West | LAB hold | -3.8\% | -15.8\% | -2.0\% | +16.5\% | +5.1\% | 36.2\% |
| GENERAL ELECTION 2001 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 22/11/2001 | Ipswich | LAB hold | -2.1\% | -8.0\% | +7.2\% | ... | +2.9\% | 40.2\% |
| 14/02/2002 | Ogmore | LAB hold | -3.7\% | -10.1\% | -4.0\% | +6.8\% | +11.0\% | 35.2\% |
| 18/09/2003 | Brent East | LD gain from LAB | -2.1\% | -29.4\% | +28.6\% | ... | +2.9\% | 36.2\% |
| 15/07/2004 | Birmingham Hodge Hill | LAB hold | -2.6\% | -27.4\% | +26.1\% | ... | +3.9\% | 37.9\% |
| 15/07/2004 | Leicester South | LD gain from LAB | -3.3\% | -25.2\% | +17.7\% | ... | +10.8\% | 40.6\% |
| 30/09/2004 | Hartlepool | LAB hold | -11.1\% | -18.5\% | +19.2\% | ... | +10.4\% | 45.8\% |
| GENERAL ELECTION 2005 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 14/07/2005 | Cheadle | LD hold | +2.0\% | -4.2\% | +3.3\% | ... | -1.1\% | 55.2\% |


| Date | Constituency | Result | CON | LAB | LD | PC/ SNP | Other | Turnout |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $29 / 09 / 2005$ | Livingston | LAB hold | $-3.4 \%$ | $-9.3 \%$ | $-0.6 \%$ | $+11.1 \%$ | $+2.2 \%$ | $38.6 \%$ |
| $09 / 02 / 2006$ | Dunfermline \& W Fife | LD gain from LAB | $-2.5 \%$ | $-16.8 \%$ | $+15.7 \%$ | $+2.1 \%$ | $+1.6 \%$ | $48.7 \%$ |
| $29 / 06 / 2006$ | Blaenau Gwent | Ind hold | $+1.4 \%$ | $+4.7 \%$ | $+1.2 \%$ | $+4.1 \%$ | $-11.4 \%$ | $51.7 \%$ |
| $29 / 06 / 2006$ | Bromley \& Chislehurst | CON hold | $-11.1 \%$ | $-15.6 \%$ | $+17.5 \%$ | $\ldots$ | $+9.2 \%$ | $40.5 \%$ |
| $19 / 07 / 2007$ | Ealing, Southall | LAB hold | $+0.9 \%$ | $-7.3 \%$ | $+3.2 \%$ | $\ldots$ | $+3.2 \%$ | $42.9 \%$ |
| $19 / 07 / 2007$ | Sedgefield | LAB hold | $+0.2 \%$ | $-14.1 \%$ | $+8.0 \%$ | $\ldots$ | $+5.9 \%$ | $41.5 \%$ |
| $22 / 05 / 2008$ | Crewe \& Nantwich | CON gain from LAB | $+16.9 \%$ | $-18.3 \%$ | $-4.0 \%$ | $\ldots$ | $+5.4 \%$ | $57.7 \%$ |
| $26 / 06 / 2008$ | Henley | CON hold | $+3.5 \%$ | $-11.7 \%$ | $+1.8 \%$ | $\ldots$ | $+6.4 \%$ | $50.3 \%$ |
| $10 / 07 / 2008$ | Haltemprice \& Howden ${ }^{6}$ | CON hold | $+24.1 \%$ | $\ldots$ | $\ldots$ | $\ldots$ | $+25.4 \%$ | $34.1 \%$ |
| $24 / 07 / 2008$ | Glasgow East | SNP gain from LAB | $-0.6 \%$ | $-19.0 \%$ | $-8.4 \%$ | $+26.1 \%$ | $+1.9 \%$ | $42.2 \%$ |
| $06 / 11 / 2008$ | Glenrothes | LAB hold | $-3.3 \%$ | $+3.2 \%$ | $-10.0 \%$ | $+13.1 \%$ | $-3.0 \%$ | $52.3 \%$ |
| $23 / 07 / 2009$ | Norwich North | CON gain from LAB | $+6.3 \%$ | $-26.7 \%$ | $-2.2 \%$ | $\ldots$ | $+22.6 \%$ | $45.8 \%$ |
| $12 / 11 / 2009$ | Glasgow North East ${ }^{7}$ | LAB win | Not Comparable |  | $\ldots$ |  |  | $33.0 \%$ |

GENERAL ELECTION 2010

| 13/01/2011 | Oldham East and Saddleworth | LAB hold | -13.6\% | +10.3\% | +0.3\% | ... | +3.0\% | 48.0\% |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 03/02/2011 | Barnsley Central | LAB hold | -9.0\% | +13.5\% | -13.1\% | ... | +8.6\% | 37.0\% |
| 05/05/2011 | Leicester South | LAB hold | -6.2\% | +12.3\% | -4.4\% | ... | -1.7\% | 43.9\% |
| 30/06/2011 | Inverclyde | LAB hold | -2.1\% | -2.2\% | -11.1\% | +15.5\% | -0.1\% | 45.4\% |
| 16/12/2011 | Feltham and Heston | LAB hold | -6.3\% | +10.8\% | -7.9\% | ... | +3.5\% | 28.7\% |
| 29/03/2012 | Bradford West | Respect gain from LAB | -22.8\% | -20.4\% | -7.1\% | ... | +50.2\% | 50.8\% |
| 15/11/2012 | Cardiff South and Penarth | LAB hold | -8.4\% | +8.4\% | -11.4\% | +5.4\% | +6.1\% | .. |
| 15/11/2012 | Corby | LAB gain from CON | -15.7\% | +9.6\% | -9.5\% | ... | +15.4\% | 44.8\% |
| 15/11/2012 | Manchester Central | LAB hold | -7.3\% | +16.4\% | -17.2\% | ... | +8.0\% | 18.2\% |
| 24/11/2012 | Croydon North | LAB hold | -7.3\% | +8.7\% | -10.5\% | ... | +9.1\% | 47.9\% |
| 29/11/2012 | Middlesborough | LAB hold | -12.5\% | +14.6\% | -10.0\% | ... | +7.9\% | 25.9\% |
| 29/11/2012 | Rotherham | LAB hold | -11.3\% | +1.8\% | -13.9\% | ... | +23.4\% | 33.8\% |
| 28/02/2013 | Eastleigh | LD hold | -18.5\% | -1.8\% | -20.4\% | ... | +20.3\% | 52.7\% |
| 02/05/2013 | South Shields | LAB hold | -10.0\% | -1.5\% | -12.8\% | ... | +24.3\% | 57.7\% |
| 13/02/2014 | Wythenshawe \& Sale East | LAB hold | -11.0\% | +11.2\% | -17.4\% | ... | +16.9\% | 28.2\% |
| 05/06/2014 | Newark | CON hold | -8.9\% | -4.6\% | -17.4\% | ... | +30.9\% | 52.7\% |
| 09/10/2014 | Clacton | UKIP gain from CON | -28.4\% | -13.8\% | -11.6\% | ... | +53.8\% | 51.1\% |
| 09/10/2014 | Heywood and Middleton | LAB hold | -14.9\% | +0.8\% | -17.6\% | ... | +31.7\% | 36.0\% |
| 20/11/2014 | Rochester and Strood | UKIP gain from CON | -14.4\% | -11.7\% | -15.4\% | ... | +41.5\% | 50.6\% |

## GENERAL ELECTION 2015

| 03/12/2015 | Oldham West and Royton | Lab hold | -9.6\% | +7.3\% | +0.0\% | ... | +2.3\% | 40.1\% |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Sheffield Brightside and |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 05/05/2016 | Hillsborough | Lab hold | -5.4\% | +5.8\% | +1.6\% | ... | -2.0\% | 33.0\% |
| 05/05/2016 | Ogmore | Lab hold | -3.3\% | -0.8\% | +0.0\% | +5.7\% | -1.6\% | 42.4\% |
| 16/06/2016 | Tooting | Lab hold | -5.8\% | +8.7\% | -1.4\% | ... | -1.5\% | 42.8\% |
| 20/10/2016 | Bateley and Spen | Lab hold | $\ldots$ | +42.6\% | ... | $\ldots$ | -42.6\% | 25.6\% |
| 20/10/2016 | Witney | Con hold | -12.3\% | -1.4\% | +23.8\% | ... | -3.7\% | 77.0\% |
| 01/12/2016 | Richmond Park ${ }^{8}$ | LD gain from CON | -13.1\% | -8.7\% | +30.4\% | ... | -8.7\% | 53.4\% |
| 08/12/2016 | Sleaford and North Hykeham | Con hold | -2.7\% | -7.0\% | +5.3\% | $\ldots$ | +4.4\% | 37.0\% |
| 23/02/2017 | Copeland | Con gain from LAB | +8.5\% | -4.9\% | +3.8\% | ... | -7.3\% | 51.3\% |
| 23/02/2017 | Stoke-on-Trent Central | Lab hold | +1.8\% | -2.2\% | +5.7\% | $\ldots$ | -5.2\% | 38.1\% |


| Date | Constituency | Result | CON | LAB | LD | $\begin{gathered} \text { PC/ } \\ \text { SNP } \end{gathered}$ | Other | Turnout |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| GENERAL ELECTION 2017 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 14/06/2018 | Lewisham East | Lab hold | -8.6\% | -17.7\% | +20.2\% | ... | +6.2\% | 33.2\% |
| 04/04/2019 | Newport West | Lab hold | -12.7\% | -8.0\% | +2.4\% | +2.6\% | +15.9\% | 37.0\% |
| 06/06/2019 | Peterborough | Lab hold | -25.5\% | -17.2\% | +8.9\% | ... | +33.7\% | 48.3\% |
| 01/08/2019 | Brecon and Radnor | LD gain from CON | -9.6\% | -12.5\% | +14.3\% | ... | +10.9\% | 59.6\% |
| GENERAL ELECTION 2019 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 06/05/2021 | Hartlepool | Con gain from LAB | 23.0\% | -9.0\% | -3.0\% | ... | 0.0\% | 42.3\% |
| 13/05/2021 | Airdrie and Shotts | SNP hold | -4.7\% | 6.4\% | -2.6\% | 1.3\% | -6.3\% | 34.3\% |
| 17/06/2021 | Chesham and Amersham | LD gain from CON | -19.9\% | -11.2\% | 30.4\% | $\ldots$ | -3.2\% | 52.1\% |
| 01/07/2021 | Batley and Spen | Lab hold | -1.6\% | -7.4\% | -1.3\% | ... | 9.9\% | 47.5\% |
| 02/12/2021 | Old Bexley and Sidcup | Con hold | -13.1\% | 7.4\% | -5.3\% | $\ldots$ | +11.0\% | 33.5\% |
| 16/12/2021 | North Shropshire | LD gain from CON | -31.1\% | -12.4\% | 37.2\% | $\ldots$ | +6.2\% | 46.2\% |
| 03/02/2022 | Southend West | Con hold | 26.9\% | ... | ... | $\ldots$ | +12.7\% | 22.4\% |
| 03/03/2022 | Birmingham, Erdington | Lab hold | -3.8\% | 5.2\% | -2.7\% | ... | +1.3\% | 26.9\% |
| 23/06/2022 | Wakefield | Lab gain from CON | -17.3\% | 8.1\% | -2.1\% | ... | +11.2\% | 39.5\% |
| 23/06/2022 | Tiverton and Honiton | LD gain from CON | -21.7\% | -15.9\% | 38.1\% | ... | -0.5\% | 52.2\% |
| 01/12/2022 | City of Chester | Lab hold | -16.1\% | 11.2\% | 1.5\% | ... | 3.5\% | 41.1\% |
| 15/12/2022 | Stretford and Urmston | Lab hold | -11.7\% | 9.3\% | -2.4\% | .. | 4.7\% | 25.7\% |
| 09/02/2023 | West Lancashire | Lab hold | -10.9\% | 10.2\% | -0.8\% | $\cdots$ | 0.7\% | 31.3\% |
| 20/07/2023 | Uxbridge and South Ruislip | Con hold | -7.4\% | 6.0\% | 1.7\% | ... | 6.1\% | 46.1\% |
| 20/07/2023 | Selby and Ainsty | Lab gain from CON | -26.0\% | 21.4\% | -5.3\% | .. | 9.8\% | 44.7\% |
| 20/07/2023 | Somerton and Frome | LD gain from CON | -29.6\% | -10.3\% | 28.4\% | $\ldots$ | 11.4\% | 44.1\% |

## Notes:

1. Constituency returned two MPs at 1945 General Election. When calculating the change in vote share, the total vote received by a party's candidate in the previous general election is used.
2. Votes for the National candidate in the general election are counted as Conservative votes.
3. From 1918 to 1945, two Members were returned for a Combined English Universities constituency and three Members for a Combined Scottish Universities constituency, using the Single Transferable Vote system. By-elections were conducted by First Past the Post. Therefore by-election results are not comparable with the general election results.
4. Election re-run. Original general election result annulled by election court.
5. By-election called due to resignation of Speaker Betty Boothroyd.
6. Labour and the Liberal Democrats did not contest the by-election.
7. By-election called due to resignation of Speaker Michael Martin.
8. By-election called due to resignation of Zac Goldsmith from Conservative party who stood as an independent in the by-election. The Conservatives did not field a candidate. The change in CON vote share is based off CON vote share in 2015 GE and Zac Goldsmith's independent vote share.

Sources:
F.W.S. Craig, Chronology of British Parliamentary By-elections 1833-1987; Colin Rallings and Michael Thrasher, British Electoral Facts 18322006; House of Commons Library, RP10/50 By-election results 2005-10; SN05833 By-elections 2010-15; CBP 7417 By-election results since the 2015 General Election; CBP-8280 By-elections in the 2017 Parliament; CBP09225 By-elections in the 2019 Parliament

There were by-elections in Northern Ireland in seven of the last nineteen Parliaments.

Among Parliaments since 1950, the highest number of by-elections took place in the Parliament of 1983-1987, when there were 15. However, only one seat changed hands during this Parliament, which was Newry and Armagh. Previously held by the UK Unionist Party, the seat was won by the SDLP.

The 1981 by-election in Fermanagh and South Tyrone had the highest turnout of any by-election in the UK since 1945. 87.5\% of the electorate gave a valid vote. This was the second of two by-elections which took place in the same year in the Fermanagh and South Tyrone constituency. In both cases byelections were triggered by the incumbent Member of Parliament's death.

Parliamentary by-elections in Northern Ireland, 1945-August 2022


## Table 14a: Parliamentary by-elections in Northern Ireland, 1922-1974 ${ }^{1}$

$\left.\begin{array}{llllllllll} \\ & & & \text { Change in vote share since previous } \\ \text { election: }\end{array}\right]$

## Table 14b: Parliamentary by-elections in Northern Ireland, 1974-2021 ${ }^{5}$



GENERAL ELECTION 1974 (FEB)
None
GENERAL ELECTION 1974 (OCT)

## None <br> GENERAL ELECTION 1979

$\left.\begin{array}{llllllllll}\text { 09/04/1981 } & \text { Fermanagh and South } & \text { Anti-H Block gain } & \ldots \\ \text { from Ind Rep }\end{array}\right)$

GENERAL ELECTION $1983^{6}$

| 23/01/1986 | East Antrim | UUP hold |  | +47.5\% | $\ldots$ | ... | -4.8\% | 58.9\% |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 23/01/1986 | North Antrim | DUP hold | +43.2\% | ... | ... | ... | ... | 53.5\% |
| 23/01/1986 | South Antrim | UUP hold | ... | +48.5\% | ... | ... | ... | 52.2\% |
| 23/01/1986 | Belfast East | DUP hold | +35.6\% | ... | ... | ... | -6.1\% | 63.6\% |
| 23/01/1986 | Belfast North | UUP hold | ... | +35.3\% | ... | ... | +13.7\% | 54.7\% |
| 23/01/1986 | Belfast South | UUP hold | ... | +21.4\% | ... | ... | +2.4\% | 56.6\% |
| 23/01/1986 | North Down | UPU hold | ... | ... | ... | ... | +21.9\% | 60.5\% |
| 23/01/1986 | South Down <br> Fermanagh and South | UUP hold | ... | +8.1\% | -2.2\% | +5.6\% | -0.6\% | 73.8\% |
| 23/01/1986 | Tyrone | UUP hold | ... | +2.1\% | -7.6\% | +5.0\% | +0.5\% | 80.4\% |
| 23/01/1986 | Lagan Valley | UUP hold | ... | +31.5\% | ... | ... | +7.3\% | 81.4\% |
| 23/01/1986 | East Londonderry | UUP hold | ... | +56.0\% | ... | ... | ... | 47.0\% |
| 23/01/1986 | Mid Ulster | DUP hold | +16.1\% | ... | -2.6\% | +3.0\% | -0.1\% | 77.0\% |
| 23/01/1986 | Newry and Armagh | SDLP gain from UUP | ... | +0.2\% | -7.7\% | +8.7\% | -1.2\% | 76.6\% |
| 23/01/1986 | Strangford | UUP hold | ... | +45.4\% | ... | ... | ... | 55.1\% |
| 23/01/1986 | Upper Bann | UUP hold | ... | +23.9\% | ... | ... | +13.8\% | 57.2\% |
| GENERAL ELECTION 1987 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 17/05/1990 | Upper Bann | UUP hold | ... | -3.5\% | -1.7\% | -1.6\% | -4.8\% | 53.4\% |
| GENERAL ELECTION 1992 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 15/06/1995 | North Down | UKU gain from UPU | ... | ... | ... | ... | -19.3\% | 38.6\% |
| GENERAL ELECTION 1997 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 21/09/2000 | South Antrim | DUP gain from UUP | ... | -22.2\% | +3.0\% | -4.7\% | -5.0\% | 43.0\% |

## GENERAL ELECTION 2001

None

## GENERAL ELECTION 2005

## None

| Date | Constituency | Result | DUP | UUP | SF | SDLP | Other Turnout |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | ---: | :--- | ---: | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| GENERAL ELECTION 2010 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 09/06/2011 | Belfast West | SF hold | $-1.5 \%$ | $-1.4 \%$ | $-0.4 \%$ | $-2.9 \%$ | $+6.3 \%$ | $37.4 \%$ |
| $07 / 03 / 2013$ | Mid Ulster | SF hold | $\ldots$ | $\ldots$ | $-5.1 \%$ | $+3.1 \%$ | $+1.9 \%$ | $55.4 \%$ |

GENERAL ELECTION 2015
None

| GENERAL ELECTION 2017 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $03 / 05 / 2018$ | West Tyrone | SF hold | $-3.0 \%$ | $+3.1 \%$ | $-4.1 \%$ | $+4.9 \%$ | $+1.9 \%$ | $54.6 \%$ |

## GENERAL ELECTION 2019

## None

Notes for tables 14a and 14b:

1. The formation of new parties in the early 1970 s altered the pattern of party competition at Westminster elections. The SDLP (formed 1970) and the DUP (formed 1971) are included in Table 14b (1974-2012). Ulster Unionists are listed as Conservatives up to 1972 when they stopped taking the Conservative whip.
2. Irish Nationalist/Anti-Partitionist

* Constituency returned two MPs at previous general election. Change in vote share between general election and by-election is calculating using the total vote received by a party's candidate in the previous general election. However some electors will only voted for one candidate in the general election and of those who cast two votes, some will have voted for candidates from different parties. Additionally some parties will only have stood one candidate in a multimember seat.

3. Sinn Féin (SF) candidate T.J. Mitchell was elected as MP for Mid-Ulster at the 1955 General Election, but was in prison at the time of election and hence was disqualified from being an MP. No petition was lodged but a by-election writ was subsequently issued; in the 31 August 1955 by-election Mitchell again stood for Sinn Féín and topped the poll (therefore the by-election is here recorded as a Sinn Féin hold). However on this occasion a petition was lodged and since Mitchell was disqualified, the Conservative candidate was elected instead.
4. Prior to the by-election the seat was held by a Conservative (see footnote 1). Changes in vote share are as compared to the 1955 General Election.
5. The formation of new parties in the early 1970s altered the pattern of party competition at Westminster elections. The SDLP (formed 1970) and the DUP (formed 1971) are included in this table but not in Table 14a. The Ulster Unionist Party (UUP) took the Conservative whip at Westminster until 1972 and so in Table 14a are listed under Conservatives.
6. Multiple by-elections were held in January 1986 after fifteen unionist Members resigned their seats in protest at the Anglo-Irish Agreement.

Party descriptions: DUP - Democratic Unionist Party; SDLP - Social Democratic and Labour Party; UUP - Ulster Unionist Party; UPU - Ulster Popular Unionist Party; SF - Sinn Fein; UKU - United Kingdom Unionist

Sources for tables 14a and 14b:
F.W.S. Craig, British Parliamentary Election Results 1918-1949; F.W.S. Craig, British Parliamentary Election Results 1950-1973; F.W.S. Craig, British Parliamentary Election Results 1974-1983; Colin Rallings and Michael Thrasher, British Parliamentary Election Results 1983-1997; House of Commons Library RP01/36, By-election results 1997-2000; RP05/34, By-election results 2001-05, RP10/50, By-election results 2005-10; SN05833, By-elections since 2010 General Election, By-elections since 2015 General Election; CBP- 8280 By-elections since the 2017 General Election; CBP-9225 By-elections since the 2019 General Election

## 4

European Parliament elections (UK)

The UK participated in European Parliament elections between 1979 and 2019, during its membership of the European Union (1973-2020). Elections to the European Parliament are held every five years. Prior to the first direct elections in June 1979, members of the European Parliament were delegates from national parliaments. Detailed analysis of the 2019 European Parliament elections is available in House of Commons Library Briefing Paper CBP-8600.

Between 1999-2020, MEPs in England, Scotland and Wales were elected using a regional list system of proportional representation; up to the 1994 election the electoral system was First Past the Post. European Parliament elections in Northern Ireland were conducted using the Single Transferable Vote system of proportional representation.

Table 15a: UK MEPs elected at European Parliament elections
By party, 1979-2019

|  | 1979 | 1984 | 1989 | 1994 | 1999 | 2004 | 2009 | 2014 | 2019 |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Great Britain |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| BNP | .. | .. | .. | .. | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Brexit Party | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 29 |
| Conservative | 60 | 45 | 32 | 18 | 36 | 27 | 25 | 19 | 4 |
| Green | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 7 |
| Labour | 17 | 32 | 45 | 62 | 29 | 19 | 13 | 20 | 10 |
| Liberal Democrat | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 10 | 12 | 11 | 1 | 16 |
| Plaid Cymru | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Scottish National | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 3 |
| UKIP | .. | .. | .. | 0 | 3 | 12 | 13 | 24 | 0 |
| Total | $\mathbf{7 8}$ | $\mathbf{7 8}$ | $\mathbf{7 8}$ | $\mathbf{8 4}$ | $\mathbf{8 4}$ | $\mathbf{7 5}$ | $\mathbf{6 9}$ | $\mathbf{7 0}$ | $\mathbf{7 0}$ |
| Northern Ireland |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Alliance | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| DUP | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| SDLP | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Sinn Fein | .. | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| UUP | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Total | $\mathbf{3}$ | $\mathbf{3}$ | $\mathbf{3}$ | $\mathbf{3}$ | $\mathbf{3}$ | $\mathbf{3}$ | $\mathbf{3}$ | $\mathbf{3}$ | $\mathbf{3}$ |
| Total UK | $\mathbf{8 1}$ | $\mathbf{8 1}$ | $\mathbf{8 1}$ | $\mathbf{8 7}$ | $\mathbf{8 7}$ | $\mathbf{7 8}$ | $\mathbf{7 2}$ | $\mathbf{7 3}$ | $\mathbf{7 3}$ |

Sources: Colin Rallings and Michael Thrasher, British Electoral Facts 1832-2006; House of Commons Library Briefing Paper CBP-8600 European Parliament Elections 2019: results and analysis
In 1979, the Conservatives received just over half the vote and won threequarters of seats in Great Britain at the European Parliament elections. By 1994 the picture had been reversed and three-quarters of MEPs elected were Labour. After a change in electoral system in 1999, there was an increase in the number of MEPs from other parties. Ten Liberal Democrats were elected, compared with two in 1994, and the UK Independence Party (UKIP), the Green

Party and Plaid Cymru got their first MEPs. At the 2019 election the Brexit Party received $32 \%$ of the vote and won 29 seats.

Although Labour polled more votes in 2004 than in 1999, a higher turnout meant the party's vote share fell from $36 \%$ to $23 \%$. An increase in the UKIP vote meant the number of UKIP MEPs rose from three to twelve and the party had the third highest number of votes, behind the Conservatives and Labour. UKIP gained another seat in 2009 and received more votes than Labour. The 2009 elections also saw the first MEPs elected for the British National Party (BNP). In 2014 UKIP was the party with the most MEPs and won a share of $27 \%$ of the vote in Great Britain. In 2019, the Brexit Party, founded by former UKIP leader Nigel Farage, won the most seats (29) and the largest proportion of the vote ( $32 \%$ ).

Turnout at European Parliament elections in Great Britain was typically lower than at general elections; it was exceptionally low in 1999 when fewer than one in four voters turned out. In all European Parliament elections the turnout in Northern Ireland was higher than in the rest of the UK.

Table 15b. European Parliament election results: votes by party, 1979-2019

|  | 1979 | 1984 | 1989 | 1994 | 1999 | 2004 | 2009 | 2014 | 2019 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Great Britain |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Votes received |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Conservative | 6,508,493 | 5,426,821 | 5,331,098 | 4,268,539 | 3,578,203 | 4,397,087 | 4,198,664 | 3,788,405 | 1,511,485 |
| Labour | 4,253,207 | 4,865,261 | 6,153,661 | 6,753,881 | 2,803,820 | 3,718,683 | 2,381,760 | 4,020,646 | 2,347,255 |
| Liberal Democrat ${ }^{1}$ | 1,691,531 | 2,591,635 | 944,861 | 2,557,887 | 1,266,549 | 2,452,327 | 2,080,613 | 1,087,632 | 3,367,284 |
| UKIP |  |  |  | 150,251 | 696,055 | 2,660,768 | 2,498,226 | 4,352,051 | 549,348 |
| Scottish National | 247,836 | 230,594 | 406,686 | 487,237 | 268,528 | 231,505 | 321,007 | 389,503 | 594,553 |
| Plaid Cymru | 83,399 | 103,031 | 115,062 | 162,478 | 185,235 | 159,888 | 126,702 | 111,864 | 163,928 |
| Green ${ }^{2}$ | 17,953 | 70,853 | 2,292,718 | 494,561 | 625,378 | 1,028,283 | 1,303,745 | 1,244,975 | 2,010,909 |
| BNP |  |  |  |  | 102,644 | 808,201 | 943,598 | 179,694 |  |
| Brexit |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 5,248,533 |
| Other | 71,433 | 24,678 | 117,181 | 417,888 | 475,841 | 1,001,861 | 1,282,887 | 654,054 | 833,959 |
| Total | 12,873,852 | 13,312,873 | 15,361,267 | 15,292,722 | 10,002,253 | 16,458,603 | 15,137,202 | 15,828,824 | 16,627,254 |
| \% vote share received |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Conservative | 51\% | 41\% | 35\% | 28\% | 36\% | 27\% | 28\% | 24\% | 9\% |
| Labour | 33\% | 37\% | 40\% | 44\% | 28\% | 23\% | 16\% | 25\% | 14\% |
| Liberal Democrat ${ }^{1}$ | 13\% | 19\% | 6\% | 17\% | 13\% | 15\% | 14\% | 7\% | 20\% |
| UKIP |  |  |  | 1\% | 7\% | 16\% | 17\% | 27\% | - 3\% |
| Scottish National | 2\% | 2\% | 3\% | 3\% | 2\% | 1\% | 2\% | 2\% | 4\% |
| Plaid Cymru | 1\% | 1\% | 1\% \| | 1\% | 3\% | 1\% | 1\% | 1\% | 1\% |
| Green ${ }^{2}$ | 0\% | 1\% | 15\% | 3\% | 6\% | 6\% | 9\% | 8\% | 12\% |
| BNP |  |  |  |  | 1\% | 5\% | 6\% | 1\% | 0\% |
| Brexit |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 32\% |
| Other | 1\% | 0\% | 1\% | 3\% | 5\% | - $6 \%$ | 8\% | 4\% | 5\% |
| Turnout | 32.1\% | 32.1\% | 36.5\% | 36.2\% | 23.1\% | 38.2\% | 34.3\% | 35.0\% | 37.0\% |

## Northern Ireland

Votes received (first preference votes)

| DUP | 170,688 | 230,251 | 160,110 | 163,246 | 192,762 | 175,761 | 88,346 | 131,163 | 124,991 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| SDLP | 140,622 | 151,399 | 136,335 | 161,992 | 190,731 | 87,559 | 78,489 | 81,594 | 78,589 |
| UUP | 125,169 | 147,169 | 118,785 | 133,459 | 119,507 | 91,164 | 82,893 | 83,438 | 53,052 |
| Sinn Fein |  | 91,476 | 48,914 | 55,215 | 117,643 | 144,541 | 126,184 | 159,813 | 126,951 |
| Alliance | 39,026 | 34,046 | 27,905 | 23,157 | 14,391 |  | 26,699 | 44,432 | 105,928 |
| Other | 96,734 | 30,976 | 42,762 | 22,798 | 43,775 | 50,252 | 81,961 | 125,685 | 82,936 |
| Total | 572,239 | 685,317 | 534,811 | 559,867 | 678,809 | 549,277 | 484,572 | 626,125 | 572,447 |
| \% vote share received (first preference votes) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| DUP | 30\% | 34\% | 30\% | 29\% | 28\% | 32\% | 18\% | 21\% | 22\% |
| SDLP | 25\% | 22\% | 25\% | 29\% | 28\% | 16\% | 16\% | 13\% | 14\% |
| UUP | 22\% | 21\% | 22\% | 24\% | 18\% | 17\% | 17\% | 13\% | 9\% |
| Sinn Fein | 0\% | 13\% | 9\% | 10\% | 17\% | 26\% | 26\% | 26\% | 22\% |
| Alliance | 7\% | 5\% | 5\% | 4\% | 2\% | 0\% | 6\% | 7\% | 19\% |
| Other | 17\% | 5\% | 8\% | 4\% | 6\% | 9\% | 17\% | 20\% | 14\% |
| Turnout | 55.6\% | 64.4\% | 48.3\% | 48.7\% | 57.0\% | 51.2\% | 42.4\% | 51.0\% | 44.8\% |
| UK-wide turnout | 32.7\% | 32.9\% | 36.8\% | 36.5\% | 24.0\% | 38.5\% | 34.5\% | 35.4\% | 36.9\% |

Notes:

1. Liberal Party in 1979 and SDP/Liberal Alliance in 1984. SDP votes in the 1989 election are counted under 'Other'.
2. Ecology Party in 1979 and 1984.

Sources: Colin Rallings and Michael Thrasher, British Electoral Facts 1832-2006; House of Commons Library Briefing Paper RP09/54 European Parliament Elections 2009, RP14-32 European Parliament Elections 2014, and CBP-8600 European Parliament Elections 2019: results and analysis

## 5

## Elections to devolved legislatures and London elections

## 5.1

Senedd Cymru/Welsh Parliament


Senedd Cymru/Welsh Parliament was established as the National Assembly for Wales in 1999. The institution's name was changed in 2020. Elections were initially held every four years but moved to a five-year interval in 2011.40 constituency Assembly Members (AMs) and 20 regional AMs are elected using the Additional Member System.

The most recent Senedd Cymru/Welsh Parliament elections took place on 6 May 2021. The largest party was Labour, winning 30 seats. The Conservatives made the largest gains and replaced Plaid Cymru as the second largest party. UKIP failed to hold onto most of their 2016 gains. Detailed analysis of the most recent elections is available in Library Briefing Paper 9282 Senedd Cymry/Welsh Parliament elections 2021.

Labour has always been the largest party in terms of votes received and seats won, although it has never won a clear majority of seats. Following the 1999 elections, Labour initially formed a minority administration but entered a coalition with the Liberal Democrats in 2000. Labour governed on its own between 2003 and 2007, and in coalition with Plaid Cymru from 2007 to 2011. In 2011 Labour formed a majority government with 30 seats. Following the 2016 election Labour fell one seat short of a working majority, subsequently forming a government with a Liberal Democrat and an Independent AM.

Prior to 2016, the Conservatives were the only party to have consistently increased the share of the vote in Assembly elections from 1999 to 2011. Their share of the total vote increased at every election by an average of 2.5\% points, before dropping by $3.8 \%$ points. In 2016 UKIP gained $13.3 \%$ of votes and seven regional seats.

Plaid Cymru's most successful election was in 1999, when it took almost 30\% of the vote and won 17 seats. In 2016, it polled $20.7 \%$ and became the second largest party, with 12 seats.

Share of votes and seats by party, 1999-2021


The next elections are expected to be in May 2026. Subject to legislation, these will see more Senedd Members elected using a new voting system.

Table 16: Senedd Cymru/Assembly for Wales elections, 1999-2021

|  | Number of votes and seats |  |  |  |  |  | \% vote share |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 1999 | 2003 | 2007 | 2011 | 2016 | 2021 | 1999 | 2003 | 2007 | 2011 | 2016 | 2021 |
| Constituency votes |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| LAB | 384,671 | 340,515 | 314,925 | 401,677 | 353,865 | 443,047 | 37.6\% | 40.0\% | 32.2\% | 42.3\% | 34.7\% | 39.9\% |
| PC | 290,565 | 180,185 | 219,121 | 182,907 | 209,374 | 225,376 | 28.4\% | 21.2\% | 22.4\% | 19.3\% | 20.5\% | 20.3\% |
| CON | 162,133 | 169,832 | 218,730 | 237,389 | 215,597 | 289,802 | 15.8\% | 20.0\% | 22.4\% | 25.0\% | 21.1\% | 26.1\% |
| UKIP |  | 19,795 | 18,047 |  | 127,038 | 8,586 |  | 2.3\% | 1.8\% |  | 12.5\% | 0.8\% |
| LD | 137,657 | 120,250 | 144,410 | 100,259 | 78,165 | 54,202 | 13.5\% | 14.1\% | 14.8\% | 10.6\% | 7.7\% | 4.9\% |
| Others | 47,992 | 20,266 | 62,859 | 27,021 | 35,341 | 90,717 | 4.7\% | 2.4\% | 6.4\% | 2.8\% | 3.5\% | 8.2\% |
| Total | 1,023,018 | 850,843 | 978,092 | 949,253 | 1,019,380 | 1,111,730 | 100\% | 100\% | 100\% | 100\% | 100\% | 100\% |
| Constituency seats |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| LAB | 27 | 30 | 24 | 28 | 27 | 27 | 67.5\% | 75.0\% | 60.0\% | 70.0\% | 67.5\% | 67.5\% |
| PC | 9 | 5 | 7 | 5 | 6 | 5 | 22.5\% | 12.5\% | 17.5\% | 12.5\% | 15.0\% | 12.5\% |
| CON | 1 | 1 | 5 | 6 | 6 | 8 | 2.5\% | 2.5\% | 12.5\% | 15.0\% | 15.0\% | 20.0\% |
| UKIP | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.0\% | 0.0\% | 0.0\% | 0.0\% | 0.0\% | 0.0\% |
| LD | 3 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 7.5\% | 7.5\% | 7.5\% | 2.5\% | 2.5\% | 0.0\% |
| Others | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.0\% | 2.5\% | 2.5\% | 0.0\% | 0.0\% | 0.0\% |
| Total | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 | 100\% | 100\% | 100\% | 100\% | 100\% | 100\% |
| Regional votes |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| LAB | 361,657 | 310,658 | 288,955 | 349,935 | 319,196 | 401,770 | 35.4\% | 36.6\% | 29.6\% | 36.9\% | 31.5\% | 36.2\% |
| PC | 312,048 | 167,653 | 204,757 | 169,799 | 211,548 | 230,161 | 30.5\% | 19.7\% | 21.0\% | 17.9\% | 20.8\% | 20.7\% |
| CON | 168,206 | 162,725 | 209,154 | 213,773 | 190,846 | 278,560 | 16.5\% | 19.2\% | 21.5\% | 22.5\% | 18.8\% | 25.1\% |
| UKIP |  | 29,427 | 38,349 | 43,256 | 132,138 | 17,341 |  | 3.5\% | 3.9\% | 4.6\% | 13.0\% | 1.6\% |
| LD | 128,008 | 108,013 | 114,500 | 76,349 | 65,504 | 48,217 | 12.5\% | 12.7\% | 11.7\% | 8.0\% | 6.5\% | 4.3\% |
| Others | 51,938 | 71,076 | 119,071 | 95,776 | 95,511 | 134,748 | 5.1\% | 8.4\% | 12.2\% | 10.1\% | 9.4\% | 12.1\% |
| Total | 1,021,857 | 849,552 | 974,786 | 948,888 | 1,014,743 | 1,110,797 | 100\% | 100\% | 100\% | 100\% | 100\% | 100\% |
| Regional seats |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| LAB | 1 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 5.0\% | 0.0\% | 10.0\% | 10.0\% | 10.0\% | 15.0\% |
| PC | 8 | 7 | 8 | 6 | 6 | 8 | 40.0\% | 35.0\% | 40.0\% | 30.0\% | 30.0\% | 40.0\% |
| CON | 8 | 10 | 7 | 8 | 5 | 8 | 40.0\% | 50.0\% | 35.0\% | 40.0\% | 25.0\% | 40.0\% |
| UKIP | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 7 | 0 | 0.0\% | 0.0\% | 0.0\% | 0.0\% | 35.0\% | 0.0\% |
| LD | 3 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 0 | 1 | 15.0\% | 15.0\% | 15.0\% | 20.0\% | 0.0\% | 5.0\% |
| Others | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.0\% | 0.0\% | 0.0\% | 0.0\% | 0.0\% | 0.0\% |
| Total | 20 | 20 | 20 | 20 | 20 | 20 | 100\% | 100\% | 100\% | 100\% | 100\% | 100\% |
| Total seats |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| LAB | 28 | 30 | 26 | 30 | 29 | 30 | 46.7\% | 50.0\% | 43.3\% | 50.0\% | 48.3\% | 50.0\% |
| PC | 17 | 12 | 15 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 28.3\% | 20.0\% | 25.0\% | 18.3\% | 20.0\% | 21.7\% |
| CON | 9 | 11 | 12 | 14 | 11 | 16 | 15.0\% | 18.3\% | 20.0\% | 23.3\% | 18.3\% | 26.7\% |
| UKIP | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 7 | 0 | 0.0\% | 0.0\% | 0.0\% | 0.0\% | 11.7\% | 0.0\% |
| LD | 6 | 6 | 6 | 5 | 1 | 1 | 10.0\% | 10.0\% | 10.0\% | 8.3\% | 1.7\% | 1.7\% |
| Others | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.0\% | 1.7\% | 1.7\% | 0.0\% | 0.0\% | 0.0\% |
| Total | 60 | 60 | 60 | 60 | 60 | 60 | 100\% | 100\% | 100\% | 100\% | 100\% | 100\% |
| Constituency turnout |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | 46.4\% | 38.2\% | 43.5\% | 41.5\% | 45.5\% | 46.5\% |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Regional turnout |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | 46.3\% | 38.1\% | 43.4\% | 41.4\% | 45.3\% | 46.5\% |  |  |  |  |  |  |

Sources: Colin Rallings and Michael Thrasher, British Electoral Facts 1832-2006; Electoral Commission, Report on the National Assembly for Wales general election 5 May 2016; House of Commons Library Briefing Paper CBP 7594 , National Assembly for Wales Elections: 2016; House of Commons Library Briefing Paper CBP 9282, Welsh Parliament/ Senedd Cymru elections 2021

## 5.2 <br> Scottish Parliament

Members of the Scottish Parliament elected by


The current Scottish Parliament was established in 1999. Elections for the 73 constituency Members of the Scottish Parliament (MSPs) and 56 regional MSPs are held every five years using the Additional Member System. Prior to 2016, elections to the Scottish Parliament were held every four years. Scottish Parliamentary constituencies now have different boundaries to Westminster seats.

The most recent Scottish Parliament elections took place in May 2021. The SNP won the most seats (64 of 129) with $44.2 \%$ of the vote but failed to win an overall majority. The total number of SNP MSPs elected was one more than in 2016. The average turnout was $63.3 \%$ for the constituency ballot and $63.5 \%$ for the regional ballot. More detailed analysis is available in Library Briefing Paper 9230 Scottish Parliament elections 2021.

Labour won the most seats in the 1999 and 2003 elections, and on both occasions went into coalition with the Liberal Democrats. The Scottish National Party (SNP) replaced Labour as the largest party in 2007, winning 47 seats compared with Labour's 46, and formed a minority government.

Measured by the number of seats gained, 2011 was the best SNP performance to date, when they won an outright majority (69 out of 129 seats). In 2016, the SNP gained the highest share of the vote with $44.1 \%$ of the total vote, $46.5 \%$ of the constituency vote and $41.7 \%$ of the regional vote. It also won the highest number of seats (63), down six compared with the 2011 election.

The next Scottish Parliament elections are expected to be in May 2026.

Share of vote and seats by party, 1999-2021


Table 17: Scottish Parliament elections, 1999-2021

|  | Number of votes and seats |  |  |  |  |  | \% vote share |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 1999 | 2003 | 2007 | 2011 | 2016 | 2021 | 1999 | 2003 | 2007 | 2011 | 2016 | 2021 |
| Constituency votes |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| SNP | 672,768 | 455,742 | 664,227 | 902,915 | 1,059,898 | 1,291,384 | 28.7\% | 23.8\% | 32.9\% | 45.4\% | 46.5\% | 48.0\% |
| CON | 364,425 | 318,279 | 334,742 | 276,652 | 501,844 | 592,526 | 15.6\% | 16.6\% | 16.6\% | 13.9\% | 22.0\% | 22.0\% |
| LAB | 908,346 | 663,585 | 648,374 | 630,461 | 514,261 | 584,392 | 38.8\% | 34.6\% | 32.1\% | 31.7\% | 22.6\% | 21.7\% |
| LD | 333,179 | 294,347 | 326,232 | 157,714 | 178,238 | 187,806 | 14.2\% | 15.4\% | 16.2\% | 7.9\% | 7.8\% | 7.0\% |
| GRN |  |  | 2,971 |  | 13,172 | 32,903 |  |  | 0.1\% |  | 0.6\% | 1.2\% |
| Others | 63,770 | 184,641 | 43,402 | 21,534 | 11,741 | 1,192 | 2.7\% | 9.6\% | 2.2\% | 1.1\% | 0.5\% | 0.0\% |
| Total | 2,342,488 | 1,916,594 | 2,016,977 | 1,989,276 | 2,279,154 | 2,690,203 | 100\% | 100\% | 100\% | 100\% | 100\% | 100\% |
| Constituency seats |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| SNP | 7 | 9 | 21 | 53 | 59 | 62 | 9.6\% | 12.3\% | 28.8\% | 72.6\% | 80.8\% | 84.9\% |
| CON | 0 | 3 | 4 | 3 | 7 | 5 | 0.0\% | 4.1\% | 5.5\% | 4.1\% | 9.6\% | 6.8\% |
| LAB | 53 | 46 | 37 | 15 | 3 | 2 | 72.6\% | 63.0\% | 50.7\% | 20.5\% | 4.1\% | 2.7\% |
| LD | 12 | 13 | 11 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 16.4\% | 17.8\% | 15.1\% | 2.7\% | 5.5\% | 5.5\% |
| GRN |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Others | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1.4\% | 2.7\% | 0.0\% | 0.0\% | 0.0\% | 0.0\% |
| Total | 73 | 73 | 73 | 73 | 73 | 73 | 100\% | 100\% | 100\% | 100\% | 100\% | 100\% |

## Regional votes

| SNP | 638,644 | 399,659 | 633,401 | 876,421 | 953,587 | $1,094,404$ | $27.3 \%$ | $20.9 \%$ | $31.0 \%$ | $44.0 \%$ | $41.7 \%$ |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| $42.5 \%$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| CON | 359,109 | 296,929 | 284,005 | 245,967 | 524,220 | 637,131 | $15.4 \%$ | $15.5 \%$ | $13.9 \%$ | $12.4 \%$ | $22.9 \%$ |
| $24.7 \%$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| LAB | 786,818 | 561,375 | 595,415 | 523,469 | 435,919 | 485,819 | $33.6 \%$ | $29.3 \%$ | $29.2 \%$ | $26.3 \%$ | $19.1 \%$ |
| LD | 290,760 | 225,774 | 230,671 | 103,472 | 119,284 | 137,151 | $12.4 \%$ | $11.8 \%$ | $11.3 \%$ | $5.2 \%$ | $5.2 \%$ |

Regional Seats

| SNP | 28 | 18 | 26 | 16 | 4 | 2 | 50.0\% | 32.1\% | 46.4\% | 28.6\% | 7.1\% | 3.6\% |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| CON | 18 | 15 | 13 | 12 | 24 | 26 | 32.1\% | 26.8\% | 23.2\% | 21.4\% | 42.9\% | 46.4\% |
| LAB | 3 | 4 | 9 | 22 | 21 | 20 | 5.4\% | 7.1\% | 16.1\% | 39.3\% | 37.5\% | 35.7\% |
| LD | 5 | 4 | 5 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 8.9\% | 7.1\% | 8.9\% | 5.4\% | 1.8\% | 0.0\% |
| GRN | 1 | 7 | 2 | 2 | 6 | 8 | 1.8\% | 12.5\% | 3.6\% | 3.6\% | 10.7\% | 14.3\% |
| Others | 1 | 8 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1.8\% | 14.3\% | 1.8\% | 1.8\% | 0.0\% | 0.0\% |
| Total | 56 | 56 | 56 | 56 | 56 | 56 | 100\% | 100\% | 100\% | 100\% | 100\% | 100\% |
| Total se |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| SNP | 35 | 27 | 47 | 69 | 63 | 64 | 27.1\% | 20.9\% | 36.4\% | 53.5\% | 48.8\% | 49.6\% |
| CON | 18 | 18 | 17 | 15 | 31 | 31 | 14.0\% | 14.0\% | 13.2\% | 11.6\% | 24.0\% | 24.0\% |
| LAB | 56 | 50 | 46 | 37 | 24 | 22 | 43.4\% | 38.8\% | 35.7\% | 28.7\% | 18.6\% | 17.1\% |
| LD | 17 | 17 | 16 | 5 | 5 | 4 | 13.2\% | 13.2\% | 12.4\% | 3.9\% | 3.9\% | 3.1\% |
| GRN | 1 | 7 | 2 | 2 | 6 | 8 | 0.8\% | 5.4\% | 1.6\% | 1.6\% | 4.7\% | 6.2\% |
| Others | 2 | 10 | 1 | 1 |  | 0 | 1.6\% | 7.8\% | 0.8\% | 0.8\% | 0.0\% | 0.0\% |
| Total | 129 | 129 | 129 | 129 | 129 | 129 | 100\% | 100\% | 100\% | 100\% | 100\% | 100\% |
| Constituency Turnout |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | 58.8\% | 49.4\% | 51.7\% | 50.4\% | 55.6\% | 63.3\% |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Regional Turnout |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | 58.7\% | 49.4\% | 52.4\% | 50.4\% | 55.7\% | 63.5\% |  |  |  |  |  |  |

Source: Colin Rallings and Michael Thrasher, British Electoral Facts 1832-2006; Electoral Commission, Report on the Scottish Parliament election on 5 May 2011; House of Commons Library Research Paper RP07/46, Scottish Parliament Elections: 3 May 2007; House of Commons Library Research Paper RP11/41, Scottish Parliament Elections: 2011; House of Commons Library Research Paper CBP9230, Scottish Parliament Elections: 2021; Electoral Commission (electorates)

## 5.3



## Northern Ireland Assembly

The Northern Ireland Assembly elections on 5 May 2022 took place five years after the last election, as per the Assembly's normal election cycle. This was despite the resignation of the First Minister, Paul Givan, and the ensuing collapse of the Executive in February 2022. The elections were conducted under the Single Transferable Vote system and 90 Members of the Legislative Assembly (MLAs) were elected, 5 for each of the 18 constituencies. Detailed analysis is available in Library Briefing Paper Northern لreland Assembly elections 2022.

With the election of 27 Sinn Féin MLAs, a nationalist party became the largest party in the Assembly for the first time. Sinn Féin received 29.0\% of first preference votes, an increase of 1.1 percentage points. The DUP had been the largest party before the election and lost three seats and 6.7 percentage points in vote share. The Alliance Party came third with 17 seats, nine more than following the previous election, increasing their first preference vote share by 4.5 percentage points. The turnout was $62.8 \%$ (based on valid votes).

The previous elections, in March 2017, had been held only 301 days after the elections before. As of August 2023, no Executive has been formed and new elections are expected.


Table 18: Northern Ireland Assembly elections, 1998-2022

|  | 1st Pref Votes and seats won |  |  |  |  |  |  | \% of votes and seats won |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 1998 | 2003 | 2007 | 2011 | 2016 | 2017 | 2022 | 1998 | 2003 | 2007 | 2011 | 2016 | 2017 | 2022 |
| Votes |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| DUP | 146,917 | 177,944 | 207,721 | 198,436 | 202,567 | 225,413 | 184,002 | 18.1\% | 25.3\% | 30.1\% | 30.0\% | 29.2\% | 28.1\% | 21\% |
| Sinn Féin | 142,858 | 162,758 | 180,573 | 178,222 | 166,785 | 224,245 | 250,385 | 17.6\% | 23.2\% | 26.2\% | 26.9\% | 24.0\% | 27.9\% | 29\% |
| UUP | 172,225 | 156,931 | 103,145 | 87,531 | 87,302 | 103,314 | 96,390 | 21.3\% | 22.3\% | 14.9\% | 13.2\% | 12.6\% | 12.9\% | 11\% |
| SDLP | 177,963 | 117,547 | 105,164 | 94,286 | 83,364 | 95,958 | 78,237 | 22.0\% | 16.7\% | 15.2\% | 14.2\% | 12.0\% | 11.9\% | 9\% |
| Alliance | 52,636 | 25,372 | 36,139 | 50,875 | 48,447 | 72,717 | 116,681 | 6.5\% | 3.6\% | 5.2\% | 7.7\% | 7.0\% | 9.1\% | 14\% |
| UK Unionists | 36,541 | 5,700 | 10,452 | ... | ... | ... | $\ldots$ | 4.5\% | 0.8\% | 1.5\% | ... | ... | ... | .. |
| PUP | 20,634 | 8,032 | 3,822 | 1,493 | 5,955 | 5,590 | 2,665 | 2.5\% | 1.1\% | 0.6\% | 0.2\% | 0.9\% | 0.7\% | 0\% |
| People before Profit Alliance | ... | ... | 774 | 5,438 | 13,761 | 14,100 | 9,798 | ... | ... | 0.1\% | 0.8\% | 2.0\% | 1.8\% |  |
| TUV | ... | ... | ... | 16,480 | 23,776 | 20,523 | 65,788 | ... | ... | ... | 2.5\% | 3.4\% | 2.6\% | 8\% |
| UKIP | ... | ... | ... | 4,152 | 10,109 | 1,579 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 0.6\% | 1.5\% | 0.2\% | ... |
| Green Party | 510 | 2,688 | 11,985 | 6,031 | 18,718 | 18,527 | 16,433 | 0.1\% | 0.4\% | 1.7\% | 0.9\% | 2.7\% | 2.3\% | 2\% |
| Others | 59,961 | 45,277 | 30,538 | 18,790 | 33,526 | 21,349 | 42,321 | 7.4\% | 6.4\% | 4.4\% | 2.8\% | 4.8\% | 2.7\% | 5\% |
| Total | 810,245 | 702,249 | 690,313 | 661,734 | 694,310 | 803,315 | 862,700 | 100\% | 100\% | 100\% | 100\% | 100\% | 100\% | 100\% |
| Seats won |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| DUP | 20 | 30 | 36 | 38 | 38 | 28 | 25 | 18.5\% | 27.8\% | 33.3\% | 35.2\% | 35.2\% | 31.1\% | 28\% |
| Sinn Féin | 18 | 24 | 28 | 29 | 28 | 27 | 27 | 16.7\% | 22.2\% | 25.9\% | 26.9\% | 25.9\% | 30.0\% | 30\% |
| UUP | 28 | 27 | 18 | 16 | 16 | 10 | 9 | 25.9\% | 25.0\% | 16.7\% | 14.8\% | 14.8\% | 11.1\% | 10\% |
| SDLP | 24 | 18 | 16 | 14 | 12 | 12 | 8 | 22.2\% | 16.7\% | 14.8\% | 13.0\% | 11.1\% | 13.3\% | 9\% |
| Alliance | 6 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 17 | 5.6\% | 5.6\% | 6.5\% | 7.4\% | 7.4\% | 8.9\% | 19\% |
| UK Unionists | 5 | 1 | 0 | ... | .. | ... | $\ldots$ | 4.6\% | 0.9\% | 0.0\% | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| PUP | 2 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1.9\% | 0.9\% | 0.9\% | 0.0\% | 0.0\% | 0.0\% | 0\% |
| People before | ... | ... | 0 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 1 | ... | $\ldots$ | 0.0\% | 0.0\% | 1.9\% | 1.1\% |  |
| Profit Alliance |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 1\% |
| TUV | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | ... | ... | ... | 0.9\% | 0.9\% | 1.1\% | 1\% |
| UKIP | ... | ... | ... | 0 | 0 | 0 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 0.0\% | 0.0\% | 0.0\% | ... |
| Green Party | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 0.0\% | 0.0\% | 0.9\% | 0.9\% | 1.9\% | 2.2\% | 0\% |
| Others | 5 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 4.6\% | 0.9\% | 0.9\% | 0.9\% | 0.9\% | 1.1\% | 2\% |
| Total | 108 | 108 | 108 | 108 | 108 | 90 | 90 | 100\% | 100\% | 100\% | 100\% | 100\% | 100\% | 1 |
| Turnout | 68.7\% | 64.0\% | 62.3\% | 54.7\% | 54.2\% | 64.0\% | 62.8\% |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

Sources: Colin Rallings and Michael Thrasher, British Electoral Facts 1832-2006; Electoral Office for Northern Ireland, www.eoni.org.uk

Elections were held to the Northern Ireland House of Commons (Stormont) from its creation in 1921 to 1969 after which it was abolished in 1972. About two-thirds of seats were held by Unionists. A significant number of Members were elected unopposed.

Table 19: Members elected at general elections to the Northern Ireland House of Commons (Stormont)

|  | Unionist Party | Other Unionist ${ }^{1}$ | NI Labour | Ind ${ }^{2}$ | Nationalist/ Republican ${ }^{3}$ | Others | Total | Unopposed returns |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1921 | 40 | 0 | 0 | 0 | $12 \square$ | 0 | 52 |  |
| 1925 | 32 | 4 I | 31 | 0 | 12 | 1 \| | 52 | 12 |
| 1929 | 37 | 31 | 1 \| | 0 | 11 | 0 | 52 | 22 |
| 1933 | 36 | 31 | 21 | 0 | 11 | 0 | 52 | 33 |
| 1938 | 39 | 31 | 1 \| | 1 \| | 8 | 0 | 52 | 21 |
| 1945 | 33 | 21 | 21 | 31 | 10 | 21 | 52 | 20 |
| 1949 | 37 | 21 | 0 | 2 \| | 9 | 21 | 52 | 20 |
| 1953 | 38 | 1 \| | 0 | 3 \| | 9 - | 1 | 52 | 25 |
| 1958 | 37 | 0 | 4 \| | 21 | 8 | 1 | 52 | 27 |
| 1962 | 34 | 0 | 4 \| | 3 \| | 9 | 21 | 52 | 24 |
| 1965 | 36 | 0 | 21 | 2 \| | 9 | 31 | 52 | 23 |
| $1969{ }^{4}$ | 36 | 31 | 2\| | $3 \mid$ | 6 | 21 | 52 | 7 - |

1. Including Independent Unionists, Progressive Unionists, Protestant Unionists and Independent O'Neill Unionists
2. Including Independent Labour, Commonwealth Labour, Federation of Labour, Irish Labour, Republican Labour and Socialist Republican
3. Including Nationalists, Republicans, Sinn Féin, Fianna Fáil, Anti-Partitionists
4. Of the 36 Unionists elected in 1969, 24 were pro-O'Neill and 12 were anti-O'Neill

Source: Sydney Elliot, Northern Ireland Parliamentary Election Results 1921-1972

### 5.4 London Assembly

Elections for the London Assembly are held every four years, using the Additional Member System. There are 14 Constituency Members and 11 London-wide Members. In the five elections held since the establishment of the Assembly in 2000, only Conservative and Labour Members have been elected on the constituency ballot, with other parties picking up seats from the London-wide list. The most recent Assembly elections were held in May 2021 (postponed from May 2020 due to the coronavirus pandemic); more detailed analysis is available in Library Briefing Paper 9231 London Elections.

Labour gained the largest share of seats in the 2012, 2016 and 2021 Assembly elections, most recently securing eleven seats. In 2021 Labour won two seats on the London-wide list, one fewer than in 2016, and retained their constituency seats. The Conservatives' best result was in 2008, when they had eleven Assembly Members and received $37 \%$ of the vote in the constituency election. In 2021 the Conservative Party won nine Assembly seats, one more than in 2016. The party retained its five constituency seats and gained a London-wide seat. The highest turnout was $45.6 \%$ recorded in 2016, the most recent turnout was 42.0\%.


[^11]

## Table 20b: Votes cast in London Assembly Elections, 2000-2021

|  | Number |  |  |  |  |  | \% Share |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 2000 | 2004 | 2008 | 2012 | 2016 | 2021 | 2000 | 2004 | 2008 | 2012 | 2015 | 2021 |
| Constituency ballot votes |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| LAB | 501,296 | 444,808 | 673,855 | 933,438 | 1,138,576 | 1,083,215 | 31.6\% | 24.7\% | 28.0\% | 42.3\% | 42.3\% | 41.7\% |
| CON | 526,707 | 562,048 | 900,569 | 722,280 | 812,415 | 833,021 | 33.2\% | 31.2\% | 37.4\% | 32.7\% | 32.7\% | 32.0\% |
| GRN | 162,457 | 138,243 | 194,059 | 188,623 | 236,809 | 336,840 | 10.2\% | 7.7\% | 8.1\% | 8.5\% | 8.5\% | 13.0\% |
| LD | 299,998 | 332,237 | 330,018 | 193,842 | 195,820 | 266,595 | 18.9\% | 18.4\% | 13.7\% | 8.8\% | 8.8\% | 10.3\% |
| UKIP | 2,115 | 181,147 | 71,984 | 95,849 | 199,448 | ... | 0.1\% | 10.0\% | 3.0\% | 4.3\% | 4.3\% | 0.0\% |
| Others | 93,497 | 144,688 | 235,804 | 73,645 | 31,844 | 79,979 | 5.9\% | 8.0\% | 9.8\% | 3.3\% | 3.3\% | 3.1\% |
| Total | 1,586,070 | 1,803,171 | 2,406,289 | 2,207,677 | 2,614,912 | 2,599,650 | 100\% | 100\% | 100\% | 100\% | 100\% | 100\% |
| London-wide ballot votes |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| LAB | 502,874 | 468,247 | 665,443 | 911,204 | 1,054,801 | 986,609 | 30.3\% | 25.0\% | 27.6\% | 41.1\% | 41.1\% | 38.1\% |
| CON | 481,053 | 533,696 | 835,535 | 708,528 | 764,230 | 795,081 | 29.0\% | 28.5\% | 34.6\% | 32.0\% | 32.0\% | 30.7\% |
| GRN | 183,910 | 160,445 | 203,465 | 189,215 | 207,959 | 305,452 | 11.1\% | 8.6\% | 8.4\% | 8.5\% | 8.5\% | 11.8\% |
| LD | 245,555 | 316,218 | 275,272 | 150,447 | 165,580 | 189,522 | 14.8\% | 16.9\% | 11.4\% | 6.8\% | 6.8\% | 7.3\% |
| UKIP | 34,054 | 156,780 | 46,617 | 100,040 | 171,069 | 27,114 | 2.1\% | 8.4\% | 1.9\% | 4.5\% | 4.5\% | 1.0\% |
| BNP | 47,670 | 90,365 | 130,714 | 47,024 | 15,833 | ... | 2.9\% | 4.8\% | 5.4\% | 2.1\% | 2.1\% | 0.0\% |
| Others | 164,514 | 147,415 | 255,561 | 108,550 | 236,204 | 285,490 | 9.9\% | 7.9\% | 10.6\% | 4.9\% | 4.9\% | 11.0\% |
| Total | 1,659,630 | 1,873,166 | 2,412,607 | 2,215,008 | 2,615,676 | 2,589,268 | 100\% | 100\% | 100\% | 100\% | 100\% | 100\% |
| Constituency ballot seats |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| LAB | 6 | 5 | 6 | 8 | 9 | 9 | 42.9\% | 35.7\% | 42.9\% | 57.1\% | 64.3\% | 64.3\% |
| CON | 8 | 9 | 8 | 6 | 5 | 5 | 57.1\% | 64.3\% | 57.1\% | 42.9\% | 35.7\% | 35.7\% |
| GRN | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.0\% | 0.0\% | 0.0\% | 0.0\% | 0.0\% | 0.0\% |
| LD | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.0\% | 0.0\% | 0.0\% | 0.0\% | 0.0\% | 0.0\% |
| UKIP | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.0\% | 0.0\% | 0.0\% | 0.0\% | 0.0\% | 0.0\% |
| Others | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.0\% | 0.0\% | 0.0\% | 0.0\% | 0.0\% | 0.0\% |
| Total | 14 | 14 | 14 | 14 | 14 | 14 | 100\% | 100\% | 100\% | 100\% | 100\% | 100\% |
| London-wide ballot seats |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| LAB | 3 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 27.3\% | 18.2\% | 18.2\% | 36.4\% | 27.3\% | 18.2\% |
| CON | 1 | 0 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 9.1\% | 0.0\% | 27.3\% | 27.3\% | 27.3\% | 36.4\% |
| GRN | 3 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 27.3\% | 18.2\% | 18.2\% | 18.2\% | 18.2\% | 27.3\% |
| LD | 4 | 5 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 36.4\% | 45.5\% | 27.3\% | 18.2\% | 18.2\% | 18.2\% |
| UKIP | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0.0\% | 18.2\% | 0.0\% | 0.0\% | 9.1\% | 0.0\% |
| BNP | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.0\% | 0.0\% | 9.1\% | 0.0\% | 0.0\% | 0.0\% |
| Others | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.0\% | 0.0\% | 0.0\% | 0.0\% | 0.0\% | 0.0\% |
| Total | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 100\% | 100\% | 100\% | 100\% | 100\% | 100\% |
| Constituency Ballot turnout |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | 31.2\% | $34.7 \%$ | 44.3\% | 37.4\% | 45.6\% | 42.0\% |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| London-wide ballot turnout |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | 32.6\% | 36.0\% | 44.4\% | 37.5\% | 45.6\% | 41.8\% |  |  |  |  |  |  |

[^12]
## 5.5 <br> Mayor of London

Elections for the Mayor of London have been held every four years since 2000, using the Supplementary Vote system. The next election will be held in 2024 using the First Past the Post system.

Ken Livingstone won the first mayoral election as an independent and was reelected in 2004 standing for Labour. He was replaced by Conservative Boris Johnson in 2008. Johnson won a second term in May 2012. In 2016 Labour's Sadiq Khan was elected Mayor of London. He won a second term in 2021, when the election took place a year later than scheduled due to the coronavirus pandemic. More detailed analysis of the most recent election is in Library Briefing Paper 9231 London Elections, section 4.

## Table 21: London Mayoral Elections, 2000-2021

| Name | Party | 1st preference |  | 2nd preference ${ }^{1}$ |  | Total ${ }^{2}$ |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Votes | \% | Votes | \% | Votes | \% |
| 4 May 2000 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Ken Livingstone | Independent | 667,877 | 39.0 | 144,206 | 11.0 | 776,427 | 57.9 |
| Steve Norris | Conservative | 464,434 | 27.1 | 162,767 | 12.4 | 564,137 | 42.1 |
| Frank Dobson | Labour | 223,884 | 13.1 | 200,509 | 15.2 | ... | ... |
| Susan Kramer | Liberal Democrat | 203,452 | 11.9 | 397,148 | 30.2 | ... | ... |
| Ram Gidoomal | Christian Peoples Alliance | 42,060 | 2.5 | 53,657 | 4.1 | ... | ... |
| Darren Johnson | Green | 38,121 | 2.2 | 191,226 | 14.5 | ... | ... |
| Michael Newland | British National Party | 33,569 | 2.0 | 42,803 | 3.3 | ... | ... |
| Damian Hockney | UK Independence Party | 16,324 | 1.0 | 42,987 | 3.3 | ... | ... |
| Geoffrey Ben-Nathan | Pro-Motorist Small Shop | 9,956 | 0.6 | 22,214 | 1.7 | ... | ... |
| Ashwin Kumar Tanna | Independent | 9,015 | 0.5 | 41,237 | 3.1 | ... | ... |
| Geoffrey Clements | Natural Law Party | 5,470 | 0.3 | 17,738 | 1.3 | ... | ... |
| Total |  | 1,714,162 |  | 1,316,492 |  | 1,340,564 |  |
| Turnout |  | 33.7\% |  |  |  |  |  |
| 10 June 2004 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Ken Livingstone | Labour | 685,548 | 36.8 | 186,371 | 12.9 | 828,390 | 55.4 |
| Steve Norris | Conservative | 542,423 | 29.1 | 185,148 | 12.8 | 667,180 | 44.6 |
| Simon Hughes | Liberal Democrat | 284,647 | 15.3 | 450,732 | 31.1 | ... | ... |
| Frank Maloney | UK Independence Party | 115,666 | 6.2 | 187,559 | 13.0 | ... | ... |
| Lindsey German | Respect | 61,731 | 3.3 | 54,075 | 3.7 | ... | ... |
| Julian Leppert | British National Party | 58,407 | 3.1 | 65,926 | 4.6 | ... | ... |
| Darren Johnson | Green | 57,332 | 3.1 | 205,614 | 14.2 | ... | ... |
| Ram Gidoomal | Christian Peoples Alliance | 41,698 | 2.2 | 53,300 | 3.7 | ... | ... |
| Lorna Reid | Indep. Working Class Assoc | 9,542 | 0.5 | 39,333 | 2.7 | ... | ... |
| Tammy Nagalingam | Independent | 6,692 | 0.4 | 19,868 | 1.4 | ... | ... |
| Total |  | 1,863,686 |  | 1,447,926 |  | 1,495,570 |  |
| Turnout |  | 35.9\% |  |  |  |  |  |


| Name | Party | 1st preference |  | 2nd preference ${ }^{1}$ |  | Total ${ }^{2}$ |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Votes | \% | Votes | \% | Votes | \% |
| 1 May 2008 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Boris Johnson | Conservative | 1,044,067 | 43.2 | 210,312 | 11.3 | 1,169,046 | 53.2 |
| Ken Livingstone | Labour | 894,317 | 37.0 | 214,279 | 11.5 | 1,029,406 | 46.8 |
| Brian Paddick | Liberal Democrat | 236,752 | 9.8 | 641,412 | 34.6 | ... | ... |
| Siân Berry | Green | 77,396 | 3.2 | 329,665 | 17.8 | ... | ... |
| Richard Barnbrook | British National Party | 69,753 | 2.9 | 124,093 | 6.7 | ... | ... |
| Alan Craig | Christian Peoples Alliance | 39,266 | 1.6 | 77,373 | 4.2 | ... | ... |
| Gerard Batten | UK Independence Party | 22,435 | 0.9 | 112,765 | 6.1 | ... | ... |
| Lindsey German | Left List | 16,803 | 0.7 | 34,276 | 1.8 | ... | ... |
| Matt O'Connor | English Democrats | 10,700 | 0.4 | 73,538 | 4.0 | ... | ... |
| Winston McKenzie | Independent | 5,396 | 0.2 | 38,602 | 2.1 | ... | ... |
| Total |  | 2,416,885 |  | 1,856,315 |  | 2,198,452 |  |
| Turnout |  | 44.5\% |  |  |  |  |  |
| 3 May 2012 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Boris Johnson | Conservative | 971,931 | 44.0 | 187,997 | 12.1 | 1,054,811 | 51.5 |
| Ken Livingstone | Labour | 889,918 | 40.3 | 199,538 | 12.9 | 992,273 | 48.5 |
| Jenny Jones | Green | 98,913 | 4.5 | 360,381 | 23.3 | ... | ... |
| Brian Paddick | Liberal Democrat | 91,774 | 4.2 | 360,104 | 23.2 | ... | ... |
| Siobhan Benita | Independent | 83,914 | 3.8 | 210,761 | 13.6 | ... | ... |
| Lawrence James Webb | UK Independence Party | 43,274 | 2.0 | 159,618 | 10.3 | ... | ... |
| Carlos Cortiglia | British National Party | 28,751 | 1.3 | 71,139 | 4.6 | ... | ... |
| Total |  | 2,208,475 |  | 1,549,538 |  | 2,047,084 |  |
| Turnout |  | 37.4\% |  |  |  |  |  |
| 5 May 2016 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Sadiq Khan | Labour | 1,148,716 | 44.2 | 161,427 | 65.5 | 1,310,143 | 56.8 |
| Zac Goldsmith | Conservative | 909,755 | 35.0 | 84,859 | 34.5 | 994,614 | 43.2 |
| Siân Berry | Green | 150,673 | 5.8 | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Caroline Pidgeon | Liberal Democrat | 120,005 | 4.6 | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Peter Whittle | UK Independence Party | 94,373 | 3.6 | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| George Galloway | Respect | 37,007 | 1.4 | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| David Furness | BNP | 13,325 | 0.5 | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Others | Others | 123,107 | 4.7 | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Total |  | 2,596,961 |  | 246,286 |  | 2,304,757 |  |
| Turnout |  | 46.0\% |  |  |  |  |  |
| 6 May 2021 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Sadiq Khan | Labour | 1,013,721 | 40.0 | 192,313 | 69.5 | 1,206,034 | 55.2 |
| Shaun Bailey | Conservative | 893,051 | 35.3 | 84,550 | 30.5 | 977,601 | 44.5 |
| Siân Berry | Green | 197,976 | 7.8 | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Luisa Porritt | Liberal Democrat | 111,716 | 4.4 | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Niko Omilana | Independent | 49,628 | 2.0 | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Laurence Paul Fox | The Reclaim Party | 47,634 | 1.9 | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Others | Others | 217,631 | 8.6 | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Total |  | 2,531,357 |  | 2,203,377 |  | 2,183,635 |  |
| Turnout |  | 40.9\% |  |  |  |  |  |

Notes: 1. Excluding votes where the second preference was the same as the first preference. 2. If no candidate receives more than half of first preference votes, the two candidates who received the most first preference votes then receive second preferences from the other candidates.

Sources: 2000-2016 Greater London Authority (data.london.gov.uk); 2016-2021 London Elects, Library Briefing Papers 9231 \& 7598

## 5.6

## Women's representation in devolved legislatures and the European Parliament

Women have always won at least 30\% of seats in elections to the Scottish Parliament, Senedd Cymru and London Assembly. In 2003, an equal number of male and female Members were elected to the National Assembly for Wales. The number of female Members in the Northern Ireland Assembly has increased since the first elections in 1998 with a current peak of $36 \%$ female elected representatives.

Table 23: Women elected at elections to devolved
legislatures and London Assembly

|  | Wales |  |  | Scotland |  |  | Northern Ireland |  |  | London Assembly |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | F Total |  | \% | F Total |  | \% | F Total |  | \% | F Total |  | \% |
| 1998 |  |  |  |  |  |  | 14 | 108 | 13\% |  |  |  |
| 1999 | 24 | 60 | 40\% | 48 | 129 | 37\% |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2000 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 10 | 25 | 40\% |
| 2001 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2002 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2003 | 30 | 60 | 50\% | 51 | 129 | 40\% | 18 | 108 | 17\% |  |  |  |
| 2004 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 9 | 25 | 36\% |
| 2005 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2006 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2007 | 28 | 60 | 47\% | 43 | 129 | 33\% | 18 | 108 | 17\% |  |  |  |
| 2008 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 8 | 25 | 32\% |
| 2009 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2010 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2011 | 24 | 60 | 40\% | 45 | 129 | 35\% | 20 | 108 | 19\% |  |  |  |
| 2012 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 8 | 25 | 32\% |
| 2013 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2014 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2015 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2016 | 25 | 60 | 42\% | 45 | 129 | 35\% | 30 | 108 | 28\% | 10 | 25 | 40\% |
| 2017 |  |  |  |  |  |  | 27 | 90 | 30\% |  |  |  |
| 2018 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2019 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2020 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2021 | 25 | 60 | 42\% | 58 | 129 | 35\% |  |  |  | 13 | 25 | 52\% |
| 2022 |  |  |  |  |  |  | 32 | 90 | $36 \%$ |  |  |  |

Sources: Library Briefing Paper 1250 Women in Politics and Public Life; Greater London Authority; Library Briefing Papers 7598 London elections 2016; 9282 Welsh Parliament elections 2021; 9230 Scottish Parliament elections 2021; 9549 Northern Ireland Assembly elections 2022

In 2019, 42\% of MEPs elected for the UK were women. Following the first elections in 1979 only 14\% UK MEPs were women. Detailed analysis is available in Library Briefing Paper 1250 Women in Politics and Public Life.

| Table 22: Women UK MEPs |  |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| \% of party's MEPs |  |  |  |  |  |
|       <br> 1979 CON LAB LD Other Total <br> 1984 $13 \%$ $24 \%$ .. $25 \%$ $14 \%$ <br> 1989 $13 \%$ $16 \%$ .. $25 \%$ $15 \%$ <br> 1994 $11 \%$ $21 \%$ $0 \%$ $25 \%$ $15 \%$ <br> 1999 $8 \%$ $34 \%$ $50 \%$ $25 \%$ $24 \%$ <br> 2004 $7 \%$ $37 \%$ $50 \%$ $20 \%$ $24 \%$ <br> 2009 $24 \%$ $38 \%$ $55 \%$ $30 \%$ $33 \%$ <br> 2014 $32 \%$ $55 \%$ $100 \%$ $40 \%$ $43 \%$ <br> 2019 $50 \%$ $50 \%$ $56 \%$ $34 \%$ $42 \%$ |  |  |  |  |  |



Source: Colin Rallings and Michael Thrasher, British Electoral Facts 1832-2006; Library Briefing Papers 09/53 European Parliament Elections 2009, 8600 European Parliament elections 2019: results and analysis

## 6 Local Elections

## 6.1 Council Elections

Detailed analysis of the most recent local elections is available in Library Briefing Paper 9798 Local Elections 2023: results and analysis and the Local Elections Handbook and dataset 2022.

## Electoral system

Councillors are generally elected for four-year terms using the First Past the Post (FPTP) electoral system in England and Wales and (since 2007) Single Transferable Vote (STV) in Scotland and Northern Ireland. Some authorities, including London boroughs and county councils, hold elections every four years and elect all their councillors at the same time. Other councils elect a third of councillors every year (except in years when there are county council elections). A small number of councils hold elections every two years and elect half of the councillors at a time.

## Party affiliation of Councillors

After the 1973 reorganisation of local government, Conservative councillor numbers in Great Britain peaked at more than 12,600 in 1978, when half of all councillors were Conservative. The number fell during the Party's time in government from 1979, but climbed again when the Party entered opposition in 1997.

Party affiliation of local councillors


The increase in the number of Conservative councillors prior to 1979 corresponded to a sharp fall in Labour councillors. Labour made gains between 1979 and 1981 having left government, but their councillor numbers then remained fairly constant up to the mid-1990s. Labour held 10,900 council seats in 1996 prior to winning the 1997 General Election, but the number of Labour councillors fell steadily while the party was in government to a low of 4,400 in 2009.

Between 2009 and 2014 Labour's number of councillors had grown to 7,129. After the 2022 local elections, Labour had 6,016 councillors. The Conservatives have been the party with the most councillors since 2004. Their number of councillors has fluctuated in recent years from 9,553 in 2009 to 8,261 in 2014, before reaching 7,081 in 2022.

The number of seats held by the Liberal/SDP Alliance (and then the Liberal Democrats) climbed through the 1980s and the early 1990s to peak at 5,100 in 1996. Their share then declined, reaching 1,803 in 2017 - their lowest ever number since the Liberal Democrat Party was created in 1988, before increasing again: in 2022, their number rose to 2,696-their highest number of councillors since 2012.

Table 24: Party affiliation of councillors 1973-2023

|  | Number |  |  |  |  |  | \% total |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | CON | LAB | LD | PC/SNP | Other | Total | CON | LAB | LD | PC/SNP | Othe |  |
| 1973 | 7,709 | 9,781 | 1,427 | 65 | 5,183 | 24,165 | 31.9\% | 40.5\% | 5.9\% | 0.3\% | 21.4\% |  |
| 1974 | 8,102 | 10,325 | 1,474 | 145 | 5,664 | 25,710 | 31.5\% | 40.2\% | 5.7\% | 0.6\% | 22.0\% |  |
| 1975 | 8,301 | 10,117 | 1,462 | 145 | 5,685 | 25,710 | 32.3\% | 39.4\% | 5.7\% | 0.6\% | 22.1\% |  |
| 1976 | 11,077 | 8,213 | 1,113 | 223 | 5,132 | 25,758 | 43.0\% | 31.9\% | 4.3\% | 0.9\% | 19.9\% |  |
| 1977 | 12,370 | 7,115 | 950 | 349 | 4,965 | 25,749 | 48.0\% | 27.6\% | 3.7\% | 1.4\% | 19.3\% |  |
| 1978 | 12,645 | 6,644 | 923 | 349 | 4,920 | 25,481 | 49.6\% | 26.1\% | 3.6\% | 1.4\% | 19.3\% |  |
| 1979 | 12,222 | 7,410 | 1,059 | 301 | 4,388 | 25,380 | 48.2\% | 29.2\% | 4.2\% | 1.2\% | 17.3\% |  |
| 1980 | 11,738 | 8,011 | 1,149 | 186 | 4,325 | 25,409 | 46.2\% | 31.5\% | 4.5\% | 0.7\% | 17.0\% |  |
| 1981 | 10,545 | 8,999 | 1,455 | 172 | 4,208 | 25,379 | 41.6\% | 35.5\% | 5.7\% | 0.7\% | 16.6\% |  |
| 1982 | 10,447 | 8,774 | 1,850 | 177 | 4,099 | 25,347 | 41.2\% | 34.6\% | 7.3\% | 0.7\% | 16.2\% |  |
| 1983 | 10,557 | 8,782 | 2,171 | 175 | 3,570 | 25,255 | 41.8\% | 34.8\% | 8.6\% | 0.7\% | 14.1\% |  |
| 1984 | 10,393 | 8,870 | 2,331 | 179 | 3,515 | 25,288 | 41.1\% | 35.1\% | 9.2\% | 0.7\% | 13.9\% |  |
| 1985 | 10,191 | 8,746 | 2,633 | 177 | 3,432 | 25,179 | 40.5\% | 34.7\% | 10.5\% | 0.7\% | 13.6\% |  |
| 1986 | 9,216 | 8,759 | 2,971 | 191 | 3,364 | 24,501 | 37.6\% | 35.7\% | 12.1\% | 0.8\% | 13.7\% |  |
| 1987 | 9,141 | 8,525 | 3,640 | 203 | 2,974 | 24,483 | 37.3\% | 34.8\% | 14.9\% | 0.8\% | 12.1\% |  |
| 1988 | 9,150 | 8,601 | 3,518 | 254 | 2,968 | 24,491 | 37.4\% | 35.1\% | 14.4\% | 1.0\% | 12.1\% |  |
| 1989 | 9,242 | 8,636 | 3,343 | 258 | 2,958 | 24,437 | 37.8\% | 35.3\% | 13.7\% | 1.1\% | 12.1\% |  |
| 1990 | 9,020 | 8,920 | 3,265 | 264 | 2,968 | 24,437 | 36.9\% | 36.5\% | 13.4\% | 1.1\% | 12.1\% |  |
| 1991 | 7,985 | 9,504 | 3,672 | 292 | 2,997 | 24,450 | 32.7\% | 38.9\% | 15.0\% | 1.2\% | 12.3\% |  |
| 1992 | 8,288 | 9,102 | 3,728 | 334 | 2,977 | 24,429 | 33.9\% | 37.3\% | 15.3\% | 1.4\% | 12.2\% |  |
| 1993 | 7,802 | 9,213 | 4,123 | 358 | 2,948 | 24,444 | 31.9\% | 37.7\% | 16.9\% | 1.5\% | 12.1\% |  |
| 1994 | 7,286 | 9,257 | 4,551 | 392 | 2,941 | 24,427 | 29.8\% | 37.9\% | 18.6\% | 1.6\% | 12.0\% |  |
| 1995 | 4,883 | 10,461 | 4,942 | 294 | 2,157 | 22,737 | 21.5\% | 46.0\% | 21.7\% | 1.3\% | 9.5\% |  |
| 1996 | 4,276 | 10,929 | 5,078 | 298 | 2,157 | 22,738 | 18.8\% | 48.1\% | 22.3\% | 1.3\% | 9.5\% |  |
| 1997 | 4,449 | 10,608 | 4,754 | 301 | 2,076 | 22,188 | 20.1\% | 47.8\% | 21.4\% | 1.4\% | 9.4\% | - |
| 1998 | 4,772 | 10,411 | 4,629 | 304 | 2,083 | 22,199 | 21.5\% | 46.9\% | 20.9\% | 1.4\% | 9.4\% | - |
| 1999 | 6,144 | 9,134 | 4,485 | 444 | 1,973 | 22,180 | 27.7\% | 41.2\% | 20.2\% | 2.0\% | 8.9\% | - |
| 2000 | 6,785 | 8,529 | 4,457 | 447 | 2,071 | 22,289 | 30.4\% | 38.3\% | 20.0\% | 2.0\% | 9.3\% |  |
| 2001 | 6,941 | 8,487 | 4,382 | 418 | 2,091 | 22,319 | 31.1\% | 38.0\% | 19.6\% | 1.9\% | 9.4\% |  |
| 2002 | 7,178 | 8,117 | 4,379 | 415 | 2,094 | 22,183 | 32.4\% | 36.6\% | 19.7\% | 1.9\% | 9.4\% |  |
| 2003 | 7,768 | 7,207 | 4,551 | 388 | 2,125 | 22,039 | 35.2\% | 32.7\% | 20.6\% | 1.8\% | 9.6\% |  |
| 2004 | 8,038 | 6,669 | 4,714 | 355 | 2,213 | 21,989 | 36.6\% | 30.3\% | 21.4\% | 1.6\% | 10.1\% |  |
| 2005 | 8,193 | 6,518 | 4,743 | 357 | 2,233 | 22,044 | 37.2\% | 29.6\% | 21.5\% | 1.6\% | 10.1\% | 相 |
| 2006 | 8,495 | 6,176 | 4,723 | 364 | 2,273 | 22,031 | 38.6\% | 28.0\% | 21.4\% | 1.7\% | 10.3\% | - |
| 2007 | 9,431 | 5,483 | 4,420 | 537 | 2,173 | 22,044 | 42.8\% | 24.9\% | 20.1\% | 2.4\% | 9.9\% |  |
| 2008 | 9,721 | 5,122 | 4,467 | 569 | 2,225 | 22,104 | 44.0\% | 23.2\% | 20.2\% | 2.6\% | 10.1\% |  |
| 2009 | 9,553 | 4,436 | 4,083 | 570 | 2,060 | 20,702 | 46.1\% | 21.4\% | 19.7\% | 2.8\% | 10.0\% |  |
| 2010 | 9,406 | 4,831 | 3,944 | 568 | 1,962 | 20,711 | 45.4\% | 23.3\% | 19.0\% | 2.7\% | 9.5\% |  |
| 2011 | 9,445 | 5,707 | 3,104 | 568 | 1,855 | 20,679 | 45.7\% | 27.6\% | 15.0\% | 2.7\% | 9.0\% |  |
| 2012 | 9,004 | 6,559 | 2,711 | 584 | 1,787 | 20,645 | 43.6\% | 31.8\% | 13.1\% | 2.8\% | 8.7\% |  |
| 2013 | 8,589 | 6,842 | 2,576 | 590 | 1,991 | 20,588 | 41.7\% | 33.2\% | 12.5\% | 2.9\% | 9.7\% |  |
| 2014 | 8,261 | 7,129 | 2,235 | 591 | 2,362 | 20,578 | 40.1\% | 34.6\% | 10.9\% | 2.9\% | 11.5\% |  |
| 2015 | 8,766 | 6,873 | 1,810 | 592 | 2,241 | 20,282 | 43.2\% | 33.9\% | 8.9\% | 2.9\% | 11.0\% |  |
| 2016 | 8,709 | 6,851 | 1,822 | 596 | 2,251 | 20,229 | 43.1\% | 33.9\% | 9.0\% | 2.9\% | 11.1\% |  |
| 2017 | 9,233 | 6,439 | 1,803 | 634 | 2,100 | 20,209 | 45.7\% | 31.9\% | 8.9\% | 3.1\% | 10.4\% |  |
| 2018 | 9,102 | 6,485 | 1,873 | 631 | 2,019 | 20,110 | 45.3\% | 32.2\% | 9.3\% | 3.1\% | 10.0\% |  |
| 2019 | 7,507 | 6,332 | 2,531 | 622 | 2,655 | 19,647 | 38.0\% | 32.0\% | 13.0\% | 3.2\% | 14.0\% |  |
| 2021 | 7,562 | 5,849 | 2,487 | 605 | 2,838 | 19,341 | 39.1\% | 30.2\% | 12.9\% | 3.1\% | 14.7\% |  |
| 2022 | 7,081 | 6,016 | 2,696 | 656 | 2,922 | 19,371 | 36.6\% | 31.1\% | 13.9\% | 3.4\% | 15.1\% |  |
| 2023 | 5,685 | 6,495 | 2,983 | 650 | 2,828 | 18,641 | 30.5\% | 34.8\% | 16.0\% | 3.5\% | 15.2\% |  |

Note: Liberal Democrat councillor figures include predecessor parties
Sources: Colin Rallings and Michael Thrasher, British electoral facts 1832-2006; Colin Rallings and Michael Thrasher, Local elections handbook, various; House of Commons Library, CBP-7596 Local Elections 2016; CBP-7975 Local Elections 2017; CBP-8306 Local Elections 2018; CBP-8566 Local Elections 2019; CBP-9228 Local Elections 2021; CBP-9545 Local Elections 2022

## Estimated national vote share

Although the areas holding elections change from year to year, it is possible to calculate a national equivalent share of the vote which estimates the vote share which each party would have received had elections been held across all authorities in Great Britain.

| Share of votes | Table 25: Estimated national equivalent share of vote |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | at lo | tions | Grea | itain |  |  |
| $\square C O N \square L A B \square L D \square$ Other |  | CON | LAB | LD | Other | Of which UKIP |
| 1979 | 1979 | 45\% | 38\% | 14\% | 3\% |  |
| 1980 | 1980 | 40\% | 42\% | 13\% | 5\% |  |
| 1981 | 1981 | 38\% | 41\% | 17\% | 4\% |  |
| 1982 | 1982 | 40\% | 29\% | 27\% | 4\% |  |
| 1983 | 1983 | 39\% | 36\% | 20\% | 5\% |  |
| 1984 | 1984 | 38\% | 37\% | 21\% | 4\% |  |
| 1985 | 1985 | 32\% | 39\% | 26\% | 3\% |  |
| 1986 | 1986 | 34\% | 37\% | 26\% | 3\% |  |
| 1987 | 1987 | 38\% | 32\% | 27\% | 3\% |  |
| 1988 | 1988 | 39\% | 38\% | 18\% | 5\% |  |
| 1989 | 1989 | 36\% | 42\% | 19\% | 3\% |  |
| 1990 | 1990 | 33\% | 44\% | 17\% | 6\% |  |
| 1991 | 1991 | 35\% | 38\% | 22\% | 5\% |  |
| 1992 | 1992 | 46\% | 30\% | 20\% | 4\% |  |
| 1993 | 1993 | 31\% | 39\% | 25\% | 5\% |  |
| 1994 | 1994 | 28\% | 40\% | 27\% | 5\% |  |
| 1995 | 1995 | 25\% | 47\% | 23\% | 5\% |  |
| 1996 | 1996 | 29\% | 43\% | 24\% | 4\% |  |
| 1997 | 1997 | 31\% | 44\% | 17\% | 8\% |  |
| 1998 | 1998 | 33\% | 37\% | 25\% | 5\% |  |
| 1999 | 1999 | 34\% | 36\% | 25\% | 5\% |  |
| 2000 | 2000 | 38\% | 30\% | 26\% | 6\% |  |
| 2001 | 2001 | 33\% | 42\% | 19\% | 6\% |  |
| 2002 | 2002 | 34\% | 33\% | 25\% | 8\% |  |
| 2003 | 2003 | 35\% | 30\% | 27\% | 8\% |  |
| 2004 | 2004 | 37\% | 26\% | 27\% | 10\% |  |
| 2005 | 2005 | 33\% | 36\% | 23\% | 8\% |  |
| 2006 | 2006 | 39\% | 26\% | 25\% | 10\% |  |
| 2007 | 2007 | 40\% | 26\% | 24\% | 10\% |  |
| 2008 | 2008 | 43\% | 24\% | 23\% | 10\% |  |
| 2009 | 2009 | 35\% | 22\% | 25\% | 18\% |  |
| 2010 | 2010 | 37\% | 30\% | 24\% | 10\% |  |
| 2011 | 2011 | 38\% | 37\% | 16\% | 9\% |  |
| 2012 | 2012 | 33\% | 39\% | 15\% | 13\% |  |
| 2013 | 2013 | 26\% | 29\% | 13\% | 32\% | 22\% |
| 2014 | 2014 | 30\% | 31\% | 11\% | 28\% | 18\% |
| 2015 | 2015 | 37\% | 30\% | 8\% | 25\% | 13\% |
| 2016 | 2016 | 32\% | 33\% | 14\% | 21\% | 12\% |
| 2017 | 2017 | 39\% | 28\% | 18\% | 15\% | 4\% |
| 2018 | 2018 | 37\% | 36\% | 14\% | 13\% | 2\% |
| 2019 | 2019 | 31\% | 31\% | 17\% | 21\% | 4\% |
| 2021 | 2021 | 40\% | 30\% | 15\% | 15\% |  |
| 2022 | 2022 | 33\% | 35\% | 17\% | 15\% |  |
| $2023$ | 2023 | 29\% | 36\% | 18\% | 17\% |  |
| 0\% 50\% 100\% |  |  |  |  |  |  |

[^13]
## Council control immediately following elections

The following charts summarise council composition and control for all local authorities in Great Britain, immediately following local elections by year (held on the first Thursday of May). No local elections were held in Scotland and Wales in 2022. This also includes those councils where elections were not held in a given year. Data on council composition is available from Colin Rallings \& Michael Thrasher's Local Election Handbooks from 2005 onwards.


Note: NOC means there is no party with a majority on the council, or No Overall Control
The Conservative Party controls the largest proportion of councils in England in 2022 , at $38.1 \%$. Their highest share since 2005 was recorded immediately after the 2009 elections (59.0\%). Labour has the second largest share of council majorities ( $23.6 \%$ ). Their share increased almost three times from 9.4\% in 2009 to $27.9 \%$ in 2018.

Council control by party, immediately after election, Scotland


Scotland has the highest share of councils with No Overall Control (NOC) 84.4\% compared with $40.9 \%$ in Wales and $28.7 \%$ in England. Between 2005 and 2016 Labour controlled the largest number of councils, but had no council majorities between 2017 and 2021; in 2022 the party controlled one council (3.1\%). The SNP controlled two councils between 2012 and 2016 and regained one in 2022. The Conservatives have not had control of any councils in Scotland over the period shown.

Council control by party, immediately after election, Wales


Sources for council control charts: 1997-2017 data from Rallings \& Thrasher Local Elections Handbooks; 2018 and 2019 data collated by House of Commons Library; Rallings and Thrasher, "Voters turned their backs on the main two parties", Local Government Chronicle, 7 May 2019, and "Brexit is changing voting patterns", Local Government Chronicle, 14 May 2021; Library Briefing Paper 9545 Local elections 2022

The number of Welsh councils with a Labour majority fluctuated over the last ten years. Immediately after the May 2022 elections, this Party controlled eight out of 22 councils ( $36.4 \%$ ). The Conservative Party had overall control in two councils prior to 2012, one between 2017 and 2021, and none following the 2022 elections. Following the 2016 election Plaid Cymru gained control of one council; this increased to four in 2022.

Table 26: Council control by party immediately following elections, Great Britain, 2006-2023
$\begin{array}{lllllllllllllllll}2006 & 2007 & 2008 & 2009 & 2010 & 2011 & 2012 & 2013 & 2014 & 2015 & 2016 & 2017 & 2018 & 2019 & 2021 & 2022 & 2023\end{array}$

| All councils in England |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| CON | 168 | 204 | 213 | 207 | 199 | 199 | 190 | 180 | 164 | 192 | 191 | 200 | 198 | 143 | 139 | 126 |
| LAB | 54 | 48 | 44 | 33 | 50 | 77 | 100 | 103 | 106 | 100 | 100 | 99 | 98 | 91 | 77 | 78 |
| LD | 32 | 29 | 29 | 26 | 25 | 14 | 12 | 12 | 10 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 11 | 23 | 22 | 26 |
| LD | 37 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Ind/Other | 5 | 5 | 5 | 4 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 5 | 5 | 6 |
| NOC | 127 | 100 | 95 | 81 | 73 | 60 | 48 | 55 | 70 | 51 | 52 | 42 | 43 | 79 | 88 | 95 |
| Total | $\mathbf{3 8 6}$ | $\mathbf{3 8 6}$ | $\mathbf{3 8 6}$ | $\mathbf{3 5 1}$ | $\mathbf{3 5 1}$ | $\mathbf{3 5 1}$ | $\mathbf{3 5 1}$ | $\mathbf{3 5 1}$ | $\mathbf{3 5 1}$ | $\mathbf{3 5 1}$ | $\mathbf{3 5 1}$ | $\mathbf{3 5 1}$ | $\mathbf{3 5 1}$ | $\mathbf{3 4 1}$ | $\mathbf{3 3 1}$ | $\mathbf{3 3 1}$ |

\% share of all councils in England

| CON | $43.5 \%$ | $52.8 \%$ | $55.2 \%$ | $59.0 \%$ | $56.7 \%$ | $56.7 \%$ | $54.1 \%$ | $51.3 \%$ | $46.7 \%$ | $54.7 \%$ | $54.4 \%$ | $57.0 \%$ | $56.4 \%$ | $41.9 \%$ | $42.0 \%$ |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| LAB | $14.0 \%$ | $12.4 \%$ | $11.4 \%$ | $9.4 \%$ | $14.2 \%$ | $21.9 \%$ | $28.5 \%$ | $29.3 \%$ | $30.2 \%$ | $28.5 \%$ | $28.5 \%$ | $28.2 \%$ | $27.9 \%$ | $26.7 \%$ | $23.3 \%$ |
|  | $23.6 \%$ | $31.6 \%$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| LD | $8.3 \%$ | $7.5 \%$ | $7.5 \%$ | $7.4 \%$ | $7.1 \%$ | $4.0 \%$ | $3.4 \%$ | $3.4 \%$ | $2.8 \%$ | $1.7 \%$ | $2.0 \%$ | $2.3 \%$ | $3.1 \%$ | $6.7 \%$ | $6.6 \%$ |
| $7.9 \%$ | $11.8 \%$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Ind/Other | $1.3 \%$ | $1.3 \%$ | $1.3 \%$ | $1.1 \%$ | $1.1 \%$ | $0.3 \%$ | $0.3 \%$ | $0.3 \%$ | $0.3 \%$ | $0.6 \%$ | $0.3 \%$ | $0.6 \%$ | $0.3 \%$ | $1.5 \%$ | $1.5 \%$ |
| NOC | $32.9 \%$ | $25.9 \%$ | $24.6 \%$ | $23.1 \%$ | $20.8 \%$ | $17.1 \%$ | $13.7 \%$ | $15.7 \%$ | $19.9 \%$ | $14.5 \%$ | $14.8 \%$ | $12.0 \%$ | $12.3 \%$ | $23.2 \%$ | $26.6 \%$ |

## All councils in Wales

| CON | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| LAB | 8 | 8 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | $\mathbf{7}$ | 7 | 7 | $\mathbf{7}$ | 8 | 8 |
| LD | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Ind/Other | 3 | 3 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 1 |
| PC | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 4 |
| NOC | 9 | 9 | 13 | 13 | 13 | 13 | 9 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 9 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 9 | 9 |
| Total | $\mathbf{2 2}$ | $\mathbf{2 2}$ | $\mathbf{2 2}$ | $\mathbf{2 2}$ | $\mathbf{2 2}$ | $\mathbf{2 2}$ | $\mathbf{2 2}$ | $\mathbf{2 2}$ | $\mathbf{2 2}$ | $\mathbf{2 2}$ | $\mathbf{2 2}$ | $\mathbf{2 2}$ | $\mathbf{2 2}$ | $\mathbf{2 2}$ | $\mathbf{2 2}$ | $\mathbf{2 2}$ | $\mathbf{2 2}$ |

## \% share of all councils in Wales

| CON | $4.5 \%$ | $4.5 \%$ | $9.1 \%$ | $9.1 \%$ | $9.1 \%$ | $9.1 \%$ | $0.0 \%$ | $0.0 \%$ | $0.0 \%$ | $0.0 \%$ | $0.0 \%$ | $4.5 \%$ | $4.5 \%$ | $4.5 \%$ | $4.5 \%$ | $0.0 \%$ |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| LAB | $36.4 \%$ | $36.4 \%$ | $9.1 \%$ | $9.1 \%$ | $9.1 \%$ | $9.1 \%$ | $45.5 \%$ | $45.5 \%$ | $45.5 \%$ | $45.5 \%$ | $45.5 \%$ | $31.8 \%$ | $31.8 \%$ | $31.8 \%$ | $31.8 \%$ | $36.4 \%$ |

All councils in Scotland

| CON | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| LAB | 13 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 4 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| LD | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Ind/Other | 6 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| SNP | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| NOC | 11 | 27 | 27 | 27 | 27 | 26 | 23 | 22 | 22 | 23 | 22 | 29 | 29 | 29 | 29 | 27 | 27 |
| Total | $\mathbf{3 2}$ | $\mathbf{3 2}$ | $\mathbf{3 2}$ | $\mathbf{3 2}$ | $\mathbf{3 2}$ | $\mathbf{3 2}$ | $\mathbf{3 2}$ | $\mathbf{3 2}$ | $\mathbf{3 2}$ | $\mathbf{3 2}$ | $\mathbf{3 2}$ | $\mathbf{3 2}$ | $\mathbf{3 2}$ | $\mathbf{3 2}$ | $\mathbf{3 2}$ | $\mathbf{3 2}$ | $\mathbf{3 2}$ |
| \% Share of all councils in Scotland |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| CON | $0.0 \%$ | $0.0 \%$ | $0.0 \%$ | $0.0 \%$ | $0.0 \%$ | $0.0 \%$ | $0.0 \%$ | $0.0 \%$ | $0.0 \%$ | $0.0 \%$ | $0.0 \%$ | $0.0 \%$ | $0.0 \%$ | $0.0 \%$ | $0.0 \%$ | $0.0 \%$ | $0.0 \%$ |
| LAB | $40.6 \%$ | $6.3 \%$ | $6.3 \%$ | $6.3 \%$ | $6.3 \%$ | $9.4 \%$ | $12.5 \%$ | $15.6 \%$ | $15.6 \%$ | $12.5 \%$ | $15.6 \%$ | $0.0 \%$ | $0.0 \%$ | $0.0 \%$ | $0.0 \%$ | $3.1 \%$ | $3.1 \%$ |
| LD | $3.1 \%$ | $0.0 \%$ | $0.0 \%$ | $0.0 \%$ | $0.0 \%$ | $0.0 \%$ | $0.0 \%$ | $0.0 \%$ | $0.0 \%$ | $0.0 \%$ | $0.0 \%$ | $0.0 \%$ | $0.0 \%$ | $0.0 \%$ | $0.0 \%$ | $0.0 \%$ | $0.0 \%$ |
| Ind/Other | $18.8 \%$ | $9.4 \%$ | $9.4 \%$ | $9.4 \%$ | $9.4 \%$ | $9.4 \%$ | $9.4 \%$ | $9.4 \%$ | $9.4 \%$ | $9.4 \%$ | $9.4 \%$ | $9.4 \%$ | $9.4 \%$ | $9.4 \%$ | $9.4 \%$ | $9.4 \%$ | $9.4 \%$ |
| SNP | $3.1 \%$ | $0.0 \%$ | $0.0 \%$ | $0.0 \%$ | $0.0 \%$ | $0.0 \%$ | $6.3 \%$ | $6.3 \%$ | $6.3 \%$ | $6.3 \%$ | $6.3 \%$ | $0.0 \%$ | $0.0 \%$ | $0.0 \%$ | $0.0 \%$ | $3.1 \%$ | $3.1 \%$ |
| NOC | $34.4 \%$ | $84.4 \%$ | $84.4 \%$ | $84.4 \%$ | $84.4 \%$ | $81.3 \%$ | $71.9 \%$ | $68.8 \%$ | $68.8 \%$ | $71.9 \%$ | $68.8 \%$ | $90.6 \%$ | $90.6 \%$ | $90.6 \%$ | $90.6 \%$ | $84.4 \%$ | $84.4 \%$ |

Sources: 1997-2017 data from Rallings \& Thrasher Local Elections Handbooks; 2018 and 2019 data collated by House of Commons Library; Rallings and Thrasher, "Voters turned their backs on the main two parties", Local Government Chronicle, 7 May 2019, and "Brexit is changing voting patterns", Local Government Chronicle, 14 May 2021; Library Briefing Paper 9545 Local elections 2022

## 6.2 <br> Elected Local Authority Mayors (outside London)

Elected mayors currently hold office in 16 local authorities. Since new council leadership arrangements were introduced by the Local Government Act 2000, 62 councils have held referendums on elected mayors. Leicester and Liverpool city councils each resolved to adopt a mayoral system without holding a referendum. Eleven cities held referendums on elected mayors on 3 May 2012 under the provisions of the Localism Act 2011, but only Bristol and Doncaster voted in favour. Most recently in 2021 Newham and Tower Hamlets both voted in favour of retaining their mayor and Croydon voted to instate an elected mayor. More detailed information about elected local mayors is available in Library Briefing Paper 5000 Directly-elected mayors.

The first councils to adopt elected mayors have now held five mayoral elections. There are ten Labour, two Conservative, one Liberal Democrat and one Aspire mayors. Excluding referendums that coincided with general elections, the highest turnout was $42 \%$ in West Devon and more recently the same figure in Tower Hamlets. The lowest turnout was 10\% in Ealing.

Detailed results for mayoral elections are provided in a separate file available for download alongside this briefing.

Mayoral referendum votes (\%)


Table 27a: Mayoral referendum results

| Council | Result | Date | For | Against | Turnout ${ }^{1}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Berwick-upon-Tweed | No | 7 Jun 2001 * | 3,617 | 10,212 | 63.8\% |
| Cheltenham | No | 28 Jun 2001 | 8,083 | 16,602 | 31.0\% |
| Gloucester | No | 28 Jun 2001 | 7,731 | 16,317 | 30.8\% |
| Watford | Yes | 12 Jul 2001 | 7,636 | 7,140 | 24.5\% |
| Doncaster ${ }^{2}$ | Yes | 20 Sep 2001 | 35,453 | 19,398 | 25.0\% |
| Kirklees | No | 4 Oct 2001 | 10,169 | 27,977 | 13.0\% |
| Sunderland | No | 11 Oct 2001 | 9,593 | 12,209 | 10.0\% |
| Hartlepool | Yes | 18 Oct 2001 | 10,667 | 10,294 | 31.0\% |
| Lewisham | Yes | 18 Oct 2001 | 16,822 | 15,914 | 18.0\% |
| North Tyneside | Yes | 18 Oct 2001 | 30,262 | 22,296 | 36.0\% |
| Sedgefield | No | 18 Oct 2001 | 10,628 | 11,869 | 33.3\% |
| Middlesbrough | Yes | 18 Oct 2001 | 29,067 | 5,422 | 34.0\% |
| Brighton and Hove | No | 18 Oct 2001 | 22,724 | 37,214 | 31.6\% |
| Redditch | No | 8 Nov 2001 | 7,250 | 9,198 | 28.3\% |
| Durham City | No | 20 Nov 2001 | 8,327 | 11,974 | 28.5\% |
| Harrow | No | 7 Dec 2001 | 17,502 | 23,554 | 26.0\% |
| Harlow | No | 24 Jan 2001 | 5,296 | 15,490 | 36.4\% |
| Plymouth | No | 24 Jan 2001 | 29,559 | 42,811 | 39.8\% |
| Southwark | No | 31 Jan 2002 | 6,054 | 13,217 | 11.2\% |
| Newham | Yes | 31 Jan 2002 | 27,263 | 12,687 | 25.9\% |
| West Devon | No | 31 Jan 2002 | 3,555 | 12,190 | 41.8\% |
| Shepway | No | 31 Jan 2002 | 11,357 | 14,435 | 36.3\% |
| Bedford | Yes | 21 Feb 2002 | 11,316 | 5,537 | 15.5\% |
| Newcastle-under-Lyme | No | 2 May 2002 | 12,912 | 16,468 | 31.5\% |
| Oxford | No | 2 May 2002 | 14,692 | 18,686 | 33.8\% |
| Hackney | Yes | 3 May 2002 | 24,697 | 10,547 | 31.9\% |
| Stoke-on-Trent ${ }^{3}$ | Yes | 3 May 2002 | 28,601 | 20,578 | 27.8\% |
| Mansfield | Yes | 3 May 2002 | 8,973 | 7,350 | 21.0\% |
| Corby | No | 26 Sep 2002 | 5,351 | 6,239 | 30.9\% |
| Ealing | No | 11 Dec 2002 | 9,454 | 11,655 | 9.8\% |
| Ceredigion | No | 20 May 2004 | 5,308 | 14,013 | 36.3\% |
| Isle of Wight | No | 5 May 2005 * | 28,786 | 37,097 | 62.4\% |
| Torbay | Yes | 14 Jul 2005 | 18,074 | 14,682 | 32.1\% |
| Fenland | No | 14 Jul 2005 | 5,509 | 17,296 | 33.6\% |
| Crewe and Nantwich | No | 4 May 2006 | 11,808 | 18,768 | 35.3\% |
| Darlington | No | 27 Sep 2007 | 7,981 | 11,226 | 24.7\% |
| Bury | No | 3 Jul 2008 | 10,338 | 15,425 | 18.3\% |
| Stoke-on-Trent ${ }^{3 \text { (leader) }}$ | No | 23 Oct 2008 | 21,231 | 14,592 | 19.2\% |
| Tower Hamlets | Yes | 6 May 2010 * | 60,758 | 39,857 | 62.1\% |
| Great Yarmouth | No | 5 May 2011 | 10,051 | 15,595 | 36.0\% |
| Salford | Yes | 26 Jan 2012 | 17,344 | 13,653 | 18.1\% |
| Birmingham | No | 3 May 2012 | 88,085 | 120,611 | 27.7\% |
| Bradford | No | 3 May 2012 | 53,949 | 66,283 | 35.2\% |
| Bristol | Yes | 3 May 2012 | 41,032 | 35,880 | 24.1\% |
| Coventry | No | 3 May 2012 | 22,619 | 39,483 | 26.2\% |
| Leeds | No | 3 May 2012 | 62,440 | 107,910 | 30.3\% |
| Manchester | No | 3 May 2012 | 42,677 | 48,593 | 24.7\% |
| Newcastle-Upon-Tyne | No | 3 May 2012 | 24,630 | 40,089 | 32.0\% |
| Nottingham | No | 3 May 2012 | 20,943 | 28,320 | 23.8\% |
| Sheffield | No | 3 May 2012 | 44,571 | 82,890 | 32.1\% |
| Wakefield | No | 3 May 2012 | 27,610 | 45,357 | 28.3\% |
| Doncaster (retained) | Yes | 3 May 2012 | 42,196 | 25,879 | 30.7\% |
| Hartlepool (abolished) ${ }^{4}$ | No | 15 Nov 2012 | 5,177 | 7,366 | 18.0\% |
| Middlesbrough (retained) | Yes | 26 Sep 2013 | 8,674 | 6,455 | 15.1\% |
| Copeland | Yes | 22 May 2014 | 12,671 | 5,489 | 33.9\% |
| Bath \& North East Somerset | No | 10 Mar 2016 | 8,054 | 30,557 | 29.0\% |
| North Tyneside (retained) | Yes | 5 May 2016 | 32,546 | 23,703 | 36.6\% |
| Torbay (retained) | No | 5 May 2016 | 9,511 | 15,846 | 25.3\% |
| Guildford | No | 13 Oct 2016 | 4,948 | 20,639 | 24.9\% |
| Newham (retain) | Yes | 6 May 2021 | 45,960 | 36,424 | 37.7\% |
| Tower Hamlets (retain) | Yes | 6 May 2021 | 63,029 | 17,951 | 41.8\% |
| Croydon | Yes | 7 Oct 2021 | 47,165 | 11,519 | 21.0\% |
| Bristol (abolished) | No | 5 May 2022 | 38,439 | 56,113 | 28.6\% |

Table 27b: Elected Local Authority Mayors as at August 2023

| Authority | Name | Party | Latest Next election election |  | Mayoral referendum details |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |  |  | Result | Date | For | Against | Turnout ${ }^{\text {² }}$ |
| Salford | Paul Dennett | LAB | 2021 | 2024 | Yes | 26 Jan 2012 | 17,344 | 13,653 | 18.1\% |
| Doncaster | Ros Jones | LAB | 2021 | 2025 | Yes | 3 May 2012 | 42,196 | 25,879 | 30.7\% |
| North Tyneside | Norma Redfearn | LAB | 2021 | 2025 | Yes | 18 Oct 2001 | 30,262 | 22,296 | 36.0\% |
| Croydon | Jason Perry | CON | 2022 | 2026 | Yes | 7 Oct 2021 | 47,165 | 11,519 | 21.0\% |
| Hackney | Philip Glanville | LAB | 2022 | 2026 | Yes | 3 May 2002 | 24,697 | 10,547 | 31.9\% |
| Lewisham | Damian Egan | LAB | 2022 | 2026 | Yes | 18 Oct 2001 | 16,822 | 15,914 | 18.0\% |
| Newham | Rokshana Fiaz | LAB | 2022 | 2026 | Yes | 31 Jan 2002 | 27,263 | 12,687 | 25.9\% |
| Tower Hamlets | Lutfur Rahman | ASP | 2018 | 2026 | Yes | 6 May 2010 * | 60,758 | 39,857 | 62.1\% |
| Watford | Peter Taylor | LD | 2022 | 2026 | Yes | 12 Jul 2001 | 7,636 | 7,140 | 24.5\% |
| Bedford | Tom Wootton | CON | 2023 | 2027 | Yes | 21 Feb 2002 | 11,316 | 5,537 | 15.5\% |
| Leicester | Peter Alfred Soulsby | LAB | 2023 | 2027 | Adopted a mayoral system without holding a referendum |  |  |  |  |
| Mansfield | Andy Abrahams | LAB | 2023 | 2027 | Yes | 3 May 2002 | 8,973 | 7,350 | 21.0\% |
| Middlesbrough | Chris Cooke | LAB | 2023 | 2027 | Yes | 26 Sep 2013 | 8,674 | 6,455 | 15.1\% |
| Bristol | Marvin Rees | LAB | 2021 Position to be abolished in 2024 following referendum on 5 May 2022 |  |  |  |  |  |  |

Notes for tables 27a and 27b:

1. Turnout as reported by local authority
2. A referendum on whether to end the mayoral system was held in Doncaster in May 2012. The referendum decided in favour of retaining the mayoral system.
3. A subsequent referendum in Stoke-on-Trent in October 2008 decided in favour of ending the mayoral system
4. Referendum in Hartlepool in November 2012 had abolished the mayoral system in the area.

* Referendum held on the same day as General Election

Sources: Colin Rallings and Michael Thrasher, British Electoral Facts 1832-2006; Local authority websites; House of Commons Library, RP12/27 Local Elections 2012; House of Commons Library, SN05000 Directly-elected Mayors

## 6.3 <br> Elected "Metro-mayors"

The first elections for six elected mayors of combined authorities (known as "Metro-mayors") took place in 2017. These elections are held using the Supplementary Vote system. The Conservatives won four of the contests and Labour won two. The third Labour "Metro-mayor" for the Sheffield city region was elected in May 2018, and the fourth Labour 'metro-mayor' for North of Tyne in 2019.

The second round of elections for metro-mayors took place in May 2021. The Labour party won seven of the contests, retaining four positions and taking two from the Conservatives. The Conservative party retained two positions. Labour won the newly created position in West Yorkshire. In May 2022, Labour retained control of the South Yorkshire combined authority (known as

## Sheffield City Region until 2021). Full results are available in a separate file published alongside this briefing paper.

This is the latest stage in the policy of 'devolution deals', launched by the former Chancellor George Osborne in November 2014 with the 'Greater Manchester Agreement'. Detailed analysis is available in Library Briefing Paper 07029 Devolution to local government in England.

Table 28: Elected Metro Mayors as at August 2023

| Authority | Name |  | Year elected | Next election |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | ---: | ---: |
| Cambridgeshire and Peterborough $^{2}$ | Nik Johnson | LAB | 2021 | 2025 |
| Greater Manchester $^{2}$ | Andy Burnham | LAB | 2021 | 2024 |
| Liverpool City Region $^{2}$ | Steve Rotheram | LAB | 2021 | 2024 |
| Tees Valley $^{2}$ | Ben Houchen | CON | 2021 | 2024 |
| West Midlands ${ }^{2}$ | Andy Street | CON | 2021 | 2024 |
| West of England ${ }^{2}$ | Dan Norris | LAB | 2021 | 2025 |
| South Yorkshire | Oliver Coppard | LAB | 2022 | 2026 |
| North of Tyne | James Driscoll | LAB | 2019 | 2024 |
| West Yorkshire | Tracy Brabin | LAB | 2021 | 2024 |

[^14]
## 7

## Police and Crime Commissioner (PCC) Elections

## Electoral process

The first PCC elections were held in 2012 and they have been held every four years since. People who are registered to vote at local government elections are entitled to vote for the PCC in that area. PCC elections are held using the Supplementary Vote system.

## Turnout

Average PCC election turnout by country


Turnout, measured as valid votes as a proportion of the electorate, has increased at every election since 2012, when it was 15\%: in 2016 it was $26.6 \%$ and in 2021 it averaged $33.2 \%$ across the 40 voting police force areas. Turnout in 2021 was likely affected by the local council elections taking place simultaneously.

In 2021, the three police areas with the highest turnout were Dyfed- Powys (50.6\%), North Wales (45.4\%) and South Wales (43.9\%). The three police areas with the lowest turnout were Durham (16.9\%), Humberside (22.4\%) and Dorset (25.1\%).

## PCC election results in 2012, 2016 \& 2021

On 6 May 2021 the third cycle of elections for Police and Crime Commissioners (PCCs) took place in England and Wales (excluding the Metropolitan Police, City of London and Greater Manchester where responsibility for the police sits with the elected mayor). Following the elections there were 29 Conservative, eight Labour and one Plaid Cymru PCCs. The 2021 Wiltshire PCC election was delayed until 19 August 2021.


Note: excludes Greater Manchester

Source: House of Commons Library Briefing Paper CBP-9244 PCC elections 2021

## Table 29b: Share of PCC election first preference votes and turnout by policing area, 2012

| Area | Share of first round votes |  |  |  |  |  |  | Turnout |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | CON | LAB | UKIP | LD | GRN | IND | Other |  |
| Avon \& Somerset | 24.3\% | 21.3\% |  | 18.5\% |  | 35.8\% |  | 18.8\% |
| Bedfordshire | 31.9\% | 34.0\% |  | 13.6\% |  | 9.8\% | 10.6\% | 17.7\% |
| Cambridgeshire | 26.8\% | 19.8\% | 16.4\% | 8.5\% |  | 20.4\% | 8.1\% | 14.8\% |
| Cheshire | 36.8\% | 28.4\% | 7.9\% | 9.8\% |  | 17.1\% |  | 14.3\% |
| Cleveland | 26.0\% | 41.6\% |  |  | 13.7\% | 18.7\% |  | 14.7\% |
| Cumbria | 29.0\% | 24.6\% |  | 21.9\% |  | 24.5\% |  | 15.9\% |
| Derbyshire | 24.5\% | 44.3\% | 16.0\% |  |  | 15.1\% |  | 14.4\% |
| Devon \& Cornwall | 29.0\% | 12.7\% | 8.6\% | 12.6\% |  | 37.1\% |  | 14.7\% |
| Dorset | 32.4\% | 12.1\% |  | 10.4\% |  | 45.2\% |  | 16.3\% |
| Durham | 9.8\% | 51.6\% | 11.8\% |  |  | 26.8\% |  | 14.4\% |
| Dyfed-Powys | 50.9\% | 49.1\% |  |  |  |  |  | 16.4\% |
| Essex | 30.5\% | 16.6\% | 9.0\% |  |  | 37.0\% | 6.9\% | 12.8\% |
| Greater Manchester | 15.6\% | 51.2\% | 8.5\% | 14.8\% |  | 9.8\% |  | 16.0\% |
| Gloucestershire | 36.2\% | 17.5\% |  | 11.0\% |  | 35.3\% |  | 13.6\% |
| Gwent | 11.2\% | 38.9\% |  |  |  | 49.9\% |  | 14.0\% |
| Hampshire | 24.8\% | 18.3\% | 10.0\% | 12.8\% |  | 22.5\% | 11.5\% | 14.6\% |
| Hertfordshire | 45.9\% | 29.0\% | 11.0\% | 14.1\% |  |  |  | 14.1\% |
| Humberside | 22.0\% | 24.9\% | 16.1\% | 8.7\% |  | 28.3\% |  | 19.1\% |
| Kent | 25.2\% | 11.2\% | 7.8\% |  |  | 50.5\% | 5.3\% | 16.0\% |
| Lancashire | 34.8\% | 39.3\% | 15.0\% | 10.9\% |  |  |  | 15.1\% |
| Leicestershire | 48.4\% | 34.4\% |  |  |  | 17.2\% |  | 15.9\% |
| Lincolnshire | 23.7\% | 12.2\% |  |  |  | 64.0\% |  | 15.3\% |
| Merseyside | 12.6\% | 56.2\% | 6.9\% | 7.3\% |  | 11.4\% | 5.7\% | 12.4\% |
| Norfolk | 31.7\% | 22.1\% | 9.9\% | 7.6\% |  | 28.7\% |  | 14.5\% |
| North Wales | 14.8\% | 29.7\% | 7.8\% |  |  | 47.8\% |  | 14.8\% |
| North Yorkshire | 58.2\% | 41.8\% |  |  |  |  |  | 13.2\% |
| Northamptonshire | 30.1\% | 24.8\% | 18.7\% | 7.3\% |  | 19.1\% |  | 19.2\% |
| Northumbria | 25.6\% | 56.0\% | 10.6\% | 7.8\% |  |  |  | 16.4\% |
| Nottinghamshire | 19.8\% | 43.1\% |  |  |  | 37.1\% |  | 16.4\% |
| South Wales | 14.7\% | 47.0\% |  |  |  | 38.4\% |  | 14.7\% |
| South Yorkshire | 14.5\% | 51.4\% | 11.5\% | 7.0\% |  |  | 15.6\% | 14.5\% |
| Staffordshire | 51.8\% | 48.2\% |  |  |  |  |  | 11.6\% |
| Suffolk | 35.0\% | 35.2\% | 13.1\% |  |  | 16.7\% |  | 15.4\% |
| Surrey | 26.1\% | 13.2\% | 8.1\% | 6.5\% |  | 46.1\% |  | 15.4\% |
| Sussex | 31.5\% | 21.5\% | 15.5\% | 10.9\% |  | 20.6\% |  | 15.3\% |
| Thames Valley | 34.7\% | 25.9\% | 8.8\% | 9.4\% |  | 21.3\% |  | 12.9\% |
| Warwickshire | 32.0\% | 34.7\% |  |  |  | 33.3\% |  | 15.2\% |
| West Mercia | 36.6\% | 25.7\% |  |  |  | 37.7\% |  | 14.2\% |
| West Midlands | 18.5\% | 42.0\% | 7.4\% | 6.5\% |  | 25.7\% |  | 12.0\% |
| West Yorkshire | 21.1\% | 47.9\% |  | 8.0\% |  | 23.0\% |  | 13.3\% |
| Wiltshire | 36.2\% | 20.6\% | 9.2\% | 12.9\% |  | 21.1\% |  | 15.3\% |

## Table 29c: Share of PCC election first preference votes and turnout by policing area,

 2016| Area | Share of first round votes |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | Turnout |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | CON | LAB | PC | UKIP | LD | GRN | IND | Other |  |
| Avon \& Somerset | 19.3\% | 23.8\% |  | 8.8\% | 7.4\% | 7.4\% | 33.2\% |  | 26.0\% |
| Bedfordshire | 36.7\% | 35.3\% |  | 10.3\% | 11.6\% |  |  | 6.1\% | 23.2\% |
| Cambridgeshire | 36.2\% | 31.0\% |  | 16.9\% | 15.9\% |  |  |  | 29.3\% |
| Cheshire | 38.0\% | 39.8\% |  | 12.1\% | 10.2\% |  |  |  | 23.3\% |
| Cleveland | 22.8\% | 41.0\% |  | 21.3\% |  |  | 14.9\% |  | 19.7\% |
| Cumbria | 34.4\% | 24.1\% |  | 9.9\% | 17.0\% |  | 14.6\% |  | 24.9\% |
| Derbyshire | 34.6\% | 37.5\% |  | 17.0\% | 10.9\% |  |  |  | 23.3\% |
| Devon \& Cornwall | 24.4\% | 23.4\% |  | 17.5\% | 12.4\% |  | 22.4\% |  | 22.1\% |
| Dorset | 29.4\% | 16.0\% |  | 16.7\% |  |  | 37.9\% |  | 22.0\% |
| Durham | 23.6\% | 63.8\% |  |  | 12.6\% |  |  |  | 17.4\% |
| Dyfed-Powys | 25.1\% | 18.6\% | 28.0\% | 11.1\% | 11.1\% |  | 6.2\% |  | 48.9\% |
| Essex | 33.5\% | 19.7\% |  | 24.4\% | 9.3\% |  |  | 13.0\% | 25.2\% |
| Gloucestershire | 34.0\% | 24.5\% |  |  |  |  | 41.6\% |  | 29.4\% |
| Gwent | 30.8\% | 46.4\% | 22.9\% |  |  |  |  |  | 39.4\% |
| Hampshire | 28.7\% | 16.1\% |  | 13.7\% | 13.9\% |  | 19.1\% | 8.5\% | 27.8\% |
| Hertfordshire | 42.3\% | 27.4\% |  | 14.1\% | 16.2\% |  |  |  | 28.1\% |
| Humberside | 27.0\% | 40.8\% |  | 18.1\% | 14.1\% |  |  |  | 22.1\% |
| Kent | 33.1\% | 19.1\% |  | 27.5\% | 7.3\% |  | 9.8\% | 3.1\% | 21.0\% |
| Lancashire | 32.0\% | 43.8\% |  | 16.5\% | 7.7\% |  |  |  | 28.1\% |
| Leicestershire | 30.9\% | 44.7\% |  | 11.7\% | 12.7\% |  |  |  | 19.8\% |
| Lincolnshire | 35.2\% | 22.7\% |  | 25.5\% |  |  |  | 16.5\% | 24.8\% |
| Merseyside | 17.9\% | 61.8\% |  |  | 11.5\% | 8.9\% |  |  | 30.2\% |
| Norfolk | 27.8\% | 24.0\% |  | 17.5\% | 8.3\% | 5.9\% | 16.5\% |  | 23.2\% |
| North Wales | 19.7\% | 25.7\% | 31.5\% | 12.2\% |  |  | 11.0\% |  | 41.6\% |
| North Yorkshire | 40.1\% | 26.0\% |  |  | 10.5\% |  | 23.4\% |  | 21.9\% |
| Northamptonshire | 40.5\% | 35.5\% |  | 24.0\% |  |  |  |  | 22.0\% |
| Northumbria | 18.0\% | 55.3\% |  | 16.0\% | 10.7\% |  |  |  | 31.3\% |
| Nottinghamshire | 28.1\% | 47.3\% |  | 11.9\% |  |  | 12.7\% |  | 21.4\% |
| South Wales | 17.9\% | 40.9\% | 17.9\% |  | 6.2\% |  | 17.1\% |  | 46.6\% |
| South Yorkshire | 10.7\% | 51.9\% |  | 20.4\% | 10.1\% |  |  | 6.9\% | 28.4\% |
| Staffordshire | 36.3\% | 31.4\% |  | 15.8\% |  | 3.7\% | 12.7\% |  | 21.1\% |
| Suffolk | 43.7\% | 24.7\% |  | 16.9\% | 9.0\% | 5.7\% |  |  | 24.0\% |
| Surrey | 35.3\% | 12.0\% |  | 10.3\% | 12.9\% |  | 11.5\% | 17.9\% | 27.2\% |
| Sussex | 41.8\% | 22.2\% |  | 15.7\% | 10.8\% | 9.5\% |  |  | 22.5\% |
| Thames Valley | 39.9\% | 33.5\% |  | 12.1\% | 14.5\% |  |  |  | 24.6\% |
| Warwickshire | 31.2\% | 25.5\% |  | 13.4\% | 10.6\% |  | 19.4\% |  | 26.0\% |
| West Mercia | 33.4\% | 21.1\% |  | 16.9\% | 6.7\% | 7.4\% | 14.5\% |  | 20.7\% |
| West Midlands | 25.8\% | 49.9\% |  | 17.0\% |  |  | 7.3\% |  | 28.6\% |
| West Yorkshire | 22.8\% | 49.7\% |  | 14.3\% | 9.3\% |  |  | 3.9\% | 33.3\% |
| Wiltshire | 46.2\% | 23.0\% |  | 15.0\% | 15.8\% |  |  |  | 24.0\% |

Table 29d: Share of PCC election first preference votes and turnout by policing
area, 2021

| Area | Share of first round votes |  |  |  |  |  |  | Turnout |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | CON | LAB | PC | LD | GRN | IND | Other |  |
| Avon \& Somerset | 34.7\% | 23.7\% |  | 13.4\% | 16.4\% | 11.8\% |  | 30.2\% |
| Bedfordshire | 42.4\% | 35.0\% |  | 13.1\% |  | 6.8\% | 2.8\% | 26.1\% |
| Cambridgeshire | 42.9\% | 31.3\% |  | 22.3\% |  |  | 3.5\% | 36.2\% |
| Cheshire | 44.5\% | 37.3\% |  | 14.5\% |  |  | 3.7\% |  |
| Cleveland | 54.2\% | 28.9\% |  | 4.8\% |  | 12.2\% |  | 32.8\% |
| Cumbria | 53.6\% | 26.1\% |  | 20.3\% |  |  |  | 27.1\% |
| Derbyshire | 49.4\% | 37.5\% |  | 9.2\% |  |  | 3.8\% | 34.7\% |
| Devon \& Cornwall | 50.0\% | 20.2\% |  | 17.9\% | 12.0\% |  |  | 36.1\% |
| Dorset | 42.5\% | 10.9\% |  | 11.8\% | 14.1\% | 20.6\% |  | 25.1\% |
| Durham | 23.6\% | 63.8\% |  | 12.6\% |  |  |  | 16.9\% |
| Dyfed-Powys | 34.0\% | 23.7\% | 33.6\% | 8.7\% |  |  |  | 50.6\% |
| Essex | 54.0\% | 22.9\% |  | 13.3\% |  |  | 9.8\% |  |
| Gloucestershire | 40.6\% | 16.1\% |  | 19.0\% |  | 17.6\% |  | 39.7\% |
| Gwent | 28.8\% | 41.8\% | 16.2\% | 4.2\% |  | 7.5\% | 1.4\% | 41.0\% |
| Hampshire | 49.8\% | 19.3\% |  | 17.8\% |  |  | 13.1\% | 35.2\% |
| Hertfordshire | 48.5\% | 24.1\% |  | 27.4\% |  |  |  | 36.3\% |
| Humberside | 45.6\% | 39.4\% |  | 15.1\% |  |  |  | 22.4\% |
| Kent | 57.8\% | 25.3\% |  | 16.9\% |  |  |  | 31.0\% |
| Lancashire | 44.8\% | 41.5\% |  | 8.8\% |  |  | 4.8\% |  |
| Leicestershire | 49.3\% | 33.3\% |  | 17.5\% |  |  |  | 30.2\% |
| Lincolnshire | 59.9\% | 20.0\% |  | 5.9\% |  |  | 3.6\% | 30.2\% |
| Merseyside | 22.9\% | 56.9\% |  | 16.5\% |  |  | 3.7\% | 29.7\% |
| Norfolk | 45.1\% | 22.1\% |  | 13.7\% | 10.2\% | 8.9\% |  | 32.9\% |
| North Wales | 31.6\% | 29.1\% | 28.4\% | 4.3\% |  | 6.7\% |  | 45.4\% |
| North Yorkshire | 47.0\% | 26.1\% |  | 12.6\% |  | 14.3\% |  | 24.9\% |
| Northamptonshire | 53.2\% | 27.5\% |  | 15.3\% |  |  | 4.0\% |  |
| Northumbria | 30.9\% | 46.6\% |  | 10.7\% |  | 11.9\% |  | 35.9\% |
| Nottinghamshire | 47.9\% | 43.5\% |  | 8.7\% |  |  |  | 33.2\% |
| South Wales | 23.7\% | 41.0\% | 19.0\% | 4.6\% |  | 8.6\% | 3.1\% | 43.9\% |
| South Yorkshire | 32.2\% | 53.9\% |  | 13.8\% |  |  |  | 30.2\% |
| Staffordshire | 57.1\% | 28.1\% |  | 4.5\% |  | 8.0\% | 2.3\% | 28.2\% |
| Suffolk | 54.7\% | 23.0\% |  | 8.7\% | 13.6\% |  |  | 35.8\% |
| Surrey | 33.5\% | 12.1\% |  | 20.7\% |  | 15.9\% | 17.8\% | 37.9\% |
| Sussex | 47.3\% | 18.7\% |  | 13.9\% | 13.4\% | 6.7\% |  | 34.9\% |
| Thames Valley | 42.5\% | 27.8\% |  | 17.5\% |  | 12.3\% |  | 34.9\% |
| Warwickshire | 52.1\% | 27.7\% |  | 16.1\% |  |  | 4.1\% | 36.9\% |
| West Mercia | 55.3\% | 23.9\% |  | 15.6\% |  |  | 5.1\% | 33.0\% |
| West Midlands | 39.4\% | 45.5\% |  | 6.3\% |  | 4.5\% | 3.0\% | 30.2\% |
| Wiltshire | 41.1\% | 16.5\% |  | 16.9\% | 8.0\% | 15.3\% | 2.1\% |  |

Notes: shaded in grey means no data available. Turnout figures were collated from each PCC individually where this information was not publicly available. Four PCCs did not respond to requests for data and so have been greyed out. Greater Manchester PCC elections were not held from 2016 and West Yorkshire from 2021. As part of the devolution deals, elected mayors there have taken over PCC functions.

Sources for tables 29b-d: House of Commons Library briefing papers PCC elections 2012, 2016 and 2021

## 8

Referendums

## 8.1 <br> European Union (June 2016)

EU referendum, UK 2016


A referendum on European Union membership was held on 23 June 2016, on the question:

Should the United Kingdom remain a member of the European Union or leave the European Union?
$51.9 \%$ of votes were to leave the EU.
A total of $33,577,342$ people voted in the referendum, a turnout of $72.2 \%$. The Leave vote won by a 3.8 percentage point margin.

Leave won more than $50 \%$ of the vote in all counting regions except for three: London, Scotland and Northern Ireland. The West Midlands saw the highest share of the vote for Leave (59.3\%), and Scotland the lowest (38.0\%).

Turnout was highest in the South East, and the South West and Gibraltar (both 76.7\%), and lowest in Northern Ireland (62.7\%).

Table 30: EU referendum results by region
Ranked by highest vote share for Leave, 23 June 2016

| Counting region | Remain |  | Leave |  | Rejected votes | Total votes cast (incl. rejected) | Turnout (valid votes as \% of electorate) | Turnup (total votes cast as \% of electorate) | Electorate |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Votes | \% of valid votes | Votes | \% of valid votes |  |  |  |  |  |
| West Midlands | 1,207,175 | 40.7\% | 1,755,687 | 59.3\% | 2,507 | 2,965,370 | 72.0\% | 72.0\% | 4,116,572 |
| East Midlands | 1,033,036 | 41.2\% | 1,475,479 | 58.8\% | 1,981 | 2,510,497 | 74.1\% | 74.2\% | 3,384,299 |
| North East | 562,595 | 42.0\% | 778,103 | 58.0\% | 689 | 1,341,388 | 69.3\% | 69.3\% | 1,934,341 |
| Yorkshire and the Humber (Y/H) | 1,158,298 | 42.3\% | 1,580,937 | 57.7\% | 1,937 | 2,741,173 | 70.6\% | 70.7\% | 3,877,780 |
| East of England | 1,448,616 | 43.5\% | 1,880,367 | 56.5\% | 2,329 | 3,331,313 | 75.7\% | 75.7\% | 4,398,796 |
| North West | 1,699,020 | 46.3\% | 1,966,925 | 53.7\% | 2,682 | 3,668,628 | 69.9\% | 70.0\% | 5,241,568 |
| South West and Gibraltar | 1,503,019 | 47.4\% | 1,669,711 | 52.6\% | 2,179 | 3,174,910 | 76.7\% | 76.7\% | 4,138,134 |
| Wales | 772,347 | 47.5\% | 854,572 | 52.5\% | 1,135 | 1,628,055 | 71.7\% | 71.7\% | 2,270,272 |
| South East | 2,391,718 | 48.2\% | 2,567,965 | 51.8\% | 3,427 | 4,963,111 | 76.7\% | 76.8\% | 6,465,404 |
| Northern Ireland | 440,707 | 55.8\% | 349,442 | 44.2\% | 374 | 790,524 | 62.7\% | 62.7\% | 1,260,955 |
| London | 2,263,519 | 59.9\% | 1,513,232 | 40.1\% | 4,453 | 3,781,205 | 69.6\% | 69.7\% | 5,424,768 |
| Scotland | 1,661,191 | 62.0\% | 1,018,322 | 38.0\% | 1,666 | 2,681,180 | 67.2\% | 67.2\% | 3,987,112 |
| United Kingdom | 16,141,241 | 48.1\% | 17,410,742 | 51.9\% | 25,359 | 33,577,343 | 72.2\% | 72.2\% | 46,500,001 |

[^15]
## 8.2



## European Community (June 1975)

On 5 June 1975 a referendum was held on UK membership of the European Community. Voters were asked, 'Do you think that the United Kingdom should stay in the European Community (The Common Market)?' $67.2 \%$ of voters were in favour of remaining part of the European Community, compared to 32.8\% who thought the UK should leave. The UK-wide turnout was $64.0 \%$, although in Northern Ireland it was 47.5\%.

Table 31: Referendum on membership of the European Community 05 June 1975

|  | Yes |  |  | No |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
|  | Votes |  | \% vote |  | Votes | $\%$ vote | Total vote | \% turnout ${ }^{1}$ |
| England | $14,918,009$ | $68.7 \%$ |  | $6,812,052$ | $31.3 \%$ | $21,730,061$ | $64.5 \%$ |  |
| Wales | 869,135 | $64.8 \%$ |  | 472,071 | $35.2 \%$ | $1,341,206$ | $66.5 \%$ |  |
| Scotland | $1,332,186$ | $58.4 \%$ |  | 948,039 | $41.6 \%$ | $2,280,225$ | $61.6 \%$ |  |
| Northern Ireland | 259,251 | $52.1 \%$ |  | 237,911 | $47.9 \%$ | 497,162 | $47.3 \%$ |  |
| UK | $\mathbf{1 7 , 3 7 8 , 5 8 1}$ | $\mathbf{6 7 . 2} \%$ | $\mathbf{8 , 4 7 0 , 0 7 3}$ | $\mathbf{3 2 . 8 \%}$ | $\mathbf{2 5 , 8 4 8 , 6 5 4}$ | $\mathbf{6 3 . 9 \%}$ |  |  |

Note: 1. Civilian turnout only. Special arrangements were made to allow members of the armed forces and their spouses to vote regardless of whether they were included on the electoral register as service voters.

Source: Colin Rallings and Michael Thrasher, British Electoral Facts 1832-2006

## Scotland (1979, 1997 and 2014)

A referendum on devolution in Scotland was held on 1 March 1979 and again on 11 September 1997. The 1997 referendum asked two questions, one on establishing a Scottish Parliament and one on whether the Parliament should have tax-varying powers.

In the 1979 referendum, $51.6 \%$ of votes were cast in favour of devolution. However for devolution to be introduced, at least 40\% of electors had to vote 'Yes', as stipulated in the Scotland Act 1978. A turnout of $63.6 \%$ meant that the proportion of electors voting 'Yes' was only 32.8\%.

In the 1997 referendum the proportion of voters favouring devolution was much larger. 74.3\% of voters supported the establishment of a Scottish parliament and $63.5 \%$ were in favour of the Parliament having tax-varying powers. Turnout was $60.2 \%$. There was no threshold for the number of electors voting 'Yes' in the 1997 referendum.

Table 32: Change in voting for/against devolution in Scotland
1 March 1979 and 11 September 1997

|  | \% Yes vote |  |  | \% No vote |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Change in Yes |  |  |  |  |  |  |

Note: 1997 results fitted to 1979 counting areas as follows:
Borders: Borders; Central: Clackmannan, Falkirk, Stirling; Dumfries \& Galloway: Dumfries \& Galloway; Fife: Fife; Grampian: City of Aberdeen, Aberdeenshire, Moray; Highland: Highland; Lothian: City of Edinburgh, East Lothian, West Lothian, Midlothian; Orkney: Orkney; Shetland: Shetland Islands; Strathclyde: Argyle \& Bute, East Ayrshire, North Ayrshire, South Ayrshire, East Dunbartonshire, West Dunbartonshire, City of Glasgow, Inverclyde, North Lanarkshire, South Lanarkshire, East Renfrewshire, Renfrewshire; Tayside: Angus, City of Dundee, Perthshire \& Kinross; Western Isles: Western Isles

Source: House of Commons Library RP97/113, Results of Devolution Referendums (1979 \& 1997)

On 18 September 2014, a referendum on Scottish Independence was held on the question 'Should Scotland be an independent country?'

This was rejected by a margin of 10.6 percentage points, with $55.3 \%$ $(2,001,926)$ voting against the proposition on an overall turnout of $84.6 \%$.

This was the highest turnout at a nationwide referendum or parliamentary election in Scotland since 1918. It also saw 16 and 17-year-olds eligible to vote for the first time. There was a majority for 'No' in 28 of Scotland’s 32 local authority areas, including the capital, Edinburgh (61.1\% for ' No ').

## Table 33: Scottish referendum results by counting area, 2014

| Local authority | Yes | No | Rejected | Total votes cast (incl. rejected) | Yes \% | No \% | urnout (votes cast as \% of electorate) | Electorate |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Aberdeen City | 59,390 | 84,094 | 180 | 143,664 | 41.4\% | 58.6\% | 81.7\% | 175,751 |
| Aberdeenshire | 71,337 | 108,606 | 102 | 180,045 | 39.6\% | 60.4\% | 87.2\% | 206,490 |
| Angus | 35,044 | 45,192 | 66 | 80,302 | 43.7\% | 56.3\% | 85.7\% | 93,656 |
| Argyll and Bute | 26,324 | 37,143 | 49 | 63,516 | 41.5\% | 58.5\% | 88.2\% | 72,014 |
| Clackmannanshire | 16,350 | 19,036 | 24 | 35,410 | 46.2\% | 53.8\% | 88.6\% | 39,974 |
| Dumfries and Galloway | 36,614 | 70,039 | 122 | 106,775 | 34.3\% | 65.7\% | 87.5\% | 122,052 |
| Dundee City | 53,620 | 39,880 | 92 | 93,592 | 57.3\% | 42.7\% | 78.8\% | 118,764 |
| East Ayrshire | 39,762 | 44,442 | 58 | 84,262 | 47.2\% | 52.8\% | 84.5\% | 99,682 |
| East Dunbartonshire | 30,624 | 48,314 | 73 | 79,011 | 38.8\% | 61.2\% | 91.0\% | 86,844 |
| East Lothian | 27,467 | 44,283 | 48 | 71,798 | 38.3\% | 61.7\% | 87.6\% | 81,947 |
| East Renfrewshire | 24,287 | 41,690 | 44 | 66,021 | 36.8\% | 63.2\% | 90.4\% | 72,993 |
| Edinburgh, City of | 123,927 | 194,638 | 460 | 319,025 | 38.9\% | 61.1\% | 84.4\% | 378,039 |
| Eilean Siar | 9,195 | 10,544 | 19 | 19,758 | 46.6\% | 53.4\% | 86.2\% | 22,908 |
| Falkirk | 50,489 | 58,030 | 107 | 108,626 | 46.5\% | 53.5\% | 88.7\% | 122,460 |
| Fife | 114,148 | 139,788 | 226 | 254,162 | 45.0\% | 55.0\% | 84.1\% | 302,165 |
| Glasgow City | 194,779 | 169,347 | 538 | 364,664 | 53.5\% | 46.5\% | 75.0\% | 486,296 |
| Highland | 78,069 | 87,739 | 168 | 165,976 | 47.1\% | 52.9\% | 87.0\% | 190,787 |
| Inverclyde | 27,243 | 27,329 | 29 | 54,601 | 49.9\% | 50.1\% | 87.4\% | 62,486 |
| Midlothian | 26,370 | 33,972 | 53 | 60,395 | 43.7\% | 56.3\% | 86.7\% | 69,620 |
| Moray | 27,232 | 36,935 | 38 | 64,205 | 42.4\% | 57.6\% | 85.4\% | 75,173 |
| North Ayrshire | 47,072 | 49,016 | 85 | 96,173 | 49.0\% | 51.0\% | 84.4\% | 113,941 |
| North Lanarkshire | 115,783 | 110,922 | 178 | 226,883 | 51.1\% | 48.9\% | 84.4\% | 268,738 |
| Orkney Islands | 4,883 | 10,004 | 20 | 14,907 | 32.8\% | 67.2\% | 83.7\% | 17,806 |
| Perth and Kinross | 41,475 | 62,714 | 96 | 104,285 | 39.8\% | 60.2\% | 86.9\% | 120,052 |
| Renfrewshire | 55,466 | 62,067 | 79 | 117,612 | 47.2\% | 52.8\% | 87.3\% | 134,745 |
| Scottish Borders | 27,906 | 55,553 | 67 | 83,526 | 33.4\% | 66.6\% | 87.4\% | 95,542 |
| Shetland Islands | 5,669 | 9,951 | 15 | 15,635 | 36.3\% | 63.7\% | 84.4\% | 18,516 |
| South Ayrshire | 34,402 | 47,247 | 67 | 81,716 | 42.1\% | 57.9\% | 86.1\% | 94,895 |
| South Lanarkshire | 100,990 | 121,800 | 137 | 222,927 | 45.3\% | 54.7\% | 85.3\% | 261,193 |
| Stirling | 25,010 | 37,153 | 62 | 62,225 | 40.2\% | 59.8\% | 90.1\% | 69,043 |
| West Dunbartonshire | 33,720 | 28,776 | 36 | 62,532 | 54.0\% | 46.0\% | 87.9\% | 71,128 |
| West Lothian | 53,342 | 65,682 | 91 | 119,115 | 44.8\% | 55.2\% | 86.2\% | 138,238 |
| Scotland | 1,617,989 | 2,001,926 | 3,429 | 3,623,344 | 44.7\% | 55.3\% | 84.6\% | 4,283,938 |

[^16]
## 8.4

\% votes for devolution Wales


## Wales (1979, 1997 and 2011)

Referendums on devolution for Wales were held on 1 March 1979 and 18 September 1997. There was little support for devolution in the 1979 referendum, with only $20.3 \%$ of voters in favour. The 1997 referendum on the other hand produced a slim majority in favour of a Welsh Assembly; 50.3\% of voters voted 'Yes' to an Assembly while 49.7\% were opposed. Unlike in Scotland, the 1997 referendum did not ask whether the Assembly should have tax-varying powers. Turnout was 58.6\% in 1979 and 50.1\% in 1997.

## Table 34: Voting for/against devolution in Wales

1 March 1979 and 18 September 1997

|  | \% Yes vote |  |  | \% No vote |  |  | Change in Yes |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1979 counting areas | 1979 | 1997 |  | 1979 | 1997 | vote (\% points) |  |
| Clwyd \& Gwynedd | 27.1 | 47.4 |  | 72.9 | 52.6 | +20.3 |  |
| Dyfed | 28.1 | 57.2 |  | 71.9 | 42.8 | +29.1 |  |
| Powys | 18.5 | 42.7 |  | 81.5 | 57.3 | +24.2 |  |
| Gwent \& Mid Glamorgan | 16.7 | 51.3 |  | 83.3 | 48.7 | +34.6 |  |
| South Glamorgan | 13.1 | 42.0 |  | 86.9 | 58.0 | +28.8 |  |
| West Glamorgan | 18.7 | 57.8 |  | 81.3 | 42.2 | +39.1 |  |
| Wales | $\mathbf{2 0 . 3}$ | $\mathbf{5 0 . 3}$ |  | $\mathbf{7 9 . 7}$ | $\mathbf{4 9 . 7}$ | $\mathbf{+ 3 0 . 0}$ |  |

Note: 1997 results fitted to 1979 areas as follows:
Clwyd \& Gwynedd: Anglesey, Conwy, Denbighshire, Flintshire, Gwynedd, Wrexham. 1997 area excludes communities of Llanrhaeadr-ym-Mochnant, Llansilin and Llangedwyn (formerly in Glyndwr DC in Clwyd, now in Powys UA).

Dyfed: Carmarthenshire, Ceredigion, Pembrokeshire
Powys: Powys. 1997 area includes communities of Llanrhaeadr-ym-Mochnant, Llansilin and Llangedwyn (formerly in Glyndwr DC in Clwyd, now in Powys UA)

Gwent \& Mid Glamorgan: Bridgend, Caerphilly, Blaenau Gwent, Merthyr Tydfil, Monmouthshire, Newport, Rhondda Cynon Taff, Torfaen. 1997 area excludes communities of Wick, St Bride's Major and Ewenny (formerly in Ogwr BC in Mid Glamorgan, now in Vale of Glamorgan UA) and excludes community of Pentyrch (formerly in Taff-Ely BC in Mid Glamorgan, now in Cardiff UA).

South Glamorgan: Vale of Glamorgan, Cardiff. 1997 area includes communities of Wick, St Bride's Major and Ewenny (formerly in Ogwr BC in Mid Glamorgan, now in Vale of Glamorgan UA) and includes community of Pentyrch (formerly in Taff-Ely BC in Mid Glamorgan, now in Cardiff UA)

West Glamorgan: Neath \& Port Talbot, Swansea
Source: House of Commons Library RP97/113, Results of Devolution Referendums (1979 \& 1997) On 3 March 2011, a referendum was held on extending the law-making powers of the National Assembly for Wales. Voters were asked, 'Do you want the Assembly now to be able to make laws on all the matters in the 20 subject areas it has powers for?' The question related to Schedule 5 of the Government of Wales Act 2006 which lists twenty subject areas in which the Assembly can legislate. $63.5 \%$ of voters were in favour while $36.5 \%$ were opposed. The 'Yes' vote was in the majority in all local authorities with the
exception of Monmouthshire, where there was a narrow majority against the change. Turnout across Wales was $35.6 \%$.


Table 35: Results of referendum on extending the lawmaking powers of the National Assembly for Wales, 2011

| Local authority | Yes |  | No |  | Total votes | Turnout |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Votes | \% vote | Votes | \% vote |  |  |
| Blaenau Gwent | 11,869 | 68.9\% | 5,366 | 31.1\% | 17,235 | 32.4\% |
| Bridgend | 25,063 | 68.1\% | 11,736 | 31.9\% | 36,799 | 35.6\% |
| Caerphilly | 28,431 | 64.3\% | 15,751 | 35.7\% | 44,182 | 34.5\% |
| Cardiff | 53,427 | 61.4\% | 33,606 | 38.6\% | 87,033 | 35.1\% |
| Carmarthenshire | 42,979 | 70.8\% | 17,712 | 29.2\% | 60,691 | 44.3\% |
| Ceredigion | 16,505 | 66.2\% | 8,412 | 33.8\% | 24,917 | 44.0\% |
| Conwy | 18,368 | 59.7\% | 12,390 | 40.3\% | 30,758 | 33.7\% |
| Denbighshire | 15,793 | 61.8\% | 9,742 | 38.2\% | 25,535 | 34.4\% |
| Flintshire | 21,119 | 62.1\% | 12,913 | 37.9\% | 34,032 | 29.4\% |
| Gwynedd | 28,200 | 76.0\% | 8,891 | 24.0\% | 37,091 | 43.4\% |
| Isle of Anglesey | 14,011 | 64.8\% | 7,620 | 35.2\% | 21,631 | 43.8\% |
| Merthyr Tydfil | 9,136 | 68.9\% | 4,132 | 31.1\% | 13,268 | 30.1\% |
| Monmouthshire | 12,381 | 49.4\% | 12,701 | 50.6\% | 25,082 | 35.8\% |
| Neath Port Talbot | 29,957 | 73.0\% | 11,079 | 27.0\% | 41,036 | 37.9\% |
| Newport | 15,983 | 54.8\% | 13,204 | 45.2\% | 29,187 | 27.9\% |
| Pembrokeshire | 19,600 | 55.0\% | 16,050 | 45.0\% | 35,650 | 38.7\% |
| Powys | 21,072 | 51.6\% | 19,730 | 48.4\% | 40,802 | 39.6\% |
| Rhondda C T | 43,051 | 70.7\% | 17,834 | 29.3\% | 60,885 | 34.6\% |
| Swansea | 38,496 | 63.2\% | 22,409 | 36.8\% | 60,905 | 32.9\% |
| Torfaen | 14,655 | 62.8\% | 8,688 | 37.2\% | 23,343 | 33.8\% |
| Vale of Glamorgan | 19,430 | 52.5\% | 17,551 | 47.5\% | 36,981 | 40.1\% |
| Wrexham | 17,606 | 64.1\% | 9,863 | 35.9\% | 27,469 | 27.0\% |
| Wales | 517,132 | 63.5\% | 297,380 | 36.5\% | 814,512 | 35.6\% |

Source: National Assembly for Wales, Results of the National Assembly for Wales Referendum 2011

## 8.5 <br> Northern Ireland (1973 and 1998)

A referendum was held in Northern Ireland on 8 March 1973, on whether it should remain part the UK. Unionist parties, Alliance and the Northern Ireland Labour Party campaigned for a vote in support of remaining in the UK but Nationalist parties boycotted the vote. $98.9 \%$ of votes were in favour of staying in the UK. Turnout was $58.7 \%$, compared with $72.0 \%$ in the previous general election. ${ }^{9}$

On 22 May 1998 voters were asked in a referendum whether they supported the Good Friday Agreement (the Belfast Agreement). 71.1\% of voters

[^17]supported the Agreement. The turnout was 81.1\%, compared to $67.1 \%$ in the 1997 General Election the year before. ${ }^{10}$

## 8.6

London (May 1998)

Voters in London were asked in a referendum on 7 May 1998 about the establishment of a Greater London Authority: "Are you in favour of the Government's proposals for a Greater London Authority made up of an elected Mayor and separately elected authority?"
$72.0 \%$ of voters were in favour. The 'Yes' vote was in the majority in all 32 London boroughs and the City of London. Turnout was $34.1 \%$. ${ }^{11}$

## North-East England (November 2004)

On 4 November 2004, voters in the North-East were asked, 'Should there be an elected regional assembly for the North East region?' The proposal was rejected, with $77.9 \%$ of voters voting 'No'. Turnout was $47.2 \%$. Over $70 \%$ of voters opposed a regional assembly in all the region's 23 local authorities (as they existed then). ${ }^{12}$

## 8.8

Alternative Vote (May 2011)

Alternative Vote referendum 2011


A referendum was held on 5 May 2011 on whether the UK should adopt the Alternative Vote system (AV) for voting in parliamentary elections. Voters were asked, 'At present, the UK uses the "first past the post" system to elect MPs to the House of Commons. Should the "alternative vote" system be used instead?' The change to AV was rejected; 67.9\% of voters were opposed compared to $32.1 \%$ in favour. The turnout was $42.0 \%$.

[^18]Table 36: Results of the referendum on the Alternative Vote
5 May 2011

|  | Yes |  | No |  | Total vote | Turnout |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Votes | \% vote | Votes | \% vote |  |  |
| England | 4,824,357 | 30.9\% | 10,774,735 | 69.1\% | 15,599,092 | 40.7\% |
| Wales | 325,349 | 34.6\% | 616,307 | 65.4\% | 941,656 | 41.5\% |
| Scotland | 713,813 | 36.4\% | 1,249,375 | 63.6\% | 1,963,188 | 50.4\% |
| Northern Ireland | 289,088 | 43.7\% | 372,706 | 56.3\% | 661,794 | 55.2\% |
| UK Total | 6,152,607 | 32.1\% | 13,013,123 | 67.9\% | 19,165,730 | 42.0\% |

Source: House of Commons Library RP11/44, Alternative Vote Referendum 2011

## 9

## Appendix: Voting systems and electoral geographies used in the UK elections

## 9.1

General Elections

Currently there are 650 Westminster parliamentary constituencies. Each constituency elects a single Member to the House of Commons using the First Past the Post system (FPTP). Voters select their preferred candidate and the candidate who receives the most votes is elected. The number of constituencies is not fixed and can change.

General elections are usually held every four to five years, although early elections have been called sooner than that. The Fixed-term Parliaments Act 2011 introduced a five-year election cycle but was repealed in 2022 after two early elections, in 2017 and 2019. The Dissolution and Calling of Parliament Act 2022 reinstated the prerogative power to call elections, but provides for the automatic dissolution of a parliament five years after the day it first convened. The last possible day for the next general election to be held is 28 January 2025.

## 9.2

Local government elections

## England and Wales

Voters in local authority wards elect councillors using First Past the Post. Some wards elect multiple councillors at a time, in which case electors can vote for more than one candidate (including candidates from different parties); the candidates who receive the highest numbers of votes are elected.

## Scotland and Northern Ireland

Councillors are elected using Single Transferable Vote, so that multiple councillors will be elected per local authority ward. Voters rank candidates according to preference. In order to be elected, candidates must obtain above a certain threshold of votes; if a candidate achieves the threshold then their surplus votes are redistributed based on voters' next preferred candidates. If no candidate achieves the threshold, then the candidate with fewest votes is eliminated and their votes redistributed to voters' next
preferred candidate. The process is repeated until the required number of members are elected.

## 9.3

European Parliament Elections

Members were elected to the European Parliament from twelve UK regions, comprising Scotland, Wales, Northern Ireland and the nine English regions. Elections are held every five year, with the next election - in which the UK will not take part - taking place in 2024.

In Great Britain, MEPs were elected from each region using a closed Party List system: electors vote for their preferred party and cannot specify a preferred candidate. Parties receive seats in proportion to votes won and determine the order in which their candidates are elected. Prior to 1999, MEPs in Great Britain were elected by First Past the Post, from constituencies formed by aggregating several Westminster parliamentary seats. In Northern Ireland, MEPs were elected using the Single Transferable Vote.

## 9.4

## Elections to devolved parliaments and assemblies

Elections to the Northern Ireland Assembly are conducted using the Single Transferable Vote. Assembly constituencies are the same as Westminster Parliamentary constituencies. Currently there are eighteen constituencies, each returning six Members.

Elections to the Scottish Parliament, Senedd Cymru and London Assembly use the Additional Member System. In each institution there are a set number of constituency members and a set number of regional members. The regional seats are intended to align the distribution of seats more closely to the distribution of votes. Voters are given two ballots. One ballot is used to vote for a constituency member, elected using First Past the Post. The other (regional) ballot is used to vote for a closed party list of candidates. Once the constituency members are elected, the regional seats are allocated between parties based on their vote share in the regional ballot and the number of constituency seats they won in the region.

There are 73 Scottish Parliament constituencies, across eight Scottish Parliament regions. Each region returns seven Members of the Scottish Parliament (MSPs) so there are 56 regional MSPs alongside the 73 constituency MSPs. Scottish Parliament constituencies are not the same as Westminster parliamentary constituencies.

Members of the Senedd Cymru are elected from 40 constituencies across five regions. Four regional Members of the Senedd (MS) are elected for each
region, so there are 20 regional MSs in addition to the 40 constituency MSs. Currently Senedd constituencies are the same as Westminster parliamentary constituencies, but the Parliamentary Voting System and Constituencies Act 2011 removed the automatic link between the two sets of boundaries. ${ }^{13}$

The London Assembly elects fourteen constituency Members and eleven regional Members using a single London-wide region.

## 3 Next elections

- May 2024 (London Assembly and Mayor)
- May 2026 (Senedd Cymru)
- May 2026 (Scottish Parliament)


## Mayoral Elections

From May 2023, the Mayor of London and other local authority mayors in England will be elected using the First Past the Post system. Until then, mayors were elected using the Supplementary Vote system. Voters chose their first and second preference candidates. If a candidate received a majority of first preference votes, then he or she was elected; if not, the two candidates who received the most first preference votes went through to a second round. The other candidates were eliminated, and any second preference votes for the two remaining candidates were distributed accordingly. The candidate who received the most votes at the end of this process was elected for a fouryear term.

The next election of the Mayor of London will be in 2024.

Police and Crime Commissioner elections

Police and Crime Commissioner elections are held in police force areas; each area elects one PCC. Like the mayoral elections, these elections will be held under the First Past the Post voting system from May 2023; they were held using the Supplementary Vote system until then (see above).

[^19]
## 9.7

## Further information

Results of individual elections can be found in relevant House of Commons Library research papers. Analyses of results from the most recent elections to various institutions can be found in the following:

- General Election 2019
https://commonslibrary.parliament.uk/research-briefings/cbp-8749/
- General Election 2017
https://commonslibrary.parliament.uk/research-briefings/cbp-7979/
- General Election 2015
https://commonslibrary.parliament.uk/research-briefings/cbp-7186/
- General Election 2010
https://commonslibrary.parliament.uk/research-briefings/rp10-36/
- European Parliament elections 2019 https://commonslibrary.parliament.uk/research-briefings/cbp-8600/
- Senedd Cymru/Welsh Parliament elections: 2021 https://commonslibrary.parliament.uk/research-briefings/cbp-9282/
- Scottish Parliament elections: 2021 https://commonslibrary.parliament.uk/research-briefings/cbp-9230/
- Northern Ireland Assembly elections: 2022 https://commonslibrary.parliament.uk/research-briefings/cbp-9549/
- Local elections 2022
https://commonslibrary.parliament.uk/research-briefings/cbp-9545/
- London elections 2021
https://commonslibrary.parliament.uk/research-briefings/cbp-9231/
Further information on elected mayors, voting systems used for different UK elections, and characteristics of Members elected to the House of Commons and other institutions can be found in the following Library briefing papers:
- Directly-elected mayors
https://commonslibrary.parliament.uk/research-briefings/sn05000/
- Voting systems in the UK https://commonslibrary.parliament.uk/research-briefings/sn04458/
- Social background of Members of Parliament https://commonslibrary.parliament.uk/research-briefings/cbp-7483/
- Women in politics and public life https://commonslibrary.parliament.uk/research-briefings/sn01250/
- Ethnic diversity in politics and public life https://commonslibrary.parliament.uk/research-briefings/sn01156/

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[^0]:    Note: Liberal vote share/seats include votes/seats won by Liberal/SDP alliance (1983-87) and Liberal Democrats from 1992. Figures for 1918 include all Ireland

[^1]:    ${ }^{1}$ Sydney Elliot, 'Voting systems and political parties in Northern Ireland', in Brigid Hadfield (ed.), Northern Ireland: Politics and the Constitution (1992), 85-90.

[^2]:    ${ }^{2}$ Women who occupied business premises in their own right had an extra vote if the property was worth more than $£ 5$ a year. From 1928, their husbands were also granted an extra vote. For more information see Robert Blackburn, The Electoral System in Britain (1995), 66-75.

[^3]:    ${ }^{3}$ Data on spoilt ballots for the 2019 General Election is based on information collected and published by The Electoral Commission.

[^4]:    ${ }^{4}$ The Parliament (Qualification of Women) Act 1918 allowed women aged 21 and over to stand for Parliament. Women aged 30 and over were given the vote in 1918. In 1928 the voting age for women was lowered to 21.

[^5]:    Note: Data for 1983 and 1987 are for Liberals only (not SDP)

[^6]:    ${ }^{5}$ JFS Ross, Elections and Electors, 1955, p387
    ${ }^{6}$ David Butler and Dennis Kavanagh, The British General Election of 1997; House of Commons Library Research Paper RP10/36, General Election 2010

[^7]:    Sources: David butler, Dennis Kavanagh and others, The British General Election of... (1951-2019); Montacute \& Dawood (The Sutton Trust), Parliamentary Privilege 2019: Educational Backgrounds of the new House of Commons

[^8]:    ${ }^{7}$ Members may have had multiple occupations before entering the House of Commons. Therefore, Members are classified to different occupational groups based on what is judged to have been their main former occupation. Source: Byron Criddle and others in David Butler, Dennis Kavanagh and others, The British General Election of... (1951-2019)

[^9]:    Source: Philip Cowley \& Dennis Kavanagh (eds) The British General Election of 2019; The British General Election of 2017

[^10]:    ${ }^{8}$ David Butler and Gareth Butler (2011), British Political Facts, p288

[^11]:    Source: Library Briefing Paper 9231 London Elections

[^12]:    Source: Greater London Authority, London Elects

[^13]:    Notes: Local elections in 1979, 1997, 2001, 2005, 2010 and 2015 were held on same day as a general election, and in these years general election vote shares are shown in bold.
    Source: Colin Rallings \& Michael Thrasher, Local elections handbooks, various editions

[^14]:    Notes for tables 27c \& 28:

    1. Turnout is as reported by local authority and may include spoilt ballots
    2. In 2017, the first elections for six elected mayors of combined authorities known as 'Metro-mayors" took place.

    Party descriptions:

    | AKIP | Adrian Knapper Independent Party | LPA | Lewisham People's Alliance |
    | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
    | A | Aspire | M4S | Mayor 4 Stoke |
    | B1st | Bristol 1st | MIF | Mansfield Independent Forum |
    | BBI | Better Bedford Independent | NF | National Front |
    | BP | The Birthday Party | PATH | People's Alliance of Tower Hamlets |
    | CAP | Community Action Party - Exposing Political Fraud | PBP | People Before Profit |
    | CG | Community Group | SA | Socialist Alliance |
    | CPA | Christian People's Alliance | SP | Socialist Party |
    | CPB | Communist Party of Britain | SGS | Supporting Green Shoots |
    | CWP | Communities Welfare Party | SYNHS | South Yorkshire Save Our NHS |
    | D\&V | Democrats and Veterans | THF | Tower Hamlets First |
    | ED | English Democrats | TRP | The Respect Party |
    | FCP | Fat Cat Party | TUSC | Trade Unionist and Socialist Coalition |
    | LEAP | Local Education Action by Parents | UPS | Unity For Peace and Socialism |
    | LIP | Liverpool Independent Party | V4T | Voice 4 Torbay |
    | LLH | Local Man, Local Issues, Hartlepool First | WEP | Women's Equality Party |
    |  |  | YP | The Yorkshire Party |

    Sources for tables 27c \& 28: House of Commons Library, Local Elections research papers, various years; BBC Political Research; Local authority websites; Colin Rallings and Michael Thrasher, Local Elections Handbook, various years

[^15]:    Source: Library Briefing Paper 7639 Analysis of the EU Referendum results 2016

[^16]:    Source: Library Research Paper RP14/50, Scottish Independence Referendum 2014

[^17]:    ${ }^{9}$ Colin Rallings and Michael Thrasher, British Electoral Facts 1832-2012, 247

[^18]:    ${ }^{10}$ Ibid, 247
    ${ }^{11}$ Ibid, 248
    ${ }^{12}$ Ibid, 249

[^19]:    ${ }^{13}$ Parliamentary Voting System and Constituencies Act 2011, legislation.gov.uk

