By-elections

A by-election takes place when a seat in the House of Commons becomes vacant between general elections. If there are several vacant seats then a number of by-elections can take place on the same day.

Reasons for by-elections

A seat becomes vacant during the lifetime of a Parliament either when an MP resigns from Parliament, for example to take up a job which by law cannot be done by an MP, or because an MP has died. The law also allows a seat to be declared vacant because of a Member's bankruptcy, mental illness or conviction for a serious criminal offence.

A by-election does not automatically take place if an MP changes political party.

Until a new MP is elected, constituency matters are usually handled by an MP of the same party in a neighbouring constituency.

'Moving the Writ'

Traditionally the Chief Whip of the political party whose MP held the vacant seat will begin the procedure for a by-election. This is known as 'moving the Writ' and takes the form of a motion in the House of Commons.

By-election timetable

A new Writ is usually moved within three months of the vacancy occurring. There have been a few instances of seats remaining vacant longer than six months before a by-election was called, and seats have also been left vacant towards the end of a Parliament to be filled at the general election instead.

The Electoral Timetable

Statutory electoral timetables for both general and by-elections are laid down in the Parliamentary Elections Rules appended to the *Representation of the People Act 1983*. The timetable was amended in the *Representation of the People Act 1985*.

| General elections | Day of timetable | By-elections |
|---------------------------------------|------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Royal Proclamation and issue of writs | 0 | Issue of new writ |
| Receipt of writs | 1 | Receipt of writ |
| · | 2 | · |
| Last day for notice of Elections | 3 | Last day for notice of election |
| Earliest day for nomination | 4 | Earliest day for nomination |
| • | 5 | · |
| Latest day for nomination | 6 | Earliest day for nominations to close |
| • | 7 | · |
| | 8 | Latest day for nominations to close |
| | 9 | • |
| | 10 | |
| | 11 | |
| | 12 | |
| | 13 | |
| | 14 | |
| | 15 | Earliest polling day |
| | 16 | |
| Polling day | 17 | |
| | 18 | |
| | 19 | Latest polling day |

Notes:-

- (1) In the case of by-elections, the last day for nominations and polling day are fixed, within certain limits, by the Returning Officer.
- (2) For the purposes of the timetable, Saturday, Sunday, Christmas Eve, Christmas Day, Good Friday, a bank holiday, and any day appointed for public thanksgiving or mourning are disregarded.

By-elections since the 2010 General Election

| Constituency | Reason for by-election | Date of by- election | Result (+Turnout %) | New Member | Change from Gen Election |
|------------------------------|--|-------------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------------|
| Wythenshawe and Sale East | Death of Paul Goggins - 7 January 2014 | 13 February 2014 | Labour Hold (T=37.5%) | Michael Kane | Lab ↑ 11.4% |
| South Shields | Resignation of David Miliband to take NGO job in New York - 15 April 2013 | 2 May 2013 | Labour Hold (T=39.3%) | Emma Lewell- Buck | Lab ↓ 1.5% |
| Mid-Ulster | Resignation of Martin McGuiness to focus on role as Mid-Ulster's NI Assembly member -2 January 2013 | 7 March 2013 | Sinn Fein Hold (T – 55.4%) | Francie Molloy | Sinn Fein ↓ 5.1% |
| Eastleigh | Resignation of Chris Huhne (Lib Dem) - admission of guilt in perverting course of justice trial - 5 February 2013 | 28 February 2013 | Lib Dem Hold (T=52.7%) | Mike Thornton | Lib Dem ↓ 14.5% |
| Rotherham | Resignation of Rt Hon Denis MacShane (Lab) - expenses scandal - 5 November 2012 | 29 November 2012 | Labour Hold (T = 34%) | Sarah Champion | Lab ↑ 1.6% |
| Middlesbrough | Death of Sir Stuart Bell (Lab) – 13 October 2012 | 29 November 2012 | Labour Hold (T = 26%) | Andy McDonald | Lab ↑ 14.6% |
| Croydon North | Death of Malcolm Wicks (Lab) – 29 September 2012 | 29 November 2012 | Labour Hold (T = 26.5%) | Steve Reed | Lab ↑ 8.7% |
| Manchester Central | Resignation of Tony Lloyd (Lab) - to stand for Police & Crime Commissioner – 22 October 2012 | 15 November 2012 | Labour Hold (T = 18.4%) | Lucy Powell | Lab ↑ 16% |
| Cardiff South and Penarth | Resignation of Rt Hon Alun Michael (Lab) - to stand for Police & Crime Commissioner - 22 October 2012 | 15 November 2012 | Labour/Co-op Hold (T = 26%) | Stephen Doughty | Lab↑8% |
| Corby | Resignation of Louise Mensch (Con) - family reasons - 29 August 2012 | 15 November 2012 | Labour/Co-op Gain (T = 45%) | Andy Sawford | Lab ↑ 9.7% |
| Bradford West | Resignation of Marsha Singh (Lab) -"serious health problems" – 2 March 2012 | 29 March 2012 | Respect Gain (T = 51%) | George Galloway | Respect ↑ 53% |
| Feltham and Heston | Death of Alan Keen (Lab) – 14 November 2011 | 15 December 2011 | Labour hold (T = 28.8%) | Seema Malhotra | Lab↑8% |
| Inverclyde | Death of David Cairns (Lab) – 9 May 2011 | 30 June 2011 | Labour hold (T = 45.5%) | Iain McKenzie | Lab ↓ 18% |
| Leicester South | Resignation of Sir Peter Soulsby (Lab) to stand for Mayor of Leicester – 1 April 2011 | 5 May 2011 | Labour hold (T = 45%) | Jon Ashworth | Lab ↑ 16% |
| Belfast West | Resignation of Gerry Adams (Sinn Fein) to stand for the Irish Dail – 26 January 2011 | 9 June 2011 | Sinn Fein hold (T = 37.5%) | Paul Maskey | Sinn Fein ↑ 2.5% |
| Barnsley Central | Resignation of Eric Illsley (Lab) after conviction in expenses case - 8 February 2011 | 3 March 2011 | Labour hold (T = 36.5%) | Dan Jarvis | Lab ↑ 18.6% |
| Oldham East & Saddleworth | Previous election declared void by court (Phil Woolas – Lab) – 5 November 2010 | 13 January 2011 | Labour hold (T = 48%) | Debbie Abrahams | Lab ↑ 10% |

By-elections 2005 - 2010

| Constituency | Reason for by-election | Date of by- election | Result | New Member | Gen Election 2010 |
|------------------------------|--|-------------------------|---|---------------------|-----------------------|
| Strangford | Resignation of Iris Robinson (DUP) – sex & influence scandal 15 January 2010 | | | | (DUP hold) |
| North West Leicestershire | Death of David Taylor (Lab/Co-op) 26 December 2009 | | | | (Con gain) |
| Glasgow North East | Resignation of Rt Hon Michael Martin (Speaker) – related to handling of expenses issue - 22 June 2009 | 12 November 2009 | Labour win (technically a gain from Speaker) | William Bain | Lab hold |
| Norwich North | Resignation of Dr Ian Gibson (Lab) – expenses issue - 8 June 2009 | 23 July 2009 | Con gain | Chloe Smith | Con hold |
| Glenrothes | Death of John MacDougall (Lab) 12 August 2008 | 6 Nov 2008 | Labour hold | Lindsay Roy | Lab hold |
| Glasgow East | Resignation of David Marshall (Lab) – health grounds - 30 June 2008 | 24 July 2008 | SNP gain | John Mason | Lab regain |
| Haltemprice and Howden | Resignation of Rt Hon David Davis – to make political point - (Con) 18 June 2008 | 10 July 2008 | Con hold | David Davis | Con hold |
| Henley | Resignation of Boris Johnson (Con) – became Mayor of London - 4 June 2008 | 26 June 2008 | Con hold | John Howell | Con hold |
| Crewe and Nantwich | Death of Gwyneth Dunwoody (Lab) 17 April 2008 | 22 May 2008 | Con gain | Edward Timpson | Con hold |
| Ealing Southall | Death of Piara Khabra (Lab) 19 June 2007 | 19 July 2007 | Labour hold | Virendra Sharmar | Lab hold |
| Sedgefield | Resignation of Rt Hon Tony Blair (Lab)- after stepping down as PM & Labour Leader - 27 June 2007 | 19 July 2007 | Labour hold | Phil Wilson | Lab hold |
| Bromley & Chislehurst | Death of Rt Hon Eric Forth (Con) 17 May 2006 | 29 June 2006 | Con hold | Bob Neill | Con hold |
| Blaenau Gwent | Death of Peter Law (Ind) 25 Apr 2006 | 29 June 2006 | Independent hold | Dai Davies | Lab gain |
| Dunfermline & West Fife | Death of Rachel Squire (Lab) 5 January 2006 | 9 Feb 2006 | Lib Dem gain | Willie Rennie | Lab regain |
| Livingston | Death of Rt Hon Robin Cook (Lab) 6 August 2005 | 29 Sep 2005 | Labour hold | Jim Devine | Lab hold (diff MP) |
| Cheadle | Death of Patsy Calton (LD) 29 May | 14 Jul 2005 | Lib Dem hold | Mark Hunter | LD hold |

By-elections - issues

Seen as test for national government – mini-referendum on its recent actions, competence, policies:

- Govt party often does badly, losing votes and sometimes losing seats. (V damaging for Callaghan's Lab govt in late 70s as it lost its majority) and for Major's Con govt in mid 1990s as it lost its majority and became reliant on Ulster Unionist support. Labour won no byelections 1998 2011 inclusive.
- recent results have been particularly bad for Lib Dems e.g losing deposits with <5% in 6 out of the last 10 non-NI by-elections e.g. Nov 2012, 8^{th} in Rotherham, 4^{th} in Croydon North, 4^{th} in Corby; 2013, 7^{th} in South Shields; 2014, 4^{th} in Wythenshaw & Sale East.
- but Cons also embarrassed recently, e.g. 3rd behind UKIP in Wythenshaw & Sale East Feb + the 2 previous by-elections; 5th in Rotherham behind UKIP & BNP
- but bad Lab result in Inverclyde in 2011 (barely hung on vs SNP challenge) & losing to Respect in Bradford West in 2012 shows regional/local issues can outweigh UK ones
- National party leaders spin the results as best they can e.g. Milliband claiming 2011 Feltham and Heston Lab hold with 8% increase in vote as vindicating his leadership and strategy, while demonstrating the public's rejection of the Coalition. Cameron dismissed the loss of Corby in 2012 as "a classic mid-term result".
- UKIP have recently made a splash in a number of by-elections e.g. Nov 2012: 2nd in Wythenshawe and Sale (18% of the vote), as well as Rotherham (21.6%), Middlesborough (11.8% of vote), and 3rd in Corby (14.3% of vote); and 2nd in Barnsley in March 2011 no wins but gaining anti-Labour votes at expense of Lib Dems & Cons. In past parliaments SNP and Lib Dems have benefitted from voters willingness to vote for third/minor parties in midterm by-elections.

Cost – due to the exceptional attention on a by-election, spending limits are raised to £100,000 per candidate, over 4 times the candidate limit at a General Election.

National media attention for a while (much more attention on a single constituency than would be the case in a general election) – especially if the by-election is seen as close or as encapsulating national issues in some way.

- national politicians from all parties will visit, although not normally a PM. Allows parties to try out new themes and strategies.

As **candidates have to be selected v quickly** by all parties, often a chance for up-and-coming politicians to try for a seat, even if it is regarded as unwinnable, as preparation for selection for a safer seat in future.

Turnout often v low – down c25% from Gen Elect – coupled with the above means **large swings** are possible vs the government, allowing occasionally v dramatic results by third parties such as the SNP or Lib Dems – e.g. Brent East won by Sarah Teather for LDs 2003

If a constituency changes hands, it **may revert** to the former party at the next General Election, but incumbents have some advantages, esp as a by-election may give them more profile locally than a General Election would (despite low turnout). Lib Dems have been able to turn some by-election gains into longer-term holds over the last 20 years (e.g. Sarah Teather in Brent East, now Brent Central).

Some academic evidence that good by-election performances by a party have a positive effect on its subsequent General Election performance:

What to make of these findings? We could look at this through two perspectives: one from the party perspective; and the other from the voters'. In the former, these findings might suggest that parties approach general elections in a rather different way than they approach by-elections. By-elections are set-piece events that attract media attention of such disproportional amounts that they would never attract at general elections. Accordingly, parties – whose legal spending limits are four times greater than at by-elections – take

advantage of this by pouring huge amounts of effort into such campaigns, either to defend their seat or to secure a headline-grabbing victory from the (normally government) incumbent. The urge to do this vanishes at general elections when there are 650-odd other contests taking place.

From the voters' perspective, we know that certain by-elections can act as lightning conductors for voters to protest against the government of the day on the salient issues of the day. By-elections offer voters a chance to rebel against their 'normal' preferences, to give the incumbent a 'bloody nose', for whatever reason. But at general elections, the salience of such protests tend to vanish, as most seats which held by-elections earlier on in the cycle become part of several hundred contests on one night (some of which, admittedly, receiving more coverage than others), and voters appear to return to their 'normal' voting choices.

From: Do by-elections have an impact on British general election outcomes? Clive Nicholas, University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne