

From Blair to Brown: Dissension amongst the Parliamentary Labour Party, 2006-2007

A Data Handbook



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As always, we are grateful to the various bodies which have helped support our research on backbench behaviour – most obviously the University of Nottingham who fund the current research – and to the many MPs who have responded to our plentiful queries. We also thank Andy Platt who photoshopped the Blair to Brown images which adorn the front of this pamphlet. Copies of this pamphlet and other material on backbench dissent are available free of charge from www.revolts.co.uk.

Introduction

After the record-breaking events of the first session of the 2005 Parliament, the second session, between 15 November 2006 and 30 October 2007, could seem like a bit of a let-down. From a rebellion in 28 percent of divisions – which was a post-war record for the first session of a parliament – the rate of rebellion fell in 2006-7 to 20 percent. And after the four Commons defeats in 2005-6 – also a post-war record for a government with a majority of more than 60 – the 2006-7 session saw normal service resumed, with the Government winning every whipped vote. Yet the 2006-7 session still saw a Government backbench rebellion in one in five divisions, the fourth highest rate in the New Labour era (behind 2005-06, 2004-05 and 2001-02) and the seventh highest since 1979. The rate of rebellion for the Parliament as a whole remains one rebellion in every four divisions, which means the Parliament is still on course to see the highest rate of rebellion of the post-war era. The session saw 122 Labour MPs defy their whip (marginally up on the 114 in the preceding session), and the revolts over the renewal of Trident produced the largest rebellion ever by Labour MPs over their own government's defence policy. The 2006-07 session may have seen Labour dissent fall back slightly, but it did not see it vanish.

There were a total of 221 divisions during the 2006-7 session, a 36 percent drop on the 343 in the preceding sessions. Excluding pre-election sessions – often curtailed, often short – this figure of 221 was the lowest number of divisions in a session since the 1995-6 session. As a result, whilst the number of Labour rebellions fell by more than 50 percent, from 95 in the 2005-6 session to 45 in 2006-7, the fall in the percentage rate of rebellion was less dramatic, from 28 percent to 20 percent.

The rebellions covered a wide range of issues and bills, although the vast majority (68 percent) of Labour dissenting votes occurred over three measures: the Offender Management Bill, the Pensions Bill, and the renewal of Trident. Most of the rebellions were not large: the mean was 11 (the same as in the previous session), but the median was just three, with the mean inflated by the two very large revolts over Trident. Two-thirds of the revolts consisted of fewer than ten Labour MPs.

The two largest revolts of the session – and, indeed, the Parliament as a whole – came over the Government's proposal to renew Trident. The largest Trident revolt – on a delaying amendment moved by Jon Trickett – was backed in the lobbies by 95 Labour MPs; the rebellion on the government's main motion saw 89 Labour MPs vote against. Revolts of this scale are extremely rare. The two largest Iraq revolts aside, there have only been two other revolts by Government MPs against the whip of this size in the entire post-war era.¹ The churning between each vote meant that the total number of Labour MPs who voted against their whip in the two votes was 102. As a percentage of the PLP – smaller than it was in 2003 – this was extremely close to the scale of the Iraq revolts. Including abstentions, more than half of Labour's backbench MPs defied the party line over Trident, and it also easily broke what had been the record for the largest defence rebellion in Labour's history when in government: the 79 MPs who defied Jim Callaghan over defence expenditure in 1977.

¹ In terms of revolts against the whip, the only votes of equivalent or larger size occurred in 1976 on the Rent (Agriculture Bill) (110 Labour rebels) and in 1997 on the Firearms (Amendment) Bill (95 Conservative rebels). Of the five largest rebellions in the post-war era, therefore, three occurred in the Blair decade.

This was merely the latest record to fall since Labour entered Government in 1997. The Blair years also produced the largest foreign policy rebellion in Labour's history (Iraq), the largest education rebellion (top-up fees), and the largest health policy rebellion (foundation hospitals). The need for Conservative support to enact the policy also means that three key policies of the Blair era were only achieved thanks to Conservative support, encompassing foreign policy (Iraq), domestic policy (schools reform) and defence (Trident). This happened despite the Government enjoying comfortable-to-large majorities for its entire time in office. No government with a majority of more than 60 should have had that difficult a time in the Commons.

A total of 122 Labour MPs rebelled during the 2006-7 session, making a total of 139 Labour MPs who have rebelled at some point since the 2005 Parliament. Some 88 percent of those who rebelled in 2005-06 also rebelled in 2006-07, and the correlation in the number of rebellions was very high, at 0.84. The incidence of rebellion, however, fell dramatically in many cases. Jeremy Corbyn remained the most rebellious Labour MP, but his rebellions fell by 60 to 31, a fall of 48 percent, broadly in line with the reduced number of revolts (down by 53 percent on the number in the preceding session). Some, however, saw sharper declines, even amongst normally very rebellious MPs: Bob Wareing's rebellions fell by 71 percent on the preceding session, Bob Marshall-Andrews was down 74 percent, as was Mark Fisher. Paul Flynn was down 76 percent (from 21 in 2005-6 to just five in 2006-7), and Glenda Jackson was down by 85 percent (from 33 in 2005-6 to just five in 2006-7). Conversely, 25 Labour MPs voted against the whip for the first time this Parliament.

Gordon Brown became Prime Minister on 27 June 2007. The 64 divisions between then and the end of the session saw just 10 Labour backbench rebellions. There was therefore a slight drop in backbench dissent following the change of Premier, from a rate of 22 percent for the Blair portion of the session, to 16 percent under Brown. This, however, should not be taken as indicating that there are no problems ahead. Indeed, the figures for rebellions under Brown are relatively high by historic standards.

Brown's first backbench revolt came after just 45 minutes. He left Buckingham Palace at 2.48pm; at 3.33pm Austin Mitchell rebelled over the Tribunals, Courts and Enforcement Bill. Ironically, Mitchell's new clause hoped to 'impose discipline' within the debt enforcement industry. In itself this was a post-war record. Prior to Brown's arrival in No. 10, the length of time before the first rebellion under each new Prime Minister since 1945 ranged from five days (Churchill, in 1951) to sixteen months (Wilson, 1964).

Indeed, the majority of new Prime Ministers between 1945 and 2007 saw not a single backbench revolt within their first month in office. That applied to Attlee, Eden, Macmillan, Home, Wilson (both in 1964 and 1974), Heath and Blair. Of the others, Churchill, Callaghan, and Thatcher faced just one backbench revolt; Major suffered two revolts within the first month of his premiership. Gordon Brown, however, endured nine backbench rebellions within his first month in office – more than every other post-war Prime Minister combined.

He also endured the largest rebellion within the first month of any post-war Premier. The previous record was held by John Major's backbenchers, seven of whom defied their whips on 4 December 1990 over – prophetically – the government's European policy. Other first month revolts were even smaller: Thatcher's revolt over Kiribati involved just three MPs, Churchill and Callaghan's

largest revolt in their first month involved just one backbencher. By contrast, in his first month, Gordon Brown faced two revolts over the Pensions Bill, one of 17 MPs, another of 16. Even the smaller of these two rebellions was larger than the largest revolt in the first month of every other post-war premier combined. And (largely as a result), Gordon Brown also saw more MPs rebel in his first month than any other post-war Prime Minister – with 21 separate MPs defying the whip, compared to a total of eight in the first month of the Major government. In total, Labour MPs cast 43 dissenting votes against the whip in Gordon Brown's first month as Prime Minister. Not only was this greater than the total of the first months of all other Prime Ministers combined, it is more than three times all the others combined.

Brown's first month in power also saw ministers engaged in a series of compromises over the Corporate Manslaughter and Corporate Homicide Bill, the Offender Management Bill, and the Pensions Bill in order to placate backbench rebellions. Without such negotiation, the level of rebellion would have been noticeably higher. The evidence is clear enough: Brown needs to treat his backbenchers with care.

This volume is a record of all the occasions which separated members of the Parliamentary Labour Party from their leadership. It provides brief details of all 45 rebellions by Labour backbenchers between 15 November 2006 and 30 October 2007, along with full lists of every MP to participate in each of those rebellions. It is unlikely to be the most exciting volume you will ever read in your life. But it is not meant to be exciting. It is meant as a reference work, something to be checked occasionally for relevant information, and then put back on the shelf, or deleted from the PC.

We hope it might be useful for those voters who want to know what their MP did (or didn't do) during the last parliament, as well as for those – researchers, academics, lobbyists, journalists – who want to know about the behaviour of the PLP during the period. We do not pretend that this is the story of the 2006 session – the full story is, thankfully, far more interesting than this – but it is at least some of the raw material of that story, and is here for others to use, in the future, however they want.

We list here every occasion during the 2006-07 session when a Labour MP voted against his or her whip. This is a deceptively simple statement – but there are a handful of important caveats which need to be understood if the data are to make sense.

The first is that we have excluded 'free votes', those occasions on which the Labour party managers, the whips, did not issue instructions to the PLP. This volume is therefore not a record of every occasion when a Labour MP deviated from the rest of his or her party; it is a record of every occasion when Labour MPs defied the whip to do so. This differentiates this data source from some of the (otherwise excellent) web-based search engines that are available (such as publicwhip.org.uk or theyworkforyou.com), which record all occasions when a party's MPs are not 100% united.² Our interest here is on matters of dissent, on

² There is one other problem with the various web-based sources on MPs' voting. When a party's official line is to abstain, they fail to detect MPs who are breaking their whip to vote on an issue (either for or against). This is usually less of a problem for the government – since it is extremely rare for the government to be

those occasions where MPs defy their party leadership. For one thing, there is a qualitative difference between voting against your party when the whip is on, and doing so when it is not. In addition, not differentiating whipped from unwhipped votes can lead to strange conclusions about an MP's behaviour.

It is sometimes difficult to distinguish definitively between whipped and genuinely free votes – hence the problem that the websites have – and there is a tricky middle ground, where the vote may not be officially whipped but where it is quite clear what the party hierarchy want their MPs to do. As one whip put it: there are 'free votes and free votes'. But based both on contacts with MPs and with whips, we believe that we have identified all those occasions when Labour MPs defied the official instructions of their whips.

The second caveat is that we have excluded from our list of rebels those occasions when MPs vote twice. One of the most common reasons for this happening is that MPs have no way of registering abstentions. The procedures of the House of Commons give MPs just two formal options: to vote aye or no on whatever question is before them. MPs occasionally get around this by voting in both lobbies. This practice – which has been deprecated by the Speaker – is known by some Labour MPs as 'Skinner abstentions', after the veteran Labour MP, and frequent rebel, Dennis Skinner. It is a curious nomenclature. Skinner is by inclination not the abstaining type – and (as far as we are aware) has never voted in both lobbies to register an abstention. It would be much more sensible to call them 'Taylor abstentions' after the Labour MP for Leicestershire North West, David Taylor, who began to engage in the practice fairly regularly during the 2001 parliament as a way of casting what he called a 'positive abstention' (and, as will be clear in what follows, it is a practice he has continued to pursue).³ We do not include such MPs in our lists of rebels – or in our overall figures – but we have recorded their presence in notes each time it has occurred.

MPs also sometimes vote in both lobbies as a way of correcting an initial vote cast in error, rushing back through the other lobby once they realise their mistake. As the Labour MP Paul Flynn notes in his wonderful book, *Commons Knowledge*, 'outsiders guffaw at the possibility of MPs voting the wrong way. After all the choice is simple, yes or no'. But with around 300 votes each year, MPs do not know all the details about each vote they cast, especially on the more arcane amendments; so, as Flynn puts it, they are 'grateful for the sheepdog herding of the Whips who direct them safely into the lobby of righteousness and truth'.⁴ But sometimes the herding breaks down, and the MP gets directed into the wrong lobby. Voting can be a particular problem for Liberal Democrats and those from minor parties because they both often lack the sight of masses of their colleagues flooding into one lobby. It can, though, happen to MPs of all parties. Lastly, there are also those occasions when *Hansard* – the official record of parliamentary debates – simply mis-records an MP's vote. Again, where, with the help of the MPs concerned, we have been able to identify such mis-recorded votes we have excluded them from the data.

neutral on an issue – but it can be a much more serious problem when analysing the behaviour of MPs from opposition parties.

³ Indeed, he is doing so with increasing frequency. In the last parliament Taylor cast a total of 21 deliberate abstentions; the first two sessions of the 2005 Parliament have already seen exactly the same number of deliberate abstentions, not least because he has begun to 'double-vote abstain' where there are no other Labour MPs dissenting.

⁴ Paul Flynn, *Commons Knowledge*, Seren, 1997, p. 16.

Perhaps most importantly, of all, however, we are not able to record all the occasions when MPs defy their whips by abstaining, rather than voting against. Because the House of Commons does not allow MPs to register abstentions – other than, as discussed above, by voting twice – it is not possible to read anything into absences. The whips may have: formally sanctioned an absence from a vote; it may be accidental; or it may be deliberate. There is no information on the record that allows us to establish, at least not systematically, the causes of absences. Where the information is available, we do provide a note of the numbers believed to be abstaining in any particular vote. For example, because the two Trident votes were so close together (see below), we are able to make a good estimation of some of the abstentions: where an MP voted in one vote, but not in the other, we have presumed an abstention. But even here, we are not able to read anything into the behaviour of those who were absent from both votes.

We are very grateful to the MPs who helped us with the research, research of which this volume is just one part. MPs get bombarded with academic requests for assistance – from schoolchildren, students, and academics – and yet nearly all of them took the time to help clear up, or explain, what had taken place on a particular vote. We are also grateful for the assistance of the government whips' office, for similar help in determining the whipping arrangements on some votes. Many MPs helped further, by granting interviews, the material from which we intend to use in further (more interesting) publications.

The research reported here was conducted as part of a research project, which is currently funded by the University of Nottingham, where the authors are based, and we are grateful for their support.

The pamphlet is in four main sections.

Section I (pp. 6 to 20) contains a listing of every rebellion by Labour MPs between 2006 and 2007, giving an explanation of each vote and listing the backbench rebels.

Section II (pp. 21 to 22) contains summary tables of all 45 rebellions, giving issue, date, division number and size of rebellion.

Section III (pp. 23 to 28) contains tabulations of each of the issues to see significant rebellions during the Parliament.

Section IV (pp. 29 to 34) provides totals for the number of dissenting votes cast by each Labour MP, listing MPs by both the total number of dissenting votes cast, and alphabetically.

We have made every effort to ensure that the information contained in this volume is correct, but in the event that we have made mistakes, we would, of course, welcome the chance to correct them. We can be contacted at either info@revolts.co.uk or philip.cowley@nottingham.ac.uk.

November 2007

I Backbench rebellions and rebels, 2006-2007

15 November 2006-30 October 2007

[1] 21 November 2006 (Div. 1):

One Labour MP voted in favour of a DUP amendment during the Committee stage of the Northern Ireland (St Andrews Agreement) Bill that would have given the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland the power to extend the deadline of 26 March 2007 for the restoration of the devolved assembly:

Kate Hoey

Note: The Conservative frontbench line was to abstain, but four Conservative MPs voted in the aye lobby in favour of the amendment.

[2] 29 November 2006 (Div. 6):

Eleven Labour MPs voted against the Second Reading of the Fraud (Trial without a Jury) Bill, reducing the Government's majority to 30:

Jeremy Corbyn	Glenda Jackson	Alan Simpson
Mark Fisher	Dr Lynne Jones	Robert Wareing
Kate Hoey	Bob Marshall-Andrews	Mike Wood
Kelvin Hopkins	John McDonnell	

Note: Five Labour MPs – Gwyneth Dunwoody, Bill Etherington, Neil Gerrard, Austin Mitchell and Julie Morgan – who voted against the Government on this issue in the last Parliament – were not present, suggesting that at least some of them abstained.

[3] 4 December 2006 (Div. 9):

Four Labour MPs voted in favour of a Labour backbench amendment in the name of Andrew Dismore, Chairman of the Joint Committee on Human Rights, during the Report stage of the Corporate Manslaughter and Corporate Homicide Bill that would have ensured that unincorporated associations and company partnerships fell within the scope of the new offence of corporate manslaughter:

Jeremy Corbyn
Andrew Dismore
John McDonnell
Alan Simpson

Note: The Liberal Democrat MP, Julia Goldsworthy, voted in both lobbies, in order to cancel out a vote cast in error.

[4] 4 December 2006 (Div. 10):

Five Labour MPs supported a Labour backbench amendment during the Report stage of the Corporate Manslaughter and Corporate Homicide Bill, again in the name of Andrew Dismore, that would have extended the offence of corporate manslaughter to cover the issue of deaths in police custody caused by gross negligence:

Jeremy Corbyn
Andrew Dismore
Glenda Jackson
John McDonnell
Michael Meacher

Note: John Denham, Chairman of the Home Affairs Select Committee, abstained.

[5] 11 December 2006 (Div. 13):

Twenty-seven Labour MPs voted against the Second Reading of the Offender Management Bill:

Colin Burgon	Neil Gerrard	George Mudie
Martin Caton	Dr Ian Gibson	Barry Sheerman
Michael Clapham	John Grogan	Alan Simpson
Katy Clark	Kate Hoey	Dennis Skinner
Jeremy Corbyn	Kelvin Hopkins	David Taylor
Janet Dean	Dr Lynne Jones	Jon Trickett
David Drew	John McDonnell	Paul Truswell
Paul Farrelly	Michael Meacher	Robert Wareing
Mark Fisher	Austin Mitchell	Mike Wood

Notes: Around 20 Labour MPs are thought either to have abstained or been given leave of absence from the whips. The Conservatives supported the Government in the aye lobby, but one Conservative MP – Douglas Hogg – dissented against his party's line by voting in the no lobby.

[6] 11 December 2006 (Div. 14):

Twelve Labour MPs voted against the programme motion for the Offender Management Bill:

Colin Burgon	John Grogan	John McDonnell
Jeremy Corbyn	Kate Hoey	Alan Simpson
David Drew	Kelvin Hopkins	Jon Trickett
Dr Ian Gibson	Dr Lynne Jones	Mike Wood

Note: The Liberal Democrat frontbench line was to oppose the programme motion, but one Lib Dem MP – Nick Harvey – voted in the aye lobby by mistake.

[7] 9 January 2007 (Div. 18):

Two Labour MPs supported a Liberal Democrat New Clause during the Report stage of the Welfare Reform Bill, which would have established an annual report to Parliament on the operation of the new system for assessing the capability of those on incapacity benefit to return to work:

Jeremy Corbyn
John McDonnell

[8] 9 January 2007 (Div. 19):

Three Labour MPs supported a Conservative frontbench New Clause during the Report stage of the Welfare Reform Bill that would have ensured that people with severe and challenging conditions would not suffer financial sanctions if they failed to satisfy the conditions of the new work-focused interview:

Jeremy Corbyn
John McDonnell
Robert Wareing

[9] 9 January 2007 (Div. 20):

Six Labour backbenchers supported a Liberal Democrat amendment to the Report stage of the Welfare Reform Bill that would have abolished the shared room rate for the local housing allowance:

Jeremy Corbyn
Kelvin Hopkins

Dr Lynne Jones
John McDonnell

Albert Owen
David Taylor

Notes: Andy Love seems to have abstained, after withdrawing his own related amendment, while David Lepper and Madeleine Moon, who were critical of the Government during the debate, also appear to have abstained.

[10] 25 January 2007 (Div. 31):

One Labour MP voted in favour of a Liberal Democrat New Clause during the Report stage of the Fraud (Trial without a Jury) Bill that would have strengthened the safeguards before such trials could take place:

Kate Hoey

[11] 25 January 2007 (Div. 34):

One Labour backbencher voted in favour of a Conservative backbench amendment during the Report stage of the Fraud (Trial without a Jury) Bill in the

name of Douglas Hogg that would have required an affirmative resolution procedure in both Houses before the Bill was brought into effect:

Bob Marshall-Andrews

[12] 25 January 2007 (Div. 36):

Eleven Labour MPs voted against the Third Reading of the Fraud (Trial without a Jury) Bill, reducing the Government majority to 35:

Diane Abbott	Kate Hoey	John McDonnell
Michael Clapham	Kelvin Hopkins	Robert Wareing
Jeremy Corbyn	Dr Lynne Jones	Mike Wood
Mark Fisher	Bob Marshall-Andrews	

Note: At least two Labour MPs – Glenda Jackson and Keith Vaz – abstained.

[13] 6 February 2007 (Div. 43):

One Labour MP voted in favour of a Liberal Democrat amendment during the Report stage of the Justice and Security (Northern Ireland) Bill that would have removed Clause 7, which prevents any legal challenge to the Director of Public Prosecution's decision to issue a certificate to the effect that a defendant should be tried without a jury:

Jeremy Corbyn

Note: Sian James voted in both lobbies, to cancel out a vote cast for the amendment.

[14] 6 February 2007 (Div. 44):

One Labour MP voted in favour of a Liberal Democrat amendment during the Report stage of the Justice and Security (Northern Ireland) Bill that would have removed Clause 19, which prevents the Northern Ireland Human Rights Commission from investigating any matters arising before 1 August 2007:

Jeremy Corbyn

[15] 6 February 2007 (Div. 45):

One Labour MP voted against the Third Reading of the Justice and Security (Northern Ireland) Bill:

Jeremy Corbyn

[16] 7 February 2007 (Div. 46):

Four Labour backbenchers voted in favour of a Liberal Democrat Opposition Day motion criticising the Serious Fraud Office's (SFO) decision to discontinue its investigation into the Al-Yamamah arms agreement between BAE Systems plc and the Saudi government:

Jeremy Corbyn
Patrick Hall
Peter Kilfoyle
Bob Marshall-Andrews

Notes: David Taylor cast a deliberate abstention by voting in both lobbies. The Conservative frontbench line was to abstain, but four Tory backbenchers – Douglas Hogg, Richard Shepherd, Bob Spink and Andrew Tyrie – voted with the Liberal Democrats in the aye lobby, while one Conservative MP – Nigel Evans – voted with the Government in the no lobby.

[17] 7 February 2007 (Div. 47):

Thirteen Labour MPs voted in favour of a Liberal Democrat Opposition Prayer that would have revoked the Merchant Shipping (Inland Waterway and Limited Coastal Operations) (Boatmasters' Qualifications and Hours of Work) Regulations 2006:

Katy Clark	David Drew	Linda Riordan
Harry Cohen	Dr Ian Gibson	Alan Simpson
Jeremy Corbyn	Kate Hoey	Ian Stewart
Jon Cruddas	Kelvin Hopkins	
Ann Cryer	John McDonnell	

[18] 22 February 2007 (Div. 53):

Two Labour MPs voted against the draft Prevention of Terrorism Act 2005 (Continuance in Force of Sections 1 to 9) Order 2007:

Jeremy Corbyn
Glenda Jackson

Note: The Conservative frontbench line was to vote for the Government, but two Tory backbenchers - William Cash and Douglas Hogg – voted in the no lobby.

[19] 28 February 2007 (Div. 61):

Fifty-one Labour MPs voted in favour of a Report stage amendment during the Offender Management Bill in the name of Neil Gerrard that would have left core probation functions in the public sector:

Diane Abbott	Clive Efford	Austin Mitchell
John Austin	Paul Farrelly	Chris Mullin
Clive Betts	Paul Flynn	Denis Murphy
Karen Buck	Neil Gerrard	Gordon Prentice
Colin Burgon	Dr Ian Gibson	Linda Riordan
Ronnie Campbell	Nia Griffith	Joan Ruddock
Martin Caton	John Grogan	Martin Salter
Katy Clark	Patrick Hall	Alan Simpson
Frank Cook	David Hamilton	Dennis Skinner
Jeremy Corbyn	Dai Havard	David Taylor
Jim Cousins	Kelvin Hopkins	Paul Truswell
Jon Cruddas	Dr Lynne Jones	Dr Desmond Turner
Ann Cryer	David Lepper	Keith Vaz
Janet Dean	Judy Mallaber	Joan Walley
Frank Dobson	Christine McCafferty	Robert Wareing
David Drew	John McDonnell	David Winnick
Gwyneth Dunwoody	Michael Meacher	Mike Wood

Note: At least two Labour MPs – Peter Kilfoyle and Bob Marshall-Andrews – abstained on the amendment.

[20] 28 February 2007 (Div. 62):

Twenty-four Labour MPs opposed the Third Reading of the Offender Management Bill:

Diane Abbott	Neil Gerrard	John McDonnell
Colin Burgon	Dr Ian Gibson	Michael Meacher
Martin Caton	John Grogan	Gordon Prentice
Katy Clark	Dai Havard	Linda Riordan
Jeremy Corbyn	Kelvin Hopkins	Alan Simpson
David Drew	Dr Lynne Jones	David Taylor
Paul Farrelly	Peter Kilfoyle	Robert Wareing
Paul Flynn	Bob Marshall-Andrews	Mike Wood

Notes: Thirteen Labour MPs who had voted for Gerrard's amendment (Div. 61), abstained. A further five Labour MPs who had voted against the Second Reading of the Bill (13 December 2006, Div. 13) were either not present, or had been given leave of absence by the whips.

[21] 14 March 2007 (Div. 77):

In the largest rebellion of the Parliament, and the largest-ever Labour rebellion on a defence-related issue, 95 Labour backbenchers supported a backbench amendment in the name of Jon Trickett that would have delayed the renewal of the Trident missile system:

Diane Abbott	Paul Flynn	Chris Mullin
John Austin	Michael Jabez Foster	Denis Murphy
Anne Begg	Neil Gerrard	Dr Doug Naysmith
Joe Benton	Dr Ian Gibson	Sandra Osborne
Dr Roger Berry	Roger Godsiff	Stephen Pound
Karen Buck	Nia Griffith	Gordon Prentice
Richard Burden	John Grogan	Ken Purchase
Colin Burgon	David Hamilton	Linda Riordan
Ronnie Campbell	Fabian Hamilton	Chris Ruane
Martin Caton	Dai Havard	Joan Ruddock
David Chaytor	David Heyes	Mohammad Sarwar
Katy Clark	Kate Hoey	Alan Simpson
Charles Clarke	Kelvin Hopkins	Marsha Singh
Harry Cohen	Eric Illsley	Dennis Skinner
Michael Connarty	Glenda Jackson	Andrew Smith
Frank Cook	Sian James	Sir Peter Soulsby
Jeremy Corbyn	Dr Lynne Jones	Ian Stewart
Jim Cousins	Peter Kilfoyle	Dr Howard Stoate
Jon Cruddas	Mark Lazarowicz	Dr Gavin Strang
Ann Cryer	David Lepper	Graham Stringer
John Cummings	Tony Lloyd	David Taylor
Ian Davidson	Andrew Mackinlay	Jon Trickett
Janet Dean	David Marshall	Paul Truswell
Jim Devine	Bob Marshall-Andrews	Dr Desmond Turner
Jim Dobbin	Chris McCafferty	Dr Rudi Vis
Frank Dobson	John McDonnell	Joan Walley
Frank Doran	Ann McKechin	Robert Wareing
David Drew	Michael Meacher	Betty Williams
Clive Efford	Alan Meale	David Winnick
Jeff Ennis	Austin Mitchell	Mike Wood
Bill Etherington	Julie Morgan	Anthony Wright
Mark Fisher	George Mudie	(Great Yarmouth)

Notes: Four members of the Government resigned: Nigel Griffiths, the Deputy Leader of the House of Commons, along with three parliamentary private secretaries, Jim Devine, Chris Ruane and Stephen Pound. The Conservative frontbench supported the Government in the no lobby, but two Tory backbenchers – Michael Ancram and Rob Wilson – voted for the rebel amendment. A further 22 Conservatives did not vote. The Government won the vote by 413 votes to 167.

[22] 14 March 2007 (Div. 78):

Eighty-nine Labour MPs voted against a Government motion which supported the Government's decision 'to take the necessary steps to maintain the UK's minimum strategic nuclear deterrent beyond the life of the existing system':

Diane Abbott	Neil Gerrard	Dr Doug Naysmith
John Austin	Dr Ian Gibson	Sandra Osborne
Anne Begg	Roger Godsiff	Stephen Pound
Joe Benton	Nia Griffith	Gordon Prentice
Dr Roger Berry	Nigel Griffiths	Gwyn Prosser
Richard Burden	John Grogan	Ken Purchase
Colin Burgon	Patrick Hall	Linda Riordan
Dawn Butler	David Hamilton	Joan Ruddock
Ronnie Campbell	Fabian Hamilton	Mohammad Sarwar
Martin Caton	Dai Havard	Alan Simpson
Colin Challen	David Heyes	Marsha Singh
David Chaytor	Kate Hoey	Dennis Skinner
Katy Clark	Kelvin Hopkins	Andrew Smith
Harry Cohen	Glenda Jackson	Sir Peter Soulsby
Michael Connarty	Sian James	Ian Stewart
Frank Cook	Dr Lynne Jones	Dr Gavin Strang
Jeremy Corbyn	Peter Kilfoyle	Graham Stringer
Jim Cousins	Mark Lazarowicz	David Taylor
Jon Cruddas	David Lepper	Emily Thornberry
Ann Cryer	Tony Lloyd	Jon Trickett
Ian Davidson	Andrew Mackinlay	Paul Truswell
Jim Devine	David Marshall	Dr Desmond Turner
Jim Dobbin	Chris McCafferty	Dr Rudi Vis
Frank Dobson	John McDonnell	Joan Walley
Frank Doran	Jim McGovern	Robert Wareing
David Drew	Ann McKechin	Betty Williams
Bill Etherington	Michael Meacher	David Winnick
Mark Fisher	Alan Meale	Mike Wood
Paul Flynn	Julie Morgan	Anthony Wright
Michael Jabez Foster	Chris Mullin	(Great Yarmouth)

Notes: The Government won the vote by 409 votes to 161. Jeff Ennis cast a deliberate abstention by voting in both lobbies. In addition, there were 32 Labour non-voters on the main Government motion, and at least ten of these were Labour MPs who had voted against the Government on the preceding amendment (Div. 77). A total of 102 Labour MPs had voted against the Government on both Trident votes (Divs. 77 and 78), and a total of 110 Labour backbenchers had either voted against and/or abstained on either of the two votes. A further 15 Labour backbenchers were not present in the lobbies on either vote. The Conservative frontbench supported the Government, but 23 Tory backbenchers did not vote.

[23] 19 March 2007 (Div. 79):

Ten Labour backbenchers voted against the draft Equality Act (Sexual Orientation) Regulations 2007, which brought into force the Equality Act 2006 provisions allowing adoption by gay couples:

Joe Benton
Tom Clarke
Frank Cook
Jim Dobbin

David Drew
Peter Kilfoyle
Jim McGovern
Alan Meale

Geraldine Smith
David Taylor

Notes: Ninety-three Labour MPs did not vote, including 27 members of the Government. Many of these MPs were absent for legitimate reasons, but around a dozen Labour MPs are thought to have abstained. The Conservative frontbench granted a free vote to its MPs. Only 29 Conservative MPs joined their leader, David Cameron in favour of the draft order, with 85 voting against. Some 82 Conservatives did not vote. The Liberal Democrats were whipped in favour of the order, but four Lib Dem MPs – Alan Beith, Colin Breed, Tim Farron and Bob Russell – voted against the policy.

[24] 28 March 2007 (Div. 85):

Three Labour MPs voted against the draft Integration Loans for Refugees Regulations 2007:

Jeremy Corbyn
David Drew
Keith Vaz

[25] 28 March 2007 (Div. 86):

Five Labour MPs voted against the draft Immigration and Nationality (Fees) Regulations 2007:

Jeremy Corbyn
David Drew
John McDonnell
Sir Peter Soulsby
Keith Vaz

[26] 28 March 2007 (Div. 87):

Two Labour MPs voted against the introduction of a new Communications Allowance at the rate of £10,000 per year:

Kelvin Hopkins
Dr Lynne Jones

Notes: The Conservative frontbench was whipped against the proposal, but two Tory backbenchers – Quentin Davies and Bob Spink - voted in favour. The Liberal Democrats allowed their side a free vote, splitting 19/26 against the new allowance.

[27] 28 March 2007 (Div. 88):

In the largest Labour backbench rebellion seen on a statutory instrument since 1997, 18 Labour MPs voted against the draft Gambling (Geographical Distribution of Casino Premises Licences) Order 2007 that would have sited Britain's first 'super-casino' in the city of Manchester:

Colin Burgon	John Grogan	John McDonnell
Jeremy Corbyn	Kelvin Hopkins	Gordon Prentice
Frank Dobson	Lindsay Hoyle	Terry Rooney
Gwyneth Dunwoody	Joan Humble	Alan Simpson
Jeff Ennis	Helen Jones	Geraldine Smith
Frank Field	Gordon Marsden	Betty Williams

Notes: The Government won by 274 votes to 250, but its majority was more than halved. Both of Blackpool's Labour MPs – Joan Humble and Gordon Marsden – voted against the Government. Of Labour's 12 Lancashire MPs, five – Lindsay Hoyle, Joan Humble, Gordon Marsden, Gordon Prentice and Geraldine Smith – voted against the statutory instrument.

[28] 18 April 2007 (Div. 91):

Fifteen Labour backbenchers supported a Conservative frontbench New Clause during the Report stage of the Pensions Bill that would have offered more financial help to people whose occupational pension schemes have collapsed through a Pensions Protection Lifeboat Fund:

Frank Cook	Kate Hoey	Alan Simpson
Jeremy Corbyn	Kelvin Hopkins	Gisela Stuart
David Drew	John McDonnell	Robert Wareing
Frank Field	Michael Meacher	Mike Wood
Mark Fisher	Gordon Prentice	Dr Tony Wright

[29] 17 May 2007 (Div. 115):

Five Labour backbenchers supported an amendment in the name of Martin Caton during the Report stage of the Local Government and Public Involvement in Health Bill that would have allowed local councils to set higher standards for energy efficiency than those laid down by building regulations:

Martin Caton
Jeremy Corbyn
Nia Griffith
Kelvin Hopkins
Dr Lynne Jones

Note: Paul Truswell cast a deliberate abstention by voting in both lobbies.

[30] 11 June 2007 (Div. 135):

Ten Labour MPs supported a Conservative Opposition Day motion calling for an inquiry into the Iraq war by an independent committee of Privy Counsellors, halving the Government's majority to 35:

Harry Cohen	Dr Lynne Jones	Sir Peter Soulsby
Jeremy Corbyn	Bob Marshall-Andrews	Robert Wareing
Mark Fisher	John McDonnell	
Kelvin Hopkins	Alan Simpson	

Note: David Taylor cast a deliberate abstention by voting in both lobbies. The Conservative MP, Quentin Davies indicated in the debate that he was abstaining.

[31] 11 June 2007 (Div. 136):

Three Labour backbenchers opposed a Government amendment to a Conservative Opposition Day motion that refused to hold an inquiry into the Iraq war and its aftermath:

Harry Cohen
Paul Flynn
Bob Marshall-Andrews

Note: David Taylor cast a deliberate abstention by voting in both lobbies. The Conservative MP, Quentin Davies also abstained. He crossed the floor, joining the Labour Party on 27 June.

[32] 18 June 2007 (Div. 144):

Two Labour MPs supported a Conservative frontbench amendment during the Report stage of the Mental Health Bill that would have introduced a clear set of criteria for the issuing of community treatment orders:

Jeremy Corbyn
John McDonnell

[33] 19 June 2007 (Div. 145):

Two Labour MPs supported a Conservative frontbench amendment during the Report stage of the Mental Health Bill that would only have allowed admission for treatment to hospital without a patient's consent if his or her ability to make decisions about the provision of medical treatment was significantly impaired:

Jeremy Corbyn
Dr Lynne Jones

[34] 25 June 2007 (Div. 151):

Seven Labour MPs supported a Labour backbench New Clause during the Report stage of the Finance Bill in the name of Frank Field that would have compelled the Treasury to compile an assessment of the effects of the abolition of the ten pence tax rate on differing earning groups:

Jeremy Corbyn
Frank Field
Kate Hoey

Kelvin Hopkins
Dr Lynne Jones
John McDonnell

Alan Simpson

Note: The Conservative frontbench line was to abstain, but Bob Spink voted in the aye lobby.

[35] 26 June 2007 (Div. 153):

Three Labour backbenchers supported a Conservative frontbench amendment to the Report stage of the Finance Bill that would have compelled the Treasury to report annually to the House of Commons on the effectiveness of tax relief, with particular reference to the change in the amount of electricity generated by microgeneration systems:

Jeremy Corbyn
David Drew
Alan Simpson

---- **GORDON BROWN BECOMES PRIME MINISTER** ----

[36] 27 June 2007 (Div. 158):

One Labour backbencher supported a Liberal Democrat New Clause during the Report stage of the Tribunals, Courts and Enforcement Bill that would have made it compulsory for all debt enforcement agents to wear uniforms at all times:

Austin Mitchell

Notes: Gordon Brown left Buckingham Palace, having become Prime Minister at 2.48pm on 27 June 2007. Mitchell's rebellion took place just 45 minutes later at 3.33pm.

[37] 27 June 2007 (Div. 159):

Three Labour MPs supported a Labour backbench New Clause during the Report stage of the Tribunals, Courts and Enforcement Bill in the name of Austin Mitchell that would have created an independent regulator for the debt collection industry:

David Drew
John McDonnell
Austin Mitchell

[38] 11 July 2007 (Div. 179):

One Labour backbencher opposed a Government motion partially disagreeing with a Lords amendment to the Corporate Manslaughter and Corporate Homicide Bill that would have extended the offence of corporate manslaughter to cover the issue of deaths in police custody caused by gross negligence:

Alan Simpson

[39] 17 July 2007 (Div. 187):

Sixteen Labour MPs supported a Labour backbench amendment during the Lords amendment stage of the Pensions Bill in the name of Dr Tony Wright that would have secured extra financial support for those pensioners who suffered financial hardship prior to the establishment of the pension protection scheme:

Richard Burden	Dr Ian Gibson	Julie Morgan
Michael Clapham	David Heyes	Gordon Prentice
Jeremy Corbyn	Kelvin Hopkins	Alan Simpson
John Cummings	Dr Lynne Jones	Dr Tony Wright
Frank Field	Bob Marshall-Andrews	
Mark Fisher	Michael Meacher	

Note: David Taylor cast a deliberate abstention by voting in both lobbies.

[40] 17 July 2007 (Div. 188):

Seventeen Labour MPs opposed the Government decision to disagree with a Lords amendment to the Pensions Bill that would have established a 'lifeboat' scheme to raise the level of compensation for victims of pension schemes which collapsed between 1997 and 2005:

Richard Burden
Michael Clapham
Jeremy Corbyn
David Drew
Frank Field
Mark Fisher

Dr Ian Gibson
David Heyes
Kelvin Hopkins
Dr Lynne Jones
Michael Meacher
Julie Morgan

Sandra Osborne
Gordon Prentice
Alan Simpson
Robert Wareing
Dr Tony Wright

Note: David Taylor cast a deliberate abstention by voting in both lobbies.

[41] 17 July 2007 (Div. 189):

One Labour MP supported a Lords amendment to the Pensions Bill that would have allowed women with broken contribution records to buy an extra nine 'qualifying years' for their state pension (as opposed to the existing six years), whether consecutive or not:

Robert Wareing

Notes: David Taylor cast a deliberate abstention. The Conservative frontbench line was to abstain, but three Tory backbenchers – Bob Spink, Sir Nicholas Winterton and Ann Winterton – voted in favour of the amendment.

[42] 18 July 2007 (Div. 193):

One Labour MP opposed the Government's decision to disagree with a Lords amendment to the Offender Management Bill that would have removed from the Secretary of State the power to make arrangements for the provision of probation services, and give it instead to local probation boards and trusts:

Alan Simpson

Note: Paul Truswell cast a deliberate abstention by voting in both lobbies.

[43] 18 July 2007 (Div. 194):

Two Labour MPs opposed the Government decision to disagree with a Lords amendment to the Offender Management Bill that would have required the Secretary of State to publish a report before contracting offender management tasks to the private sector (known as the 'super-affirmative procedure'):

Michael Meacher
Alan Simpson

[44] 18 July 2007 (Div. 195):

One Labour MP opposed the Government decision to disagree with a Lords amendment to the Offender Management Bill that would have required that contracted-out providers of probation services ensured that there was no conflict of interest between the services they provided, and their own financial interests, particularly with respect to advice given to the courts:

Alan Simpson

[45] 22 October 2007 (Div. 214):

One Labour MP supported a Conservative frontbench New Clause during the Report stage of the Serious Crime Bill that would have restricted the sharing of communications data to law enforcement agencies:

Alan Simpson

II List of all Labour rebellions, 2006-2007

No. 2006-	No. 1997-	No. GB-	Title/Issue	Date	Size	Div. No.
1	451	-	Northern Ireland (St Andrews Agreement) Bill (CWH, DUP amdt. on extending deadline)	21 November 2006	1	1
2	452	-	Fraud (Trial without a Jury) Bill (Second Reading)	29 November 2006	11	6
3	453	-	Corporate Manslaughter and Corporate Homicide Bill (Report: Lab b/b amdt: holding companies)	04 December 2006	4	9
4	454	-	Corporate Manslaughter and Corporate Homicide Bill (Report: Lab b/b amdt: deaths in custody)	04 December 2006	5	10
5	455	-	Offender Management Bill (Second Reading)	11 December 2006	27	13
6	456	-	Offender Management Bill (Programme)	11 December 2006	12	14
7	457	-	Welfare Reform Bill (Report: Lib Dem New Clause: Assessment of Limited Capability for Work)	09 January 2007	2	18
8	458	-	Welfare Reform Bill (Report: Con New Clause: Participation in work-focused interviews)	09 January 2007	3	19
9	459	-	Welfare Reform Bill (Report: Lib Dem amdt: abolition of shared room rate for local housing allowance)	09 January 2007	6	20
10	460	-	Fraud (Trial without a Jury) Bill (Report: Lib Dem New Clause: conditions to be satisfied)	25 January 2007	1	31
11	461	-	Fraud (Trial without a Jury) Bill (Report: Con b/b amdt: affirmative procedure)	25 January 2007	1	34
12	462	-	Fraud (Trial without a Jury) Bill (Third Reading)	25 January 2007	11	36
13	463	-	Justice & Security (Northern Ireland) Bill (Report: Lib Dem amdt: no judicial review to DPP)	06 February 2007	1	43
14	464	-	Justice & Security (Northern Ireland) Bill (Report: Lib Dem amdt: no investigations before August 2007)	06 February 2007	1	44
15	465	-	Justice & Security (Northern Ireland) Bill (Third Reading)	06 February 2007	1	45
16	466	-	Al-Yamamah Arms Agreement (Lib Dem Opposition Day motion)	07 February 2007	4	46
17	467	-	Merchant Shipping (Inland Waterways & Coastal Operations) (Boatmasters' Qual. & Hours of Work) Reg. 2006 (Opp. Prayer)	07 February 2007	13	47
18	468	-	Draft Prevention of Terrorism Act 2005 (Continuation in Force of Sections 1-9) Order 2007 (control orders)	22 February 2007	2	53
19	469	-	Offender Management Bill (Report: Lab b/b amdt: leave core probation tasks in the public sector)	28 February 2007	51	61
20	470	-	Offender Management Bill (Third Reading)	28 February 2007	24	62
21	471	-	Trident Renewal (Lab b/b amdt: delay)	14 March 2007	95	77
22	472	-	Trident Renewal (Govt motion)	14 March 2007	89	78
23	473	-	Draft Equality Act (Sexual Orientation) Regulations 2007	19 March 2007	10	79
24	474	-	Draft Integration Loans for Refugees and Other Regulations 2007	28 March 2007	3	85
25	475	-	Draft Immigration and Nationality (Fees) Regulations 2007	28 March 2007	5	86
26	476	-	Communications Allowance (Govt motion)	28 March 2007	2	87
27	477	-	Draft Gambling (Geographical Distribution of Casino Premises Licences) Order 2007	28 March 2007	18	88

28	478	-	Pensions Bill (Report: Con New Clause: Pensions Protection Lifeboat Fund)	18 April 2007	15	91
29	479	-	Local Government and Public Involvement in Health Bill (Report: Lab b/b amdt: energy efficiency standards)	17 May 2007	5	115
30	480	-	Iraq (Con Opposition Day motion: calling for inquiry of Privy Counsellors)	11 June 2007	10	135
31	481	-	Iraq (Govt. amdt to Con Opposition Day motion calling for inquiry of Privy Counsellors)	11 June 2007	3	136
32	482	-	Mental Health Bill (Report: Con amdt: set of criteria for issuing community control orders)	18 June 2007	2	144
33	483	-	Mental Health Bill (Report: Con New Clause: Impaired decision-making)	19 June 2007	2	145
34	484	-	Finance Bill (Report stage: Lab b/b New Clause: Assessment of Effects of taxation changes)	25 June 2007	7	151
35	485	-	Finance Bill (Report stage: Con amdt: report on effectiveness of tax relief for microgeneration systems)	26 June 2007	3	153
36	486	1	Tribunals, Courts and Enforcement Bill (Report: Lib Dem New Clause: Uniforms)	27 June 2007	1	158
37	487	2	Tribunals, Courts and Enforcement Bill (Report: Lab b/b New Clause: Regulatory Authority)	27 June 2007	3	159
38	488	3	Corporate Manslaughter and Corporate Homicide Bill (Lords amdts: deaths in custody)	11 July 2007	1	179
39	489	4	Pensions Bill (Lords amdts: support for pensioners before establishment of Pension Protection Fund)	17 July 2007	16	187
40	490	5	Pensions Bill (Lords amdts: Pension Protection Lifeboat Fund)	17 July 2007	17	188
41	491	6	Pensions Bill (Lords amdts: women with broken contributions)	17 July 2007	1	189
42	492	7	Offender Management Bill (Lords amdts: SoS's power for provision of probation services)	18 July 2007	1	193
43	493	8	Offender Management Bill (Lords amdts: SoS to publish report before contracting out services)	18 July 2007	2	194
44	494	9	Offender Management Bill (Lords amdts: ensure contracted-out providers have no conflict of interest)	18 July 2007	1	195
45	495	10	Serious Crime Bill (Report stage: Con New Clause: sharing of communications data)	22 October 2007	1	214

III Major rebellions against the party whip, by issue/bill

Offender Management Bill

Name	Second Reading	Programming Core Probation Services	Third Reading	SoS Power	SoS Reports	Conflicts of interest
Abbott, Diane		X	X			
Austin, John		X				
Betts, Clive		X				
Buck, Karen		X				
Burgon, Colin	X	X	X	X		
Campbell, Ronnie		X				
Caton, Martin	X		X	X		
Clapham, Michael	X					
Clark, Katy	X		X	X		
Cook, Frank		X				
Corbyn, Jeremy	X	X	X	X		
Cousins, Jim		X				
Cruddas, Jon		X				
Cryer, Ann		X				
Dean, Janet	X		X			
Dobson, Frank		X				
Drew, David	X	X	X	X		
Dunwoody, Gwyneth		X				
Efford, Clive		X				
Farrelly, Paul	X		X	X		
Fisher, Mark	X					
Flynn, Paul		X	X			
Gerrard, Neil	X		X	X		
Gibson, Dr Ian	X	X	X	X		
Griffith, Nia		X				
Grogan, John	X	X	X	X		
Hall, Patrick		X				
Hamilton, David		X				
Havard, Dai		X	X			
Hoey, Kate	X	X				
Hopkins, Kelvin	X	X	X	X		
Jones, Dr Lynne	X	X	X	X		
Kilfoyle, Peter			X			
Lepper, David		X				
McCafferty, Chris		X				
McDonnell, John	X	X	X	X		
Mallaber, Judy		X				
Marshall-Andrews, Bob			X			
Meacher, Michael	X		X	X	X	

Mitchell, Austin	X		X				
Mudie, George	X						
Mullin, Chris			X				
Murphy, Denis			X				
Prentice, Gordon			X	X			
Riordan, Linda			X	X			
Ruddock, Joan			X				
Salter, Martin			X				
Sheerman, Barry	X						
Simpson, Alan	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Skinner, Dennis	X		X				
Taylor, David	X		X	X			
Trickett, Jon	X	X					
Truswell, Paul	X		X		A		
Turner, Dr Desmond			X				
Vaz, Keith			X				
Walley, Joan			X				
Wareing, Robert	X		X	X			
Winnick, David			X				
Wood, Mike	X	X	X	X			

Notes: X indicates a vote against the whip; A indicates a double vote abstention.

Trident

Name	Trickett amdt	Govt Motion
Abbott, Diane	X	X
Austin, John	X	X
Begg, Anne	X	X
Benton, Jo	X	X
Berry, Dr Roger	X	X
Buck, Karen	X	a
Burden, Richard	X	X
Burgon, Colin	X	X
Butler, Dawn	G	X
Campbell, Ronnie	X	X
Caton, Martin	X	X
Challen, Colin	G	X
Chaytor, David	X	X
Clark, Katy	X	X
Clarke, Charles	X	a
Cohen, Harry	X	X
Connarty, Michael	X	X
Cook, Frank	X	X
Corbyn, Jeremy	X	X
Cousins, Jim	X	X
Cruddas, Jon	X	X
Cryer, Ann	X	X
Cummings, John	X	a
Davidson, Ian	X	X
Dean, Janet	X	a
Devine, Jim	X	X
Dobbin, Jim	X	X
Dobson, Frank	X	X
Doran, Frank	X	X
Drew, David	X	X
Efford, Clive	X	a
Ennis, Jeff	X	A
Etherington, Bill	X	X
Fisher, Mark	X	X
Flynn, Paul	X	X
Foster, Michael Jabez	X	X
Gerrard, Neil	X	X
Gibson, Dr Ian	X	X
Godsiff, Roger	X	X
Griffith, Nia	X	X
Griffiths, Nigel	G	X
Grogan, John	X	X
Hall, Patrick	G	X
Hamilton, David	X	X
Hamilton, Fabian	X	X
Havard, Dai	X	X

Heyes, David	X	X
Hoey, Kate	X	X
Hopkins, Kelvin	X	X
Iddon, Dr Brian	a	G
Illsley, Eric	X	G
Jackson, Glenda	X	X
James, Sian	X	X
Jones, Dr Lynne	X	X
Kilfoyle, Peter	X	X
Lazarowicz, Mark	X	X
Lepper, David	X	X
Lloyd, Tony	X	X
Love, Andy	a	G
Mackinlay, Andrew	X	X
Mactaggart, Fiona	G	a
Mallaber, Judy	G	a
Marshall, David	X	X
Marshall-Andrews, Bob	X	a
McCafferty, Chris	X	X
McDonnell, John	X	X
McGovern, Jim	G	X
McKechin, Ann	X	X
Meacher, Michael	X	X
Meale, Alan	X	X
Mitchell, Austin	X	a
Morgan, Julie	X	X
Mudie, George	X	a
Mullin, Chris	X	X
Murphy, Denis	X	a
Naysmith, Dr Doug	X	X
Osborne, Sandra	X	X
Pound, Stephen	X	X
Prentice, Gordon	X	X
Prosser, Gwyn	a	X
Purchase, Ken	X	X
Riordan, Linda	X	X
Ruane, Chris	X	a
Ruddock, Joan	X	X
Salter, Martin	G	a
Sarwar, Mohammad	X	X
Simpson, Alan	X	X
Singh, Marsha	X	X
Skinner, Dennis	X	X
Smith, Andrew	X	X
Soulsby, Sir Peter	X	X
Stewart, Ian	X	X
Stoate, Dr Howard	X	G
Strang, Dr Gavin	X	X
Stringer, Graham	X	X
Taylor, David	X	X
Thornberry, Emily	a	X
Todd, Mark	G	a

Trickett, Jon	X	X
Truswell, Paul	X	X
Turner, Dr Desmond	X	X
Vis, Dr Rudi	X	X
Walley, Joan	X	X
Wareing, Robert	X	X
Whitehead, Dr Alan	G	a
Williams, Betty	X	X
Winnick, David	X	X
Wood, Mike	X	X
Wright, Anthony	X	X

Notes: X indicates a vote against the whip; G indicates a vote with the whip; A indicates a double vote abstention; a indicates an absence in one vote despite participation in the other, and thus a presumed abstention. Those absent from both votes are excluded from the table.

Pensions Bill

Name	Lifeboats (div. 91)	Wright amdt	Lifeboats (div. 187)	Women
Burden, Richard		X	X	
Clapham, Michael		X	X	
Cook, Frank	X			
Corbyn, Jeremy	X	X	X	
Cummings, John		X		
Drew, David	X		X	
Field, Frank	X	X	X	
Fisher, Mark	X	X	X	
Gibson, Dr Ian		X	X	
Heyes, David		X	X	
Hoey, Kate	X			
Hopkins, Kelvin	X	X	X	
Jones, Dr Lynne		X	X	
Marshall-Andrews, Bob		X		
McDonnell, John	X			
Meacher, Michael	X	X	X	
Morgan, Julie		X	X	
Osborne, Sandra			X	
Prentice, Gordon	X	X	X	
Simpson, Alan	X	X	X	
Stuart, Gisela	X			
Wareing, Robert	X		X	X
Wood, Mike	X			
Wright, Dr Tony	X	X	X	
Taylor, David		A	A	A

Notes: X indicates a vote against the whip; A indicates a double vote abstention.

IV The Labour rebels, 2005-2007

a) Sorted by number of rebellions in 2006-2007

Name	Votes against the whip		
	06-07	05-06	Total
Corbyn, Jeremy	31	60	91
McDonnell, John	21	63	84
Simpson, Alan	21	40	61
Hopkins, Kelvin	18	36	54
Jones, Dr Lynne	16	41	57
Drew, David	14	13	27
Wareing, Robert	12	42	54
Hoey, Kate	11	32	43
Meacher, Michael	10	7	17
Fisher, Mark	9	34	43
Gibson, Dr Ian	9	24	33
Marshall-Andrews, Bob	9	35	44
Wood, Mike	9	22	31
Prentice, Gordon	8	17	25
Burgon, Colin	7	7	14
Grogan, John	7	14	21
Taylor, David	7	20	27
Caton, Martin	6	6	12
Clark, Katy	6	18	24
Abbott, Diane	5	19	24
Cohen, Harry	5	13	18
Cook, Frank	5	4	9
Field, Frank	5	6	11
Flynn, Paul	5	21	26
Gerrard, Neil	5	13	18
Jackson, Glenda	5	33	38
Kilfoyle, Peter	5	11	16
Mitchell, Austin	5	3	8
Riordan, Linda	5	21	26
Burden, Richard	4	5	9
Clapham, Michael	4	16	20
Cruddas, Jon	4	4	8
Cryer, Ann	4	4	8
Dobson, Frank	4	10	14
<i>Griffith, Nia</i>	4	0	4
Havard, Dai	4	5	9
Heyes, David	4	6	10
Morgan, Julie	4	2	6
Skinner, Dennis	4	18	22
Soulsby, Sir Peter	4	8	12
Trickett, Jon	4	11	15
Truswell, Paul	4	8	12
Austin, John	3	9	12
<i>Begg, Anne</i>	3	0	3
Benton, Joe	3	2	5
Campbell, Ronnie	3	4	7

Cousins, Jim	3	7	10
Dean, Janet	3	1	4
Dobbin, Jim	3	5	8
Farrelly, Paul	3	5	8
Hall, Patrick	3	3	6
Hamilton, David	3	7	10
<i>Lepper, David</i>	3	0	3
McCafferty, Christine	3	5	8
Meale, Alan	3	1	4
Mullin, Chris	3	2	5
<i>Osborne, Sandra</i>	3	0	3
Ruddock, Joan	3	1	4
Stewart, Ian	3	1	4
Turner, Dr Desmond	3	5	8
Vaz, Keith	3	3	6
Walley, Joan	3	4	7
Williams, Betty	3	1	4
Winnick, David	3	6	9
Wright, Dr Tony	3	2	5
Berry, Dr Roger	2	3	5
<i>Buck, Karen</i>	2	0	2
Chaytor, David	2	3	5
Connarty, Michael	2	3	5
Cummings, John	2	1	3
Davidson, Ian	2	9	11
Devine, Jim	2	4	6
Dismore, Andrew	2	3	5
Doran, Frank	2	1	3
Dunwoody, Gwyneth	2	15	17
Efford, Clive	2	5	7
<i>Ennis, Jeff</i>	2	0	2
Etherington, Bill	2	4	6
<i>Foster, Michael Jabez</i>	2	0	2
Godsiff, Roger	2	10	12
Hamilton, Fabian	2	2	4
James, Sian	2	2	4
Lazarowicz, Mark	2	1	3
Lloyd, Tony	2	5	7
Mackinlay, Andrew	2	2	4
McGovern, Jim	2	1	3
<i>McKechin, Ann</i>	2	0	2
Mudie, George	2	12	14
Murphy, Denis	2	1	3
<i>Naysmith, Dr Doug</i>	2	0	2
<i>Pound, Stephen</i>	2	0	2
Purchase, Ken	2	7	9
<i>Sarwar, Mohammad</i>	2	0	2
Singh, Marsha	2	1	3
<i>Smith, Andrew</i>	2	0	2
Smith, Geraldine	2	9	11
Strang, Dr Gavin	2	5	7
<i>Stringer, Graham</i>	2	0	2

Vis, Dr Rudi	2	7	9
Wright, Anthony	2	2	4
Betts, Clive	1	3	4
<i>Butler, Dawn</i>	1	0	1
Challen, Colin	1	8	9
<i>Clarke, Charles</i>	1	0	1
<i>Clarke, Tom</i>	1	0	1
<i>Griffiths, Nigel</i>	1	0	1
Hoyle, Lindsay	1	2	3
Humble, Joan	1	4	5
Illsley, Eric	1	2	3
Jones, Helen	1	6	7
<i>Mallaber, Judy</i>	1	0	1
<i>Marsden, Gordon</i>	1	0	1
<i>Marshall, David</i>	1	0	1
Owen, Albert	1	1	2
Prosser, Gwyn	1	3	4
<i>Rooney, Terry</i>	1	0	1
<i>Ruane, Chris</i>	1	0	1
Salter, Martin	1	1	2
<i>Sheerman, Barry</i>	1	0	1
<i>Stoate, Dr Howard</i>	1	0	1
<i>Stuart, Gisela</i>	1	0	1
Thornberry, Emily	1	2	3
Clelland, David	0	3	3
Crausby, David	0	3	3
Eagle, Angela	0	1	1
Ellman, Louise	0	1	1
Henderson, Doug	0	4	4
Howarth, George	0	1	1
Iddon, Dr Brian	0	1	1
Jenkins, Brian	0	1	1
Keen, Alan	0	1	1
Khan, Sadiq	0	2	2
Love, Andy	0	7	7
Marris, Rob	0	1	1
Raynsford, Nick	0	2	2
Robinson, Geoffrey	0	1	1
Short, Clare	-	34	34
Smith, John	0	8	8
Williams, Alan	0	3	3

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b) Sorted alphabetically

Name of MP	Votes against the whip		
	06-07	05-06	Total
Abbott, Diane	5	19	24
Austin, John	3	9	12
<i>Begg, Anne</i>	3	0	3
Benton, Joe	3	2	5
Berry, Dr Roger	2	3	5
Betts, Clive	1	3	4
<i>Buck, Karen</i>	2	0	2
Burden, Richard	4	5	9
Burgon, Colin	7	7	14
<i>Butler, Dawn</i>	1	0	1
Campbell, Ronnie	3	4	7
Caton, Martin	6	6	12
Challen, Colin	1	8	9
Chaytor, David	2	3	5
Clapham, Michael	4	16	20
Clark, Katy	6	18	24
<i>Clarke, Charles</i>	1	0	1
<i>Clarke, Tom</i>	1	0	1
Clelland, David	0	3	3
Cohen, Harry	5	13	18
Connarty, Michael	2	3	5
Cook, Frank	5	4	9
Corbyn, Jeremy	31	60	91
Cousins, Jim	3	7	10
Crausby, David	0	3	3
Cruddas, Jon	4	4	8
Cryer, Ann	4	4	8
Cummings, John	2	1	3
Davidson, Ian	2	9	11
Dean, Janet	3	1	4
Devine, Jim	2	4	6
Dismore, Andrew	2	3	5
Dobbin, Jim	3	5	8
Dobson, Frank	4	10	14
Doran, Frank	2	1	3
Drew, David	14	13	27
Dunwoody, Gwyneth	2	15	17
Eagle, Angela	0	1	1
Efford, Clive	2	5	7
Ellman, Louise	0	1	1
<i>Ennis, Jeff</i>	2	0	2
Etherington, Bill	2	4	6
Farrelly, Paul	3	5	8
Field, Frank	5	6	11
Fisher, Mark	9	34	43
Flynn, Paul	5	21	26
<i>Foster, Michael Jabez</i>	2	0	2
Gerrard, Neil	5	13	18

Gibson, Dr Ian	9	24	33
Godsiff, Roger	2	10	12
<i>Griffith, Nia</i>	4	0	4
<i>Griffiths, Nigel</i>	1	0	1
Grogan, John	7	14	21
Hall, Patrick	3	3	6
Hamilton, David	3	7	10
Hamilton, Fabian	2	2	4
Havard, Dai	4	5	9
Henderson, Doug	0	4	4
Heyes, David	4	6	10
Hoey, Kate	11	32	43
Hopkins, Kelvin	18	36	54
Howarth, George	0	1	1
Hoyle, Lindsay	1	2	3
Humble, Joan	1	4	5
Iddon, Dr Brian	0	1	1
Illsley, Eric	1	2	3
Jackson, Glenda	5	33	38
James, Sian	2	2	4
Jenkins, Brian	0	1	1
Jones, Dr Lynne	16	41	57
Jones, Helen	1	6	7
Keen, Alan	0	1	1
Khan, Sadiq	0	2	2
Kilfoyle, Peter	5	11	16
Lazarowicz, Mark	2	1	3
<i>Lepper, David</i>	3	0	3
Lloyd, Tony	2	5	7
Love, Andy	0	7	7
Mackinlay, Andrew	2	2	4
<i>Mallaber, Judy</i>	1	0	1
Marris, Rob	0	1	1
<i>Marsden, Gordon</i>	1	0	1
<i>Marshall, David</i>	1	0	1
Marshall-Andrews, Bob	9	35	44
McCafferty, Christine	3	5	8
McDonnell, John	21	63	84
McGovern, Jim	2	1	3
<i>McKechin, Ann</i>	2	0	2
Meacher, Michael	10	7	17
Meale, Alan	3	1	4
Mitchell, Austin	5	3	8
Morgan, Julie	4	2	6
Mudie, George	2	12	14
Mullin, Chris	3	2	5
Murphy, Denis	2	1	3
<i>Naysmith, Dr Doug</i>	2	0	2
<i>Osborne, Sandra</i>	3	0	3
Owen, Albert	1	1	2
<i>Pound, Stephen</i>	2	0	2
Prentice, Gordon	8	17	25

Prosser, Gwyn	1	3	4
Purchase, Ken	2	7	9
Raynsford, Nick	0	2	2
Riordan, Linda	5	21	26
Robinson, Geoffrey	0	1	1
<i>Rooney, Terry</i>	1	0	1
<i>Ruane, Chris</i>	1	0	1
Ruddock, Joan	3	1	4
Salter, Martin	1	1	2
<i>Sarwar, Mohammad</i>	2	0	2
<i>Sheerman, Barry</i>	1	0	1
Short, Clare	-	34	34
Simpson, Alan	21	40	61
Singh, Marsha	2	1	3
Skinner, Dennis	4	18	22
<i>Smith, Andrew</i>	2	0	2
Smith, Geraldine	2	9	11
Smith, John	0	8	8
Soulsby, Sir Peter	4	8	12
Stewart, Ian	3	1	4
<i>Stoate, Dr Howard</i>	1	0	1
Strang, Dr Gavin	2	5	7
<i>Stringer, Graham</i>	2	0	2
<i>Stuart, Gisela</i>	1	0	1
Taylor, David	7	20	27
Thornberry, Emily	1	2	3
Trickett, Jon	4	11	15
Truswell, Paul	4	8	12
Turner, Dr Desmond	3	5	8
Vaz, Keith	3	3	6
Vis, Dr Rudi	2	7	9
Walley, Joan	3	4	7
Wareing, Robert	12	42	54
Williams, Alan	0	3	3
Williams, Betty	3	1	4
Winnick, David	3	6	9
Wood, Mike	9	22	31
Wright, Anthony	2	2	4
Wright, Dr Tony	3	2	5

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