

Women and Parliaments

in the UK

Revised July 2011

by Catriona Burness[©]





THE JRSST Charitable Trust

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Scottish Parliament Chamber
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Catriona Burness asserts her moral right to be identified as the author of this book. The work is available on the basis that it may be used and circulated for non-commercial purposes and may not be adapted.

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in the UK

Foreword

This handbook on women and parliaments has been thoroughly revised to cover the UK General Election of 2010 and the elections to the National Assembly for Wales, the Northern Ireland Assembly and the Scottish Parliament in May 2011.

It usefully collects together widely dispersed statistical information in one concise but comprehensive format. Each of the narrative essays brings the story of women's representation up to date and provides a lively guide to public comment, party action and some of the political attitudes which have informed debates over the period.

Dr Catriona Burness's skills as a political historian are apparent in her choice of information. Her work as a political researcher contributes to a sharp sense of appropriate detail and her experience in writing for newspapers and magazines influences her clear presentation.

Making democracy truly representative is an important campaign in its own right. In addition, there is now a body of evidence which records the

positive affects that scrutiny of budgets, policy and legislation from a women's perspective has on many social welfare and poverty questions. Women's presence in politics does have benefits for the whole community.

Academics, teachers and students will be interested in this easy to digest summary of information. My hope is that it becomes widely available. Through internet distribution it will circulate within the networks of political activists, old and young, male and female, without whom we would not have arrived where we are today. I also hope that that it will reach out to a new generation of equal rights campaigners whose energies are now needed to push forward the case for maintaining and improving women's position in politics. The handbook is exactly the kind of background information which is needed to assess where we are now and what needs to be done in the future.

Kate Phillips
Director
The Active Learning Centre

Women and Parliaments

in the UK

Introduction

Almost a century after women first won the right to vote and to stand for parliament in the UK women are still in a minority in our parliamentary chambers. Tackling the under-representation of women is a crucial equalities goal whilst increasing women's representation may also have implications for how governments tackle the issues of poverty and social exclusion.

Several organisations are pursuing the goal of increasing women's representation. This handbook does not compete with their activities but seeks to complement them. The support of the JRSST Charitable Trust in producing this Handbook is gratefully acknowledged. The JRSST Charitable Trust is endowed by The Joseph Rowntree Reform Trust Ltd.

The handbook – covering each parliamentary chamber in the UK in one publication – aims to be useful to political activists and equal rights campaigners alike and to help to push the case for getting more women into politics.

This handbook presents a factual snapshot of the position after elections in 2010 and 2011 in each parliamentary chamber in the UK. All elected women are listed alongside tables showing representation by party. The positions of each of the parties represented in the chambers in relation to candidate selection have been summarised in essays on each parliament/assembly. The handbook brings together information that is otherwise available but dispersed. On-line publication aims to ease wider circulation of the handbook which will be circulated to the political parties and to organisations with an interest in equal opportunities.

The work is timely now as the UK is at a political crossroads, contemplating constitutional and electoral reform. Overall, women's representation did not fall as much as had been feared at the 2011 elections in the devolved chambers in Scotland, Northern Ireland and Wales – “stalling not falling” according to Karen Dargo of the Scottish equality organisation Engender. However, equal representation remains an elusive goal and political parties must take action to attain it.

House of Commons

“Women have gone missing.”

Natasha Walter,
Guardian,
28 April 2010

Women candidates were all but invisible during the 2010 General Election campaign, with the all-male line-up of the leaders' debates. Commentators noted that the “obsessive focus on the leaders' wives cannot mask the conspicuous absence of women from the 2010 General Election campaign.” Harriet Harman MP, Labour's deputy leader, was “clearly regarded by the party's high command as a liability”; Ken Clarke handled questions on unemployment rather than the Conservative shadow spokesperson Theresa May; and the Liberal Democrat campaign was dubbed the “Nick and Vince show”. The exceptions in Scotland were Nationalist deputy leader Nicola Sturgeon and Annabel Goldie, the Scottish Tory leader... and they were not even standing for Westminster.

Yet more women MPs were elected – 22 per cent of the total. And there were more women candidates than ever before (878) and a greater percentage of candidates than previously, 21 per cent.

The Centre for Women & Democracy reported that the Green Party had the highest percentage of women candidates (33 per cent), followed by Labour (30 per cent), the Conservative Party (24 per cent) and the Liberal Democrats (21 per cent). The Greens put up their highest level of candidates and women to date - 110 out of 337 - whilst women fought the party's most “winnable” seats (Brighton Pavilion and Norwich North). Caroline Lucas was duly elected in Brighton and made history by becoming the first Green MP.

Labour and the Conservatives both also had record numbers and percentages of women candidates although the Liberal Democrats had fewer than in 2005. The Conservatives fielded 151 female candidates (24 per cent) as opposed to 122 (19 per cent) in 2005 and 92 (14 per cent) in 2001. The Labour Party put up 190 women (30 per cent) as opposed to 166 (26 per cent) in 2005 and 149 (23 per cent) in 2001, the highest number of any of the parties. There were 134 Liberal Democrat women candidates (21 per cent) in 2010 as opposed to 144 (23 per cent) in 2005 and 139 (22 per cent) in 2001.

Since 1918 the Labour Party has returned 60 per cent of all the women elected to the House of Commons - 220 of the current total of 364 female MPs. However, the party's relative electoral success or failure is mirrored in the respective figures and the current level of women's representation reflects the hung parliament. The 2010 election returned eighty-one Labour women (17 less than in 2005) to sit alongside 48 Conservatives (31 more) and eight Liberal Democrats (two less), and one each from the Alliance, the Greens, an Independent (Northern Ireland), the SDLP, Sinn Féin, and the Scottish Nationalists. The election of Debbie Abrahams at the Oldham East & Saddleworth by-election in January 2011 brings the Labour tally to 82 and the total number of women MPs to 144.

The increase in the number of Conservative women MPs was linked not only to the party's improved electoral performance but also to David Cameron's

determination to move local Conservatives on from seeking “the perfect son-in-law rather than the perfect candidate”. Speaking on BBC Radio 4’s Woman’s Hour in February 2010, Cameron said that he had already tried everything short of all-women shortlists but still found that female candidates were forced to “jump barriers far higher than the men”.

Asked why the system should not be left as a “meritocracy”, he said: “It doesn’t work. ... We tried that for years and the rate of change was too slow. Changing a political party and getting things done is never easy. I had to change the way we select and promote women. I have given the party a big shock on this issue.”

The shock echoed through a sequence of party disputes in the run-up to the 2010 election. It is worth noting that the party’s hierarchy backed the embattled women. For instance, Norfolk members who tried to sack Liz Truss as their candidate after learning that she had had an affair with a Tory MP were described as “the turnip Taliban”. Requiring local parties to consider equal numbers of male and female candidates on shortlists opened up the Conservative selection procedure. This shift in policy might create the prospect of future competition between the Conservative and Labour parties on the promotion of women, something of a counter to the backlash perceived over positive action in the devolved parliaments in Scotland and Wales.

It also breaks with past opposition to positive measures used by other parties, notably Labour’s use of all-women shortlists from 1994. An industrial tribunal ruling that all-women shortlists were illegal in 1996 infuriated women activists but the party chose not to challenge the ruling arguing that it did not want to jeopardise the selections that were already made. The policy is now overwhelmingly recognised as a key factor in the return of a record number of Labour women MPs in 1997. The Sex Discrimination (Election Candidates) Act 2002 later stated that political parties in mainland Britain and Northern Ireland could take measures to reduce inequality in the numbers of men and women

elected, albeit with a sunset clause in 2015. The Equality Act 2010 extended the clause until 2030. Many experts (including Cherie Booth, QC) have maintained that this legislation is unnecessary anyway as European law allows parties to take positive action, evidenced by the range of measures used across the European Union much more extensively and effectively than within the UK.

The 1997 election took women’s parliamentary representation at Westminster through the ten per cent threshold for the first time since 1918 when women won the right to vote and to stand for parliament. Thirteen years later women have now breached the twenty per cent threshold. At the time of writing (in July 2011) the UK is in 48th place in the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) world ranking of women and parliaments - an improvement but still with a long way to go towards equal representation of men and women.

In November 2008 a Speaker’s Conference was convened to “Consider, and make recommendations for rectifying, the disparity between the representation of women, ethnic minorities and disabled people in the House of Commons and their representation in the UK population at large”. It collected evidence through 2009 and published its final report in January 2010. Vice-Chair of the Speaker’s Conference, Dame Anne Begg MP acknowledged that the committee began its work rather too late to fully influence the 2010 election but said:

“The most useful thing that the committee did was to get evidence from the three main party leaders that they took the issue seriously, effectively committing their parties to taking action. Now it is a question of keeping the pressure on”

She has recently written to all the political parties reminding them of their undertaking to publish monitoring data on candidate selection. The Speaker’s Conference report listed barriers to the selection of candidates including the cost, a lack of confidence, time pressures and lack of support.

Unsurprisingly it also identified discrimination in the selection process against women, people from ethnic minorities and disabled people and a tendency to fall back on “more of the same” when selecting or to promote only “favoured sons”.

The report’s strongest recommendation was that if women’s representation in the House of Commons did not increase at the 2010 general election, Parliament should give serious consideration to introducing prescriptive quotas and to ensuring that all political parties adopt some form of equality guarantee for the following general election. In the event the number of women slightly increased in 2010 and the Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition’s early promise to “shake up democracy” did not include any guarantees on women’s representation.

The overwhelming rejection of the alternative vote (AV) system in the May 2011 referendum ensures that the next UK general election will take place under the first-past-the-post system. However, the Constituencies Act 2011 linked to the AV referendum will cut the number of MPs from the present 650 to 600. This may produce the smallest new intake in any post-war election, slowing further progress on gender balance. A Fabian Society report by Sunder Katwala and Seema Malhotra recently warned that female Liberal Democrat MPs “face electoral wipeout” on their current poll ratings. Sitting MPs of all parties will have to fight their corners for reselection and re-election. It remains to be seen what the new women MPs themselves might do to compel their parties to move women out of invisibility.

House of Commons

Female Candidates and Elected MPs

October 1974 – 2010

Year	<i>Total candidates</i>	<i>Women candidates</i>	<i>% Women candidates</i>	<i>Women elected</i>	<i>% Women elected</i>
1974 (October)	2305	161	7%	27	4.3%
1979	2702	216	8%	19	3.0%
1983	2551	280	11%	23	3.5%
1987	2349	329	14%	41	6.3%
1992	3006	571	19%	60	9.2%
1997	3735	672	18%	120	18.2%
2001	3319	636	19%	118	17.9%
2005	3554	720	20%	128	19.8%
2010	4134	878*	21%	143	22.0%

* The CFWD put the number of women candidates in 2010 at 877. Its candidate breakdown lists both Scottish Jacobite candidates as male. However, Chris Black is female, and she has been added to make the total tally 878.

Sources:

Drawn from *Election 2010: Where the women candidates are; a report from the Centre for Women & Democracy* (CFWD, April 2010), p2; *Women in the House of Commons* (House of Commons Information Office, Factsheet M4 Members Series, Revised June 2010), Appendix B, *passim*; and the *Herald*, 21 April 2010.

House of Commons

Summary of Female MPs Elected, 2010

2010

Party	<i>England</i>	<i>Northern Ireland</i>	<i>Scotland</i>	<i>Wales</i>	<i>United Kingdom (total)</i>
Alliance (Northern Ireland)	n/a	1	n/a	n/a	1
Conservative	48	n/a	0	0	48
Green	1	0	0	0	1
Independent	0	1	0	0	1
Labour	64	n/a	11	6	81
Liberal Democrat	6	n/a	1	1	8
Plaid Cymru (Wales)	n/a	n/a	n/a	0	0
Scottish National Party (Scotland)	n/a	n/a	1	n/a	1
Sinn Féin (Northern Ireland)	n/a	1	n/a	n/a	1
Social Democratic and Labour Party (Northern Ireland)	n/a	1	n/a	n/a	1
Total	<u>119*</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>143*</u>

* On 13 January 2011 Debbie Abrahams was elected as Labour MP for Oldham East and Saddleworth. There are now 120 women MPs representing English seats and the gender composition of the House of Commons changed to 506 men and 144 women.

Source:

Drawn from *Women in the House of Commons* (House of Commons Information Office, Factsheet M4 Members Series, Revised June 2010), Appendix B, *passim*.

House of Commons

Former Female Members of Parliament (MPs) 1918 - 2011

220 former female MPs. The party breakdown is: 56 Conservative; 1 Democratic Unionist; 1 Independent; 1 Independent Labour; 1 Independent Unity; 138 Labour; 5 Liberal; 10 Liberal Democrat; 2 Social Democrat Party; 1 Sinn Féin; 5 Scottish National Party; and 2 Ulster Unionist. Three MPs represented two different parties during their career – Megan Lloyd George was a Liberal MP and later elected as a Labour MP; Shirley Williams was a Labour MP and later elected for the SDP; and Clare Short was a Labour MP and latterly sat as an Independent Labour MP.

Name

	<i>Party</i>	<i>Constituency</i>	<i>Dates as MP</i>
1. Constance, Countess MARKIEVICZ	SF	Dublin, St Patrick's (Did not take seat)	1918-22
2. Nancy, Viscountess ASTOR, CH	Con	Plymouth, Sutton	1919*-45
3. Mrs Margaret WINTRINGHAM	Lib	Lincolnshire, Louth	1921*-24
4. Mrs Mabel PHILIPSON	Con	Berwick-upon-Tweed	1923*-29
5. Katherine, Duchess of ATHOLL, DBE	Con	Kinross & West Perthshire	1923-38
6. Rt Hon Margaret BONDFIELD, CH (First woman Cabinet Minister)	Lab	Northampton Wallsend	1923-24 1926*-31
7. Miss Dorothea JEWSON	Lab	Norwich	1923-24
8. Miss Arabella Susan LAWRENCE	Lab	East Ham, North	1923-24 1926*-31
9. Lady Vera TERRINGTON	Lib	Buckinghamshire, Wycombe	1923-24
10. Rt Hon Ellen WILKINSON	Lab	Middlesbrough East Jarrow	1924*-31 1935-47
11. Gwendolen, Countess of IVEAGH, CBE	Con	Southend-on-Sea	1927*-35
12. Hilda RUNCIMAN (later Viscountess)	Lib	Cornwall, St Ives	1928*-29
13. Mrs Florence DALTON	Lab	Durham, Bishop Auckland	1929*
14. Rt Hon Miss Jennie LEE (Mrs A BEVAN)	Lab	Lanarkshire, Northern Staffordshire, Cannock	1929*-31 1945-70
15. Dr Ethel BENTHAM	Lab	Islington, East	1929-31
16. Mrs Mary HAMILTON, CBE	Lab	Blackburn	1929-31
17. Lady Megan LLOYD GEORGE	Lib	Anglesey	1929-51
	Lab	Carmarthen	1957*-66
18. Lady Cynthia MOSLEY	Lab	Stoke-on-Trent, Stoke	1929-31
19. Dr Marion PHILLIPS	Lab	Sunderland	1929-31
20. Miss Edith PICTON-TURBERVILL, OBE	Lab	Shropshire, The Wrekin	1929-31
21. Miss Eleanor RATHBONE	Ind	Combined English Universities	1929-46
22. Lady Lucy NOEL-BUXTON	Lab	Norfolk, North Norwich	1930*-31 1945-50

23.	Mrs Leah MANNING	Lab	Islington East Essex, Epping	1931* 1945-50
24.	Mrs Thelma CAZALET-KEIR, CBE	Con	Islington, East	1931-45
25.	Mrs Ida COPELAND	Con	Stoke-on-Trent, Stoke	1931-35
26.	Miss Marjorie GRAVES	Con	Hackney, South	1931-35
27.	Rt Hon Miss Florence HORSBURGH (First woman to move the Address in reply to the King's speech)	Con	Dundee Manchester, Moss-Side	1931-45 1950-59
28.	The Hon Mary PICKFORD, CBE	Con	Hammersmith, North	1931-34
29.	Mrs Norah RUNGE, OBE	Con	Bermondsey, Rotherhithe	1931-35
30.	Mrs Helen SHAW, MBE	Con	Lanarkshire, Bothwell	1931-35
31.	Mrs Mavis TATE	Con	Willesden, West Somerset Frome	1931-35 1935-45
32.	Dame Irene WARD, CH	Con	Wallsend Tynemouth	1931-45 1950-74
33.	Mrs Sarah WARD	Con	Staffordshire, Cannock	1931-35
34.	Frances, Viscountess DAVIDSON	Con	Hertfordshire, Hemel Hempstead	1937*-59
35.	Mrs Agnes HARDIE	Lab	Glasgow, Springburn	1937*-45
36.	Mrs Jennie ADAMSON	Lab	Dartford Bexley	1938*-45 1945-46
37.	Rt Hon Dr Edith SUMMERSKILL, CH	Lab	Fulham West Warrington	1938*-61 1955-61
38.	Mrs Beatrice WRIGHT	Con	Cornwall, Bodmin	1941*-45
39.	Lady Violet APSLEY, CBE	Con	Bristol, Central	1943*-45
40.	Rt Hon Alice BACON, CBE	Lab	Leeds, North East Leeds, South East	1945-70 1955-70
41.	Mrs Bessie BRADDOCK	Lab	Liverpool, Exchange	1945-70
42.	Rt Hon Barbara CASTLE	Lab	Blackburn	1945-79
43.	Miss Grace COLMAN	Lab	Tynemouth	1945-50
44.	Mrs Freda CORBET	Lab	Camberwell, North-West Camberwell, Peckham	1945-50 1950-74
45.	Mrs Caroline GANLEY	Lab	Battersea, South	1945-51
46.	Mrs Barbara GOULD	Lab	Hendon, North	1945-50
47.	Rt Hon Mrs Margaret HERBISON	Lab	Lanarkshire, North	1945-70
48.	Mrs Jean MANN	Lab	Lanarkshire, Coatbridge	1945-59
49.	Mrs Lucy MIDDLETON	Lab	Plymouth, Sutton	1945-51
50.	Mrs Muriel NICHOL	Lab	Bradford, North	1945-50
51.	Mrs Florence PATON	Lab	Nottinghamshire, Rushcliffe	1945-50
52.	Mrs Mabel RIDEALGH	Lab	Ilford, North	1945-50
53.	Mrs Clarice SHAW	Lab	Ayrshire & Bute, Kilmarnock	1945-46
54.	Mrs Edith WILLS	Lab	Birmingham, Duddeston	1945-50
55.	Priscilla, Lady TWEEDSMUIR (as Lady GRANT of Monymusk to 1948)	Con	Aberdeen, South	1946*-66
56.	Mrs Alice CULLEN	Lab	Glasgow, Gorbals	1948*-69
57.	Miss Elaine BURTON	Lab	Coventry, South	1950-59
58.	Mrs Eveline HILL	Con	Manchester, Wythenshawe	1950-64
59.	Rt Hon Dame Patricia HORNSBY- SMITH, DBE	Con	Kent, Chislehurst	1950-66 1970-74
60.	Mrs Dorothy REES	Lab	Glamorgan, Barry	1950-51
61.	Mrs Eirene WHITE	Lab	Flintshire, East	1950-70
62.	Mrs Harriet SLATER (First woman Whip)	Lab	Stoke-on-Trent, North	1953*-66

63.	Mrs Patricia FORD	UUP	Down, North	1953*-55
64.	Dame Edith PITT, DBE	Con	Birmingham, Edgbaston	1953*-66
65.	Mrs Lena JEGER	Lab	Holborn & St Pancras, South	1953*-59 1964-79
66.	Mrs Joyce BUTLER	Lab	Wood Green	1955-79
67.	The Hon Mrs Evelyn EMMET	Con	East Sussex, East Grinstead	1955-64
68.	Mrs Patricia McLAUGHLIN	UUP	Belfast, West	1955-64
69.	Dame Joan VICKERS, DBE	Con	Plymouth, Devonport	1955-74
70.	Miss Mervyn PIKE	Con	Leicestershire, Melton	1956*-74
71.	Lady Muriel GAMMANS	Con	Hornsey	1957*-66
72.	Mrs Mary McALISTAIR	Lab	Glasgow, Kelvingrove	1958*-59
73.	Rt Hon Betty HARVIE ANDERSON OBE, TD	Con	Renfrewshire, East	1959-79
74.	Rt Hon Dame Judith HART, DBE	Lab	Lanark Clydesdale	1959-83 1983-87
75.	Rt Hon Margaret THATCHER (First woman Prime Minister)	Con	Finchley	1959-92
76.	Miss Joan QUENNELL	Con	Petersfield	1960*-74
77.	Mrs Anne KERR	Lab	Rochester & Chatham	1964-70
78.	Mrs Margaret McKAY	Lab	Wandsworth, Clapham	1964-70
79.	Mrs Renee SHORT	Lab	Wolverhampton, North-East	1964-87
80.	Dr the Hon Shirley SUMMERSKILL	Lab	Halifax	1964-83
81.	Rt Hon Shirley WILLIAMS	Lab	Hertfordshire, Hitchin Hertford & Stevenage	1964-74 1974-79
		SDP	Crosby	1981*-83
82.	Mrs Gwyneth DUNWOODY	Lab	Exeter Crewe Crewe & Nantwich	1966-70 1974-83 1983-2008
83.	Dame Jill KNIGHT, DBE	Con	Birmingham, Edgbaston	1966-97
84.	Miss Joan LESTOR	Lab	Eton & Slough Eccles	1966-83 1987-97
85.	Mrs Winifred EWING	SNP	Lanarkshire, Hamilton Moray & Nairn	1967*-70 1974-79
86.	Miss Bernadette DEVLIN (Youngest woman MP at 21 yrs)	Ind Unity	Mid-Ulster	1969*-74
87.	Dame Peggy FENNER, DBE	Con	Rochester & Chatham Medway	1970-74 1983-97
88.	Mrs Doris FISHER	Lab	Birmingham, Ladywood	1970-74
89.	Dame Janet FOOKES, DBE (Second Deputy Chairman of Ways and Means)	Con	Merton & Morden Plymouth, Drake	1970-Feb 1974 Feb 1974-97
90.	Miss Joan HALL	Con	Keighley	1970-74
91.	Miss Mary HOLT	Con	Preston, North	1970-74
92.	Dame Elaine KELLETT-BOWMAN DBE	Con	Lancaster	1970-97
93.	Mrs Constance MONKS	Con	Chorley	1970-74
94.	Rt Hon Sally OPPENHEIM	Con	Gloucester	1970-87
95.	Rt Hon Betty BOOTHROYD (First woman Speaker)	Lab	West Bromwich	1973*-2000
96.	Mrs Margo MACDONALD	SNP	Glasgow, Govan	1973*-74
97.	Rt Hon Lynda CHALKER	Con	Wallasey	Feb 1974-92
98.	Mrs Maureen COLQUHOUN	Lab	Northampton, North	Feb 1974-79
99.	Jo RICHARDSON	Lab	Barking	Feb 1974-94
100.	Audrey WISE	Lab	Coventry, South-West Preston	Feb 1974-79 1987-2000

101. Mrs Margaret BAIN (later Mrs EWING)	SNP	Dunbartonshire East Moray	Oct 1974-79 1987-2001
102. Mrs Helene HAYMAN	Lab	Welwyn & Hatfield	Oct 1974-79
103. Miss Joan MAYNARD	Lab	Sheffield, Brightside	Oct 1974-87
104. Mrs Millie MILLER	Lab	Ilford North	Oct 1974-77
105. Rt Hon Ann TAYLOR (First woman Chief Whip)	Lab	Bolton, West Dewsbury	Oct 1974-83 1987-2005
106. Dr Oonagh McDONALD	Lab	Thurrock	1976*-87
107. Mrs Sheila FAITH	Con	Belper	1979-83
108. Miss Sheila WRIGHT	Lab	Birmingham, Handsworth	1979-83
109. Dame Angela RUMBOLD, DBE	Con	Mitcham & Morden	1982*-97
110. Mrs Helen McELHONE	Lab	Glasgow, Queen's Park	1982*-83
111. Mrs Edwina CURRIE	Con	South Derbyshire	1983-97
112. Mrs Anna McCURLEY	Con	Renfrew West & Inverclyde	1983-87
113. Mrs Elizabeth PEACOCK	Con	Batley & Spen	1983-97
114. Mrs Marion ROE	Con	Broxbourne	1983-2005
115. Rt Hon Clare SHORT	Lab	Birmingham, Ladywood	1983-2006
	Ind Lab	Birmingham, Ladywood	2006-10
116. Mrs Ann WINTERTON	Con	Congleton	1983-2010
117. Rt Hon Virginia BOTTOMLEY	Con	South West Surrey	1984*-2005
118. Mrs Elizabeth SHIELDS	Lib	Ryedale	1986*-87
119. Mrs Llin GOLDING	Lab	Newcastle-under-Lyme	1986*-2001
120. Mrs Rosie BARNES	SDP	Greenwich	1987*-92
121. Rt Hon Hilary ARMSTRONG	Lab	North West Durham	1987-2010
122. Mrs Maria FYFE	Lab	Glasgow, Maryhill	1987-2001
123. Mrs Mildred GORDON	Lab	Bow & Poplar	1987-97
124. Mrs Teresa GORMAN	Con	Billericay	1987-2001
125. Mrs Maureen HICKS	Con	Wolverhampton, North East	1987-92
126. Mrs Alice MAHON	Lab	Halifax	1987-2005
127. Mrs Ray MICHIE	LD	Argyll & Bute	1987-2001
128. Rt Hon Marjorie MOWLAM	Lab	Redcar	1987-2001
129. Emma NICHOLSON	Con	Devon, West & Torridge	1987-97
130. Rt Hon Joyce QUIN	Lab	Gateshead, East Gateshead East & Washington West	1987-97 1997-2005
131. Rt Hon Gillian SHEPHARD	Con	South West Norfolk	1987-2005
132. Rt Hon Ann WIDDECOMBE	Con	Maidstone Maidstone & the Weald	1987-1997 1997-2010
133. Mrs Sylvia HEAL	Lab	Mid-Staffordshire Halesowen & Rowley Regis	1990*-92 1997-2010
134. Irene ADAMS	Lab	Paisley North	1990*-2005
135. Janet ANDERSON	Lab	Rossendale & Darwen	1992-2010
136. Mrs Angela BROWNING	Con	Tiverton Tiverton & Honiton	1992-97 1997-2010
137. Mrs Anne CAMPBELL	Lab	Cambridge	1992-2005
138. Mrs Judith CHAPLIN	Con	Newbury	1992-93
139. Hon Jean CORSTON	Lab	Bristol East	1992-2005
140. Helen JACKSON	Lab	Sheffield, Hillsborough	1992-2005
141. Dr Lynne JONES	Lab	Birmingham, Selly Oak	1992-2010
142. Jane KENNEDY	Lab	Liverpool Wavertree	1992-2010
143. Mrs Angela KNIGHT	Con	Erewash	1992-97

144.	Mrs Jacqui LAIT	Con	Hastings & Rye Beckenham	1992-97 1997*-2010
145.	Ms Liz LYNNE	LD	Rochdale	1992-97
146.	Lady Olga MAITLAND	Con	Sutton & Cheam	1992-97
147.	Rt Hon Estelle MORRIS	Lab	Birmingham, Yardley	1992-2005
148.	Ms Bridget PRENTICE	Lab	Lewisham East	1992-2010
149.	Mrs Barbara ROCHE	Lab	Hornsey & Wood Green	1992-2005
150.	Ms Rachel SQUIRE	Lab	Dunfermline West	1992-2006
151.	Mrs Diana MADDOCK	LD	Christchurch	1993*-97
152.	Ms Judith CHURCH	Lab	Dagenham	1994*-2001
153.	Mrs Helen LIDDELL	Lab	Monklands East Airdrie & Shotts	1994*-97 1997-2005
154.	Ms Roseanna CUNNINGHAM	SNP	Perth & Kinross Perth	1995*-97 1997-2001
155.	Ms Candy ATHERTON	Lab	Falmouth & Camborne	1997-2005
156.	Ms Charlotte ATKINS	Lab	Staffordshire Moorlands	1997-2010
157.	Mrs Jackie BALLARD	LD	Taunton	1997-2001
158.	Mrs Liz BLACKMAN	Lab	Erewash	1997-2010
159.	Mrs Helen BRINTON (Later Mrs Helen CLARK)	Lab	Peterborough	1997-2005
160.	Mrs Christine BUTLER	Lab	Castle Point	1997-2001
161.	Dr Lynda CLARK, QC	Lab	Edinburgh, Pentlands	1997-2005
162.	Mrs Ann CRYER	Lab	Keighley	1997-2010
163.	Ms Claire CURTIS-THOMAS	Lab	Crosby	1997-2010
164.	Valerie DAVEY	Lab	Bristol West	1997-2005
165.	Mrs Janet DEAN	Lab	Burton	1997-2010
166.	Julia DROWN	Lab	South Swindon	1997-2005
167.	Ms Lorna FITZSIMONS	Lab	Rochdale	1997-2005
168.	Ms Barbara FOLLETT	Lab	Stevenage	1997-2010
169.	Mrs Linda GILROY	Lab	Plymouth Sutton	1997-2010
170.	Eileen GORDON	Lab	Romford	1997-2001
171.	Jane GRIFFITHS	Lab	Reading East	1997-2005
172.	Rt Hon Patricia HEWITT	Lab	Leicester West	1997-2010
173.	Ms Beverley HUGHES	Lab	Stretford & Urmston	1997-2010
174.	Mrs Joan HUMBLE	Lab	Blackpool North & Fleetwood	1997-2010
175.	Miss Melanie JOHNSON	Lab	Welwyn Hatfield	1997-2005
176.	Mrs Fiona JONES	Lab	Newark	1997-2001
177.	Ms Jenny JONES	Lab	Wolverhampton South West	1997-2001
178.	Ms Sally KEEBLE	Lab	Northampton North	1997-2010
179.	Ann KEEN	Lab	Brentford & Isleworth	1997-2010
180.	Ms Ruth KELLY	Lab	Bolton West	1997-2010
181.	Ms Oona KING	Lab	Bethnal Green & Bow	1997-2005
182.	Ms Tess KINGHAM	Lab	Gloucester	1997-2001
183.	Miss Julie KIRKBRIDE	Con	Bromsgrove	1997-2010
184.	Ms Jackie LAWRENCE	Lab	Preseli Pembrokeshire	1997-2005
185.	Judy MALLABER	Lab	Amber Valley	1997-2010
186.	Ms Chris McCafferty	Lab	Calder Valley	1997-2010
187.	Shona McISAAC	Lab	Cleethorpes	1997-2010
188.	Mrs Rosemary McKenna, CBE	Lab	Cumbernauld & Kilsyth	1997-2010
189.	Ms Gillian MERRON	Lab	Lincoln	1997-2010
190.	Laura MOFFATT	Lab	Crawley	1997-2010
191.	Ms Margaret MORAN	Lab	Luton South	1997-2010

192.	Ms Julie MORGAN	Lab	Cardiff North	1997-2010
193.	Ms Kali MOUNTFORD	Lab	Colne Valley	1997-2010
194.	Mrs Diana ORGAN	Lab	Forest of Dean	1997-2005
195.	Ms Linda PERHAM	Lab	Ilford North	1997-2005
196.	Christine RUSSELL	Lab	Chester, City of	1997-2010
197.	Joan RYAN	Lab	Enfield North	1997-2010
198.	Ms Debra SHIPLEY	Lab	Stourbridge	1997-2005
199.	Rt Hon Angela E SMITH	Lab	Basildon	1997-2010
200.	Miss Geraldine SMITH	Lab	Morecambe & Lunesdale	1997-2010
201.	Ms Jacqui SMITH	Lab	Redditch	1997-2010
202.	Ms Helen SOUTHWORTH	Lab	Warrington South	1997-2010
203.	Dr Phyllis STARKEY	Lab	Milton Keynes South West	1997-2010
204.	Ms Dari TAYLOR	Lab	Stockton South	1997-2010
205.	Dr Jenny TONGE	LD	Richmond Park	1997-2005
206.	Ms Claire WARD	Lab	Watford	1997-2010
207.	Mrs Betty WILLIAMS	Lab	Conwy	1997-2010
208.	Sandra GIDLEY	LD	Romsey	2000*-10
209.	Vera BAIRD	Lab	Redcar	2001-10
210.	Patsy CALTON	LD	Cheadle	2001-05
211.	Sue DOUGHTY	LD	Guildford	2001-05
212.	Annabelle EWING	SNP	Perth	2001-05
213.	Anne PICKING (as Anne MOFFAT from 2005)	Lab	East Lothian	2001-10
214.	Iris ROBINSON	DUP	Strangford	2001-10
215.	Julia GOLDSWORTHY	LD	Falmouth & Camborne	2005-10
216.	Susan KRAMER	LD	Richmond Park	2005-10
217.	Sarah McCARTHY-FRY	Lab	Portsmouth North	2005-10
218.	Anne SNELGROVE	Lab	South Swindon	2005-10
219.	Kitty USSHER	Lab	Burnley	2005-10
220.	Lynda WALTHO	Lab	Stourbridge	2005-10

* Indicates elected at a by-election.

Source:

Drawn from *Women in the House of Commons*
(House of Commons Information Office, Factsheet
M4 Members Series, Revised June 2010),
Appendix B, *passim*.

House of Commons

Current Female MPs, England 2011

120 of 533 MPs (48 Conservative; 1 Green; 65 Labour; and 6 Liberal Democrat)

Name

	<i>Party</i>	<i>Constituency</i>	<i>Dates as MP</i>
1. Miss Margaret JACKSON (later Mrs BECKETT, then Rt Hon Margaret BECKETT)	Lab	Lincoln Derby South	October 1974-79 1983-
2. Rt Hon Harriet HARMAN	Lab	Peckham	28 October 1982*-
3. Miss Diane ABBOTT	Lab	Hackney North & Stoke Newington	1987-
4. Dawn PRIMAROLO	Lab	Bristol South	1987-
5. Joan RUDDOCK	Lab	Lewisham Deptford	1987-
6. Ms Joan WALLEY	Lab	Stoke-on-Trent North	1987-
7. Miss Kate HOEY	Lab	Vauxhall	15 June 1989*-
8. Ms Ann COFFEY	Lab	Stockport	1992-
9. Angela EAGLE	Lab	Wallasey	1992-
10. Mrs Cheryl GILLAN	Con	Chesham & Amersham	1992-
11. Ms Glenda JACKSON	Lab	Hampstead & Highgate	1992-
12. Rt Hon Tessa JOWELL	Lab	Dulwich Dulwich & West Norwood	1992-7 1997-
13. Rt Hon Margaret HODGE	Lab	Barking	9 June 1994*-
14. Ms Hazel BLEARS	Lab	Salford Salford & Eccles	1997-2010 2010-
15. Ms Karen BUCK	Lab	Regent's Park & Kensington North	1997-
16. Yvette COOPER	Lab	Pontefract & Castleford	1997-
17. Maria EAGLE	Lab	Liverpool Garston	1997-
18. Mrs Louise ELLMAN	Lab	Liverpool Riverside	1997-
19. Caroline FLINT	Lab	Don Valley	1997-
20. Helen JONES	Lab	Warrington North	1997-
21. Mrs Eleanor LAING	Con	Epping Forest	1997-
22. Fiona MACTAGGART	Lab	Slough	1997-
23. Mrs Theresa MAY	Con	Maidenhead	1997-
24. Ms Siobhain McDONAGH	Lab	Mitcham & Morden	1997-
25. Anne McINTOSH	Con	Vale of York Thirsk & Malton	1997-2010 2010-

26.	Mrs Caroline SPELMAN	Con	Meriden	1997-
27.	Ms Gisela STUART	Lab	Birmingham Edgbaston	1997-
28.	Ms Rosie WINTERTON	Lab	Doncaster Central	1997-
29.	Annette BROOKE	LD	Mid Dorset & North Poole	2001-
30.	Meg MUNN	Lab	Sheffield Heeley	2001-
31.	Angela WATKINSON	Con	Upminster	2001-
32.	Sarah TEATHER	LD	Brent East	18 September 2003*-10
			Brent Central	2010-
33.	Roberta BLACKMAN-WOODS	Lab	City of Durham	2005-
34.	Lyn BROWN	Lab	West Ham	2005-
35.	Lorely BURT	LD	Solihull	2005-
36.	Rosie COOPER	Lab	West Lancashire	2005-
37.	Mary CREAGH	Lab	Wakefield	2005-
38.	Nadine DORRIES	Con	Mid Bedfordshire	2005-
39.	Natascha ENGEL	Lab	North East Derbyshire	2005-
40.	Lynne FEATHERSTONE	LD	Hornsey & Wood Green	2005-
41.	Helen GOODMAN	Lab	Bishop Auckland	2005-
42.	Justine GREENING	Con	Putney	2005-
43.	Meg HILLIER	Lab	Hackney South & Shoreditch	2005-
44.	Sharon HODGSON	Lab	Gateshead East & Washington West	2005-
45.	Diana R JOHNSON	Lab	Kingston upon Hull North	2005-
46.	Barbara KEELEY	Lab	Worsley	2005-
47.	Anne MAIN	Con	St Albans	2005-
48.	Kerry MCCARTHY	Lab	Bristol East	2005 -
49.	Maria MILLER	Con	Basingstoke	2005-
50.	Anne MILTON	Con	Guildford	2005-
51.	Linda RIORDAN	Lab	Halifax	2005-
52.	Alison SEABECK	Lab	Plymouth Devonport	2005-
53.	Angela C SMITH	Lab	Sheffield Hillsborough	2005-10
			Penistone & Stocksbridge	2010-
54.	Emily THORNBERRY	Lab	Islington South & Finsbury	2005-
55.	Theresa VILLIERS	Con	Chipping Barnet	2005-
56.	Chloe SMITH	LD	Norwich North	23 July 2009*-
57.	Heidi ALEXANDER	Lab	Lewisham East	2010-
58.	Rushanara ALI	Lab	Bethnal Green & Bow	2010-
59.	Ms Louise BAGSHAWE	Con	Corby	2010-
60.	Harriett BALDWIN	Con	West Worcestershire	2010-
61.	Luciana BERGER	Lab/ Co-op	Liverpool Wavertree	2010-
62.	Nicola BLACKWOOD	Con	Oxford West & Abingdon	2010-
63.	Karen BRADLEY	Con	Staffordshire Moorlands	2010-
64.	Angie BRAY	Con	Ealing Central & Acton	2010-
65.	Fiona BRUCE	Con	Congleton	2010-
66.	Mrs Jenny CHAPMAN	Lab	Darlington	2010-
67.	Dr Thérèse COFFEY	Con	Suffolk Coastal	2010-
68.	Stella CREASY	Lab/ Co-op	Walthamstow	2010-

69.	Tracey CROUCH	Con	Chatham & Aylesford	2010-
70.	Gloria DE PIERO	Lab	Ashfield	2010-
71.	Caroline DINEAGE	Con	Gosport	2010-
72.	Jackie DOYLE-PRICE	Con	Thurrock	2010-
73.	Julie ELLIOTT	Lab	Sunderland Central	2010-
74.	Jane ELLISON	Con	Battersea	2010-
75.	Yvonne FOVARGUE	Lab	Makerfield	2010-
76.	Lorraine FULLBROOK	Con	South Ribble	2010-
77.	Pat GLASS	Lab	North West Durham	2010-
78.	Mrs Mary GLINDON	Lab	North Tyneside	2010-
79.	Mrs Helen GRANT	Con	Maidstone & The Weald	2010-
80.	Kate GREEN	Lab	Stretford & Urmston	2010-
81.	Lilian GREENWOOD	Lab	Nottingham South	2010-
82.	Rebecca HARRIS	Con	Castle Point	2010-
83.	Julie HILLING	Lab	Bolton West	2010-
84.	Margot JAMES	Con	Stourbridge	2010-
85.	Liz KENDALL	Lab	Leicester West	2010-
86.	Pauline LATHAM	Con	Mid Derbyshire	2010-
87.	Andrea LEADSOM	Con	South Northamptonshire	2010-
88.	Jessica LEE	Con	Erewash	2010-
89.	Charlotte LESLIE	Con	Bristol North West	2010-
90.	Caroline LUCAS	Green	Brighton Pavilion	2010-
91.	Karen LUMLEY	Con	Redditch	2010-
92.	Mary MACLEOD	Con	Brentford & Isleworth	2010-
93.	Shabana MAHMOOD	Lab	Birmingham Ladywood	2010-
94.	Alison MCGOVERN	Lab	Wirral South	2010-
95.	Catherine MCKINNELL	Lab	Newcastle upon Tyne North	2010-
96.	Esther MCVEY	Con	Wirral West	2010-
97.	Penny MORDAUNT	Con	Portsmouth North	2010-
98.	Nicky MORGAN	Con	Loughborough	2010-
99.	Anne Marie MORRIS	Con	Newton Abbot	2010-
100.	Tessa MUNT	LD	Wells	2010-
101.	Sheryll MURRAY	Con	South East Cornwall	2010-
102.	Lisa NANDY	Lab	Wigan	2010-
103.	Sarah NEWTON	Con	Truro & Falmouth	2010-
104.	Caroline NOKES	Con	Romsey & Southampton North	2010-
105.	Chi ONWURAH	Lab	Newcastle upon Tyne Central	2010-
106.	Priti PATEL	Con	Witham	2010-
107.	Teresa PEARCE	Lab	Erith & Thamesmead	2010-
108.	Claire PERRY	Con	Devizes	2010-
109.	Bridget PHILLIPSON	Lab	Houghton & Sunderland South	2010-
110.	Yasmin QURESHI	Lab	Bolton South East	2010-
111.	Rachel REEVES	Lab	Leeds West	2010-
112.	Emma REYNOLDS	Lab	Wolverhampton North East	2010-
113.	Amber RUDD	Con	Hastings & Rye	2010-
114.	Laura SANDYS	Con	South Thanet	2010-
115.	Anna SOUBRY	Con	Broxtowe	2010-
116.	Elizabeth TRUSS	Con	South West Norfolk	2010-

117.Valerie VAZ	Lab	Walsall South	2010-
118.Heather WHEELER	Con	South Derbyshire	2010-
119.Dr Sarah WOLLASTON	Con	Totnes	2010-
120.Debbie ABRAHAMS	Lab	Oldham East & Saddleworth	13th January 2011*

* Indicates elected at a by-election.

Source:

Drawn from *Women in the House of Commons* (House of Commons Information Office, Factsheet M4 Members Series, Revised June 2010), Appendix B, *passim*; and <http://www.parliament.uk/mps-lords-and-offices/mps/>

House of Commons

Current Female MPs, Northern Ireland 2011

4 of 18 MPs (1 Alliance; 1 Independent; 1 Sinn Féin;
and 1 Social Democratic and Labour Party)

Name

	<i>Party</i>	<i>Constituency</i>	<i>Dates as MP</i>
1. Michelle GILDERNEW	SF	Fermanagh & South Tyrone	2001-
2. Sylvia HERMON	UU	North Down	2001-10
	Ind		2010-
3. Naomi LONG	Alliance	Belfast East	2010-
4. Ms Margaret RITCHIE	SDLP	South Down	2010-

* Indicates elected at a by-election.

Source:

Drawn from *Women in the House of Commons* (House of Commons Information Office, Factsheet M4 Members Series, Revised June 2010), Appendix B, *passim*; and <http://www.parliament.uk/mps-lords-and-offices/mps/>

House of Commons

Female MPs elected, Scotland 2011

13 of 59 MPs (11 Labour; 1 Liberal Democrat; and 1 Scottish National Party)

Name

	<i>Party</i>	<i>Constituency</i>	<i>Dates as MP</i>
1. Dame Anne BEGG	Lab	Aberdeen South	1997-
2. Mrs Anne McGUIRE	Lab	Stirling	1997-
3. Ms Sandra OSBORNE	Lab	Ayr	1997-
4. Ann McKECHIN	Lab	Glasgow Maryhill	2001-
5. Katy CLARK	Lab	North Ayrshire & Arran	2005-
6. Jo SWINSON	LD	East Dunbartonshire	2005-
7. Margaret CURRAN	Lab	Glasgow East	2010-
8. Gemma DOYLE	Lab/Co-op	West Dunbartonshire	2010-
9. Sheila GILMORE	Lab	Edinburgh East	2010-
10. Cathy JAMIESON	Lab/Co-op	Kilmarnock & Loudoun	2010-
11. Pamela NASH	Lab	Airdrie & Shotts	2010-
12. Fiona O'DONNELL	Lab	East Lothian	2010-
13. Dr Eilidh WHITEFORD	SNP	Banff & Buchan	2010-

* Indicates elected at a by-election.

Source:

Drawn from *Women in the House of Commons* (House of Commons Information Office, Factsheet M4 Members Series, Revised June 2010), Appendix B, *passim*; and <http://www.parliament.uk/mps-lords-and-offices/mps/>

House of Commons

Current Female MPs, Wales 2011

7 of 40 MPs (6 Labour; and 1 Liberal Democrat)

Name

Party

Constituency

Dates as MP

1.	Ann CLWYD	Lab	Cynon Valley	3 May 1984*-
2.	Nia GRIFFITH	Lab	Llanelli	2005-
3.	Sian C JAMES	Lab	Swansea East	2005-
4.	Madeleine MOON	Lab	Bridgend	2005-
5.	Jessica MORDEN	Lab	Newport East	2005-
6.	Jenny WILLOTT	LD	Cardiff Central	2005-
7.	Susan Elan JONES	Lab	Clwyd South	2010-

* Indicates elected at a by-election.

Source:

Drawn from *Women in the House of Commons* (House of Commons Information Office, Factsheet M4 Members Series, Revised June 2010), Appendix B, *passim*; and <http://www.parliament.uk/mps-lords-and-offices/mps/>

National Assembly for Wales

**“Overnight – the night of 11th-12th
May 1999 – the political profile of
Wales changed dramatically.”**

Deirdre Beddoe

Writing in 2004, historian Deirdre Beddoe marvelled:

“We should let it sink in that Wales – a country which throughout the twentieth century had a truly appalling record of female representation – now tops the world league table with 50 per cent of women in our National Assembly. The Assembly Government Cabinet has a majority of female members. There has been a revolution in Welsh politics.”

After the 2011 election it seems as if the revolution has been interrupted. The numbers of women in the Assembly fell and the downward trend raises fears of a return to “mainly manly” politics.

Wales does indeed have an appalling historic record of female parliamentary representation. Only four women represented Welsh seats at Westminster between 1918 and 1997 and often one at a time. Lady Megan Lloyd George represented Anglesey as a left-leaning Liberal from 1929-51 and Carmarthen as a Labour MP from 1957-66. Dorothy Rees sat briefly for Glamorgan Barry from 1950-1 and Eirene White represented East Flintshire from 1950-70. There were no Welsh women MPs at all from 1970 until 1984 when Ann Clywd won the Cynon Valley by-election.

Overall from 1918 to 2011 thirteen women have taken up Welsh seats in the House of Commons. During her long political career Megan Lloyd George represented both the Liberal and Labour parties.

Another eleven women have represented the Labour Party (reflecting the party’s historical domination of post-1945 Wales) alongside one Liberal Democrat woman. Nine of the thirteen have been elected since 1997, three being elected for the first time in 1997, five in 2005 and one in 2010 with the increases closely linked to Labour’s use of all-women shortlists.

Representation at the European Parliament proved an early exception to a male-dominated norm with two of the four Welsh seats won by women at the first European election in 1979. Glenys Kinnock and Eluned Morgan were Welsh Labour MEPs from 1994-2009. The election of Plaid Cymru MEP Jill Evans in 1999 gave women three of the four Welsh seats from 1999-2009. Although both Kinnock and Morgan stood down and Labour lost one of its Welsh seats at the 2009 European elections, in 2011 Wales still has two female MEPs, Jill Evans, and the Conservative, Kay Swinburne.

Dramatic change was most conspicuous within the National Assembly for Wales set up in 1999 after “Yes” votes in the 1997 devolution referendums in Scotland and Wales. Although a referendum in March 2011 has now confirmed law-making powers for the Assembly, more ambivalent attitudes to devolution in Wales than in Scotland limited the scope of the initial devolution settlement for Wales. Meanwhile, developments in Wales were influenced by those in Scotland such as the demand for equal

representation in a future Scottish Parliament. The devolution White Paper for Wales asserted that “greater participation by women is essential to the health of our democracy.”

As in Scotland the Labour Party adopted the combination of “twinning” within constituency seats and “zipping” regional lists in its candidate selection procedures. This gave women 15 of 28 Welsh Labour Assembly seats in 1999. Although women members failed to win a “twinning” arrangement within the constituencies, Plaid Cymru “zipped” its regional lists. Until 2008 Plaid placed the female candidate with most votes at the head of the list. Thereafter the candidates were placed according to who won the most votes in the selection contest regardless of gender. In 1999 six Plaid women were elected, two from constituencies and four from the lists, amounting to just over a third of Plaid representation. Although the Liberal Democrats did not use any special measures, three of the six Liberal Democrats elected were female. The Conservatives described their selection procedure as based “strictly on merit” and did not get any women elected. The 1999 Assembly election returned 24 female Assembly Members (AMs) out of 60, which totalled 40 per cent. This was an overnight revolution in Welsh political representation.

At subsequent Assembly elections women’s representation rose to 50 per cent in 2003 and fell to 46.7 per cent in 2007. The numbers fell further in 2011 to 40 per cent. However, the subsequent disqualification of list AM John Dixon and his replacement by Eluned Parrott as the next candidate on the list now places women’s representation in the Assembly at 41.7 per cent, a higher figure but still on a downward trend.

Welsh Labour has consistently returned the highest number of female AMs - 15 in 1999, 19 in 2003, 16 in 2007 and 15 in 2011. Welsh Labour women have accounted for at least a quarter of the Assembly since 1999. Plaid’s female representation was also quite high until 2007 – six in 1999 and 2003 and seven in 2007. Changes in its selection procedure

from 2008 made it less likely that women would be well-placed to get elected. Instead of the top list position automatically being female, the candidate with most votes was placed first with the second place going to the highest scoring person of the opposite sex and the other places according to the votes cast. Moreover, in 2011 there was no nationalist surge in Wales as there was in Scotland. In an election in which Labour remained the largest party and narrowly missed an overall majority, Plaid lost four seats, including its deputy leader, Helen Mary Jones, and now returns only four women.

Since 2007 the Welsh Conservatives have taken some new initiatives. Women2Win was launched in Wales in 2009 with the aim of encouraging and training interested women whilst encouraging local associations to select women candidates. In 2011 the Conservatives won 14 seats in their best Assembly result to date including four women.

Meanwhile, by chance rather than design, the Liberal Democrats returned three women out of six AMs at the 1999, 2003 and 2007 Assembly elections increasing to four women and two men by dissolution in 2011. Kirsty Williams became their party leader in December 2008. Whilst women have been well-represented in the Assembly Governments, she is the first female leader of any of the four main Welsh political parties. Although Williams has personally expressed interest in positive action to promote women candidates her party remains opposed to quotas and all-woman shortlists.

In 2011 she was the only woman elected in a reduced group of five. However, within days of the election Liberal Democrat list AMs Aled Roberts and John Dixon were disqualified as they were both members of public bodies to which AMs cannot belong. The fate of the so-called “Lib Dem two” then hung in the balance pending police investigation and a report by the Assembly Standards Commissioner, Gerard Elias QC. In each case the next candidate on the list was female with implications for the gender composition of the Liberal Democrat group and the

Assembly itself. Aled Roberts has now been re-instated as an AM but the disqualification of John Dixon brought Eluned Parrott into the Senedd. Questions have been raised over Williams' leadership of the affair and the furore over the issues raised by the case of the Lib Dem two continues to play out in the Assembly. However, the consequence for women's representation is a slight unlooked-for increase.

Even after falling in 2011, women's representation in the Welsh Assembly remains at the highest levels seen in the United Kingdom to date and among the highest in the world. In July 2011 only seven countries have women's parliamentary representation above 40 per cent. As Deirde Beddoe said: "Let this sink in."

However, there has been a significant backlash against the positive action measures taken. Commentators refer to "enduring opposition to gender equality measures in sections of the two main left-of-centre parties [Labour and Plaid]" and outright rejection by the Welsh Conservatives. Notably, at the 2005 general election Labour AM Peter Law left the party and stood as an Independent in protest against Labour's decision to impose an all-women shortlist in Blaenau Gwent. Standing on an anti-all women shortlist ticket, he overturned a 19,000 Labour majority to win the

Westminster seat with a majority of 9,121 votes. Following his death and the subsequent by-elections for the Westminster and Assembly seats, his agent Dai Davies won and held the Westminster seat as an Independent until 2010. His widow Trish Law represented Blaenau Gwent as an Independent AM until standing down in 2011.

In 2009 the Institute of Welsh Affairs predicted that the number of women elected might fall as low as 19 in 2011. Five sitting Labour women AMs were standing down and most of the women selected did not seem to be in winnable seats. Both Plaid and Labour also retreated from past positive intervention. Although Labour still "zipped" its list places after the top candidate taking first place, the party did not use all-woman shortlists as there were more women than men in the 2007 intake. Chris Roberts, General Secretary of the Welsh Labour Party, said: "We are aiming to achieve gender balance."

Devolution undoubtedly gave a fresh start and historic boost to women's representation in Wales. Whilst the 2011 election remains impressive by international levels of women's representation it is still a step backwards at regional level. This now underlines the need for renewed efforts to keep women in politics.

National Assembly for Wales

Summary of Female Assembly Members (AMs)

1999-2011

Welsh

Assembly

	1999* Number of women	1999 % of women	2003** Number of women	2003 % of women	2007*** Number of women	2007 % of women	2011**** Number of women	2011 % of women
Independent/Other	0 (of 0)	0%	0 (of 1)	0%	1 (of 1)	100%	0 (of 0)	0%
Plaid Cymru	6 (of 17)	35.3%	6 (of 12)	50%	7 (of 15)	46.7%	4 (of 11)	36.4%
Welsh Conservative Party	0 (of 9)	0%	2 (of 11)	18.2%	1 (of 12)	8.3%	4 (of 14)	28.6%
Welsh Labour	15 (of 28)	53.6%	19 (of 30)	63.3%	16 (of 26)	61.5%	15 (of 30)	50%
Welsh Liberal Democrats	3 (of 6)	50%	3 (of 6)	50%	3 (of 6)	50%	2 (of 5)	40%
TOTAL (of 60 AMs)	24	40%	30	50%	28	46.7%	25	41.7%

Notes:

* After the resignation of Labour AM Alun Michael in May 2000, Delyth Evans took over his seat. The Assembly's gender composition changed to 35 men and 25 women.

** Peter Law was elected as Labour but sat as an Independent from May 2005. Following his death and the subsequent by-election in July 2006, his widow Trish Law sat as an Independent. The Assembly's gender composition changed to 29 men and 31 women.

*** As the next candidate on the Liberal Democrat South Wales East list, Veronica German replaced her husband Michael German as AM in June 2010 on his appointment to the House of Lords in May 2010. The Assembly's gender composition changed to 31 men and 29 women.

**** At the 2011 election Kirsty Williams was the only Liberal Democrat female AM elected. However, on 17 May 2011 two male Liberal Democrat list AMs, John Dixon and Aled Roberts, were disqualified as they were members of bodies to which AMs cannot belong. Subsequent investigation upheld the disqualification of John Dixon and he was replaced by Eluned Parrott, the next candidate on the list, on 6 July 2011. Aled Roberts was re-instated as an AM. The gender balance of the Assembly changed from 24 women (40%) to 25 (41.7%).

Source:

<http://www.assemblywales.org>

National Assembly for Wales

Current Female Assembly Members (AMs) 2011

25 of 60 AMs – 4 Welsh Conservative Party;
15 Labour; 2 Liberal Democrats; and 4 Plaid Cymru

Name	Party	Constituency	Dates as AM
1. Jocelyn DAVIES	Plaid	South Wales East list	1999-
2. Elin JONES	Plaid	Ceredigion	1999-
3. Leanne WOOD	Plaid	South Wales Central list	2003-
4. Bethan JENKINS	Plaid	South Wales West list	2007-
5. Angela BURNS	Con	Carmarthen West & South Pembrokeshire	2007-
6. Suzy DAVIES	Con	South Wales West list	2011-
7. Janet FINCH-SAUNDERS	Con	Aberconwy	2011-
8. Antoinette SANDBACH	Con	North Wales list	2011-
9. Rosemary BUTLER	Lab	Newport West	1999-
10. Christine CHAPMAN	Lab	Cynon Valley	1999-
11. Janice GREGORY	Lab	Ogmore	1999-
12. Edwina HART	Lab	Gower	1999-
13. Jane HUTT	Lab	Vale of Glamorgan	1999-
14. Ann JONES	Lab	Vale of Clwyd	1999-
15. Lynne NEAGLE	Lab	Torfaen	1999-
16. Gwenda THOMAS	Lab	Neath	1999-
17. Sandy MEWIES	Lab	Delyn	2003-
18. Lesley GRIFFITHS	Lab	Wrexham	2007-
19. Joyce WATSON	Lab	Mid & West Wales list	2007-
20. Rebecca EVANS	Lab	Mid & West Wales list	2011-
21. Julie JAMES	Lab	Swansea West	2011-
22. Julie MORGAN	Lab	Cardiff North	2011-
23. Jenny RATHBONE	Lab	Cardiff Central	2011-
24. Kirsty WILLIAMS	LD	Brecon & Radnorshire	1999-
25. Eluned PARROTT	LD	South Wales Central list	6 July 2011* -

* Eluned Parrott was sworn in as an AM following the disqualification of John Dixon.

Source:

<http://www.assemblywales.org>

National Assembly for Wales

Former Female Assembly Members (AMs) 1999-2011

24 former AMs (1 Independent; 5 Plaid Cymru;
2 Welsh Conservative Party; 12 Welsh Labour;
and 4 Welsh Liberal Democrats)

Name	Party	Constituency	Dates as AM
1. Trish LAW	Ind	Blaenau Gwent	29 June 2006*-11
2. Pauline JARMAN	Plaid	South Wales Central list	1999-2003
3. Janet DAVIES	Plaid	South Wales West list	1999-2007
4. Helen Mary JONES	Plaid	Llanelli	1999-2003
		Mid & West Wales list	2003-07
		Llanelli	2007-11
5. Janet RYDER	Plaid	North Wales list	1999-2011
6. Nerys EVANS	Plaid	Mid & West Wales list	2007-11
7. Lisa FRANCIS	Con	Mid & West Wales list	2003-07
8. Laura Anne JONES	Con	South Wales East list	2003-07
9. Val FELD	Lab	Swansea East	1999-2001
10. Alison HALFORD	Lab	Delyn	1999-2003
11. Sue ESSEX	Lab	Cardiff North	1999-2007
12. Christine GWYTHER	Lab	Cardiff North & Pembrokeshire	1999-2007
13. Lorraine BARRETT	Lab	Cardiff South & Penarth	1999-2011
14. Jane DAVIDSON	Lab	Pontypridd	1999-2011
15. Karen SINCLAIR	Lab	Clwyd South	1999-2011
16. Delyth EVANS	Lab	Mid & West Wales list	2000-03
17. Val LLOYD	Lab	Swansea East	26 September 2001*-11
18. Tamsin DUNWOODY	Lab	Preseli Pembrokeshire	2003-07
19. Irene JAMES	Lab	Islwyn	2003-11
20. Catherine THOMAS	Lab	Llanelli	2003-07
21. Christine HUMPHRIES	LD	North Wales list	1999-2001
22. Jenny RANDERSON	LD	Cardiff Central	1999-2011
23. Eleanor BURNHAM	LD	North Wales list	2001-11
24. Veronica GERMAN	LD	South Wales East list	2010-11

Source:

<http://www.assemblywales.org>

Northern Ireland Assembly

“Women make up over 50 per cent of our society yet are seriously under-represented at all levels.”

Jennifer McCann Sinn Féin MLA 2007

Northern Ireland’s devolution route has been tortuous and troubled. The present Northern Ireland Assembly emerged from the milestone Good Friday Agreement signed on 10 April 1998. The agreement, boosted by declarations of permanent ceasefires by the Irish Republican Army (IRA), and the loyalist Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) and Ulster Defence Association (UDA), was the first to receive the firm support of a majority of both Nationalist and Unionist parties. It set out provisions for a new assembly elected under proportional representation with the first Assembly elections held on 25 June 1998 and subsequent elections in 2003, 2007 and 2011.

The Assembly has had a chequered history to date, being suspended in 2002 amid a row over alleged IRA activities. Protracted talks led to the eventual swearing-in of the leaders of a power-sharing government on 8 May 2007, after the 2007 Assembly elections and ending five years of direct rule from London. Fears that dissident activity on either side might undermine the peace agreement still exist. Nonetheless, the Assembly is the most successful and stable of a sequence of attempted assemblies since the Loyalist strike brought down the first Northern Ireland Assembly in 1974.

Competing Unionist and Nationalist identities have shaped Northern Ireland’s politics since the entity was created by the 1920 Government of Ireland Act. And few women were members of the Unionist-dominated Northern Ireland Parliament which had powers over most areas from 1921 until its suspension amid the rising violence and

tension of the Troubles in 1972. Of the nine women elected to Stormont over that period, six were Unionist and the other three represented the University constituency in Belfast as Independents.

Women’s representation was even poorer at Westminster. Northern Ireland has returned only eight women MPs from 1921 to the present. No female candidates at all stood during the inter-war years and only three women were elected during the twentieth century. The first two representatives were Unionist with Pat Ford following her father in North Down from 1953-55 while Florence McLaughlin represented West Belfast from 1955-64. Bernadette Devlin’s election in 1969 as a nationalist “unity” candidate at the age of 21 was a bolt from the future. She defeated the former Unionist MP’s widow in the Mid-Ulster by-election to become the first non-Unionist woman MP and the youngest elected in Westminster’s history. Her election has been perceived as “remarkable” at a point where rising conflict was strengthening and reinforcing existing gender divisions. For instance, Derry society in the 1970s was vividly described as an “armed patriarchy” within which Orange and Green nationalism retained an ultra-conservative view of women.

Recent writing has underlined the involvement of women during the Troubles as “accidental activists” in challenging or supporting military or paramilitary groups and sustaining family life and prisoner support. This was referred to by Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP) member John Dallat:

“The involvement of women in politics is nothing new; I can think of Baroness Blood, Pat Hume and various other women who were involved at the height of the Troubles. They were the ones who wiggled the ears of the paramilitaries and told them to wise up, so women do not have to justify their right to be in politics.”

The first Assembly elections in 1998 returned 15 women (13.9 per cent) whilst 18 were elected at the 2003 and 2007 elections (16.7 per cent). However, resignations and deaths of MLAs cut the number back to 15 before the 2011 elections which returned 20 women (18.5 per cent).

Those elected in 1998 included two representatives of the Northern Ireland Women’s Coalition founded by Catholic Monica McWilliams and Protestant Pearl Sagar as a non-sectarian party in 1996. However, after losing both its MLAs in 2003 and its sole council seat in 2005, the party never contested another election and was formally wound up in 2006.

Within the Assembly the Nationalist parties have returned most women members at each election. More than a quarter of Sinn Féin’s deputies have been female (five, six, eight and eight at the successive elections). The SDLP returned three women in 1998, five in 2003, four in 2007 and three in 2011 whilst Margaret Ritchie was elected party leader in February 2010.

The Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) returned one woman in 1998; three in 2003 and 2007 and five in 2011 whilst in January 2010 Arlene Foster became the first female head of government in all of the UK devolved parliamentary assemblies when she was appointed as interim First Minister for six weeks. However, the Ulster Unionists returned only one woman in 1998 and 2003, none in 2007 and two in 2011. The Alliance has returned two women since 2003 and the percentage of women’s seats within the group has ranged from one third in 2003 to a quarter in 2011. Alliance women include Anna Lo, the first ethnic Chinese person to be elected to a legislative parliament in Europe. The party also has women in prominent leadership positions. Their deputy leader Naomi

Long provided one of the greatest shocks of the 2010 election when she defeated DUP leader Peter Robinson to win Belfast East.

Another woman in a leadership role was Dawn Purvis, former leader and sole Progressive Unionist Party (PUP) representative in the Assembly from 2007-11. For decades the PUP had close political links to the UVF but Purvis resigned as PUP leader in June 2010 over the UVF murder of Shankill Loyalist Bobby Moffett. She sat as an Independent MLA until losing her seat in 2011. A pre-election profile of Purvis in the *Irish Times* commented that “Amid the endless images of middle-aged men wearing identikit suits and grins, Dawn Purvis’s posters stand out a mile.” The article continued that it was not just because she was a woman - “still unusual enough at Stormont” - but her challenging expression, “as though she’s thrown down the gauntlet to the people of East Belfast”.

Discussion over 2010-11 on her private member’s bill seeking to end the practice of dual mandates or double jobbing in Northern Ireland sheds further light on attitudes towards women’s representation. Giving evidence at Stormont, Professor Rick Wilford said that: “The Bill is a trigger of opportunity to create the space for women in politics. It would get rid of dual incumbency, which is a block to entry.” Briefing at the same session, Lynn Carvill of the Women’s Resource and Development Agency (WRDA) reported that as of March 2010, 67 MLAs in Northern Ireland held dual mandates as local councillors, 88 per cent of whom were male. Purvis’s bill on dual mandates suffered repeated delays in the Assembly via two petitions of concern placed by the DUP and finally fell. However, the issue of double jobbing may be tackled again and may yet open a space for women.

The 2011 election results mark a slight improvement on past levels of women’s representation, a pattern repeated at the Westminster level. There are currently four Northern Ireland women MPs. Sinn Féin’s Michelle Gildernew, the DUP’s Iris Robinson and then Ulster Unionist Sylvia Hermon were elected in 2001. Robinson resigned in the wake of revelations of an affair in 2010 but

Gildernew and Hermon remain MPs, Hermon now as an Independent. In 2010 they were joined by Margaret Ritchie and Naomi Long.

Northern Ireland's women's representation still lags behind that of Westminster and the devolved chambers in Scotland and Wales. None of its parties currently make use of devices such as all-women shortlists and there is hostility to the introduction of quotas. For instance, speaking in Stormont in 2007, Michelle McIlveen of the DUP

opposed quotas as "an insult to my gender", adding: "I wish to be judged on my abilities and not on my gender." Yet there is mounting pressure to increase women's representation such as Carvill's call for intervention:

"If women were to continue to enter politics at the current rate, it would take 200 years to reach equality. Therefore, we cannot argue for voluntary equality measures, because we cannot wait for 200 years. Something firmer than that is needed."

Northern Ireland Assembly

Summary of Female Members of the Legislative Assembly (MLAs) elected

1998-2011

Northern Ireland Assembly

	<i>1998 Number of women</i>	<i>1998 % of women</i>	<i>2003* Number of women</i>	<i>2003 % of women</i>	<i>2007** Number of women</i>	<i>2007 % of women</i>	<i>2011 Number of women</i>	<i>2011 % of women</i>
Alliance	1 (of 6)	16.7%	2 (of 6)	33.3%	2 (of 7)	28.6%	2 (of 8)	25%
Democratic Unionist Party	1 (of 20)	5%	3 (of 30)	10%	3 (of 36)	8.3%	5 (of 38)	13.2%
Green Party	0 (of 0)	0% (of 0)	(of 0)	0%	0 (of 1)	0%	0 (of 1)	0%
Independent	1 (of 1)	100%	1 (of 1)	100%	0 (of 1)	0%	0 (of 1)	0%
Independent Unionist	1 (of 2)	50%	0 (of 0)	0%	0 (of 0)	0%	0 (of 0)	0%
Northern Ireland Women's Coalition	2 (of 2)	100%	0 (of 0)	0%	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Progressive Unionist Party	0 (of 2)	0%	0 (of 1)	0%	1 (of 1)	100%	0 (of 0)	0%
Sinn Féin	5 (of 18)	27.8%	6 (of 24)	25%	8 (of 28)	28.6%	8 (of 29)	27.6%
Social Democratic and Labour Party	3 (of 24)	12.5%	5 (of 18)	27.7%	4 (of 16)	25%	3 (of 14)	21.4%
Traditional Unionist Voice	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	0 (of 1)	0%
UK Unionist	0 (of 5)	0%	0 (of 1)	0%	0 (of 0)	0%	n/a	n/a
Ulster Unionist Party	1 (of 28)	3.6%	1 (of 27)	3.7%	0 (of 18)	0%	2 (of 16)	12.5%
TOTAL (of 108 MLAs)	15	13.9%	18	16.7%	18	16.7%	20	18.5%

Notes:

* Norah Beare was elected as a UUP candidate and became a member of the DUP with effect from 15 January 2004. Mrs Mary Nelis resigned from the Northern Ireland Assembly and was replaced by Mr Raymond McCartney whose appointment was notified by the Chief Electoral Officer with effect from 15 July 2004. Ms Bairbre de Brun resigned from the Northern Ireland Assembly with effect from 27 October 2004 and was replaced by Ms Sue Ramsey whose appointment was notified by the Chief Electoral Officer with effect from 29 November 2004. Ms Patricia Lewsley resigned from the Northern Ireland Assembly with effect from 19 December 2006 and was replaced by Ms Marietta Farrell whose appointment was notified by the Chief Electoral Officer with effect from 9 January 2007. Mr David Ervine died on the 8 January 2007 and was replaced by Ms Dawn Purvis, whose appointment was notified by the Chief Electoral Officer with effect from 24 January 2007. The gender composition of the Assembly remained unchanged.

** Mrs Iris Robinson resigned with effect from 12 January 2010 and was replaced by Mr Jonathan Bell, whose appointment was notified by the Chief Electoral Officer with effect from 25 January 2010. Mrs Carmel Hanna resigned with effect from 15 January 2010 and was replaced by Mr Conall McDevitt whose appointment was notified by the Chief Electoral Officer with effect from 21 January 2010. Dawn Purvis, elected as a PUP candidate, became an Independent member with effect from 3 June 2010. Mr Chris Lyttle MLA was returned as the new Member for East Belfast constituency with effect from 5 July 2010 replacing Mrs Naomi Long, elected as MP for Belfast East. The gender composition of the Assembly changed to 93 men and 15 women.

Source:

http://www.niassembly.gov.uk/members/mems_archive_1.htm

Northern Ireland Assembly

Current Female Members of the Legislative Assembly (MLAs) 2011

20 of 108 MLAs (2 Alliance; 5 Democratic Unionist Party; 8 Sinn Féin;
3 Social Democratic and Labour Party; and 2 Ulster Unionist Party)

Name

	<i>Party</i>	<i>Constituency</i>	<i>Dates as AM</i>
1. Anna LO	Alliance	South Belfast	2007-
2. Judith COCHRANE	Alliance	East Belfast	2011-
3. Arlene FOSTER	DUP	Fermanagh & South Tyrone	2003-
4. Michelle MCILVEEN	DUP	Strangford	2007-
5. Paula BRADLEY	DUP	North Belfast	2011-
6. Brenda HALE	DUP	Lagan Valley	2011-
7. Pam LEWIS	DUP	South Antrim	2011-
8. Dolores KELLY	SDLP	Upper Bann	2003-
9. Margaret RITCHIE	SDLP	South Down	2003-
10. Karen MCKEVITT	SDLP	South Down	2011-
11. Michelle GILDERNEW	SF	Fermanagh & South Tyrone	1998-
12. Sue RAMSEY	SF	South Down	1998-2003; and 29 November 2004-11
		West Belfast	2011-
13. Caitriona RUANE	SF	South Down	2003-
14. Martina ANDERSON	SF	Foyle	2007-
15. Jennifer MCCANN	SF	West Belfast	2007-
16. Caral NI CHUILIN	SF	North Belfast	2007-
17. Michelle O'NEILL	SF	Mid-Ulster	2007-
18. Michaela BOYLE	SF	West Tyrone	2011-
19. Jo Anne DOBSON	UUP	Upper Bann	2011-
20. Sandra OVEREND	UUP	Mid Ulster	2011-

Source:

<http://www.niassembly.gov.uk/members/breakdown.htm>

Northern Ireland Assembly

Former Female Members of the Legislative Assembly (MLAs) 1998-2011

23 former female MLAs (2 Alliance; 3 Democratic Unionist Party (including 1 first elected as Ulster Unionist); 2 Independent; 1 Independent Unionist; 2 Northern Ireland Women's Coalition; 1 Progressive Unionist Party (Independent from 3 June 2010); 6 Sinn Féin; 5 Social Democratic and Labour Party; and 1 Ulster Unionist)

Name	Party	Constituency	Dates as AM
1. Mrs Eileen BELL	Alliance	North Down	1998-2007
2. Naomi LONG	Alliance	Belfast East	2003-5 July 2010
3. Iris ROBINSON	DUP	Strangford	1998-12 January 2010
4. Norah BEARE		Lagan Valley (Elected as UUP and DUP from 15 January 2004)	2003-07
5. Diane DODDS	DUP	Belfast West	2003-07
6. Mrs Annie COURTNEY	Ind	Foyle	1998-2003
7. Geraldine DOUGAN	Ind	Mid Ulster	2003-07
8. Pauline ARMITAGE	Ind Un	East Londonderry	1998-2003
9. Prof Monica MCWILLIAMS	NIWC	South Belfast	1998-2003
10. Ms Jane MORRICE	NIWC	North Down	1998-2003
11. Dawn PURVIS	PUP	Belfast East (Elected as PUP and Independent from 3 June 2010)	2007-11
12. Ms Brid RODGERS	SDLP	Upper Bann	1998-2003
13. Ms Patricia LEWSLEY	SDLP	Lagan Valley	1998-19 December 2006
14. Ms Carmel HANNA	SDLP	Belfast South	1998-15 January 2010
15. Mary BRADLEY	SDLP	Foyle	2003-11
16. Marietta FARRELL	SDLP	Lagan Valley	January-May 2007
17. Dr Dara O'HAGAN	SF	Upper Bann	1998-2003
18. Ms Mary NELIS	SF	Foyle	1998-15 July 2004
19. Ms Bairbre DE BRUN	SF	West Belfast	1998-27 October 2004
20. Patricia O'RAWE	SF	Newry & Armagh	2003-07
21. Kathy STANTON	SF	Belfast North	2003-07
22. Claire MCGILL	SF	West Tyrone	2007-11
23. Joan CARSON	UUP	Fermanagh & South Tyrone	1998-2003

Source:

http://www.niassembly.gov.uk/members/mems_archive_1.htm

Scottish Parliament

“Our politicians say they want a parliament that reflects the society it represents but appear unwilling to take the measures available to them to get this.”

Engender Director Niki Kandirikiria 2011

The 2011 election changed the political map of Scotland as a “tartan tsunami” swept 69 Nationalists into Holyrood. The final scale of the victory stunned pundits, politicians and the public. Two months ahead of the poll Labour led the Scottish National Party (SNP) by as much as 15 per cent. As voters’ attention began to focus on the choices for Holyrood, nationalist support subsequently rose, with the two parties level in April, and the SNP eleven percentage points ahead of Labour on the eve of poll. Alex Salmond’s success in achieving the first majority government in the history of the Scottish Parliament guarantees that the constitutional future of Scotland – and the UK – will be at the forefront of the political agenda over the next five years. And it leaves his opponents depleted, facing internal reviews and in search of new leadership.

Alongside the 69 Nationalists (up 22) there are now 37 Labour Members of the Scottish Parliament (MSPs) (down nine), 15 Conservatives (down two), five Liberal Democrats (down 11), and two Greens (no change) whilst Margo MacDonald was once again re-elected as an Independent.

The new composition of the Scottish Parliament poses fundamental questions for future women’s representation. The numbers did not go down as many feared although the increase was slight – “glacial” according to Dr Ruth Fox of the Hansard Society. Women took 45 of the 129 seats at Holyrood in 2011 compared with 43 in 2007, 50 in 2003 and 47 in 1999.

The party breakdown reflects the pattern of the election result. The Nationalists returned 19 women (27.5 per cent); Labour 17 (45.9 per cent); Conservatives 6 (40 per cent); the Liberal Democrats one (20 per cent); and the Greens one (50 per cent) whilst Margo MacDonald is the sole Independent (100 per cent).

Post-election enquiry has already focused on why the numbers of women MSPs did not decline given the concerns expressed about the fall in female candidates, 29.5 per cent as opposed to 36.1 per cent in 2007. Essentially Nationalist success and Labour’s intervention to create gender balance on the regional lists kept the numbers of women at their present level. But the numbers of women elected were as much of a surprise as the Nationalist landslide. There was no gender balance plan.

No-one expected the SNP to take 32 more constituency seats. This delivered Nationalist women in 14 seats as well as five list places. For example, Linda Fabiani’s victory over Labour’s Andy Kerr in East Kilbride signalled what kind of results night it was going to be. Yet earlier in the campaign, because she had a lower list position than in 2007 she was thought likely to lose out. In previous elections the Nationalists had won more seats on the lists but also took advantage of the fact that election law in Scotland – unlike in Wales from 2006 – allows candidates to contest both a constituency and the list.

By contrast Labour's previous electoral strength lay in the constituency section. In 2007 Labour won 46 seats, 35 constituencies and nine list seats. Five Labour women who had held constituency seats since 1999 retired in 2011 and all were replaced by male candidates who all expected to win. None did but if they had done fewer Labour women would be in Holyrood today. In 2007 Labour women won 20 constituency seats as opposed to only six in 2011 but won 11 list seats as opposed to three in 2007. As many as eight new Labour women were elected in list seats. The unthinkable has now overtaken the party and its 37 seats consist of 15 constituencies and 22 list seats. The passing of Labour's "class of 1999" threatens the party's legacy of equal representation based on intervention for the first Scottish Parliament elections. Sarah Boyack is now the sole survivor of Donald Dewar's 1999 Cabinet.

The quest for equal representation was a distinctive aspect of the devolution campaign that shaped the parliament established in 1999. Neither equal parliamentary representation of men and women nor a Scottish Parliament seemed likely in 1979. Mrs Thatcher's election as Britain's first female prime minister coincided with the lowest numbers of women at Westminster since 1951. In Scotland, only one woman was elected - the worst result since 1924. And devolution seemed dead after the 1979 referendum on the Scotland Act.

Yet within a few years, the unpopularity of Thatcherism in Scotland gave a fresh impetus to devolution demands pursued via the Scottish Constitutional Convention. From March 1989 the Convention worked on a devolution scheme via consensus, finally agreed in October 1995.

Criticism of the low numbers of women involved at the Convention's first meeting - only 23 of 140 - prompted Labour members to propose setting up a Women's Issues working group on making a Scottish Parliament truly representative. Unsurprisingly, electoral arrangements, especially increasing women's representation, were controversial. The options considered included electoral reform, quota systems and the 50/50

option. Originally proposed by the Scottish Trades Union Congress Women's Committee, 50/50 held that half of elected representatives should be men and half should be women.

Labour support pushed the 50/50 option up the political agenda. The Greens and the Liberal Democrats maintained that proportional representation would guarantee female representatives. The Greens also supported a 30 per cent quota of female candidates but the Liberal Democrats rejected 50/50 and quotas. The eventual Convention scheme of October 1995 included an "Electoral Agreement" which backed having equal representation of men and women. How parties might achieve gender balance was left to them.

Ultimately, only equal numbers of Labour men and women entered the Scottish Parliament in 1999. This was achieved by "twinning" in the "first-past-the-post" section, under which party members in two constituencies were asked to select a man and a woman as candidates. The regional lists were "zipped", male-female. This set a pattern in which over half of the female MSPs elected from 1999 to 2007 were Labour. Fiona MacKay and Meryl Kenny concluded that incumbency, "resulting from the one-off measures taken in the first elections", was the key factor. In 2007 twenty of the 23 Labour women had first been elected in 1999. Yet there were signs of decline; only one of the seven Labour MSPs elected to Holyrood for the first time in 2007 was female. The significant loss of incumbency in 2011 will test Labour's commitment to recreating gender balance.

Otherwise equal representation proves elusive. In 2003 the Scottish Socialist party used its regional lists to promote women but lost all its seats in 2007 whilst the Greens elected two female MSPs in 2003 and one in 2011. The Scottish Green Party retains a formal commitment to gender balance. In 2011 the party only contested list seats and used "zipped" lists, with regions grouped to try and ensure balance. Alison Johnstone was duly elected on the Lothian list.

In March 1998 the Liberal Democrat Scottish conference rejected intervention in candidate selection as inherently “illiberal”. Only two Liberal Democrat women sat in Holyrood from 1999 to 2011, now reduced to one after the party suffered the loss of two-thirds of its seats.

In 1998 the Nationalist conference also voted against a proposal to “zip” their candidate lists. However, women made up 42.8 per cent of Nationalist MSPs in 1999, now down to 27.5 per cent. Although the SNP has a high profile tradition of promoting women candidates – Winnie (Ewing), Maggie (Ewing) and Margo (MacDonald) - and women such as Deputy First Minister Nicola Sturgeon and Tricia Marwick, the Scottish Parliament’s first female Presiding Officer, in key leadership positions – the party has been slow to address the issue of women’s equal representation.

Holyrood has also given scope for women from other parties to serve as ministers and to take on leading roles. These include Labour’s former leader Wendy Alexander and past deputy leader Cathy Jamieson and current deputy leader Johann Lamont whilst Annabel Goldie has served as Scottish Conservative leader.

The proportion of Conservative women at Holyrood rose to 29.4 per cent in 2007 and increased again to 40 per cent in 2011, albeit of a reduced group of 15 Tory MSPs. Since returning only one MP at the 2010 general election the party is still reviewing its strategy north of the border. Annabel Goldie, MSP, Scottish Conservative leader since November 2005, resigned in the wake of the 2011 election defeat. It remains to be seen what part women might play in any Tory revival in Scotland and whether David Cameron’s stated commitment to the selection and election of women will have future impact on candidate selection for the Scottish Parliament.

The Labour, Liberal and Tory parties in Scotland now face the uphill task of rebuilding their parties after the 2011 election whilst the Nationalist success places the future government of Scotland firmly onto the Scottish and UK political agenda. Getting more women into Scottish politics will be a significant challenge. It cannot be left to electoral accident or allowing the parties to get away with warm words in place of women.

Scottish Parliament

Summary of Female Members of the Scottish Parliament (MSPs) elected

1999-2011

Scottish

Parliament

	1999* <i>Number of women</i>	1999 <i>% of women</i>	2003** <i>Number of women</i>	2003 <i>% of women</i>	2007*** <i>Number of women</i>	2007 <i>% of women</i>	2011**** <i>Number of women</i>	2011 <i>% of women</i>
Independent/Other	0 (of 1)	0%	2 (of 4)	50%	1 (of 1)	100%	1 (of 1)	100%
Scottish Conservative & Unionist Party	3 (of 18)	16.7%	4 (of 18)	22.2%	5 (of 17)	29.4%	6 (of 15)	40%
Scottish Green Party	0 (of 1)	0%	2 (of 7)	28.6%	0 (of 2)	0%	1 (of 2)	50%
Scottish Labour Party	28 (of 56)	50%	28 (of 50)	56%	23 (of 46)	50%	17 (of 37)	45.9%
Scottish Liberal Democrats	2 (of 17)	11.8%	2 (of 17)	11.8%	2 (of 16)	12.5%	1 (of 5)	20%
Scottish National Party	15 (of 35)	42.9%	9 (of 27)	33.3%	12 (of 47)	25.5%	19 (of 69)	27.5%
Scottish Socialist Party	0 (of 1)	0%	4 (of 6)	66.7%	0	0%	0 (of 0)	0%
TOTAL (of 129 MSPs)	48	37.2%	51	39.5%	43	33.3%	45	34.9%

Notes:

- * Dorothy Grace-Elder resigned from the Scottish National Party (SNP) on 1 May 2002 and Margo MacDonald was expelled from the SNP on 28 January 2003. Both sat as Independents until the end of the parliament and its gender composition was unchanged.
- ** SNP MSP Margaret Ewing died in March 2006. Richard Lochhead MSP resigned from the SNP regionalist (replaced by Maureen Watt) to successfully fight the subsequent by-election. Mary Scanlon MSP resigned from the Conservative regional list (replaced by David Petrie) to contest the by-election. Rosemary Byrne resigned from the Scottish Socialist Party in September 2006 and joined Solidarity. The Parliament's gender composition changed to 79 men and 50 women.
- *** SNP MSP Stefan Tymkewycz resigned in August 2007 and was replaced by Shirley-Anne Somerville. SNP MSP Bashir Mann died in February 2009 and was replaced by Anne McLaughlin. The Parliament's gender composition changed to 84 men and 45 women.
- **** Margo MacDonald was re-elected as an Independent on the Lothian list.

Source:

<http://www.scottish.parliament.uk>

Scottish Parliament

Current Female Members of the Scottish Parliament (MSPs) 2011

45 of 129 MSPs (1 Independent; 6 Scottish Conservative & Unionist Party; 1 Scottish Green; 17 Scottish Labour; 1 Scottish Liberal Democrats; and 19 Scottish National Party)

	Name	<i>Party</i>	<i>Constituency</i>	<i>Dates as AM</i>
1.	Margo MACDONALD	SNP Ind (from 28th January 2003) Ind	Lothian list Lothian list	1999- 2003 2003-
2.	Annabel GOLDIE	SCUP	West Scotland list	1999-
3.	Mary SCANLON	SCUP	Highlands & Islands list	1999-
4.	Nanette MILNE	SCUP	North East Scotland list	2003-
5.	Margaret MITCHELL	SCUP	Central Scotland list	2003-
6.	Elizabeth (Liz) SMITH	SCUP	Mid Scotland & Fife list	2007-
7.	Ruth DAVIDSON	SCUP	Glasgow list	2011-
8.	Alison JOHNSTONE	Sc Green	Lothian list	2011-
9.	Jackie BAILLIE	Sc Lab	Dumbarton	1999-
10.	Sarah BOYACK	Sc Lab	Edinburgh Central Lothian list	1999-2011 2011-
11.	Helen EADIE	Sc Lab	Dunfermline East Cowdenbeath	1999-2011 2011-
12.	Patricia FERGUSON	Sc Lab	Glasgow Maryhill Glasgow Maryhill & Springburn	1999-2011 2011-
13.	Johann LAMONT	Sc Lab	Glasgow Pollok	1999-
14.	Elaine MURRAY	Sc Lab	Dumfries Dumfriesshire	1999-2011 2011-
15.	Elaine SMITH	Sc Lab	Coatbridge & Chryston	1999-
16.	Rhoda GRANT	Sc Lab	Highlands & Islands list	1999-2003; and 2007-
17.	Claire BAKER	Sc Lab	Mid Scotland & Fife list	2007-
18.	Claudia BEAMISH	Sc Lab	South Scotland list	2011-
19.	Kezia DUGDALE	Sc Lab	Lothian list	2011-
20.	Mary FEE	Sc Lab	West Scotland list	2011-
21.	Jenny MARRA	Sc Lab	North East Scotland list	2011-
22.	Margaret MCCULLOCH	Sc Lab	Central Scotland list	2011-
23.	Margaret MCDOUGALL	Sc Lab	West Scotland list	2011-
24.	Siobhan MCMAHON	Sc Lab	Central Scotland list	2011-

25.	Anne MCTAGGART	Sc Lab	Glasgow list	2011-
26.	Alison MCINNES	SLD	North East Scotland list	2007-
27.	Roseanna CUNNINGHAM	SNP	Perth	1999-2011
			Perthshire South & Kinross-shire	2011-
28.	Linda FABIANI	SNP	Central Scotland list	1999-2011
			East Kilbride	2011-
29.	Christine GRAHAME	SNP	South Scotland list	1999-2011
			Midlothian South, Tweeddale & Lauderdale	2011-
30.	Fiona HYSLOP	SNP	Lothian list	1999-2011
			Linlithgow	2011-
31.	Tricia MARWICK (First female Presiding Officer of the Scottish Parliament, 2011-)	SNP	Mid Scotland & Fife list	1999-2007
			Central Fife	2007-
32.	Shona ROBISON	SNP	North East Scotland list	1999-2003
			Dundee East	2003-11
			Dundee City East	2011-
33.	Nicola STURGEON	SNP	Glasgow list	1999-2007
			Glasgow Govan	2007-11
			Glasgow Southside	2011-
34.	Sandra WHITE	SNP	Glasgow list	1999-2011
			Glasgow Kelvin	2011-
35.	Maureen WATT	SNP	North East Scotland list	18 April 2006-11
			Aberdeen South & North Kincardine	2011-
36.	Aileen CAMPBELL	SNP	South of Scotland list	2007-11
			Clydesdale	2011-
37.	Angela CONSTANCE	SNP	Livingston	2007-11
			Almond Valley	2011-
38.	Christina MCKELVIE	SNP	Central Scotland list	2007-11
			Hamilton, Larkhall & Stonehouse	2011-
39.	Clare ADAMSON	SNP	Central Scotland list	2011-
40.	Margaret BURGESS	SNP	Cunninghame South	2011-
41.	Annabelle EWING	SNP	Mid Scotland & Fife list	2011-
42.	Joan MCALPINE	SNP	South Scotland list	2011-
43.	Aileen MCLEOD	SNP	South Scotland list	2011-
44.	Fiona MCLEOD	SNP	West Scotland list	1999-2003
			Strathkelvin & Bearsden	2011-
45.	Jean URQUHART	SNP	Highlands & Islands list	2011-

Source:

<http://www.scottish.parliament.uk>

Scottish Parliament

Former Female Members of the Scottish Parliament (MSPs) 1999-2011

40 former MSPs (1 Independent; 2 Scottish Conservative & Unionist; 2 Scottish Green Party; 22 Scottish Labour Party; 2 Scottish Liberal Democrat; 7 Scottish National Party; and 4 Scottish Socialist Party)

Arranged by party, alphabetically and by date of first election, and constituency

Name	<i>Party</i>	<i>Constituency</i>	<i>Dates as AM</i>
1. Jean TURNER	Ind	Strathkelvin & Bearsden	2003-07
2. Lyndsay MCINTOSH	SCUP	Central Scotland list	1999-2003
3. Nanette MILNE	SCUP	North East Scotland list	2003-07
4. Shiona BAIRD	Sc Green	North East Scotland list	2003-07
5. Eleanor SCOTT	Sc Green	Highlands & Islands list	2003-07
6. Margaret JAMIESON	Sc Lab	Kilmarnock & Loudoun	1999-2003
7. Elaine THOMSON	Sc Lab	Aberdeen North	1999-2003
8. Susan DEACON	Sc Lab	Edinburgh East & Musselburgh	1999-2007
9. Janis HUGHES	Sc Lab	Glasgow Rutherglen	1999-2007
10. Sylvia JACKSON	Sc Lab	Stirling	1999-2007
11. Kate MACLEAN	Sc Lab	Dundee West	1999-2007
12. Maureen MACMILLAN	Sc Lab	Highlands & Islands list	1999-2007
13. Wendy ALEXANDER	Sc Lab	Paisley North	1999-2011
14. Rhona BRANKIN	Sc Lab	Midlothian	1999-2011
15. Cathie CRAIGIE	Sc Lab	Cumbernauld & Kilysyth	1999-2011
16. Margaret CURRAN	Sc Lab	Glasgow Baillieston	1999-2011
17. Karen GILLON	Sc Lab	Clydesdale	1999-2011
18. Trish GODMAN	Sc Lab	West Renfrewshire	1999-2011
19. Cathy JAMIESON	Sc Lab	Carrick, Cumnock & Doon Valley	1999-2011
20. Marilyn LIVINGSTONE	Sc Lab	Kirkcaldy	1999-2011
21. Pauline MCNEIL	Sc Lab	Glasgow Kelvin	1999-2011
22. Mary MULLIGAN	Sc Lab	Linlithgow	1999-2011
23. Irene OLDFATHER	Sc Lab	Cunninghame South	1999-2011
24. Cathy PEATTIE	Sc Lab	Falkirk East	1999-2011
25. Karen WHITEFIELD	Sc Lab	Airdrie & Shotts	1999-2011
26. Christine MAY	Sc Lab	Central Fife	2003-07
27. Marlyn GLEN	Sc Lab	North East Scotland list	2007-11

28.	Margaret SMITH	SLD	Edinburgh West	1999-2011
29.	Nora RADCLIFFE	SLD	Gordon	2003-07
30.	Margaret EWING	SNP	Moray	1999-21 March 2006
31.	Winnie EWING	SNP	Highlands & Islands list	1999-2003
32.	Dorothy GRACE-ELDER	SNP (Ind from 1st May 2002)	Glasgow list	1999-2003
33.	Irene MCGUGAN	SNP	North East Scotland list	1999-2003
34.	Kay ULLRICH	SNP	West Scotland list	1999-2003
35.	Anne MCLAUGHLIN	SNP	Glasgow list	2007-11
36.	Shirley-Anne SOMERVILLE	SNP	Lothian list	2007-11
37.	Rosemary BYRNE	SSP	South Scotland list	2003-07
38.	Frances CURRAN	SSP	West Scotland list	2003-07
39.	Rosie KANE	SSP	Glasgow list	2003-07
40.	Carolyn LECKIE	SSP	Central Scotland list	2003-07

Source:

<http://www.scottish.parliament.uk>

Women and Parliaments in the UK

Conclusion

Politics are still mostly male. According to the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), men hold over 80 per cent of the seats worldwide and women occupy 19.3 per cent.

However, there are grounds for some general optimism at the international level. The past ten years have seen the fastest growth in the numbers of women in parliament worldwide and the IPU recently found that “the number of parliaments with female memberships of less than 10 per cent has decreased significantly from 63 per cent in 1995 to 37 per cent today.” At the time of writing (July 2011), two countries have more female parliamentarians than male: Rwanda in 1st place on 56.3 per cent and Andorra 2nd with 53.6 followed by Sweden in 3rd place on 45 per cent. The IPU lists 24 countries in the world that have more than 30 per cent female political representation, the level considered as a “critical mass” of representation. This list includes seven European Union member states – Sweden, Finland, Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark, Spain, and Germany.

The IPU does not include the Scottish Parliament or National Assembly for Wales in its rankings of women in parliaments worldwide because they are devolved bodies. However, if they could be included, the Welsh Assembly and the Scottish Parliament would remain among the IPU’s “top 20” despite the “downward trend” noted in women’s representation on each body. Wales would be in 8th place ahead of Norway on 39.6 per cent. Holyrood would be in 17th place ahead of New Zealand on 33.6 per cent. Who would have predicted it in 1979? Then Wales had no women MPs at all and Scotland only one. Yet whilst women have taken up more than a third of the seats in the Scottish Parliament and Welsh Assembly since 1999 reverses are still feared in the future.

Northern Ireland remains the worst area for women’s representation among the UK parliaments on 18.5 per cent and would be placed at 62nd place in the IPU ranking ahead of Sao Tome and Principe on 18.2 per cent. There is

marked resistance to positive action to draw women into politics although Sinn Féin leads on the numbers of female candidates and representatives. Yet this is an improvement on 2007 when, if ranked by the IPU, the Northern Ireland Assembly would have shared 79th place with Zimbabwe. It is also ahead of Ireland ranked at 77th place on 15.1 per cent.

The House of Commons is currently at 48th place in the IPU listings and the “Mother of Parliaments” still has some catching up to do on women’s representation. The invisibility of women throughout the 2010 UK general election is of great concern as is the Cabinet line-up. Only four of the 29 ministers attending Cabinet are female - “A new kind of politics? With a top table looking like that?” accused Katharine Viner in the *Guardian*.

It is noteworthy that all of the devolved assemblies have offered women more scope to take on leadership positions than at Westminster and studies have found that the presence of women has influenced the working environment and policy development. And some parties have been conspicuously more successful than others in selecting and electing women, notably the Labour Party at Westminster, Holyrood and Cardiff.

There were dark expectations that women’s representation would fall in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland at the 2011 elections. More by accident than design the outcome is not as bad as feared. This, however does not amount to a guarantee for the future. Losing ground on women’s representation would be bad for politics and democracy. The political parties must be held to account on their record on drawing women into politics and now is the best time for this.

Abbreviations used in tables and text

AM/s	Assembly Members [Welsh Assembly]
Con	Conservative
DUP	Democratic Unionist Party
Ind	Independent
Ind Un	Independent Unionist
IPU	Inter-Parliamentary Union
IRA	Irish Republican Army
Lab	Labour
LD	Liberal Democrat
MLA/s	Members of the Legislative Assembly [Northern Ireland]
MP/s	Members of Parliament
MSP/s	Members of the Scottish Parliament
NIWC	Northern Ireland Women's Coalition
Plaid	Plaid Cymru
PUP	Progressive Unionist Party
Sc Green	Scottish Green Party
Sc Lab	Scottish Labour
SCUP	Scottish Conservative and Unionist Party
SDLP	Social and Democratic Labour Party
SF	Sinn Féin
SLD	Scottish Liberal Democrat
SNP	Scottish National Party
SSP	Scottish Socialist Party
UDA	Ulster Defence Association
UVF	Ulster Volunteer Force
UUP	Ulster Unionist Party
WRDA	Women's Resource and Development Agency [Northern Ireland]

Note on the tables and useful websites

The tables in this handbook have been compiled on the basis of information given on the parliament websites. The parliament websites are:

House of Commons -
<http://www.parliament.uk>
National Assembly for Wales -
<http://www.assemblywales.org>
Northern Ireland Assembly -
<http://www.niassembly.gov.uk>
Scottish Parliament -
<http://www.scottish.parliament.uk>

Other useful websites which give information on women's political representation include:

Centre for Women & Democracy -
<http://www.cfwd.org.uk>
Engender -
<http://www.engender.org.uk>
European Women's Lobby -
<http://www.womenlobby.org/>
Fawcett Society -
<http://www.fawcettsociety.org.uk>
Inter-Parliamentary Union -
<http://www.ipu.org/english/home.htm>
International IDEA -
<http://www.idea.int>
The Active Learning Centre -
<http://www.activelearningcentre.org>
The Hansard Society -
<http://www.hansardsociety.org.uk>



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