

## **WOMEN AND THE 2003 ELECTIONS: KEEPING UP THE MOMENTUM**

*Fiona Mackay*

Women's representation barely rated a mention in the run up to the 2003 elections, in stark contrast to 1999 when it formed a defining theme of the first elections to the Scottish Parliament and the National Assembly for Wales. Despite this low profile, the results are groundbreaking for women and confirm both countries as international leaders. In Wales women achieved their goal of equal representation, taking up 50% of the seats at Cardiff Bay – believed to be a world first. In Scotland, women have edged closer to the top of global league tables and now make up 39.5% of MSPs at Holyrood.

This short article reports on the results of the elections in Scotland and Wales from the perspective of women's representation. It compares party performances in 2003 with those in 1999 and examines a range of factors that have contributed towards progress.

In Scotland, contrary to many expectations, a record number of female MSPs were returned to the second parliament in May 2003. The gender composition of the new parliament and the relative performance of the political parties in terms of women's representation are illustrated in Table 1. The number of women parliamentarians has risen from 48 (37.2%) in 1999 to 52 (39.5%) in 2003. Women are 56% of Labour MSPs and two-thirds of SSP MSPs compared with a third of SNP MSPs, 29% of Greens, 22% of Conservatives and just 12% of Liberal Democrats. As in 1999, women made more gains in the constituency seats than in the List seats. They are 43.8% of constituency members and 33.9% of List members. Despite recent legislation<sup>1</sup> passed by the UK government which enables political parties to use positive action to improve levels of women's representation, only two of the six political parties

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*Fiona Mackay is a senior lecturer in politics at Edinburgh University.*

<sup>1</sup> *The Sex Discrimination (Election Candidates) Act 2002 permits political parties to take positive measures to improve the number of women candidates they select. See [www.womenandequalityunit.gov.uk/public\\_life/parliament.htm](http://www.womenandequalityunit.gov.uk/public_life/parliament.htm).*

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used specific measures, the Labour Party and the Scottish Socialist Party (SSP).

In Wales, women took 30 of the 60 seats in the National Assembly (50%) up from 40% in 1999, including almost two-thirds of Labour seats. As Table 2 shows, women are 63% of Labour AMs, 50% of Plaid Cymru members, 18.2% of Conservatives and 50% of Liberal Democrats. Women comprise 55% of constituency seats and 40% of List seats. Two of the four parties used specific quota-type mechanisms.

Initial assessments suggest that, whereas in Wales the gender coup stems from concerted action by a majority of political parties and may represent a systematic and system-wide improvement, in Scotland progress has been more by accident than design and remains fragile and contingent.<sup>2</sup> It also remains the case that neither elected body has any minority ethnic representation.

#### **SCOTLAND: THE RUN-UP TO DEVOLUTION**

One of the key features of the first Scottish Parliament was the relatively high proportion of women MSPs which followed from a sustained campaign for '50:50' political representation by the STUC women's committee, women's organisations such as Engender and female party activists in the run up to devolution. In addition to arguments about justice and the need to win women's votes, campaigners were able to drive home the point that not only would the equal presence of women contribute to a parliament of all talents, gender balance would provide a powerful and visible symbol of a modern, relevant and democratic Scotland (Brown 2001; Brown et al 2002; McDonald et al 2001; Breitenbach and Mackay 2001). It came to be expected that the so-called 'new politics' that was to be realised through devolution would mean nothing if it did not address the gender question. As Burnside et al. (2003) note: 'The achievement of a greater degree of gender balance was considered by both the Scottish Constitutional Convention and by the Consultative Steering Group to be a key means of achieving a "new" form of politics in Scotland' (p.37).

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<sup>2</sup> *This report draws upon a research project on gender and constitutional change in the UK funded under the Economic and Social Research Council's **Devolution and Constitutional Change** Programme (L219252023).*

**Table 1**  
**Scottish Parliament 2003 by party, seat and gender**

Party	Constituency		Total seats Constituency (%women)	List		Total seats List (%women)	Total MSPs	Total women	Total men	% women (%women 1999)
	female	male		female	male					
Labour	26	20	46 (56.5%)	2	2	4 (50.0%)	50	28	22	56% (50%)
SNP	3	6	9 (33.3%)	6	12	18 (33.3%)	27	9	18	33.3% (42.9%)
Cons	0	3	3 (0.0%)	4	11	15 (26.7%)	18	4	14	22.2% (16.7%)
Lib Dems	2	11	13 (18.2%)	0	4	4 (0.0%)	17	2	15	11.8% (11.8%)
Greens	0	0	0 (0.0%)	2	5	7 (28.6%)	7	2	5	28.6% (0%)
SSP	0	0	0 (0.0%)	4	2	6 (66.7%)	6	4	2	66.7% (0%)
SSCU	0	0	0 (0.0%)	0	1	1 (0.0%)	1	0	1	00.0% (n/a)
Indep	1	1	2 (50.0%)	1	0	1 (100%)	3	2	1	66.7% (0%)
<i>Totals</i>	<i>32</i>	<i>41</i>	<i>73 (43.8%)</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>37</i>	<i>56 (33.9%)</i>	<i>129</i>	<i>51</i>	<i>78</i>	<i>39.5% (37.2%)</i>

**Table 2  
National Assembly for Wales 2003 by party, seat and gender**

Party	Constituency		Total seats Constituency (%women)	List		Total seats List (%women)	Total AMs	Total women	Total men	% women (%women 1999)
	female	male		female	male					
Labour	19	11	30 (63%)	0	0	0	30	19	11	63% (53.6%)
PC	1	4	5 (20%)	5	2	7 (71.4%)	12	6	6	50% (29.4%)
Cons	0	1	1 (0%)	2	8	10 (20%)	11	2	9	18.2% (0.00%)
Lib Dems	2	1	3 (66.6%)	1	2	3 (33.3)	6	3	3	50% (50%)
Indep/other	0	1	1 (0.00%)	N/a	N/a	N/a	1	0	1	0.00% (n/a)
<i>Totals</i>	22	18	40 (55%)	8	12	20 (40%)	60	30	30	50%

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The 37.2% representation achieved in 1999 was largely as a result of the largest Scottish party, Labour, implementing strong formal gender quotas in the form of 'twinning' and its main contender, the Scottish National Party, responding with unofficial measures (see Brown 1999, Brown et al 2002; Bradbury et al 2000; Russell et al 2002). Three of the four main political parties accepted the principle of gender balance and all improved their candidate selection and recruitment procedures (see Table 3).

### **SCOTLAND: THE RUN UP TO 2003**

Second time around, the number of women MSPs had been predicted to fall. This was largely attributed to the SNP which had failed to place women candidates in favourable positions on its party lists, in contrast to 1999.<sup>1</sup> Whether this was as the result of a specifically gendered backlash, or part of the more general 'grassroots coup' which saw some high profile male MSPs 'demoted' on party lists is uncertain.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, the controversial ranking exercise disproportionately affected women and led to a 10% fall in the overall number of female SNP MPs down from 43 per cent in 1999 to 33 per cent in 2003.

Had the 1999 results played out again in 2003, the SNP shortfall would have led to an overall decrease in women parliamentarians. However 1999 was not repeated; instead there was an electoral shake-up that saw the fragmentation of the party system and the main parties losing support and seats. Whilst small parties and Independents were the most obvious winners, women - and the cause of gender balance - were accidental beneficiaries of these changes.

A number of factors contributed to the modest increase. First, the pattern of Labour losses was such that male incumbents bore the brunt of constituency defeats. Women now hold 26 of Labour's 46 constituency seats (56.5%) and 2 of their 4 list seats (50%) making up 28 out of 50 seats (56%) overall. The second major factor was the fragmentation of the party system and the strong performance of small parties, particularly the SSP which had implemented a policy of gender balance on its lists. In the final event, electoral arithmetic

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<sup>1</sup> A notable casualty was Margo Macdonald who left to fight (and win) as an Independent after being placed in an unwinnable position on the Lothians List.

<sup>2</sup> Some women interviewees certainly perceived the former to be the case.

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resulted in women taking four of the SSP's six seats. Finally two of the three Independent MSPs are women: Jean Turner who had a surprise victory in the constituency of Strathkelvin and Bearsden and Margo Macdonald, the former SNP MSP and MP, who gained a List seat in Lothians.

**PARTY MEASURES TO IMPROVE WOMEN'S REPRESENTATION IN 1999 AND 2003**

A range of possible measures exists to overcome barriers to women candidates. They include reforms to selection procedures that aim to make them fairer and more transparent and to ensure that equal opportunities are taken into consideration; 'promotional measures' such as active encouragement, the targeting of potential women candidates and the establishment of informal or formal mentoring and shadowing schemes; and 'soft' or 'weak' positive action measures such as training or the provision of resources to sponsor individual women. Further along the continuum are positive action measures such as guaranteed places for women on shortlists and balanced selection panels. The strongest positive action measures involve mandatory guaranteed quotas such as all-women shortlists, constituency 'twinning' and the 'zipping' or 'alternating' of female and male candidates on regional lists. The evidence from international studies suggests that only the strongest quota-type measures are likely to result in substantial improvements (Caul 1999, 2001; Russell 2000) but also that the adoption of quotas by one political party may lead to a 'contagion' effect whereby other parties also adopt measures, formal or informal, in order to improve their performance (see, for example, Matland and Studlar 1996).

In Scotland and Wales, because of the Additional Member System, different strategies are needed for promoting gender balance in constituency contests and in the regional Lists. In the case of Labour, who gain most of their seats through the First-Past-The-Post constituency contests, a policy of 'twinning' was devised in the run up to the 1999 elections. The mechanism, which involved the pairing of comparable constituencies where a male candidate is selected for one of the seats and a female candidate is selected for the other, produced a more or less equal number of men and women in the Scottish Parliamentary Labour Group in the first Parliament. The mechanism was intended to be used only for the first election as a one-off means of ensuring a fairer gender composition in the new political institution. In 2003 all but one of the sitting Labour MSPs ran again, and the party relied on incumbency to

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retain gender balance in constituency seats without any specific procedures being agreed. However, a mechanism was invoked whereby women headed the List in two regions where Labour stood the most chance of gaining a seat through the proportional List vote, namely the North East of Scotland and the South of Scotland.

As noted earlier, Labour's main contender, the SNP, did not implement any special measures for 2003. Officially this was the same position as the first elections, when the party membership narrowly rejected proposals to 'zip' Party Lists ensuring that male and female candidates were alternated. However first time around, the SNP leadership together with key party women were proactive in encouraging female candidates to come forward and in strongly encouraging the party locally to give women a fair share of the top list positions. This proactive promotional approach resulted in women making up 43% of the SNP Scottish Parliamentary Group in 1999. In the period leading up to the selections for 2003, much less attention was paid to the issue inside the party: there was no serious move to introduce positive action measures; nor was there anything like the same energies expended on informal targeting and promotion, though that is not to say that no such encouragement and internal lobbying took place. To an extent, the party was complacent because it had achieved a creditworthy performance in 1999 without resorting to special measures. The stance may also reflect wider political indifference to the issue in the run up to 2003 and its perceived diminished significance as a point of electoral competition.

The Liberal Democrats proved to be a major disappointment for women campaigners first time round when the party backed away from implementing positive action despite being signatories to the Electoral Contract<sup>3</sup> (Brown 1999). In the absence of legal safeguards the Liberal Democrats decided that positive action measures might be unlawful. The party continued with its existing policy of including at least one male and one female on candidate shortlists, although this rule was not uniformly imposed. The Liberal Democrats performed the most poorly in the elections in respect of women's representation with only two female MPs out of a parliamentary group of 17 (11.8%).

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<sup>3</sup> *The Electoral Contract was brokered by the Women's Co-ordination Group and women party activists in 1995 and was signed by the leaders of Labour and the Liberal Democrats committing each party to field equal numbers of male and female candidates in winnable seats in the first elections (see Brown 2001).*

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In the run up to 2003, there was no strategy to promote women candidates by the Liberal Democrats, apart from the shortlist rule, with the result that the party was outperformed by a large margin by all the other Scottish parties (see Table 1). Despite the passing of the enabling legislation at Westminster, there have been no moves to put into practice (albeit belatedly) the commitments made by the Liberal Democrats for the first elections. The Scottish party participates in the federal party's (British-level) recently constituted Gender Balance Taskforce, which promotes training and mentoring events, although none took place in the run up to the Scottish parliamentary elections.

The Conservative Party took no special measures in 1999 and has continued to express its opposition to special measures to increase the representation of women on the grounds that they were selecting candidates on the basis of 'merit' and that any specific mechanisms would be patronising to women. However in 2003 it managed to increase the number of its women MSPs from three to four, comprising 22% of the Scottish Parliamentary Conservative Group.

The SSP had no special measures in place in 1999 when it returned one MSP. Since then it has introduced a policy of 50:50 operated through a quota mechanism whereby places on all the regional lists are allocated according to a gender template. The policy of 50:50 was hard fought by women activists within the SSP on the grounds that as a radical socialist party it had to deliver on gender equality and also the need to attract female voters. The results are illustrated in Table 1, which shows that women are two-thirds of the SSP parliamentary group.

The Green Party had operated gender balancing mechanisms in the past such as zipping places on regional lists. However, any measures had been abolished before the 2003 elections because of concerns over shortage of women candidates, amongst other things. In the final event women headed just two out of the eight regional lists. Both were elected and they comprise 29% of the seven-strong parliamentary group (see Table 1). There is ongoing debate within the party about future strategy on women's representation: 'we're not doing as well as we should. Small parties need radical solutions, and we're going to find them.'<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> *Email communication with party spokesperson on gender balance, 17.4.03.*

**Table 3**  
**Scottish Parliament 1999 by party, seat and gender**

Party	Constituency		Total seats Constituency (%women)	List		Total seats List (%women)	Total MSPs	Total women	Total men	% women
	female	male		female	male					
Labour	26	27	53 (49%)	2	1	3 (66.7%)	56	28	28	50%
SNP	2	5	7 (28.6%)	13	15	28 (46.4%)	35	15	20	42.9%
Cons	0	0	0 (0.0%)	3	15	18 (16.7%)	18	3	15	16.7%
Lib Dems	2	10	12 (16.7%)	0	5	5 (0.0%)	17	2	15	11.8%
Greens	0	0	0 (0.0%)	0	1	1 (0.0%)	1	0	1	0.0%
SSP	0	0	0 (0.0%)	0	1	1 (0.0%)	1	0	1	0.0%
Indep	0	1	1 (0.0%)	0	0	0 (0.0%)	1	0	1	0.0%
<i>Totals</i>	29	44	73 (39.7%)	18	38	56 (32.1%)	129	48	81	37.2%

**Table 4**  
**National Assembly for Wales 1999 by party, seat and gender\*\***

Party	Constituency		Total seats Constituency (%women)	List		Total seats List (%women)	Total AMs	Total women	Total men	% women
	female	male		female	male					
Labour	15	12	27 (55.5%)	0	1	1 (0.0%)	28	15	13	53.6%
PC	2	7	9 (22.2%)	4	4	8 (50%)	17	6	11	29.4%
Cons	0	1	1 (0.0%)	0	8	8 (0.0%)	9	0	9	0.0%
Lib Dems	2	1	3 (66.7%)	1	2	3 (33.3%)	6	3	3	50.0%
<i>Totals</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>40 (47.5%)</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>20 (25%)</i>	<i>60</i>	<i>24</i>	<i>36</i>	<i>40%</i>

*\*\*When First Secretary Alun Michael resigned in February 2000, he was replaced by the next Labour candidate on the regional list, Delyth Evans, raising the number of women AMs to 25 (42%).*

## **WALES: THE LEAD UP TO DEVOLUTION**

In Wales, opportunities for women activists to press for gender balance were constrained by the relative lack of public and political debate on constitutional reform and the general ambivalence about the devolution project. In contrast to the patterns of activism in Scotland, where we saw a grassroots mobilisation of women activists from community groups, trade unions, political parties and feminist organisations, the story in Wales was instead one of a small but strategic coalition. A group of powerful and highly influential women – academics, gender experts, trade union and party officials and party activists – worked within their respective spheres to push for positive action to promote women candidates (see below) and to link gender equality with internal programmes of party modernisation and arguments about winning female votes. The 1999 elections marked a significant break with tradition with 40% female representation in the new institution in Cardiff Bay.

## **PARTY MEASURES TO IMPROVE WOMEN'S REPRESENTATION IN 1999**

The two main parties, Welsh Labour and Plaid Cymru, both operated specific mechanisms to try to achieve gender balance. They also improved their selection and recruitment procedures for candidates seeking to join the national panel of candidates. As in Scotland, the Labour Party recognised that most of its seats would be obtained on the first-past-the-post or constituency vote. In the absence of a home-grown alternative, 'twinning' – the scheme designed in Scotland and reluctantly endorsed by the UK party leadership – was proposed for Wales. The women's organisation in Welsh Labour was relatively weak and less organised than their Scottish counterparts. Nevertheless they did maintain pressure for positive action in candidate selection and were able to use unfavourable comparisons with Scotland as a means to press for action. In 1997 a new network – Twin to Win – was formed, comprising senior Labour women officials and politicians together with key male supporters from the modernising wing of the party to lobby Labour members to endorse positive action (Russell et al 2002).

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The strong centralising and standardising tendency of the Labour Party at UK level had acted initially as an obstacle to Scottish feminist activists trying to press for twinning in Scotland; however once London had accepted the twinning proposals it was a powerful ally to feminist Labour activists in Wales in pushing through the policy in a hostile Welsh party context. Eventually the policy was adopted in Wales by the narrowest of margins – and in the teeth of bitter opposition and resentment from traditionalists and many trade unions (Edwards and Chapman 2000; Edwards and McAllister 2002).

In Plaid Cymru, the Women's Section (or Adran y Menywod) had been campaigning for a number of years for positive action within the party's internal structures and in candidate selection. After a series of heated discussions, a compromise position was agreed in late 1997. No mechanism was applied to constituency selections; however a 'gender template' was utilised for the regional Lists to correct for any under-representation of women selected to fight constituency contests (Russell et al 2002).

The results of the first elections to the National Assembly for Wales (see Table 4) illustrated the success of the positive action strategies with women comprising 40% members of the Assembly (which shortly afterwards rose to 42%). Twinning delivered more than 50% of Labour's seats for women and Plaid Cymru's 'gender template' on the regional Lists delivered 30%. There were no serious moves to adopt positive action for the selection of Liberal Democrat or Conservative candidates in Wales, although three of the six Liberal Democrats elected were women. Ironically, the 'politics of catch-up' with Scotland resulted in outcomes that not only caught up but, in many respects, overtook Scottish developments.

### **WALES: THE RUN UP TO 2003**

In Wales the world-beating gender coup was a high point in an otherwise lacklustre election. As in Scotland the issue of women's representation did not achieve a high profile in the media or on the political agenda. Nevertheless a strong momentum had been maintained behind the scenes in the political parties with individual champions driving the issue. We see a distinct difference between Scotland and Wales, with positive action being pursued with far more vigour in Wales than in Scotland. Welsh Labour was the first to use the new legislation to run all-women shortlists in six constituency seats. Women were also selected to fight four key marginals without resort to

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special measures. In addition, five List places were reserved for ethnic minority candidates including the top place on the regional List where the party was most likely to gain a seat, Mid and West Wales, which went to an ethnic minority woman candidate. In the event, Labour's return to form in the constituency contests meant that there were no gains from the Lists and the Assembly (like the Scottish Parliament) remains without any minority ethnic representation.

Although Plaid Cymru again adopted no mechanism for the constituency selections it applied tougher quotas to the regional lists, with women being placed in the first two places on each list (Russell et al 2002).

The Liberal Democrats provide a contrast to their Scottish counterparts. Whereas their strong performance with respect to women's representation in 1999 owed more to luck than design, in the run up to 2003 the party proactively enforced the short-list rule (noted earlier in connection with the Scottish Party) whereby all candidate shortlists must include at least one woman and one man. The party's candidate committee operated an informal rule of thumb to try to ensure a gender balance on both constituency shortlists and regional lists, with committee members readvertising candidate selections and targeting and directly encouraging new candidates to come forward where there was a shortfall of either female or male candidates. As Table 2 shows, the party again returned 50% women members.

Ostensibly, the Conservatives operated no formal mechanism but women tended to be placed towards the middle of Regional Lists which resulted in the election of the first two female Conservative AMs (18%).

### **CONCLUSIONS: HIGH TIME OR HIGH TIDE?**

Eagle and Lovenduski (1998) have a nicely turned question, which we might repeat here: do these achievements mark 'high time or high tide' for women's representation in Scotland and Wales? Will progress be reinforced or reversed? The form and nature of change so far may prove to be particularly susceptible to the two steps forward one step back character of the history of women's struggle for equality.

We have argued elsewhere that constitutional change and the move towards a multi-level polity presented opportunities for women in Scotland and Wales. The process of devolution has resulted not only in the re-negotiation of

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powers between centre and sub-state nation or region but also some redistribution of political power between the sexes (Mackay et al 2002). Significant proportions of women were elected to the first Scottish Parliament and Welsh Assembly. These advances were largely due to the Labour Party and its main electoral contender in each country, the SNP and Plaid Cymru. Research has suggested that female politicians in these new institutions have made a difference and that women and their concerns are now seen as a normal and unremarkable part of politics (Alexander 2000; Feld 2000; Chaney and Fevre 2002; Mackay et al 2003).

The second elections have built upon the achievements of 1999 to sustain gains and make further advances. The reasons for success are complex, but relate, in part, to the internal strength and persistence of women party activists, particularly in the Labour party, and to the perceived electoral salience of the issue. Luck also plays a part.

There are apparent differences between Wales and Scotland in terms of political appetite for positive action and in the general salience of the issue for the parties. It appears that the principle of gender balance has become an established norm of the Welsh party system with a majority of parties taking formal or informal action to ensure greater gender balance. Momentum has been maintained by key champions in the Labour Party and Plaid Cymru, including party officials, AMs and MPs. With the two main parties signed up, the smaller parties have been under pressure to maintain or improve their results. The issue may have seemed more pressing in Wales because of the bitter conflict around twinning in the run-up to the first elections and the fears that without firm action gains could be reversed.

Another difference between Scotland and Wales is that women politicians are arguably more visible in Wales than in Scotland. The Welsh Cabinet has been either gender balanced or female majority since its inception in 1999 in contrast to the Scottish Cabinet where successive First Ministers have failed to appoint proportionate numbers of women Ministers. Although women were 50% of the Labour group and 37.2% of the parliament, they have never comprised more than about 30% of Cabinet ministers.<sup>1</sup> The higher profile of

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<sup>1</sup> *Henry McLeish appointed the highest proportion of women in 2000 with four women Cabinet ministers out of 11 (36.7%) and two out of 9 deputies (22%). This pattern has continued in the second term: although women are 39.5 % of parliamentarians and 56% of the Scottish Parliamentary Labour Group, only three of*

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women Cabinet Ministers in Wales may have signalled to all parties the need to continue to make progress on the issue.

In Scotland, the issue of women's representation had less immediacy second time around, barely registering a blip on the radar. Within the parties there were none of the set-piece debates of the 1990s. Despite the high proportions of women in Holyrood, women were noticeably absent from an election campaign dubbed as 'boring' by journalists and dominated by what Douglas Fraser, political editor of **The Sunday Herald**, described as 'multi-party politics between all-male, middle-aged leaders.' (Fraser 2003a, p.28). Rather belatedly in the process, the 50:50 campaign was revived by the STUC Women's Committee, the Equal Opportunities Commission and Engender following fears of reversals at Holyrood and the apparent stalling of progress at Westminster and local government levels. However, with the candidate selections already completed, it could do little apart from try to raise awareness and to work for action post 2003.<sup>2</sup>

In Scotland, the modest improvements to women's representation were largely overshadowed by the striking gains made by smaller parties and independents in 2003. If gender balance had been the keyword of 1999 – a shorthand for Scotland's aspirations for 'new politics' – then the electoral successes of the Greens, the Scottish Socialists and Independents have been the touchstone of 2003, a manifestation of the electorate's impatience with the major parties.

The results of the 2003 elections in Scotland and Wales illustrate that gains are fragile and changes in political culture slow; however the issue of women's representation has been brought into the mainstream of politics and electoral competition not least through the international attention that the Welsh Assembly has attracted for being the first elected national political body to achieve 50:50 representation (Weale 2003). Scotland provided an important comparator for Wales in 1999. In a politics of catch-up, it remains to be seen whether Scotland, in turn, will seek to catch up with Wales.

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*Jack McConnell's 11-strong Cabinet (27%) and only one out of seven deputy ministers is female (14%).*

<sup>2</sup> *In Scotland the issue looks set to achieve a higher profile in the context of proposed reform of local government (Fraser 2003b) although progress looks stalled for the time being at Westminster given the boundaries changes and the reduction in the number of Scottish MPs.*

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