



BRIEFING PAPER

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Women in Parliament and Government

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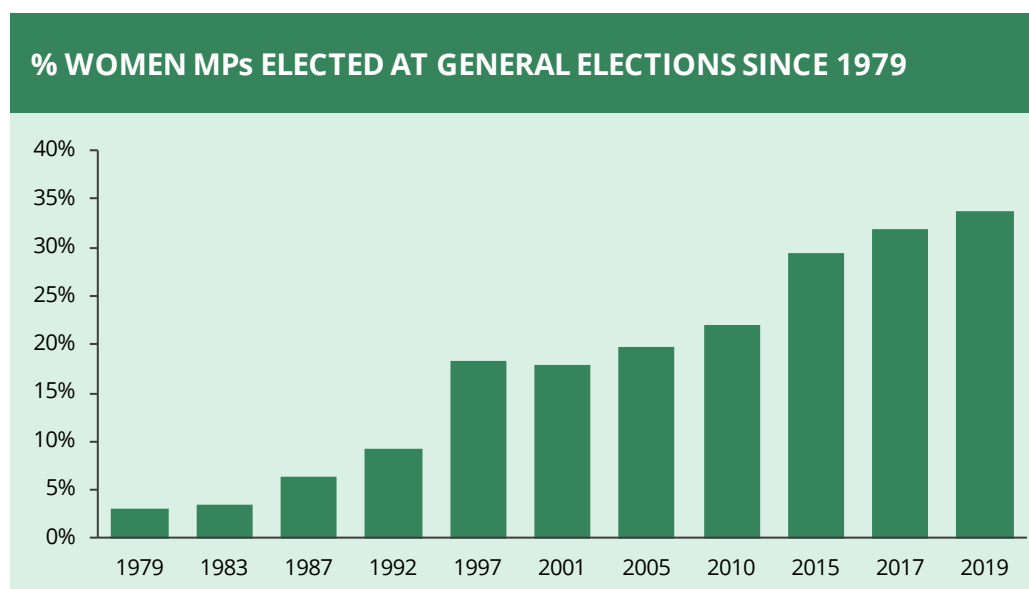
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Summary

UK Parliament and Government

There are 220 women Members of the House of Commons. At **34%**, this is an all-time high. The proportion of women grew slowly until it jumped in the 1990s, as shown in the chart below.



Sources: Rallings and Thrasher, *British Electoral Facts 1832-2006*, 2012. House of Commons Library Briefing Papers ([10/36](#)) [General Election 2010](#); ([7186](#)) [General Election 2015](#); ([7979](#)) [General Election 2017](#); ([8749](#)) [General Election 2019](#).

Since 1918, 552 women have been elected to the House of Commons; 55% were first elected as Labour MPs and 31% as Conservatives.

There are 218 female Peers – **27%** of the Members of the House of Lords.

Six of the current members of the Cabinet (**27%**) are women. The highest proportion of women in Cabinet was 36% between 2006 and 2007.

Devolved legislatures and local government

47% of Members of the National Assembly for Wales are women, as are **36%** of Members of the Scottish Parliament and **34%** of Members of the Northern Ireland Assembly.

About **36%** of local authority councillors in England are women. **26%** of councillors in Northern Ireland are women, while the proportion rose to **29%** in Scotland after the 2017 elections and sits at **28%** in Wales.

40% of members of the London Assembly are women.

International comparisons

In June 2019, the latest available data, 23 countries had a woman as president or prime minister, a record high. In the European Parliament, **41%** of MEPs are women. At 34%, the UK is in **39th** position in the proportion of women in the lower (or only) house of parliament. Rwanda has over 61%. Cuba and Bolivia also have a majority of women in parliament.

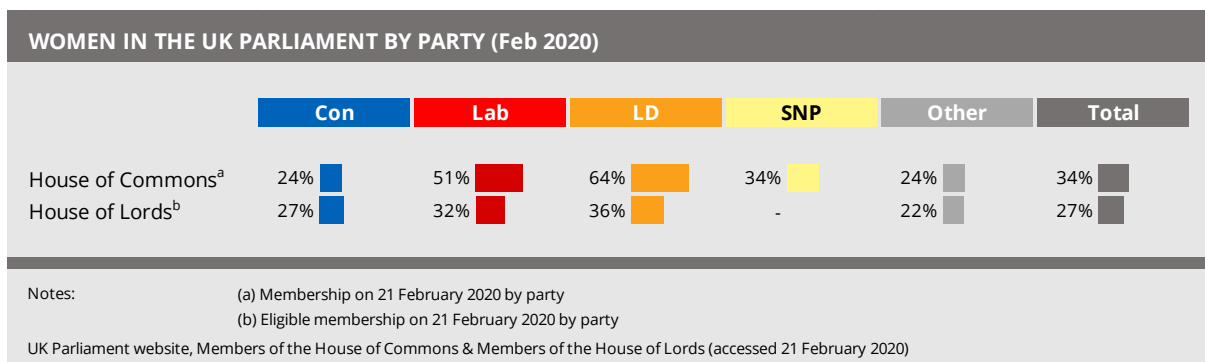
1. UK Parliament

As of February 2020, 220 Members of the House of Commons (MPs) are women. This is a record high, and 34% of all MPs. 220 were elected at the 2019 General Election, up from 208 at the 2017 General Election, and 191 in 2015.

Of the women MPs elected at the 2019 General Election, 104 were Labour, 87 Conservative, 7 Liberal Democrat and 16 SNP. 51% of Labour MPs elected in 2019 were women, compared with 24% of Conservative MPs, 64% of Liberal Democrat and 34% of SNP MPs.¹

As of February 2020, 218 (27%) of the 793 Members of the House of Lords are women.² Women were first admitted in 1958 and the proportion of women has varied with reforms over time. It had reached 20% by January 2009.³

The chart below summarises women's membership of both chambers as of February 2020.



1.1 Members of Parliament since 1918

552 women have been elected as Members of the House of Commons since first being permitted to stand in 1918.⁴

In that year Countess Constance Markievicz was elected to represent Dublin St Patricks, but as a member of Sinn Féin she did not take her seat. The next year Nancy Astor became the first woman to sit in the Commons after winning a by-election in Plymouth Sutton for the Conservatives.

Of the 552 women MPs ever elected, 306 (55%) were first elected as Labour and 172 (31%) as Conservative MPs. A full breakdown appears in the table below.

¹ [House of Commons Briefing Paper \(6652\): Women Members of Parliament](#); UK Parliament website, [Members of the House of Commons](#) (accessed 21 February 2020).

² UK Parliament website, [Members of the House of Lords](#).

³ [Inter-Parliamentary Union](#) (accessed 28 February 2019). The IPU records snapshots of membership at particular points.

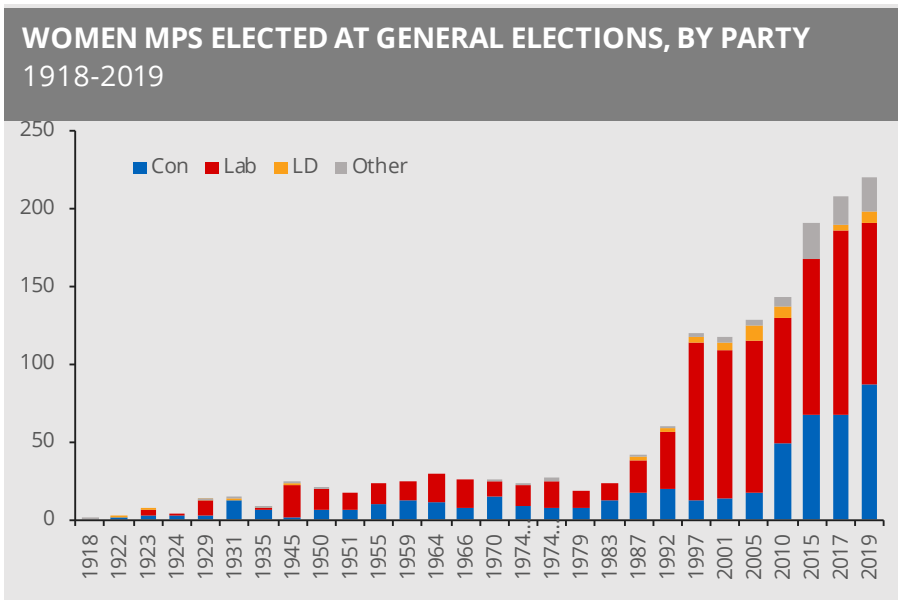
⁴ [House of Commons Briefing Paper \(6652\): Women Members of Parliament](#); UK Parliament website, [Members of the House of Commons](#) (accessed 21 February 2020).

WOMEN MPs ELECTED BY PARTY, 1918-2019		
Party	Number	% of total
Labour	306	55.4%
Conservative	172	31.2%
Liberal Democrats ^a	31	5.6%
SNP	26	4.7%
Sinn Féin	4	0.7%
DUP	3	0.5%
Ulster Unionists	3	0.5%
SDLP	2	0.4%
Alliance	1	0.2%
Green	1	0.2%
Independent	1	0.2%
Independent Unity	1	0.2%
Plaid Cymru	1	0.2%
Total	552	100%

Note: (a) Includes those from predecessor parties.

Sources: House of Commons Briefing Paper [\(6652\) Women Members of Parliament](#); UK Parliament website, [Members of the House of Commons](#) (accessed 21 February 2020).

The chart below shows the number of women MPs elected at general elections since 1918, by party.



Until 1997 women had never made up more than 10% of all MPs; until the late 1980s the proportion had always been below 5%. The proportion rose to 18% following the 1997 General Election when 120 women were elected. The current level – 34% – is the highest ever.

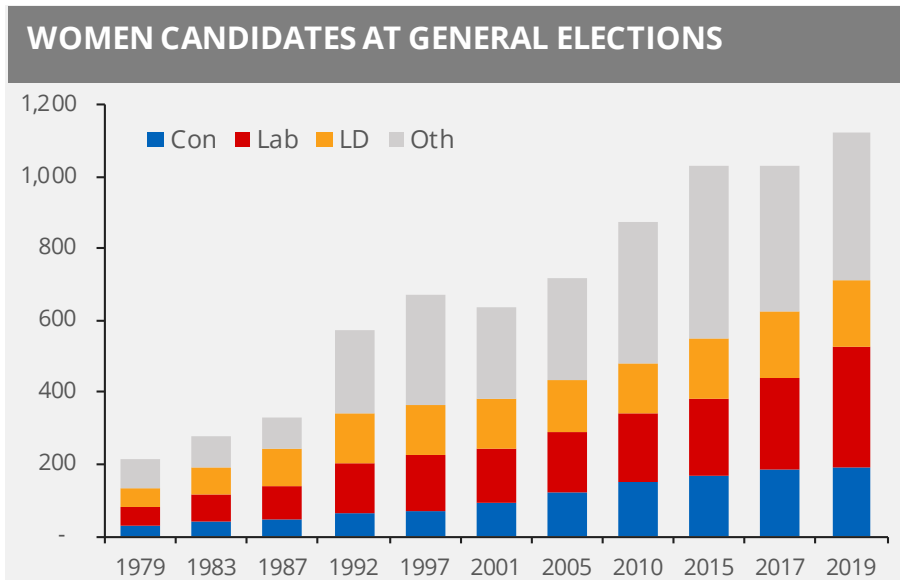
1.2 Candidates in general elections

The number of women candidates has risen at almost every general election since 1966. The exceptions were 2001, when there were 36 fewer than in 1997, and in 2017, when 60 fewer women stood than in

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2015. In the latter case, though, the proportion of female candidates rose from 26% to 29% as there were fewer candidates overall.

The chart below shows how the number of women candidates has increased since 1979.



Sources Rallings and Thrasher, *British Electoral Facts 1832-2006*, 2012. House of Commons Library Briefing Papers ([10/36](#)) [General Election 2010](#); ([7186](#)) [General Election 2015](#); ([7979](#)) [General Election 2017](#); ([8749](#)) [General Election 2019](#).

Women were first able to stand for Parliament in 1918, when 17 did so. There was one female Conservative candidate, four Labour, four Liberals and eight candidates for other parties.

Women did not make up more than 10% of candidates until 1979, when 11% of candidates were female. In 2005 the proportion of women reached 20% for the first time.

The 2019 General Election

In 2019, 1,121 women candidates stood across all parties – 34% of all 3,320 candidates. This figure represents both the highest proportion on record, as well as the largest total number of women candidates in a general election.

Labour had 335 women candidates, the highest number of any party in any general election. For the first time ever for any party in a general election, the majority (53%) of Labour's candidates were women, compared with 41% in 2017 and 34% in 2015.

194 Conservative candidates (31%) were women – a two percentage point increase on 2017 and the highest number in the party's history. Similarly, 186 (30%) of Liberal Democrat candidates were women.

41% of Green Party candidates were women, as were 34% of Scottish National Party and 25% of Plaid Cymru candidates. Women made up 18% of UKIP candidates.⁵

⁵ Rallings and Thrasher, *British Electoral Facts 1832-2006*, 2012. House of Commons Briefing Papers ([10/36](#)) [General Election 2010](#); ([7186](#)) [General Election 2015](#); ([7979](#)) [General Election 2017](#); ([8749](#)) [General Election 2019](#).

2. UK Government

Following the latest re-shuffle in February 2020, there are now six women in the Cabinet, which is 27% of the 22 full cabinet posts. One of these is unpaid, and currently held by Amanda Milling. In addition, there are four ministers who may attend Cabinet. Suella Braverman is the only woman out of these four. Altogether, seven out of the 26 Ministers who may attend Cabinet are women (27%). There are 39 Government Ministers and Whips who are women, this is exactly a third of the 117 individuals in Government.⁶

In March 2019, Theresa May's Cabinet included five women (including the Prime Minister). In 2015, David Cameron appointed seven women to Cabinet; this was 30% (of 22 cabinet posts plus the Prime Minister). In 2010, David Cameron's first Cabinet included four women.

There were five women in Tony Blair's 1997 Cabinet, which was also the first to include more than two female ministers at one time. The highest number of concurrent women cabinet ministers was eight (36%), from May 2006 to May 2007.

The table below shows the 46 women who have ever been appointed to cabinet posts (as at February 2020). The first was Margaret Bondfield in 1929. She was also the first female minister outside the Cabinet.

WOMEN CABINET MINISTERS			
Minister	Years of service	Minister	Years of service
Margaret Bondfield	1929-31	Hazel Blears	2006-09
Ellen Wilkinson	1945-47	Baroness Ashton of Upholland	2007-08
Florence Horsbrugh	1953-54	Yvette Cooper	2008-10
Barbara Castle	1964-70 & 1974-76	Baroness Royall of Blaisdon	2008-10
Judith Hart	1968-69	Caroline Spelman	2010-12
Margaret Thatcher	1970-74 & 1979-90	Cheryl Gillan	2010-12
Shirley Williams	1974-79	Baroness Warsi	2010-12
Baroness Young	1981-83	Theresa May	2010-19
Gillian Shephard	1992-97	Justine Greening	2011-18
Virginia Bottomley	1992-97	Maria Miller	2012-14
Ann Taylor	1997-98	Theresa Villiers	2012-16, 2019-20
Harriet Harman	1997-98 & 2007-10	Elizabeth Truss	2014-17, 2019-
Mo Mowlam	1997-2001	Nicky Morgan	2014-16, 2019-20
Clare Short	1997-2003	Baroness Stowell of Beeston	2015-16
Margaret Beckett	1997-2007	Amber Rudd	2015-2018 & 2018-19
Baroness Jay of Paddington	1998-2001	Andrea Leadsom	2016-17, 2019-20
Helen Liddell	2001-03	Karen Bradley	2016-19
Estelle Morris	2001-02	Baroness Evans of Bowes Park	2016-
Hilary Armstrong	2001-07	Priti Patel	2016-17, 2019-
Patricia Hewitt	2001-07	Penny Mordaunt	2017-19
Tessa Jowell	2001-07 & 2009-10	Esther McVey	2018-18
Baroness Amos	2003-07	Thérèse Coffey	2019-
Ruth Kelly	2004-08	Anne-Marie Trevelyan	2020-
Jacqui Smith	2006-09	Amanda Milling	2020-

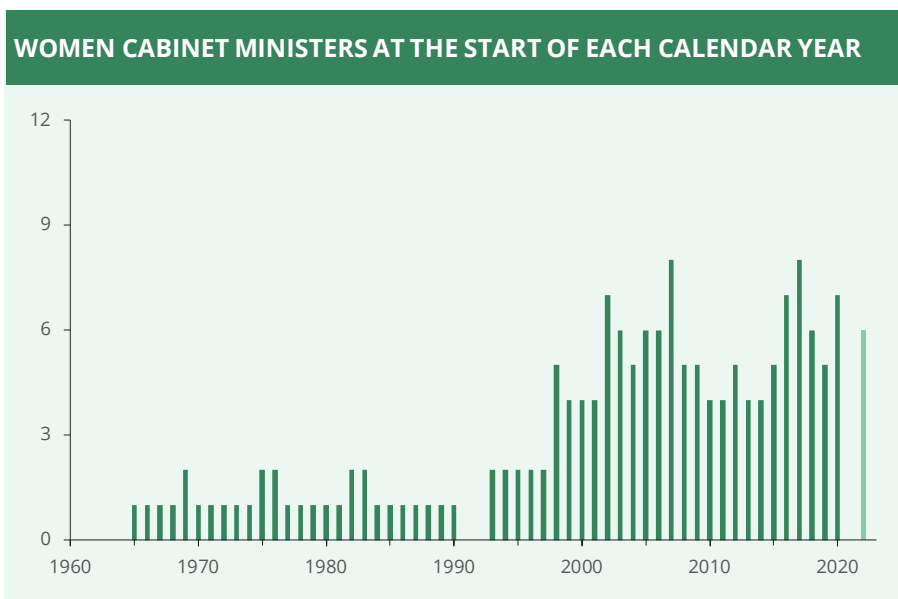
Sources: House of Commons Library; Mortimore and Blick (Eds), *Butler's British political Facts*, 2018
Does not include those who attended Cabinet without holding a full cabinet post.

⁶ [Ministerial appointments: February 2020](#), (accessed 21 February 2020)

The following chart looks at the number of women who have held full Cabinet positions over time. It shows the number of women in full Cabinet positions at the beginning of each calendar year since 1960. There were three women who held Cabinet positions pre 1960.

The highest number of women that have been in the Cabinet on the first day of the year is 8 (2007 and 2017). 1 Jan 1991 and 1992 were the only years since 1964 where there were no Cabinet Minister positions represented by women. As with the table above, the figures only include those with full cabinet positions, not those who were in positions where they may be required to attend.

The chart also shows the six women in Cabinet following the latest re-shuffle in February 2020.



Sources: House of Commons Library, Members Names' Information Service; Mortimore and Blick (Eds), Butler's British political Facts, 2018
 Does not include those who attended Cabinet without holding a full cabinet post.
 Data at 1 Jan each year & current figure as at 25 Feb 2020.

3. Other elected bodies in the UK

Following elections in 2016, 8 out of 40 (20%) elected **Police and Crime Commissioners** in England were women.⁷ The next elections will take place in May 2020.

3.1 Devolved legislatures and London Assembly

Since devolved legislatures were established from the late 1990s, women have generally made up 30 to 40% of members after each election. Notable variations are the Northern Ireland Assembly, where female membership has risen from 13% in 1998 to 32% in 2019, and the National Assembly for Wales, where at least 40% of AMs have always been women. Indeed, after a by-election in 2006, 31 out of 60 AMs – 52% – were women.⁸

The chart below shows the proportion of women elected to the devolved legislatures by party (as of February 2020). It also includes the proportion of women elected to the London Assembly.

WOMEN IN UK ELECTED BODIES BY PARTY									
	Con	Lab	LD	PC/SNP	Other	Total			
National Assembly for Wales	3 27%	15 52%	1 100%	6 60%	4 44%	28 47%			
Scottish Parliament	7 23%	11 48%	1 20%	27 44%	1 13%	47 36%			
Northern Ireland Assembly					30 34%	30 34%			
London Assembly	1 13%	6 50%	1 100%		2 50%	10 40%			

Sources: National Assembly of Wales, [Assembly Members](#); Scottish Parliament, [Current MSPs](#); London Assembly, [Assembly Members](#); Northern Ireland Assembly, ['Who runs Northern Ireland? Taking stock of gender and power in Northern Ireland'](#)

3.2 Local government

England

The Local Government Association reported that in 2018, **36%** of local authority councillors in England were women, as shown in the table below.⁹ The 2019 data is expected in March 2020.

⁷ House of Commons Briefing Paper [\(7595\) Police and Crime Commissioner Elections: 2016](#).

⁸ House of Commons Briefing Papers: [\(7599\): Scottish Parliament Elections: 2016](#); [\(7920\) Northern Ireland Assembly Elections: 2017](#); [\(7594\) National Assembly for Wales Elections: 2016](#).

⁹ LGA, [National census of local authority councillors 2018](#), 27 March 2019

COUNCILLORS IN ENGLAND			
Gender make-up by party when last elected, 2018			
Party	% female	% male	Total
Conservative	39%	54%	7,283
Labour	40%	27%	4,750
Liberal Democrat	14%	12%	1,975
Independent / residents' association	3%	3%	439
UKIP	1%	1%	145
Green	2%	1%	213
Other	1%	1%	204
Total	36%	64%	15,009

Source: Local Government Association, [National census of local authority councillors 2018](#), 27 March 2019

Scotland

29% of councillors elected in 2017 were women, as shown in the following table. This was up from 24% in 2012.¹⁰

COUNCILLORS IN SCOTLAND			
Gender make-up by party, 2017			
Party	% female	% male	Total
Scottish National Party	39%	61%	431
Conservative	18%	82%	276
Labour	28%	72%	262
Independent/Other	18%	82%	172
Liberal Democrat	34%	66%	67
Green	47%	53%	19
Total	29%	71%	1,227

Source: The Scottish Parliament, [Local Government Elections 2017](#); further analysis by Hugh Bochel for the Electoral Commission (unpublished).

Wales

Following the 2018 council elections, women held **28%** of seats in Wales, up from 26% in 2012.¹¹

Northern Ireland

Following the May 2019 local elections, **26%** of councillors in Northern Ireland were women, as set out in the table below.¹²

¹⁰ The Scottish Parliament, [Local Government Elections 2017](#); further analysis by Hugh Bochel for the Electoral Commission (unpublished).

¹¹ Data provided by the [Welsh Local Government Association](#).

¹² Data provided by the [Northern Ireland Assembly](#).

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COUNCILLORS IN NORTHERN IRELAND			
Gender make-up by party, 2019			
Party	% Male	% Female	Total
Democratic Unionist Party	81%	19%	122
Sinn Féin	65%	35%	105
Ulster Unionist Party	81%	19%	75
Social Democratic and Labour Party	64%	36%	59
Alliance Party of Northern Ireland	60%	40%	53
Green Party	75%	25%	8
Traditional Unionist Voice	100%	0%	6
Independents/Other	88%	12%	34
Total	74%	26%	462

Source: Yvonne Galligan (Technological University Dublin), [The Northern Ireland local elections May 2019 – a gender analysis](#), Slugger O'Toole blog, 21 May 2019

4. Parliamentary and political firsts for women

The timeline below sets out a number of significant firsts for women in UK politics.¹³

- 1907** *Qualification of Women (County and Borough Councils) Act* allowing women to be county and borough councillors – many stood in 1 Nov elections
- 1908** Elected mayor in England (Elizabeth Garrett Anderson)
- 1918** Women able to stand for Parliament and those over 30 who met minimum property qualifications given the right to vote
- 1918** MP elected (Countess Constance de Markievicz)
- 1919** Member of Parliament to take seat (Nancy Astor)
- 1924** Minister (Margaret Bondfield)
- 1928** Vote given to women on same terms as men
- 1929** Cabinet minister and privy counsellor (Margaret Bondfield)
- 1948** Chair of Committee of Whole House (Florence Paton)
- 1958** Life Peerages Act; first women life peers to take seats (Lady Reading and Baroness Wootton)
- 1964** Parliamentary Whip (Commons) (Harriet Slater)
- 1965** Parliamentary Whip (Lords) (Baroness Phillips)
- 1967** Deputy Speaker (Lords) (Baroness Wootton)
- 1970** Deputy Speaker (Commons) (Betty Harvie Anderson)
- 1975** Leader of the Opposition (Margaret Thatcher)
- 1979** Prime Minister (Margaret Thatcher)
- 1981** Leader of the House of Lords (Baroness Young)
- 1992** Speaker of the House of Commons (Betty Boothroyd)
- 1997** Secretary of State for Northern Ireland (Mo Mowlam)
- 1997** Leader of the House of Commons (Ann Taylor)
- 1997** Full-time Minister for Women (Joan Ruddock)
- 1998** Chief Whip (Ann Taylor)
- 2001** Secretary of State for Scotland (Helen Liddell)
- 2006** Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs (Margaret Beckett)
- 2006** House of Lords Lord Speaker (Baroness Hayman)
- 2007** Secretary of State for Home Affairs (Jacqui Smith)
- 2007** Attorney-General (Baroness Scotland)
- 2009** EU High Representative for Foreign Affairs & Security Policy (Baroness Ashton)
- 2010** Secretary of State for Wales (Cheryl Gillan)
- 2014** First Minister of Scotland (Nicola Sturgeon)
- 2016** Lord Chancellor (Liz Truss)
- 2017** Black Rod (Sarah Clarke)

¹³ Central Office of Information, *Women in Britain*, 1996; [Centre for Advancement of Women in Politics](#); House of Commons Library analysis.

5. International context

5.1 Presidents and prime ministers

In June 2019, there were 11 women serving as Head of State and 12 serving as Head of Government.¹⁴

This is one more than the previous record set in 2017. As recently as 2005, there were only eight.¹⁵

The first non-hereditary female national leader was Sirimavo Bandaranaike, elected Prime Minister of Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) in 1960. International progress was slow until the 1990s. By February 2019, 70 countries (just over a third of all) had had at least one female president or prime minister. A handful had had several. Sri Lanka was the first country to have a female president and prime minister at the same time (from 1994).¹⁶

5.2 Overseas parliaments

The European Parliament (European Union)

Since 1979, the proportion of women MEPs (Members of the European Parliament) has increased from 16% to 41% in the 2019 election. As of the 2019 intake, female representation across Member States varied from 0% in Cyprus to 55% in Sweden.¹⁷

Speakers of national parliaments

In September 2019, the Inter-Parliamentary Union calculated that there were 278 Speakers for upper chambers, lower chambers and unicameral parliaments worldwide. Of these, 58 (21%) were women. In Ethiopia, Mexico, Trinidad and Tobago, and Uruguay, both the upper and lower houses were presided by women.¹⁸

In 1927 Austria became the first country to elect a woman to the presidency of a parliamentary chamber; the next was Denmark in 1950. The UK became the 27th country to achieve this when Betty Boothroyd was elected Speaker of the House of Commons in 1992.

Proportion of women in national parliaments

The Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) reported that with 32% of MPs being women, the UK is currently ranked 39th in the proportion of women in the lower or only house (as of September 2019). Rwanda is first, with over 61%, while Cuba and Bolivia also have a majority of female members and exactly half the unicameral Parliament of Andorra is made up of women. Three countries in the IPU ranking have no women in their lower or single house, while 26 have fewer than 10%.¹⁹

¹⁴ UN Women, [Facts and figures: leadership and political participation](#) (accessed 25 September 2019)

¹⁵ Inter-Parliamentary Union, [Women in politics: 2017](#), 15 March 2017.

¹⁶ House of Commons Library consolidated analysis.

¹⁷ European Parliament, [2019 European election results. MEPs' gender balance](#)

¹⁸ Inter-Parliamentary Union [New Parline. Compare data on Parliament: Sex of the Speaker](#) (accessed 20 September 2019).

¹⁹ Inter-Parliamentary Union [New Parline](#) (accessed 25 September 2019).

The following tables give the top 50 rankings of participation by women in the lower or only houses of parliaments, and then in upper houses.

WOMEN IN NATIONAL PARLIAMENTS					
Top 50 countries by membership of lower or unicameral house					
Rank	Country	%	Rank	Country	%
1	Rwanda	61.3	26	France	39.5
2	Cuba	53.2	27	Ecuador	39.4
3	Bolivia (Plurinational State of)	53.1	28	Austria	39.3
4	United Arab Emirates	50.0	29	Ethiopia	38.8
5	Mexico	48.2	30	Timor-Leste	38.5
6	Nicaragua	47.3	31	Dominica	38.1
7	Sweden	47.0	"	Iceland	38.1
8	Grenada	46.7	33	Serbia	37.7
9	Andorra	46.4	34	United Republic of Tanzania	36.9
10	South Africa	46.4	35	Burundi	36.4
11	Finland	46.0	36	Italy	35.7
12	Costa Rica	45.6	37	Uganda	34.9
13	Spain	44.0	38	Guyana	34.8
14	Senegal	43.0	39	United Kingdom	33.9
15	Namibia	42.7	40	El Salvador	33.3
16	Switzerland	41.5	"	Monaco	33.3
17	Norway	41.4	"	Netherlands	33.3
18	Mozambique	41.2	43	Nepal	32.7
19	Argentina	40.9	44	Uzbekistan	32.0
20	New Zealand	40.8	45	Zimbabwe	31.9
21	Belgium	40.7	46	San Marino	31.7
22	Belarus	40.0	47	Suriname	31.4
"	North Macedonia	40.0	48	Germany	31.2
"	Portugal	40.0	49	Cameroon	31.1
25	Denmark	39.7	50	Trinidad and Tobago	31.0

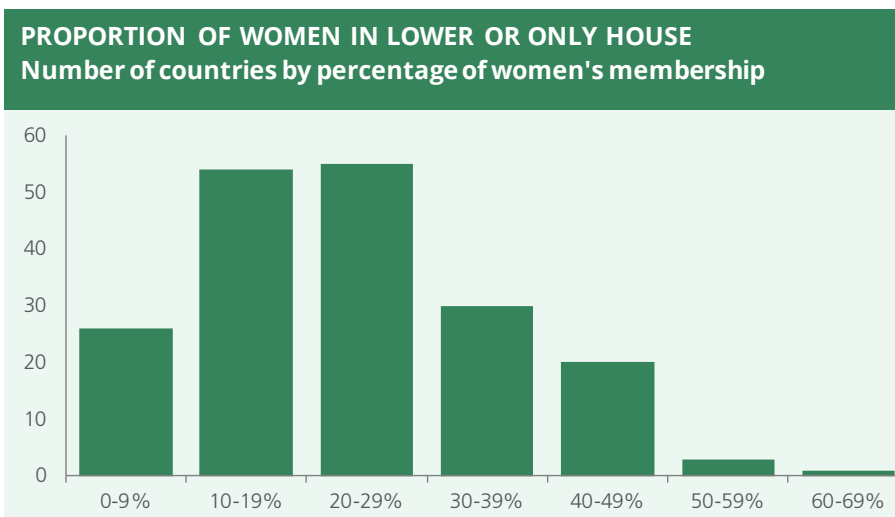
Source: Inter-Parliamentary Union [New Parline](#) (accessed 10 February 2019).

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WOMEN IN NATIONAL PARLIAMENTS					
Top 50 countries by membership of upper house					
Rank	Country	%	Rank	Country	%
1	Antigua and Barbuda	52.9	26	Grenada	30.8
2	Mexico	49.2	27	Philippines	29.2
3	Australia	48.7	28	Uruguay	29.0
4	Canada	48.5	29	Afghanistan	27.9
5	Bolivia (Plurinational State of)	47.2	30	Saint Lucia	27.3
6	Burundi	46.2	31	United Kingdom	27.2
7	Belgium	45.0	32	Switzerland	26.1
8	Bahamas	43.8	33	Cameroon	26.0
"	Zimbabwe	43.8	34	Belarus	25.0
10	Barbados	42.9	"	United States of America	25.0
11	Argentina	40.3	36	Somalia	24.1
12	Spain	39.0	37	Poland	24.0
13	Netherlands	38.7	38	Jamaica	23.8
14	Rwanda	38.5	"	Namibia	23.8
15	South Africa	37.7	40	Chile	23.3
16	Nepal	37.3	41	Japan	22.9
17	Germany	36.2	42	Bahrain	22.5
18	Austria	36.1	43	Lesotho	21.9
19	Trinidad and Tobago	35.5	"	Tajikistan	21.9
20	Italy	34.4	45	Colombia	21.7
21	Eswatini	33.3	46	Belize	21.4
"	France	33.3	47	Democratic Republic Congo	21.1
23	Ethiopia	32.0	48	Bosnia and Herzegovina	20.0
24	Ireland	31.7	"	Paraguay	20.0
25	Kenya	30.9	50	Madagascar	19.4

Source: Inter-Parliamentary Union [New Parline](#) (accessed 10 February 2020).

The majority of countries have between 10 and 30% female representatives, as set out in the chart below.



Source: Inter-Parliamentary Union [New Parline](#) (accessed 10 February 2020).

Entry of women into national parliaments

Nineteen women were elected in Finland in 1907, the first election after suffrage was extended to women in 1906. In doing so they became the first women ever to sit in a parliament. They made up 9.5% of the elected members, a level that the UK had still not reached in 1992.²⁰

FIRST WOMEN IN NATIONAL PARLIAMENTS					
First 50 by year of election or entry					
Rank	Country	Year	Rank	Country	Year
1	Finland	1907	26	Cuba	1940
2	Norway	1911	27	Philippines	1941
3	United States of America	1917	28	Dominican Republic	1942
4	Denmark	1918	"	Uruguay	1942
"	United Kingdom	1918	30	Australia	1943
"	Netherlands	1918	31	France	1945
"	Ireland	1918	"	Albania	1945
8	Austria	1919	"	Bulgaria	1945
"	Germany	1919	"	Hungary	1945
"	Poland	1919	35	Italy	1946
"	Luxembourg	1919	"	Romania	1946
12	Estonia	1920	"	Panama	1946
"	Lithuania	1920	"	Japan	1946
14	Sweden	1921	39	Pakistan	1947
"	Belgium	1921	"	Myanmar	1947
"	Canada	1921	"	Thailand	1947
17	Iceland	1922	"	Sri Lanka	1947
"	Russian Federation	1922	43	Venezuela	1948
19	Latvia	1930	"	Republic of Korea	1948
"	Spain	1931	"	DPR Korea	1948
21	South Africa	1933	46	Israel	1949
"	New Zealand	1933	47	Indonesia	1950
"	Brazil	1933	48	Argentina	1951
24	Portugal	1934	49	Chile	1951
25	Turkey	1939	50	Mongolia	1951

Source: Inter-Parliamentary Union [New Parline](#) (accessed 19 February 2019).

²⁰ University of Helsinki, [Centenary of women's full political rights in Finland](#).

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