The Scottish Parliament Election

Report and Analysis

3 May 2007

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Preface

The 2007 election produced a Parliament that broadly reflected the views of Scottish voters. While the number of rejected ballot papers was a serious cause for concern, it should not divert attention from an election in which the actual *system* worked tolerably well. No Scottish party had the support of anything like a majority of voters, and as a consequence, no party now has anything approaching a majority of the seats. If the First-Past-the-Post system (which we still use to elect our MPs), had been used, Labour would have won an outright majority of seats, despite only having had the support of little more than 30 per cent of voters.

Although the Electoral Reform Society would like to see the Scottish Parliament elected using the Single Transferable Vote (STV) method, as was the case for the local government elections, the Additional Member System (AMS) has given Scotland a representative Parliament. The minority SNP administration that has been formed will need to seek the support of the other parties in order to enact legislation, and that will ensure that decisions taken reflect the views of a much higher proportion of voters than would otherwise have been the case – very much in keeping with the four founding principles of devolution: the sharing of power, accountability, openness and equal opportunities.

June 2007

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The outcome of the election

- The outcome of the election was as close as predicted, with the SNP becoming the largest party by only one seat, beating Labour into second place. The votes of the other parties were squeezed, with the Conservatives and Liberal Democrats both losing one seat each, and the other smaller parties losing 14 between them.
- The overall shares of the vote enjoyed by the parties were equally close: in the constituency vote, 32.9 per cent of the electorate voted for the SNP compared with 32.2 per cent for Labour; in the regional vote, the SNP edged ahead a little further – 31.0 per cent compared to Labour's 29.2 per cent.
- The Conservatives' vote effectively stayed constant for the third election running – 16.6 per cent of the constituency vote, 13.9 per cent of the regional vote, with 17 seats overall. This means they remain the third largest party, just ahead of the Liberal Democrats (16.2 per cent of the constituency vote, 11.3 per cent of the regional vote, with 16 seats overall). Only four of the Conservative seats are First-Past-the-Post constituencies, compared with the 11 which the Liberal Democrats won.
- The smaller parties' vote was squeezed. The Greens dropped from seven MSPs to two with their share of the vote also falling by 2.8 per cent. The Scottish Socialists lost all six of their MSPs, and their share of the vote collapsed by just over 6 per cent in both votes. The only Independent to remain in the Parliament was Margo Macdonald who still managed to achieve 6.7 per cent in the Lothians Region.
- Despite losing nine seats and its status as the largest party in the Parliament, the Labour vote actually held up reasonably well, decreasing by only 2.5 per cent in the constituency vote, and 0.1 per cent in the regional vote.
- As a consequence, it is interesting to analyse where the SNP vote has actually come from (an increase of 12 seats and 9.1 per cent in constituencies, 8 seats and 10.2 per cent rise in the region). At this stage, the most likely answer is that the SNP benefited from the squeeze of the Greens and the Independents, as well as the implosion of the Scottish Socialists/Solidarity.

- The majority of SNP seats are still list MSPs (26 out of 47). This is a direct consequence of the SNP vote being geographically spread across Scotland, compared with the Labour vote which is overwhelmingly concentrated in the Central Belt. Nevertheless, the SNP can still be pleased that it made a breakthrough in several previously Labour seats like Glasgow Govan, Kilmarnock & Loudoun, Cunninghame North, Dundee West, Edinburgh East & Musselburgh, Livingston and Central Fife.

The voting experience

- Turnout was disappointingly low – 51.8 per cent, up only 2.5 per cent on 2003. Just under half of Scotland did not cast a vote.
- The large number of rejected ballots – an estimated 3.5 per cent – is clearly not acceptable. The root of the problem appears to be linked to the total number of changes made simultaneously to the Scottish elections in 2007.

The fairness of the result

- It is important to stress the Additional Member System of voting produces a much

fairer outcome than any First-Past-The-Post result. If FPTP had been used to elect MSPs, Labour would have won 37 out of the 73 seats (50.1 per cent of all the seats), and therefore enjoyed a single seat majority over all the other parties combined, having 16 more MSPs than the SNP despite the SNP having more votes.

- However, there are still large numbers of voters whose views remain unrepresented – for example, if you voted Labour in Falkirk West (as 11,292 did), you would have nobody to represent your views: your MSP is a Nationalist, and there are no Labour List MSPs in Central Scotland (despite 112, 596 people voting Labour).

- Tactical voting in FPTP systems (the concept of voting for the candidate you dislike the least) is made redundant under fully proportional systems and STV, but not under AMS. In many constituencies, voters had to choose between the candidates of the two leading parties in order to avoid their constituency votes being wasted. Given that there is no point voting for Labour lists in some areas like Glasgow and Central Scotland where the party would gain no seats, there are tactical incentives in the regional ballot too.

- The 2007 election witnessed parties continue to 'target' the constituencies they felt were most important e.g. Gordon, Glasgow Govan and the other marginal seats. This must lead many of the voters in Scotland's 'safer' constituencies to feel that their vote counts less.

- The election of the first Black and Minority ethnic (BME) MSP, Bashir Ahmad, as a list MSP for the Nationalists in Glasgow is a breakthrough to be welcomed, but Holyrood remains an overwhelmingly white and largely male chamber. Indeed, the overall number of women dropped from 48 to 43. ∎

The outcome of the election

Overall results

It is helpful at the start of the report to take a broad overview of the results, before focusing in more detail in the next section on the specific fortunes of each party. The outcome of the election was as close as many had predicted prior to May 3rd, with the SNP becoming the largest party by just one seat, beating Labour into second place. As a consequence, the votes of the other parties were squeezed, with the Conservatives and Liberal Democrats both losing one seat each overall, and the other smaller parties losing 14 between them.

Total number of seats won

|	1999	2003	2007
Con	18	18	17
Lab	56	50	46
Lib Dem	17	17	16
SNP	35	27	47
Greens	1	7	2
Socialists	1	6	0
Others	1	4	1

The overall shares of the vote enjoyed by the parties were equally close: in the constituency vote, 32.9 per cent of the electorate voted for the SNP compared with 32.2 per cent for Labour; in the regional vote, the SNP edged ahead a little further – 31 per cent compared with Labour's 29.2 per cent. The Conservatives' vote effectively stayed constant for the third election running – 16.6 per cent of the constituency vote, 13.9 per cent of the regional vote, with 17 seats overall. This means they remain the third largest party within the context of devolved government, just ahead of the Liberal Democrats (16.2 per cent of the constituency vote, 11.3 per cent of the regional

vote, with 16 seats overall). The smaller parties' vote dropped dramatically – the number of Green MSPs fell from seven to two with their share of the vote also declining by 2.8 per cent. The Scottish Socialists lost all six of their MSPs, and their share of the vote collapsed by just over 6 per cent in both votes. The only Independent to remain at Holyrood was the former Nationalist MSP and MP, Margo Macdonald, who still managed to achieve a healthy 6.7 per cent in the Lothians Region.

Looking in slightly more detail at the difference between the constituency votes and the regional votes, there is an interesting dichotomy between the two parties that garner most of their success by the winning First-Past-the-Post constituencies, and the other two benefiting most from the regional top-up seats. Labour and the Liberal Democrats fall into the former category – 37 out of Labour's 46 seats, and 11 of the Liberal Democrats' 16 seats, are constituencies. Meanwhile, only 21 of the SNP's 47 seats, and 4 out of the Conservatives' 17 seats, are constituency seats. There are two points to note here – first, these disparities are primarily the result of quite basic differences in the make-up of the party votes. Broadly speaking, Labour support is concentrated in the urban, central belt of Scotland while the Liberal Democrats have a long tradition of doing well in the Scottish Highlands and the Scottish Borders and more recent strength in some middle class suburbs. In comparison, support for the SNP and the Conservatives is more evenly spread across the country, although that is not to say there are not pockets of concentrated support here too, for example parts of the North East for the SNP, and parts of the South West for the Conservatives.

However, making the distinction between the total number of constituency seats won and

2007 constituency results

Edinburgh

Glasgow

- CONSERVATIVE
- LABOUR
- LIB DEM
- SNP
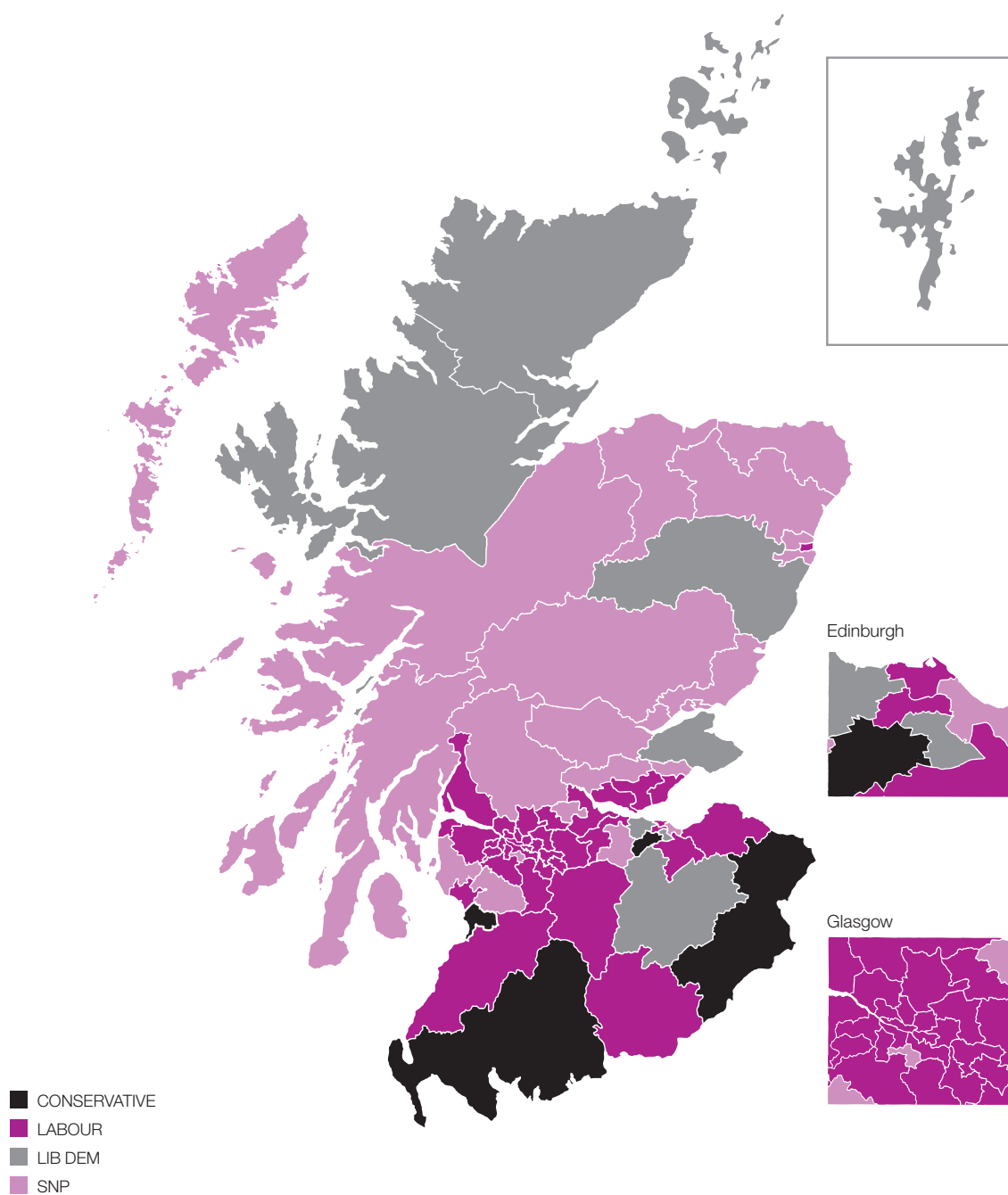
Constituencies where a different party led on the regional vote

Edinburgh

Glasgow

- LABOUR
- SNP
- NO DIFFERENCE
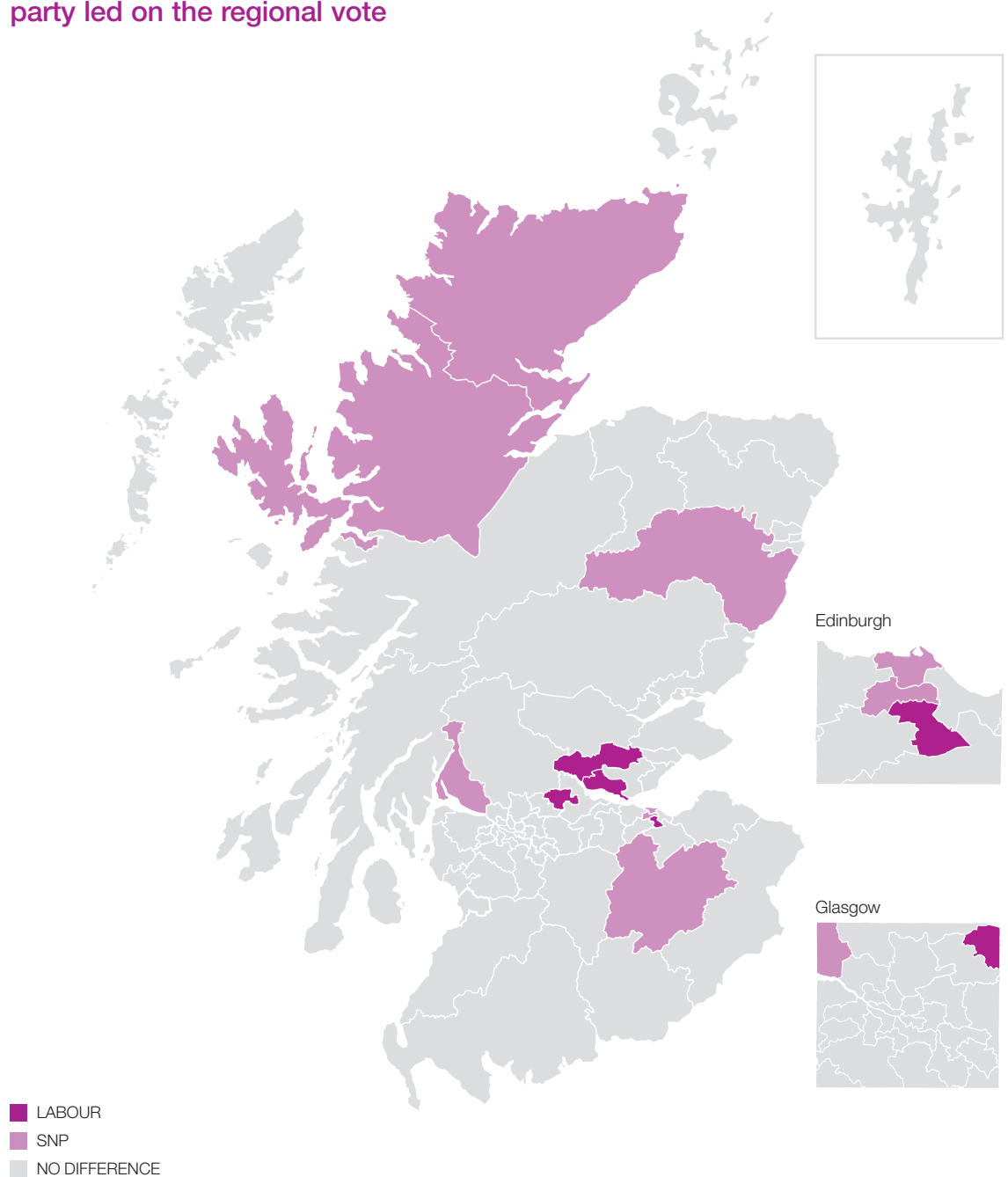
the total number of regional seats won has been an intrinsic feature of the Additional Member System (AMS) of voting that has been used to elect MSPs since devolution in 1999. Rightly or wrongly, a perception exists that there are two classes of MSP – the 73 that manage to win their constituencies and the 56 that are only there because their parties needed additional 'topped-up' representation. The next section will go into more depth about this distinction in its analysis of the fortunes of the individual parties, while the report as a whole will assess the overall effectiveness of AMS.

Seats where regional result was different from FPTP result (use in conjunction with map on p11)

The most obvious change from the 2003 election is the demise of the 'Rainbow Parliament', and the reversion to the four-party system that has been a feature of Scottish politics since the second General Election of 1974. However, in one sense, the three MSPs (two Greens and one Independent) who were elected as the exceptions to this rule will potentially make a more substantial impact on policy-making as a consequence. With two large parties and two

	1999		2003		2007	
	Constituency seats	Regional seats	Constituency seats	Regional seats	Constituency seats	Regional seats
Con	0	18	3	15	4	13
Lab	53	3	46	4	37	9
Lib Dem	12	5	13	4	11	5
SNP	7	28	9	18	21	26
Greens	0	1	0	7	0	2
Socialists	0	1	0	6	0	0
Others	1	0	2	2	0	1

	1999		2003		2007	
	Constituency % vote	Regional % vote	Constituency % vote	Regional %vote	Constituency % vote	Regional % vote
Con	15.6	15.4	16.6	15.5	16.6	13.9
Lab	38.4	33.6	34.6	29.3	32.2	29.2
Lib Dem	14.2	12.4	15.4	11.8	16.2	11.3
SNP	28.9	27.3	23.8	20.9	32.9	31.0
Greens	0.1	3.6	0	6.9	0.2	4.0
Socialists	1.1	2.0	6.2	6.7	0	0.6
Others	1.7	5.3	3.4	9.0	1.7	9.6

smaller parties effectively turning Holyrood into a 'Parliament of minorities', the consensual tone that devolution was designed to introduce, should not be lost altogether, and it is clear that the new minority SNP Executive will have to reach out to all parties, in order to get its legislation passed.

State of the parties

The main focus of this report is an analysis of the effectiveness of the Additional Member System of voting, in electing the 129 Members of the Scottish Parliament – both from the individual voter's perspective and from the wider perspective of good governance. AMS is a hybrid system – part majoritarian (or First-Past-the–Post – FPTP), part proportional (using the D'Hondt formula to top up the FPTP results). As a consequence, voters have two choices to make and two votes to cast – one for their constituencies (where FPTP is used), and one for the top-up lists where parties stand candidates in eight larger regions. One of the consequences of using AMS is the twin sets of results that are produced i.e. the two votes means that the election is effectively run in duplicate with each voter able to express their political preference in two different ways in response to two slightly different questions. Constituency results can therefore be analysed in two different ways, in terms of assessing the successes and shortcomings of each party – by the FPTP candidate result and by the regional list result. Another interesting comparison can be made with the way Scots cast their votes in UK General Elections and this section will draw together these different elements.

Scottish National Party

Those who predicted that the third Scottish Parliament election would see the devolved system of government 'settle down' were left to re-evaluate. For the first time since devolution in 1999, the election resulted in the Scottish National Party forming the Scottish Executive – a party that advocates Scotland breaking away from the United Kingdom and becoming an independent nation-state in the EU. Debates over the way devolution works, and whether the first two terms of the Scottish Parliament have been a success, are now enhanced by the even more fundamental question of Scotland's long-term future in the United Kingdom.

While those who have monitored developments in Scottish politics for some time may have a sense of *déjà vu* e.g. the General Election result of 1974 (October) and the run-up to 1992, this is the first time since devolution in 1999 that the state of Scottish nationalism has looked quite so buoyant, especially after the SNP's poor result in 2003. The first election in 1999 certainly gave the SNP at least some of the representation they deserved – at the 1997 General Election, the party had only six MPs, despite gaining 21.9 per cent of the vote. Post-devolution, they became the Official Opposition at Holyrood, with 35 MSPs. However, the 2003 election was a huge disappointment for them, with a fall in their number of MSPs (to 27), as well as in their share of the vote (by around 6 per cent). Alex Salmond once again returned to lead the party, having previously resigned after ten years in charge – perhaps sensing at the time the slump that devolution settling down might induce for the SNP.

Clearly, there is a need to be cautious about the nature of the SNP's support. Research suggests that there is a significant difference between those who vote Nationalist and those who actually want independence:

Total support for Independence, 1999-2001

	1999	2000	2001
Percentage supporting independence but not identifying with SNP	57 (404)	61 (503)	66 (441)
Percentage of Labour identifiers among these respondents	54 (229)	49 (307)	65 (289)
Percentage of all Labour identifiers who support independence	21 (589)	25 (602)	25 (743)
Percentage of all SNP identifiers who do not support independence	38 (284)	40 (326)	38 (247)

Source: Rosie and Bond, National Identities in Post-Devolution Scotland (2002)

Furthermore, in 2007, there was a real difference between voters disillusioned with Labour at a UK-level and an electorate positively hankering for independence. With issues such as the Iraq War, and subsequent unpopularity of Tony Blair, to the fore, the SNP offered a viable left-of-centre alternative to Labour in Scotland, an option which does not exist in England – while the two parties are bitter enemies on an institutional level, they very much share the same electorate.

It is also worth noting the way the SNP separated the issue of independence from its ability to run the devolved Scottish Executive – voters were left in no doubt that a vote for the SNP was not necessarily a vote for an independent Scotland. At one point, Alex Salmond even went as far as to make clear that there was nothing to stop an independent Scotland re-joining the UK at some point in the future if voters so wished.

Nevertheless, it is interesting to analyse where the SNP vote has actually come from (an increase of twelve seats and 9.1 per cent in constituencies, eight seats and 10.2 per cent in the region). Despite losing nine seats and its status as the largest party in the Parliament, the Labour vote actually held up reasonably well, decreasing by only 2.5 per cent in the constituency vote, and 0.1 per cent in the regional vote, so at this stage, the most likely answer is that the SNP benefited from the squeeze of the Greens, the Independents, as well as the implosion of the Scottish Socialists.

It has already been pointed out that the majority of SNP seats are still primarily drawn from

	Second preference (%)					
First Preference	Con	Lab	LD	SNP	Green	SSP
Con	-	11.3	36.9	18.8	6.3	1.9
Lab	5.6	-	28.9	31.7	6.6	3.8
LD	16.4	29.5	-	13.9	17.2	5.7
SNP	8.9	33.5	19.9	-	6.8	13.6
Green	6.3	6.3	18.8	12.5	-	37.5
SSP	0.0	17.9	14.3	17.9	35.7	-

Source: Scottish Social Attitudes Survey, 2005

SNP % share of vote in Scotland 1945-2007
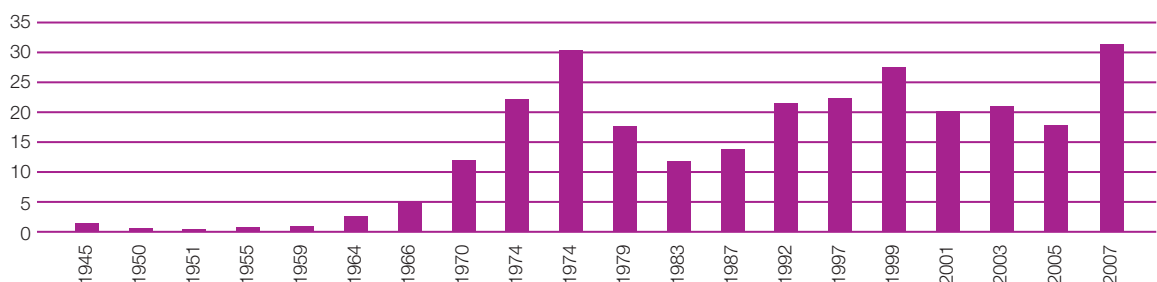
top-up list MSPs (26 out of 47). Furthermore, there is still evidence that the SNP sometimes struggles to benefit from a national swing across all constituencies e.g. Labour held onto Cumbernauld & Kilsyth, Aberdeen Central and Linlithgow – all marginal seats that the SNP should have taken given the context of the election. Nevertheless, the party can still be pleased that it made a breakthrough in long-held Labour seats, some of which like Cunninghame North and Edinburgh East & Musselburgh had not previously been regarded as target seats. In addition, the map on p11 identifying the seats where a different party won the regional vote from the FPTP vote is quite telling. It indicates that nine out of thirteen of these seats saw the SNP come first, including a diverse range of constituencies in the Highlands, Aberdeen, Edinburgh, the Scottish Borders, and other parts of Scotland.

Labour

The 2007 Scottish Parliament election is the first time since 1955 that Labour has lost an election in Scotland. Losing heartland, central-belt seats like Kilmarnock & Loudoun, Cunninghame North, Edinburgh East & Musselburgh, Livingston and Central Fife, where there is no tradition of the electorate voting SNP, is a significant moment in the history of Scottish Labour, and questions will be asked about what can be done to win them back.

However, the Labour vote overall held up relatively well, and a longer term analysis shows that it has actually stayed remarkably constant since the Second World War. Its core vote, concentrated in the urban central belt where four out of five Scots live, is very solid. That did not change in 2007 – there was no collapse of Labour support, or for that matter, evidence of the start of any long term pattern of decline. After the initial shock of the result, the continuities start to become apparent on further analysis.

Devolution was introduced to Scotland with an acknowledgement that Labour would not necessarily always form the Scottish Executive, and eight years on from the first elections, Scottish voters have cautiously opted for the party that had previously been the Official Opposition at Holyrood.

Various aspects of the election campaign, and aftermath, back up the argument that senior Labour figures were resigned to their fate. The tone of the campaign was generally civilised, helped in no small part by the SNP attempts to re-brand Mr. Salmond as a statesman, rather than merely an opposition politician. Outgoing First Minister Jack McConnell remaining Labour leader immediately after the election can be interpreted sympathetically i.e. the party acknowledged that he had to cope with electoral forces which were essentially beyond his control, most notably the unpopularity of the war in Iraq.

Indeed, opinion poll research from YouGov included below suggests that there were actually higher levels of overall voter satisfaction about the performance of the Scottish Executive than in 2003, including that of the First Minister. The measured manner that Mr McConnell eventually resigned in August, having been appointed British High Commissioner to Malawi, and the painless coronation of former Cabinet Minister Wendy Alexander that followed, rather confirmed this. Nevertheless, the surge towards the SNP, whether based on purely devolved issues or not, has still lost the party the keys to Bute House.

Scottish Executive – Net approval (%)
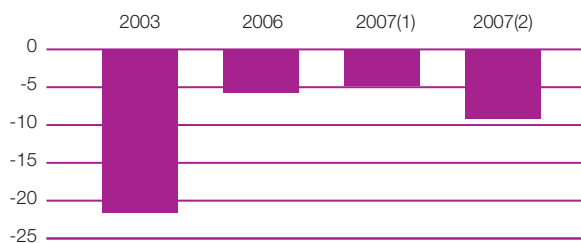
Source: YouGov

First Minister – Net approval (%)
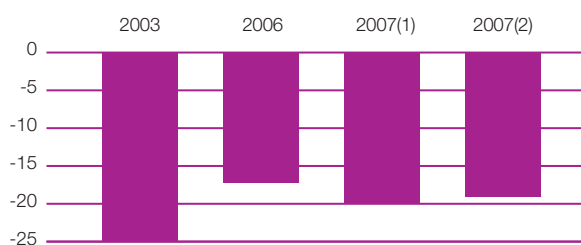
Source: YouGov

Labour % share of vote in Scotland 1945-2007
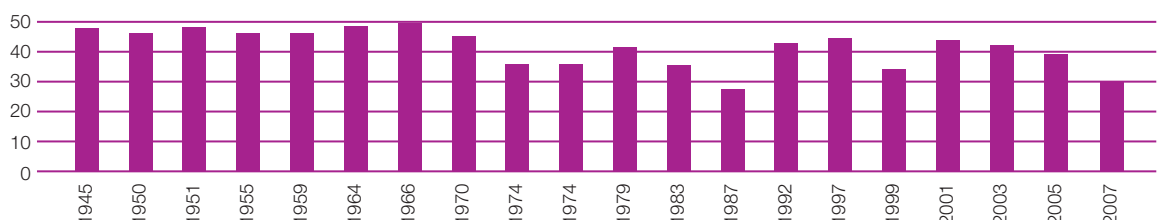
Conservatives

The Conservatives' vote effectively stayed constant for the third election running – 16.6 per cent of the constituency vote, 13.9 per cent of the regional vote, with 17 seats overall. This means they remain the third largest party in the Scottish Parliament, just ahead of the Liberal Democrats. While the Parliament has four main parties, the Conservatives and Liberal Democrats continue to lag some way behind Labour and the SNP, with no sign of that changing.

Only four of those Conservative seats are First-Past-the-Post constituencies – Ayr, Edinburgh Pentlands, Galloway & Upper Nithsdale and Roxburgh & Berwickshire. The last of these represented the Conservatives' only 'gain' in 2007. They had previously won the largest number of votes in the seat in the regional list vote in 2003, so the Liberal Democrats recognised them as a real threat to their hold on the constituency seat. Meanwhile, the respected MSP for Galloway & Upper Nithsdale, Alex Fergusson, has been elected the Parliament's new Presiding Officer, so his seat effectively becomes Independent for the purposes of voting in the chamber.

The Conservatives continue to struggle, despite having the entire right-of-centre ground to themselves in the Scottish political system. The argument that devolution is an inherently anti-Conservative project is still convincing i.e. the

Conservative % share of vote in Scotland 1945-2007
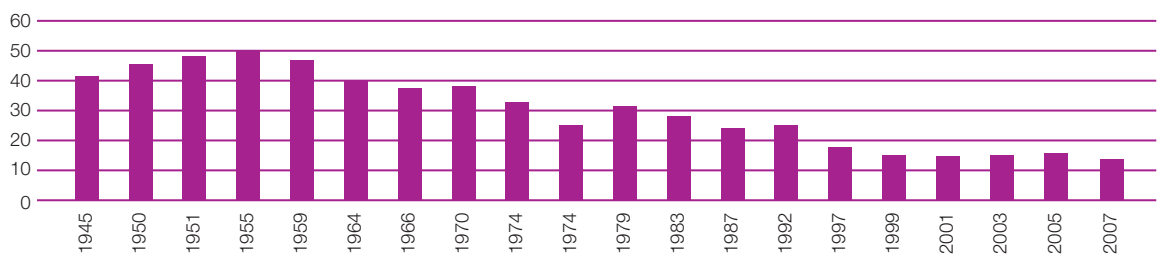
Scottish Parliament was created, partly as a result of Scotland voting Labour but getting a Conservative government, and a democratic deficit requiring attention. However, in a similar trend to the support for Labour, the core Conservative vote has stood up remarkably well, and shows no real sign of declining. The party also came a close second in Eastwood, West Renfrewshire, Dumfries, and Perth but beyond these, it is difficult to see what other constituencies they have any chance of winning in 2011.

Liberal Democrats

The Liberal Democrats polled 16.2 per cent of the constituency vote, 11.3 per cent of the regional vote, with 16 seats overall (11 of those constituency seats). Again, in a similar way to the Conservatives, the voting patterns for the Liberal Democrats are broadly static. However, there is perhaps more disappointment amongst Liberal Democrats over the election result than in Conservative (and even in

Labour) circles. A coalition partner in the Scottish Executive since 1999, there is dismay in the party that they have been unable to build on that record and convert it into greater electoral success, remaining the smallest of the main parties in the Parliament.

The SNP successfully took two key Lib Dem. seats – Argyll & Bute (part of the traditional Highland Liberal stronghold and the constituency of a Scottish Executive Minister – although distantly an SNP seat from 1974-79) and Gordon (where Alex Salmond achieved an 18.8 per cent swing in his favour). Gaining Dunfermline West from Labour (in keeping with the Westminster seat it won at a by-election in 2006) cannot compensate for the disappointment of losing two of its heartland constituencies and not being able to place the blame on the unpopularity of the UK Labour Government.

Prior to the election, the Liberal Democrats were once again the main candidates to enter

Liberal/SDP/Lib Dem % share of vote in Scotland 1945-2007

coalition talks – proportional representation means that it is unlikely any party can ever obtain an outright majority and in 2003, the Labour/Liberal Democrat coalition had a majority of just five. A Lib Dem coalition with the SNP or Labour would itself have fallen just short of an overall majority in 2007. However, the Lib Dem leader, Nicol Stephen, openly ruled out supporting any referendum on independence – the SNP's key criterion for partnership – and the party's MSPs now sit on the Parliament opposition benches.

Greens

In 2003, in what was otherwise an unremarkable election, one of the main talking points was the fact the Scottish electorate appeared to be growing used to having two votes, electing seven Green MSPs, six Scottish Socialists, one Scottish Senior Citizen and three Independents. However, in 2007, the smaller parties' vote was squeezed, with the Greens dropping from seven MSPs to two with their share of the vote also falling by 2.8% per cent. Robin Harper, the first ever Green parliamentarian in the UK, continues to represent the Lothians as a List MSP while Patrick Harvie was re-elected in Glasgow.

In 2003, the Scottish Greens fought a clever campaign which simply asked voters to give them their second vote – and seven per cent of Scots who voted did just that. Unfortunately, for them, they could not campaign quite like this again in May, with a single ballot paper being introduced and the order of first and second votes reversed, and this may also have played a part in their loss of seats.

Socialists and Solidarity

The Scottish Socialists lost all six of their MSPs, with their share of the vote collapsing just over six per cent in both votes, and in a

significantly more fundamental way from the Green vote. The effect of the split in the Scottish Socialists, after their leader Tommy Sheridan was involved in a high-profile court case, led to electoral wipe out, with Sheridan's new party, Solidarity, also failing to gain one MSP. However, in Glasgow, Sheridan himself narrowly missed out, managing a commendable 4.1 per cent of the vote.

Independents and others

The Scottish Senior Citizens Party also lost its single MSP, and the only Independent to remain in the Parliament was Margo Macdonald who achieved 6.7 per cent of the vote in the Lothians Region. It is worth noting the results of the two constituencies where Independents won in 2003 represented (at best) mixed fortunes for Labour. In Strathkelvin & Bearsden, the party re-took the seat from health campaigner, Jean Turner, representing its only constituency gain in the election. However, this was linked to a massive drop in the vote for Dr Turner, who had previously indicated she had not especially enjoyed being an MSP and was going to stand down. In Falkirk West, the respected former Labour and Independent MP, Dennis Canavan, chose to stand down, but the seat did not revert to Labour; instead the SNP took the constituency. While there is no history of the SNP doing well in Falkirk constituencies, the party is strong at local authority level. ■

The voting experience

Turnout

Turnout in the election was comparatively low –
51.8 per cent, up only 2.5 per cent on 2003, so
just under half of Scotland did not cast a vote. The
first election in 1999 had a turnout of 59 per cent.

Across Scotland, different patterns of turnout
can be identified:

Constituency	Turnout % (constituency vote)
Glasgow Shettleston	35.78
Glasgow Maryhill	38.20
Glasgow Springburn	38.92
Glasgow Baillieston	39.88
Glasgow Kelvin	43.76
Glasgow Pollok	43.80
Hamilton North and Bellshill	38.38
Glasgow Govan	45.47
Aberdeen Central	45.86
Hamilton South	47.16
Coatbridge and Chryston	47.31
Glasgow Anniesland	47.37
Fife Central	47.38
Glasgow Cathcart	47.50
Cunninghame South	47.95
Airdrie and Shotts	48.18
Kirkcaldy	48.29
Motherwell and Wishaw	48.31
Dunfermline East	49.00
Dundee West	49.01
Aberdeen North	49.32
Glasgow Rutherglen	49.89
Banff and Buchan	50.12
Angus	50.23
Dundee East	50.34
Moray	50.44
Clydesdale	51.13
Livingston	51.21
Fife North East	51.73
Falkirk West	51.84

Dunfermline West	52.07
Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley	52.25
Orkney	52.91
Roxburgh and Berwickshire	53.03
Paisley North	53.06
Falkirk East	53.06
Greenock and Inverclyde	53.07
Midlothian	53.14
Dumfries	53.17
Cumbernauld and Kilsyth	53.17
Paisley South	53.22
Edinburgh North and Leith	53.25
Aberdeen South	53.48
Edinburgh Central	53.59
Caithness, Sutherland and Easter Ross	53.71
Linlithgow	53.86
Aberdeenshire West and Kincardine	53.94
Gordon	54.25
Cunninghame North	54.48
East Kilbride	54.48
Ochil	54.65
Ross, Skye and Inverness West	54.67
Kilmarnock and Loudoun	55.06
Edinburgh East and Musselburgh	55.45
Dumbarton	55.80
Inverness East, Nairn and Lochaber	55.81
Clydebank and Milngavie	55.94
Perth	56.21
East Lothian	56.32
Ayr	56.39
Shetland	56.39
Tweeddale, Ettrick and Lauderdale	56.75
Tayside North	56.81
Edinburgh South	57.11
Galloway and Upper Nithsdale	57.95
Argyll and Bute	58.98
Renfrewshire West	59.44
Edinburgh West	59.64
Edinburgh Pentlands	60.24
Strathkelvin and Bearsden	61.02
Western Isles	61.25
Stirling	61.79
Eastwood	63.17

Glasgow has by far the poorest turnout, especially in its most deprived East End constituencies like Baillieston, Shettleston, and Springburn.

After three elections, it is now possible to see a trend developing where the turnout for the Parliament is lower than for General Elections, symbolising in the process the slightly ambiguous status of the Scottish Parliament – neither central nor local government, although intrinsically linked to the latter due to the timing of polling day.

Nevertheless, turnout remains significantly better than that for Welsh Assembly elections where it has not yet risen above 50% since power was devolved to Cardiff.

Invalid votes

Unfortunately, one of the most significant features of the 2007 Scottish Parliament election was the large number of rejected ballot papers – some 3.5 per cent (total) were eventually invalidated – partly contributing to the low valid turnout described above.

Rates of spoilage in the 2007 elections

Definitions of comparable areas:

Glasgow East: Baillieston, Shettleston, Springburn for Parliament; Wards 9 and 17 to 21 for local government.

Glasgow West: Anniesland, Kelvin, Maryhill for Parliament; Wards 10 to 16 for local government.

Glasgow South: Cathcart, Govan, Pollok; Wards 1 to 8 for local government.

Greenock and Inverclyde: Parliament constituency; Inverclyde council wards 2 to 6.

Paisley and Renfrewshire: Paisley North, Paisley South, West Renfrewshire for Parliament; Renfrewshire council area plus ward 1 of Inverclyde council.

Caithness, Sutherland and Easter Ross constituency; Highland council wards 1 to 5, 7 and 8.

Ross, Skye and Inverness West constituency; Highland council wards 6 and 9 to 14.

Inverness East, Nairn and Lochaber constituency; Highland council wards 15 to 22.

Midlothian and Borders: Midlothian, Roxburgh and Berwickshire, Tweeddale, Ettrick and Lauderdale; Midlothian and Scottish Borders councils.

The Electoral Commission has launched an inquiry into, among other issues with this election, the number of rejected ballots. It is still too early to say definitively what the causes were, especially when access to the ballot papers is restricted. However, it is likely to have been the result of the **combination** of a number of different **changes** made to the voting process **simultaneously**:

■ First, the most obvious source of confusion is linked to the decision to merge the two

ballot papers onto one single sheet of paper. While this is established practice in New Zealand and Germany, and recommended by the Arbuthnott Commission (the body set up to simplify Scotland's complex array of different voting systems), as applied in Scotland it did not sufficiently convey the fact that the voter had two distinct choices. This was especially the case when, after 1999 and 2003, Scottish voters had started to grow used to having two separate votes, and were aware that if they so wished, they could actually choose only to use one.

- Second, using two different systems on the same day almost certainly contributed towards the confusion (especially when it was the first time one had been used). One of the key recommendations of Arbuthnott was to hold elections for Holyrood and local authorities on different dates, but this advice was ignored (in contrast to Wales, where it was one of the few recommendations of the Sunderland Commission to be implemented). While voters have shown that they can easily understand the concept of the single transferable vote (at 1.85 per cent, the proportion of rejected ballots for the local elections was significantly lower), it would be wrong not to acknowledge that using two different voting systems (when one is new, and one has been changed) on the same day was a factor.

- Third, the rules about how parties presented themselves on the ballot were also arguably too broad, e.g. the SNP decided to label themselves 'Alex Salmond for First Minister' on regional lists, allowing the party to appear at the top of the ballot in all of the regions apart from the Lothians due to alphabetical order. This is not the fault of the Electoral Commission, or Arbuthnott, but the parties themselves, who agreed that this practice should be allowed to depart from their legal, registered name. It is hugely debatable

whether the ballot paper is the place for campaigning or sloganising and it is likely some voters had difficulty finding the party they favoured. The fact that almost all parties have the rather unnecessary prefix 'Scottish' before their name does not aid clarity either.

- Fourth, the rejected ballot rates were particularly bad in Glasgow and Lothians where the arrows telling voters where to mark their cross had to be removed from the top of the ballots in order to create space for the electronic machines to read them (yet another **new** feature introduced for the **first** time in 2007). The fact that these areas include voters with relatively lower levels of education was especially unfortunate.

Other problems included postal votes being delayed or wrongly delivered before the election, and hitches with the electronic machines forcing some counts to stop and recommence the next day – giving rise to negative media coverage which influenced voters' perceptions of the election 'going wrong'.

Nevertheless, it is important to be clear that there is no serious question of the overall result being invalidated – for example, it is likely that often, it is the same person whose vote has been invalidated twice. 3.5 per cent does not refer to the number of voters but the number of ballot papers. A final point which needs to be made cautiously, but is nevertheless important, is that the total number of invalid votes still does not come anywhere the number that would have effectively been thrown aside if First-Past-the–Post had been used to elect MSPs. That such a large number of Scottish voters were disenfranchised is clearly not acceptable but neither is the situation which exists under FPTP where only a handful of marginal seats and votes decide the results of elections.

Using the Additional Member voting system

While AMS unquestionably irons out much of the disproportionality of First-Past-the-Post, from the individual voter's perspective, some of the problems associated with a majoritarian system of voting remain.

For example, tactical voting in FPTP systems (the concept of voting for the candidate you dislike the least) is made redundant under proportional representation systems like STV, but not under AMS. In many constituencies, voters had to choose between the candidates of the two leading parties to avoid their votes being wasted – it remains pointless to vote Conservative in Glasgow Shettleston or Labour in Roxburgh and Berwickshire.

Linked to this, the success of the Greens in 2003 and then subsequent demise in 2007 is also worth noting here. The party cannot afford to stand candidates in constituencies – or realistically hope to win substantial representation at that level – so is forced to stand candidates on the list and get them elected by asking people to consider giving them their 'second' vote. It worked extremely well in 2003 when perhaps Labour and SNP voters were feeling 'generous' but failed in 2007, when voters for the main parties knew every vote counted.

Much of this can be contrasted with the introduction of STV, and the simple ranking of candidates, which seems to have been easily grasped by voters in the Scottish local government elections. The following table illustrates the number of preferences used by voters in Glasgow and West Lothian local authority areas.

While some voters chose only a single candidate (as they are entitled), the vast majority (86.2 per cent in West Lothian, 76.3 per cent in Glasgow) took the opportunity of recording more than one preference:

% of voters recording…	Glasgow	West Lothian
One preference and no more	23.7	13.8
Two preferences and no more	18.7	33.4
Three preferences and no more	29.0	23.7
Four preferences and no more	15.2	14.9
Five or more preferences	13.4	14.1

The fairness of the result

Proportionality

It is important to stress the Additional Member System of voting produces a much fairer outcome than any First-Past-The-Post result. If FPTP was used to elect MSPs, Labour would have won 37 out of the 73 seats in 2007 (50.1 per cent of all the seats), enjoyed a single seat majority over all the other parties combined, and had 16 more MSPs than the SNP, despite the percentage share figures already mentioned. The table below also illustrates how the Conservatives would have missed out on a significant amount of representation:

	Number of FPTP seats	% of FPTP seats	% of votes
Con	4	5.5	16.6
Lab	37	50.9	32.2
Lib Dem	11	15.1	16.2
SNP	21	28.8	32.9
Greens	0	0	0.2
Socialists	0	0	0
Others	0	0	1.7

Representing the voters

The FPTP element to AMS also has an impact on the way Scottish voters are ultimately represented. Voters have the right to be represented by the people they have voted for – assuming that person gets a sufficient quota of votes. Elections should not just produce proportional results but also representative results.

The 2007 election campaign cannot be described as truly 'national'. Parties continued to 'target' the constituencies they felt were most important e.g. Aberdeen Central, Glasgow Govan, Livingston, Tweeddale, Ettrick & Laud-

erdale and other seats like Gordon where Alex Salmond made his successful attempt to get back into the Parliament. This must lead many of the voters in Scotland's 73 'safer' constituencies to feel that their vote counts less. Parties should not have to prioritise which areas they campaign in, in order to get elected.

In the Shettleston constituency in the East End of Glasgow, the Labour Party can always expect to be elected, taking voters for granted. For many residents of Shettleston, the election simply passed them by.

Not only does this mean that voters in Shettleston do not get a chance to engage in politics, it also potentially means that policy-making is negatively influenced. The East End of Glasgow is neglected by politicians of all parties because there are not sufficient votes to be won or lost one way or the other.

In addition to the problems associated with 'safe seats', there are also still large numbers of Scottish voters who do not enjoy a representation of their views – for example, if you voted Labour in Falkirk West (as 11,292 did), you have nobody to represent your views: your MSP is SNP, and there are no Labour List MSPs in the whole of Central Scotland, despite large numbers of Labour voters – 112, 596, in fact, in the regional vote.

Region	Number of constituencies where voters have no representation (with relevant party in brackets)
Central	2 (Labour)
Glasgow	1 (Labour)
Highlands and Islands	4 (Liberal Democrats)
Lothians	7 (Liberal Democrats)
Mid Scotland and Fife	7 (Liberal Democrats)
North-East	0
South	3 (Labour)
West	1 (Labour)

The 'dual' nature of AMS creates additional representation issues around the perception of the relative status of regional and constituency MSPs. Having two types of MSP is not only an unnecessary complication for the voter, it also fuels a 'them and us' mentality among MSPs themselves, with the constituency MSPs in particular seeing the regional MSPs as somehow 'second class'. This is exacerbated by the fact that most of the regional list MSPs elected in 2007 – and indeed, in the two previous elections – also stood for, and failed to win, First-Past-the-Post constituencies, usually within the region they now represent. This fuels a perception among some of an element of unfairness in AMS, despite the fact this is the very element of AMS that makes it a fairer system – the top-up lists. Achieving proportionality without resorting to top-up lists would alleviate these concerns, as well as providing a simpler representative structure for voters to understand.

Fair representation – gender, ethnicity and age

Women

The number of women returned to the Scottish Parliament following the election on 3 May 2007 was 43 – eight fewer than the number returned in 2003. It represents a drop in women's representation from 39.5% to 33.3%: a step backwards despite the Parliament's good track record on gender.

2003 Scottish Parliament Election

Party	Women	Men	Total % Women
Conservative	4	14	22.2
Labour	28	22	56.0
Liberal Democrats	2	15	11.8
Scottish National Party	9	18	33.3
Others	8	9	47.1
Total	51	78	39.5

2007 Scottish Parliament Election

Party	Women	Men	Total % Women
Conservative	5	12	29.4
Labour	23	23	50.0
Liberal Democrat	2	14	12.5
Scottish National Party	12	35	25.5
Others	1	2	33.3
Total	43	86	33.3

The change is the result of a combination of factors. Labour, as the party with the highest proportion of women, lost seats and its sitting women were slightly more likely to lose out than male incumbents. The SNP did not maintain its previous level of women's representation as it won significantly more seats. The Liberal Democrats failed to make progress on women's representation. The Conservatives increased their number of women by one. Plus the collapse of the socialist parties and decline of the Greens, parties with small numbers of seats previously but a good ratio of women to men, accounted for the loss of six women.

Constituencies and Lists in 2007

Party	Constituency		Regional lists		Total % Women
	Women	Men	Women	Men	
Con	0	4	5	8	29.4
Lab	20	17	3	6	50.0
LD	1	10	1	4	12.5
SNP	5	16	7	19	25.5
Other	0	0	1	2	33.3
Total	26	47	17	39	33.3

As in the last election, a higher proportion of women were returned for local constituencies than on the regional lists. Evidence from other countries using the Additional Member System suggests that the Scotland Parliament and the Welsh Assembly are unusual in this pattern. Pippa Norris, in her academic text *Electoral Engineering* (Cambridge University Press, 2004) notes that in Germany, New Zealand and Hungary, all of which use AMS, women are more likely to be elected on the party lists than in constituencies. In Scotland, unlike most examples of AMS, one party does significantly better in the constituency contests while all others do better on the lists and this distorts the relationship between seat type and women's representation. This is compounded by the fact that the party which succeeds in the constituencies, namely Labour, has had most success at using equality guarantees to select more women.

While it is true to say that Labour *women* do better in constituency seats than in regional seats, the table below shows that among non-Labour parties, women do significantly better on the regional lists.

In Labour seats, we see the continuing impact of their positive action policies: many of their sitting MSPs were first selected under the twinning scheme used in 1999 though the practice has since been shelved. It is worth noting that the party's new intake did not replicate the excellent gender balance of incumbents. Of Labour's seven MSPs elected for the first time, only one was a woman (or two women out of nine if those returning to the Parliament after a term out are counted).

All five of the Conservative's female MSPs were returned for the regions (a rate of 38.5 per cent

	Party Constituency			Regional Lists		
	Women	Men	%Women	Women	Men	% Women
Lab	20	17	54.1	3	6	33.3
Non-Labour	6	30	16.7	14	33	29.8
Total	26	47	35.6	17	39	30.1

among their regional MSPs) and no women were among the four MSPs who won constituency seats. Mary Scanlon regained a seat, after resigning to contest a constituency by-election in 2006. Elizabeth Smith, who was the second-placed candidate on their Mid Scotland and Fife list, won a seat for the first time.

The SNP has seven list women MSPs (26.9 per cent) and five women representing constituencies (23.8 per cent). Overall, the proportion of women in their parliamentary team has slipped from a third to just over a quarter. In gender terms, the SNP gains amounted to a net increase of three women and 17 men. The SNP did put forward other women in its target seats, but a number missed out on election.

The Liberal Democrats have just two women: one elected for a constituency (Margaret Smith in Edinburgh West) and one elected from a regional list (Alison McInnes for the North East). Incumbent Nora Radcliffe lost out to Alex Salmond in Gordon. The party remains the worst of the major players in Scotland for women's representation, with just 12.5 per cent women in their parliamentary team.

The four female MSPs representing socialist parties were not returned. The Greens were also squeezed at the polls, and only two of their incumbents were returned, both men. Independent Jean Turner lost out as Labour made its one constituency gain of the evening: their male candidate, David Whitton, was the winner. Margo MacDonald, also Independent, was re-elected on the Lothians list despite a reduced vote share.

BME representation

The election of the first BME MSP, Bashir Ahmad, as a list SNP MSP in Glasgow is to be welcomed but Holyrood remains an overwhelmingly white chamber.

Age

The table below outlines the age characteristics of the 129 MSPs elected to serve at Holyrood on 3 May 2007:

Age range	Number of MSPs
18-35	12
36-50	57
51-65	55
66+	5

The average age of elected members was 49.5 years old.

The youngest MSP elected to serve at Holyrood was Aileen Campbell (SNP – South of Scotland Region). At 26 she was elected at a younger age than Derek Brownlee (Conservative – South of Scotland), the youngest MSP during the previous session (2003-2007). However she was marginally older than the youngest MSP elected in Session 1 (1999-2003), Duncan Hamilton, also of the SNP (Highlands and Islands).

The 12 MSPs who were 35 years of age or younger at the 2007 election were:

Name of MSP	Party
Alasdair Allan	SNP
Richard Baker	Labour
Gavin Brown	Conservative
Derek Brownlee	Conservative
Aileen Campbell	SNP
Nigel Don	SNP
Patrick Harvie	Green
Jamie Hepburn	SNP
John Lamont	Conservative
Stuart Macmillan	SNP
Jon Park	Labour
Jeremy Purvis	Liberal Democrats

Moving to the other end of the age spectrum, five MSPs of 66 years of age and above were returned to Holyrood in 2007. They were:

Name of MSP	Party
Bashir Ahmad	SNP
Trish Godman	Labour
Robin Harper	Green
Ian McKee	SNP
John Farquhar Munro	Liberal Democrats

As regards the average age of MSPs within the four main parties there is little to separate them:

Party	Average age of MSPs
SNP	49
Labour	49
Conservatives	50
Liberal Democrats	50

With respect to age and the leaders of the four main political parties, a slightly more diverse picture emerges:

Party	Leader Age
Alex Salmond (SNP)	52
Jack McConnell (Labour)	46
Annabel Goldie (Conservatives)	57
Nicol Stephen (Liberal Democrats)	47

A sense of proportion

Improvements to the system

Using a system of proportional representation to elect MSPs is very much in keeping with the four founding principles of the devolution settlement – the sharing of power, accountability, openness and equal opportunities. If the First-Past-the-Post system of voting that is used to elect MPs at Westminster had also been introduced to Holyrood, the hopes and aspirations of those who wanted to see a 'new' politics for Scotland would have been immediately dashed. AMS produces a broadly proportional Parliament, representative of the votes of the people of Scotland – something the ERS strongly supports.

Developing this semi-proportional system into a fully proportional system of STV would fulfill those founding aspirations of devolution even further:

Turnout

There would be no more safe seats like Glasgow Shettleston where no party seriously campaigns because there is no point in doing so. Under STV, there are neither any 'safe' nor any 'hopeless' seats. STV gives parties and candidates an incentive to campaign for every vote.

Invalid votes

Making the voting systems for local and Scottish Parliament both STV would simplify the voting procedure in four years time and help reduce voter confusion. Scottish voters have shown that using STV is not problematic for them.

Using the voting system

The need for tactical voting as a 'least worst option' would disappear entirely. STV can engender positive politics among both politicians and votes themselves.

Representing the voters

STV would give parties the incentive to broaden their appeal to as many voters as possible, and the Parliament as a whole would become even more representative of the people of Scotland.

The Electoral Reform Society recognises the advantages that the Additional Member System of voting has over the First-Past-the-Post system still used for elections to Westminster. However, there remain too many issues created by the system, to make it the best choice for electing the Scottish Parliament.

We support the Scottish Parliament's founding principles of sharing power, accountability, openness and equal opportunities. We also believe that the Scottish electorate deserve fair representation and a system that gives them the power to deliver the representatives of their choice.
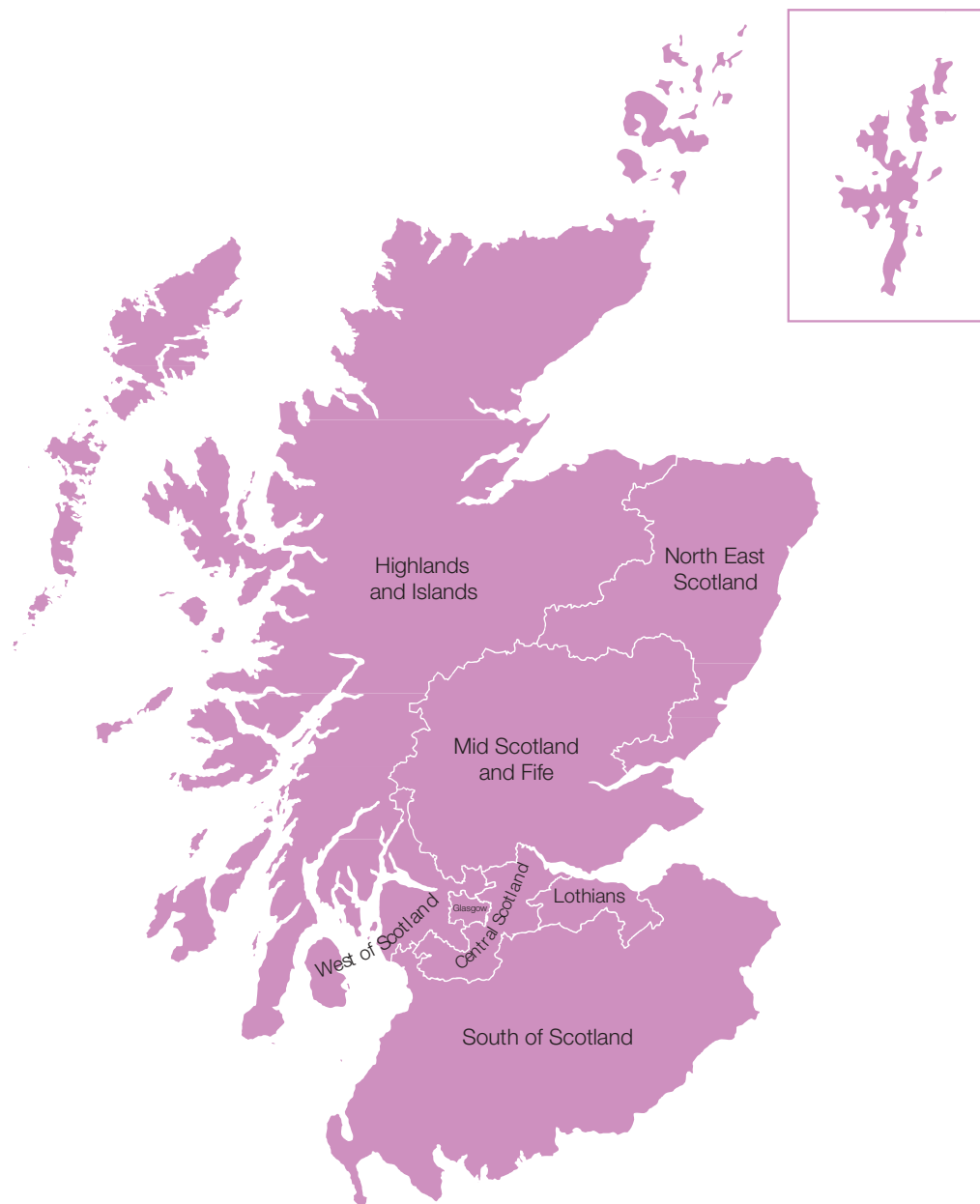
To achieve these aims, the Electoral Reform Society recommends that the voting system for the Scottish Parliament should be changed to the Single Transferable Vote. ■

Appendices

2007 constituency map

1. Aberdeen Central
2. Aberdeen North
3. Aberdeen South
4. Airdrie and Shotts
5. Angus
6. Argyll & Bute
7. Ayr
8. Banff & Buchan
9. Caithness, Sutherland & Easter Ross
10. Carrick, Cumnock & Doon Valley
11. Central Fife
12. Clydebank & Milngavie
13. Clydesdale
14. Coatbridge & Chryston
15. Cumbernauld & Kilsyth
16. Cunninghame North
17. Cunninghame South
18. Dumbarton
19. Dumfries
20. Dundee East
21. Dundee West
22. Dunfermline East
23. Dunfermline West
24. East Kilbride
25. East Lothian
26. Eastwood
27. Edinburgh Central
28. Edinburgh East & Musselburgh
29. Edinburgh North & Leith
30. Edinburgh Pentlands
31. Edinburgh South
32. Edinburgh West
33. Falkirk East
34. Falkirk West
35. Galloway & Upper Nithsdale
36. Glasgow Anniesland
37. Glasgow Baillieston
38. Glasgow Cathcart
39. Glasgow Govan
40. Glasgow Kelvin
41. Glasgow Maryhill
42. Glasgow Pollok
43. Glasgow Rutherglen
44. Glasgow Shettleston
45. Glasgow Springburn
46. Gordon
47. Greenock & Inverclyde
48. Hamilton North & Bellshill
49. Hamilton South
50. Inverness East, Nairn & Lochaber
51. Kilmarnock & Loudoun
52. Kirkcaldy
53. Linlithgow
54. Livingston
55. Midlothian
56. Moray
57. Motherwell & Wishaw
58. North East Fife
59. North Tayside
60. Ochil
61. Orkney
62. Paisley North
63. Paisley South
64. Perth
65. Ross, Skye & Inverness West
66. Roxburgh & Berwickshire
67. Shetland
68. Stirling
69. Strathkelvin & Bearsden
70. Tweeddale, Ettrick & Lauderdale
71. West Aberdeenshire & Kincardine
72. West Renfrewshire
73. Western Isles

Edinburgh

Glasgow

2007 regional map

Highlands
and Islands

North East
Scotland

Mid Scotland
and Fife

West of Scotland

Glasgow

Central Scotland

Lothians

South of Scotland
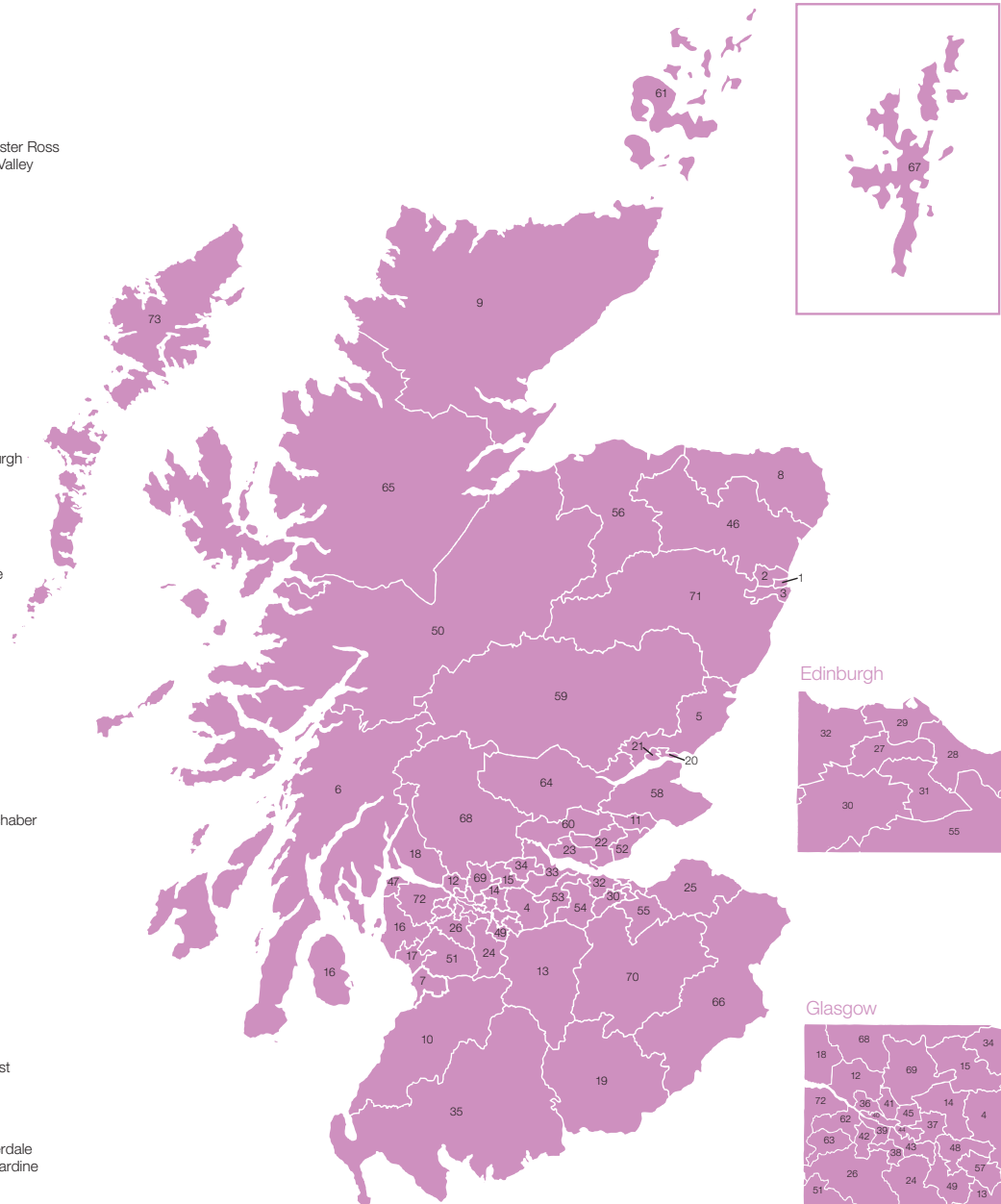
Appendix I

Winning parties
grouped by Scottish Parliament regions

Central	1999	2003	2007
Airdrie and Shotts	Labour	Labour	Labour
Coatbridge and Chryston	Labour	Labour	Labour
Cumbernauld and Kilsyth	Labour	Labour	Labour
East Kilbride	Labour	Labour	Labour
Falkirk East	Labour	Labour	Labour
Falkirk West	Independent	Independent	SNP
Hamilton North and Bellshill	Labour	Labour	Labour
Hamilton South	Labour	Labour	Labour
Kilmarnock and Loudoun	Labour	Labour	SNP
Motherwell and Wishaw	Labour	Labour	Labour
Regional list	Conservative	Conservative	Conservative
Regional list	Lib Dem	Lib Dem	Lib Dem
Regional list	SNP	SNP	SNP
Regional list	SNP	SNP	SNP
Regional list	SNP	SNP	SNP
Regional list	SNP	SSP	SNP
Regional list	SNP	SSCU	SNP

Glasgow	1999	2003	2007
Glasgow Anniesland	Labour	Labour	Labour
Glasgow Baillieston	Labour	Labour	Labour
Glasgow Cathcart	Labour	Labour	Labour
Glasgow Govan	Labour	Labour	SNP
Glasgow Kelvin	Labour	Labour	Labour
Glasgow Maryhill	Labour	Labour	Labour
Glasgow Pollok	Labour	Labour	Labour
Glasgow Rutherglen	Labour	Labour	Labour
Glasgow Shettleston	Labour	Labour	Labour
Glasgow Springburn	Labour	Labour	Labour
Regional list	Conservative	Conservative	Conservative
Regional list	Lib Dem	Lib Dem	Lib Dem
Regional list	SNP	SNP	SNP
Regional list	SNP	SNP	SNP
Regional list	SNP	Green	SNP
Regional list	SNP	SSP	SNP
Regional list	SSP	SSP	Green

Highlands and Islands	1999	2003	2007
Argyll and Bute	Lib Dem	Lib Dem	SNP
Caithness, Sutherland and Easter Ross	Lib Dem	Lib Dem	Lib Dem
Inverness East, Nairn and Lochaber	SNP	SNP	SNP
Moray	SNP	SNP	SNP
Orkney	Lib Dem	Lib Dem	Lib Dem
Ross, Skye and Inverness West	Lib Dem	Lib Dem	Lib Dem
Shetland	Lib Dem	Lib Dem	Lib Dem
Western Isles	Labour	Labour	SNP
Regional list	Conservative	Conservative	Conservative
Regional list	Conservative	Conservative	Conservative
Regional list	Labour	Labour	Labour
Regional list	Labour	Labour	Labour
Regional list	Labour	SNP	Labour
Regional list	SNP	SNP	SNP
Regional list	SNP	Green	SNP

Lothians	1999	2003	2007
Edinburgh Central	Labour	Labour	Labour
Edinburgh East and Musselburgh	Labour	Labour	SNP
Edinburgh North and Leith	Labour	Labour	Labour
Edinburgh Pentlands	Labour	Conservative	Conservative
Edinburgh South	Labour	Lib Dem	Lib Dem
Edinburgh West	Lib Dem	Lib Dem	Lib Dem
Linlithgow	Labour	Labour	Labour
Livingston	Labour	Labour	SNP
Midlothian	Labour	Labour	Labour
Regional list	Conservative	Conservative	Conservative
Regional list	Conservative	SNP	Labour
Regional list	Lib Dem	SNP	SNP
Regional list	SNP	Green	SNP
Regional list	SNP	Green	SNP
Regional list	SNP	SSP	Green
Regional list	Green	Independent	Independent

Mid Scotland and Fife	1999	2003	2007
Dunfermline East	Labour	Labour	Labour
Dunfermline West	Labour	Labour	Lib Dem
Fife Central	Labour	Labour	SNP
Fife North East	Lib Dem	Lib Dem	Lib Dem
Kirkcaldy	Labour	Labour	Labour
Ochil	Labour	SNP	SNP
Perth	SNP	SNP	SNP
Stirling	Labour	Labour	SNP
Tayside North	SNP	SNP	SNP
Regional list	Conservative	Conservative	Conservative
Regional list	Conservative	Conservative	Conservative
Regional list	Conservative	Conservative	Conservative
Regional list	Lib Dem	Lib Dem	Labour
Regional list	SNP	SNP	Labour
Regional list	SNP	SNP	Labour
Regional list	SNP	Green	SNP

North-East	1999	2003	2007
Aberdeen Central	Labour	Labour	Labour
Aberdeen North	Labour	SNP	SNP
Aberdeen South	Lib Dem	Lib Dem	Lib Dem
Angus	SNP	SNP	SNP
Banff and Buchan	SNP	SNP	SNP
Dundee East	Labour	SNP	SNP
Dundee West	Labour	Labour	SNP
Gordon	Lib Dem	Lib Dem	SNP
West Aberdeenshire and Kincardine	Lib Dem	Lib Dem	Lib Dem
Regional list	Conservative	Conservative	Conservative
Regional list	Conservative	Conservative	Conservative
Regional list	Conservative	Conservative	Labour
Regional list	SNP	Labour	Labour
Regional list	SNP	Labour	Lib Dem
Regional list	SNP	SNP	SNP
Regional list	SNP	Green	SNP

South	1999	2003	2007
Ayr	Labour	Conservative	Conservative
Carrick, Cumnock and Doon Valley	Labour	Labour	Labour
Clydesdale	Labour	Labour	Labour
Cunninghame South	Labour	Labour	Labour
Dumfries	Labour	Labour	Labour
East Lothian	Labour	Labour	Labour
Galloway and Upper Nithsdale	SNP	Conservative	Conservative
Roxburgh and Berwickshire	Lib Dem	Lib Dem	Conservative
Tweeddale, Ettrick and Lauderdale	Lib Dem	Lib Dem	Lib Dem
Regional list	SNP	SNP	SNP
Regional list	SNP	SNP	SNP
Regional list	SNP	SNP	SNP
Regional list	Conservative	Conservative	SNP
Regional list	Conservative	Conservative	SNP
Regional list	Conservative	Green	Conservative
Regional list	Conservative	SSP	Lib Dem

West	1999	2003	2007
Clydebank and Milngavie	Labour	Labour	Labour
Cunninghame North	Labour	Labour	SNP
Dumbarton	Labour	Labour	Labour
Eastwood	Labour	Labour	Labour
Greenock and Inverclyde	Labour	Labour	Labour
Paisley North	Labour	Labour	Labour
Paisley South	Labour	Labour	Labour
Strathkelvin and Bearsden	Labour	Independent	Labour
West Renfrewshire	Labour	Labour	Labour
Regional list	SNP	SNP	SNP
Regional list	SNP	SNP	SNP
Regional list	SNP	SNP	SNP
Regional list	SNP	Conservative	SNP
Regional list	Conservative	Conservative	Conservative
Regional list	Conservative	Lib Dem	Conservative
Regional list	Lib Dem	SSP	Lib Dem

Appendix II

Winning parties
in Scottish Parliament constituency contests

	1999	2003	2007
Aberdeen Central	Labour	Labour	Labour
Aberdeen North	Labour	SNP	SNP
Aberdeen South	Lib Dem	Lib Dem	Lib Dem
West Aberdeenshire and Kincardine	Lib Dem	Lib Dem	Lib Dem
Airdrie and Shotts	Labour	Labour	Labour
Angus	SNP	SNP	SNP
Argyll and Bute	Lib Dem	Lib Dem	SNP
Ayr	Labour	Conservative	Conservative
Banff and Buchan	SNP	SNP	SNP
Caithness Sutherland and Easter Ross	Lib Dem	Lib Dem	Lib Dem
Carrick Cumnock and Doon Valley	Labour	Labour	Labour
Clydebank and Milngavie	Labour	Labour	Labour
Clydesdale	Labour	Labour	Labour
Coatbridge and Chryston	Labour	Labour	Labour
Cumbernauld and Kilsyth	Labour	Labour	Labour
Cunninghame North	Labour	Labour	SNP
Cunninghame South	Labour	Labour	Labour
Dumbarton	Labour	Labour	Labour
Dumfries	Labour	Labour	Labour
Dundee East	Labour	SNP	SNP
Dundee West	Labour	Labour	SNP
Dunfermline East	Labour	Labour	Labour
Dunfermline West	Labour	Labour	Lib Dem
East Kilbride	Labour	Labour	Labour
East Lothian	Labour	Labour	Labour
Eastwood	Labour	Labour	Labour
Edinburgh Central	Labour	Labour	Labour
Edinburgh East and Musselburgh	Labour	Labour	SNP
Edinburgh North and Leith	Labour	Labour	Labour
Edinburgh Pentlands	Labour	Conservative	Conservative
Edinburgh South	Labour	Lib Dem	Lib Dem
Edinburgh West	Lib Dem	Lib Dem	Lib Dem
Falkirk East	Labour	Labour	Labour
Falkirk West	Independent	Independent	SNP
Fife Central	Labour	Labour	SNP
Fife North East	Lib Dem	Lib Dem	Lib Dem

Galloway and Upper Nithsdale	SNP	Conservative	Conservative
Glasgow Anniesland	Labour	Labour	Labour
Glasgow Baillieston	Labour	Labour	Labour
Glasgow Cathcart	Labour	Labour	Labour
Glasgow Govan	Labour	Labour	SNP
Glasgow Kelvin	Labour	Labour	Labour
Glasgow Maryhill	Labour	Labour	Labour
Glasgow Pollok	Labour	Labour	Labour
Glasgow Rutherglen	Labour	Labour	Labour
Glasgow Shettleston	Labour	Labour	Labour
Glasgow Springburn	Labour	Labour	Labour
Gordon	Lib Dem	Lib Dem	SNP
Greenock and Inverclyde	Labour	Labour	Labour
Hamilton North and Bellshill	Labour	Labour	Labour
Hamilton South	Labour	Labour	Labour
Inverness East, Nairn and Lochaber	SNP	SNP	SNP
Kilmarnock and Loudoun	Labour	Labour	SNP
Kirkcaldy	Labour	Labour	Labour
Linlithgow	Labour	Labour	Labour
Livingston	Labour	Labour	SNP
Midlothian	Labour	Labour	Labour
Moray	SNP	SNP	SNP
Motherwell and Wishaw	Labour	Labour	Labour
Ochil	Labour	SNP	SNP
Orkney	Lib Dem	Lib Dem	Lib Dem
Paisley North	Labour	Labour	Labour
Paisley South	Labour	Labour	Labour
Perth	SNP	SNP	SNP
Renfrewshire West	Labour	Labour	Labour
Ross Skye and Inverness West	Lib Dem	Lib Dem	Lib Dem
Roxburgh and Berwickshire	Lib Dem	Lib Dem	Conservative
Shetland	Lib Dem	Lib Dem	Lib Dem
Stirling	Labour	Labour	SNP
Strathkelvin and Bearsden	Labour	Independent	Labour
Tayside North	SNP	SNP	SNP
Tweeddale, Etrrick and Lauderdale	Lib Dem	Lib Dem	Lib Dem
Western Isles	Labour	Labour	SNP

The Scottish Parliament Election
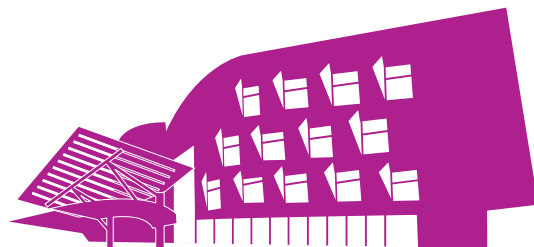
This report analyses the results of the 2007 Scottish Parliamentary Election. Part One looks at the outcome of the election, with a broad overview of the results and the new state of the political parties. Part Two focuses on the 'voting experience', looking at issues related to turnout, the number of rejected ballots, and the wider question of how people used the voting system. Part Three discusses the 'fairness' of the result, analysing the proportionality of the new Parliament, its capacity to represent the voters, and also issues related to gender, ethnicity and age. Finally, Part Four – entitled 'a sense of proportion' – discusses the way improvements could be made to Holyrood's voting system. Appendices at the end of report provide a summary of all the Scottish Parliament results since1999.

Report and Analysis