

**Fawcett**   
*Equality. It's about time.*

# SEX & POWER 2018

**HELEN JEWELL AND ANDREW BAZELEY,**  
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# FOREWORD



If Millicent Fawcett were alive today, I wonder what she'd think about how far we've come. I like to think she'd be pleased to be having a statue erected of her in Parliament Square (alongside Winston Churchill, no less, who strongly opposed female suffrage).

But how would she feel about the fact that it's been one hundred years since we defeated the lie that women are biologically incapable of voting, and only now do we get the first statue (out of twelve) of a woman in Parliament Square?

If she read the news, and saw how the world has been — and continues to be — rocked by lurid stories of what powerful men do to women, would she feel that we've lived up to the promise of the battle she spent

her whole life fighting? How would she feel to hear about the abuse — the rape threats, the death threats, the dissection of their bodies and clothes — to which women have to submit as a price for having their voices heard in public?

On reading the dismal figures outlined in this report would she reflect on this abuse — both physical and verbal — and reflect that perhaps, just maybe, formal, legal equality isn't enough? That after 100 years, if formal equality was all it took, maybe more than 32% of MPs and 26% of cabinet members would be women? That maybe we'd have at least one female metro mayor?

There are a few bright notes. For the first time, the shadow cabinet, at least, is gender equal. Between the 2015 and the 2017 elections, the proportion of female Lib Dem MPs jumped from 0% to 33%. Both of these achievements have come about as a result of explicit policies. They were not left to chance and the fact that, theoretically, equality was possible.

If we care about achieving real equality, we should take note. And we should also take note of history. The past hundred years for women have been momentous and have left us more liberated than ever before. But we've had to fight every step of the way. And we have to carry on fighting now.

The stage of the fight we're at now is more messy and nebulous than it used to be, when inequality was written plainly into law. For this stage of the fight we need data. Nothing can be improved if it can't be measured.

And we shouldn't be leaving it up to charities to monitor equality, not to mention on data that is riddled with gaps. A government that truly represents its people — all of us — should be collecting this data itself. And it should then act on it.

Finally, we have to stop pretending that the path to equality is out of our hands. Power is never given freely. Liberty is never achieved by chance. It is achieved by design. So let's start designing it.

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# ABOUT SEX AND POWER

The Sex and Power series was first published by the Equal Opportunities Commission fifteen years ago, then taken over by the Equality and Human Rights Commission for several years, and then for 5 years up to 2015 the 'Counting Women in Coalition' collected and collated data on women's representation across different areas of public life, from the corridors of power in Westminster, to the arts and media organisations that often determine how women are portrayed in our culture, to the world of business.

This report updates statistics collected in the previous Sex and Power reports, with a few additions. In the case of the House of Commons this updates the 2015 edition;<sup>1</sup> much of the rest of politics was covered in 2014;<sup>2</sup> and the wider decision-making world was last addressed in 2013.<sup>3</sup> Comparisons in this report make clear which year we are using as our baseline.

In 2018, the centenary year of (some) women first getting the vote in parliamentary elections, and to coincide with the first statue of a woman in Parliament Square, the Fawcett Society has now brought together a new edition of that Sex and Power dataset. It uses publicly available data, some newly collated and some drawing from existing work. One hundred years on from when the first women gained a say in how our country is run, it is an assessment of where we have made progress on representation – and where we have not. We have cited intersectional data where this is available but in most cases it is not collected across all protected characteristics and while making a judgement of sex across a large number of individuals is somewhat fraught with risk of error, doing so with ethnicity, disability or LGBT identity is even more so. There is an important role for Government and business to play in collecting and publishing intersectional data.

Report created by Helen Jewell and Andrew Bazeley

## SUMMARY

Women are still significantly under-represented in positions of power. This picture is changing but the pace of change remains far too slow. The inequality we find in the data is stark. It suggests that women are still being systematically excluded from the institutions which govern our public and political life and from the most powerful private sector corporations. Some women, for example, Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic (BAME) women, or disabled women, are even less likely to be represented.

It is the Fawcett Society's view that the case for quotas remains strong. The discrimination, harassment and structural barriers that women face are too prevalent to be overcome without a direct intervention of this kind. Some resist quotas, preferring targets. Whatever the mechanism, if we want to achieve the step change in progress that we need it is clear that we simply have to make it happen. We also need to open up senior roles by making them flexible by default, unless there is a good business reason for them not to be, and also by making more available part-time or on a job-share basis.

Figure 1 shows the collated sum of this data, and makes for depressing reading. In only two areas of public life identified were women equally represented (or close to it) – appointments to public bodies, and the Shadow Cabinet. Women also make up 74% of the top 20 magazine's editors. Otherwise, women remain at less than 45% representation across the board – and substantially below that proportion in many cases.

1 Centre for Women and Democracy (2015), *Sex & Power: Who Runs Britain? 2015*

2 Centre for Women and Democracy (2014) *Sex & Power 2014: Who Runs Britain?*

3 Tables as cited in Centre for Women and Democracy (2014), *Ibid.*

# PERCENTAGES OF WOMEN IN POWER

## PARLIAMENTS



**32%**  
House of Commons



**26%**  
House of Lords



**43%**  
National Assembly for Wales



**36%**  
Scottish Parliament



**30%**  
NI Assembly



**41%**  
European Parliament



**33%**  
Select Committee Chairs

## ... AND POLITICS



**26%**  
Cabinet Ministers



**33%**  
All Ministers



**23%**  
Cabinet Committees



**50%**  
Shadow Cabinet



**16%**  
Privy Council



**25%**  
Government Special Advisers



**24%**  
Think Tank Directors



**31%**  
Lobby Journalists

## LOCAL REPRESENTATIVES



**33%**  
Local Councillors (England and Wales)



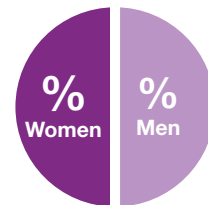
**18%**  
Police and Crime Commissioners



**0%**  
Metro Mayors



**40%**  
London Assembly



## PUBLIC SERVANTS



**31%**  
Civil Service Perm Secs



**40%**  
Senior Civil Service



**33%**  
Local Council Chief Executives



**49%**  
Public Appointments



**11%**  
Bank of England Monetary Policy Committee



**17%**  
Supreme Court Justices



**22%**  
High Court Judges

## EDUCATION AND HEALTH



**26%**  
University Vice-Chancellors



**38%**  
Secondary Headteachers



**43%**  
NHS Trust CEOs



**18%**  
National Newspaper Editors



**21%**  
Regional Newspaper Editors



**74%**  
Magazine Editors



**16%**  
British Film Directors



**32%**  
Cast in British Films

## ARTS AND THE MEDIA

## BUSINESS



**6%**  
CEOs of FTSE 100 Companies



**28%**  
Directors of FTSE 100 Companies



**23%**  
LEP Board Members



**36%**  
Trade Union General Secretaries



**28%**  
Charity CEOs



**35%**  
Chairs of Professional Bodies



**30%**  
CEOs of Professional Bodies

## CHARITIES AND CIVIL SOCIETY

## SPORT



**15%**  
Sport Governing Body Chairs



**26%**  
Sport Governing Body CEOs



**22%**  
Museum and Gallery Chairs



**34%**  
Museum and Gallery Directors



**25%**  
Faces on Bank Notes



**5%**  
Statues (historical, non-royal)

## HISTORY



# PARLIAMENTS AND POLITICS

## The House of Commons

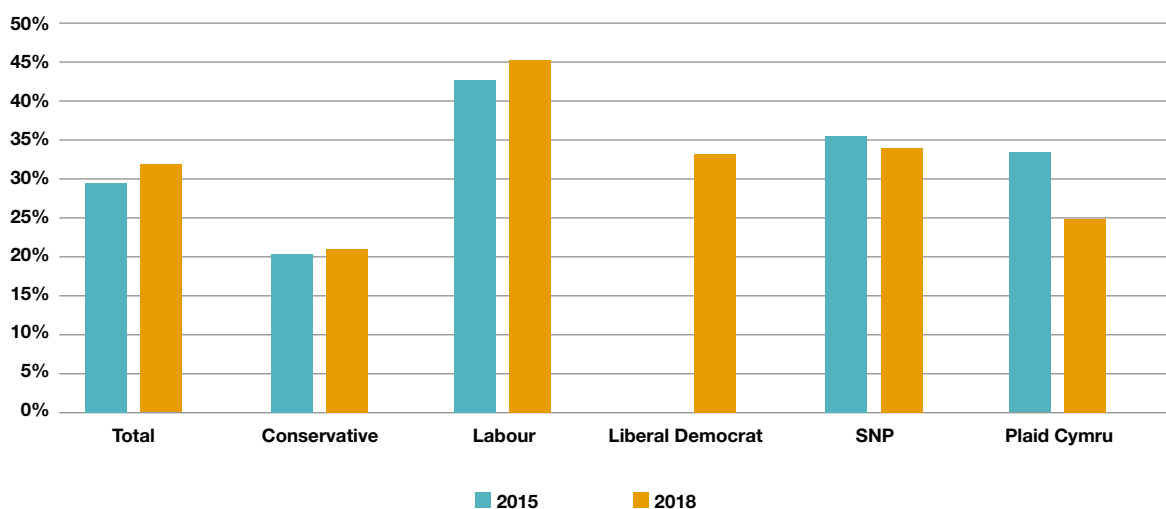
The Sex and Power reports last looked at the Commons following the 2015 elections, when we had seen a welcome 7% point increase in the proportion of women MPs against the previous election, and significant increases for most political parties.<sup>4</sup>

Since that report the snap 2017 election has seen electoral fortunes change, but very little change in women's representation in the House of Commons – although since 2016 we have, in Theresa May, had our second female Prime Minister. The number of women MPs crossed the 200 barrier for the first time with 208 women elected, but at 32.1% this represents just a 2.7% point increase on the proportion of parliamentarians who were women in 2015.

Looking at the different parties, as Figure 2 shows the Conservative Party, who remained the largest party, saw almost no change on the 2015 election, with a 0.5% point increase in women's representation up to 21.1%. Labour increased slightly from an already high base given their continued use of All Women Shortlists (AWS), with 45.4% women elected. Use of a quota system like this is effective at delivering gender equality, although there must be a continued focus on ensuring that women in all their diversity, including BAME, disabled and LGBT women, are represented.

The Scottish National Party saw a slight fall of 1.4% points, with 34.3% women elected while the Liberal Democrats returned 4 women to Parliament of their 12 MPs, as a result of their policy of filling all target seats, and seats where an incumbent MP was retiring, with women candidates, in response to their 0% women's representation in 2015. Plaid Cymru gained a seat, filled by a man, and therefore fell to 25% women MPs.

### Women in the House of Commons, by Party



<sup>4</sup> House of Commons (House of Commons Library, (2017) Women in Parliament and Government: Supporting tables; The Liberal Democrats saw a fall in 2015 as a result of losing all seven of their women MPs

These results came against different party backdrops in terms of selecting candidates. The Conservative Party slightly improved its performance from 26% women candidates to 29%, with the Liberal Democrats reporting the same figures. The Labour Party improved significantly from 34% to 41% and was the only party to achieve a higher proportion of women MPs than they had candidates, by successfully placing them in winnable seats.

Of the 208 women in Parliament, 26 have been identified by British Future<sup>5</sup> as being from a Black, Asian, or minority ethnic (BAME) background, which at 12.5% of the women elected is close to but still below the 14% of the population as a whole which identifies as BAME.<sup>6</sup> However, BAME women make up approximately 7% of the UK's total population – but just 4% of MPs. 19 BAME women sit on the Labour benches, 6 on the Conservative benches, and 1 on the Liberal Democrat benches.

There are believed to be two women MPs in the Commons who identify as disabled people – Labour's Marsha De Cordova MP and Marie Rimmer MP – which would mean a yawning gap of representation, as 16% of working age adults and 45% of adults over State Pension age say they have a limiting long term illness, impairment or disability.<sup>7</sup> But without collecting the data is it difficult to know. **That is why we have long argued that the Government should commence Section 106 of the Equality Act 2010, requiring political parties to collect and report candidate monitoring data so that we could have an accurate picture on the diversity of political candidates.**

## Select Committees

Within the House of Commons,<sup>8</sup> MPs sit on Select Committees, which have a specific remit to investigate in a particular area and report back to the House, with the Government obliged to provide a response. We looked at the chairs of select committees which mirror Government departments, as well as those with a policy focus.<sup>9</sup> Chairs of Select Committees are paid and often wield significant influence. We found that just 9 in 27, or 33.3% of those committees, are chaired by a woman.<sup>10</sup> This is an improvement on the figures for 2015, which saw 22% of Chair positions held by women. None of the women chairing committees are from BAME backgrounds.

## House of Lords

The unelected chamber of the Houses of Parliament, with 207 women out of 794 members, is just 26% female – meaning that in comparison with 2014, when the Sex and Power series last looked at the Lords, it has now fallen quite significantly behind the Commons. This is a change in the trend whereby the Lords and Commons were broadly on a par since 2003.<sup>11</sup> In 2014 23.5% of Peers were women, so overall we have seen just a 2.6% increase in the last 4 years. Given that the majority of peers are appointed, this is a trend that could be rectified simply.

5 British Future, '52 minority MPs to sit in 'most diverse UK Parliament ever'', accessed at <http://www.britishfuture.org/articles/52-minority-mps-to-sit-in-most-diverse-uk-parliament-ever/>

6 ONS (2012), Ethnicity and National Identity in England and Wales: 2011 accessed at <https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/culturalidentity/ethnicity/articles/ethnicityandnationalidentityinenglandandwales/2012-12-11>

7 <http://www.debbieabrahams.org.uk/2017/new-shadow-minister-for-disabled-people> and <https://commonslibrary.parliament.uk/parliament-and-elections/parliament/diversity-in-the-2017-parliament/>; data on prevalence from DWP/ODI (2014), 'Disability facts and figures', <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/disability-facts-and-figures/disability-facts-and-figures>

8 And within the Lords – this report looks solely at Commons committees.

9 I.e. the Public Accounts, Public Administration and Constitutional Affairs, Environmental Audit, European Scrutiny, Petitions, and Regulatory Reform committees. We did not include either temporary or parliamentary procedure-focussed committees, which have a somewhat different role.

10 List at <https://www.parliament.uk/business/committees/committees-a-z/commons-select/>, accessed January 2018

11 Centre for Women and Democracy (2013) *Sex and Power 2013: Who runs Britain?*

Performance varies between the different parties and groupings that are in the Lords. Labour have significantly worse women's representation than they do in the Commons, with just 32.3% women, and only a 2.2% increase since 2014, suggesting that their commitment to change in the Commons has not extended to the second chamber. The Conservatives have a greater proportion of women in the Lords than they do in the Commons, with 24.6% women and a 5.5% point increase since 2014. The Liberal Democrats have 34% women peers, which is up just 1.4% points on four years ago.

The Lords includes non-party-aligned Peers, or crossbenchers, whose votes often determine which amendments will be passed by the chamber. They remain overwhelmingly male, with just 22.5% women – as do the 24 'Lords Spiritual', the Church of England Bishops, of whom just 2 are female.

Analysis of the Lords by ethnicity and gender in 2014 found 16 BAME women Peers, which, if that level of representation persists, would mean that just 2% of Peers are BAME women. We are not aware of any data that has been collected on disability in the House of Lords.<sup>12</sup>

## Cabinet and Cabinet Committees

Staying within Westminster, just 6 of 23 Cabinet Ministers in Theresa May's government are women, or 26.1%. This is up slightly, from 23% in 2014. A number of senior women Ministers who do not have Cabinet Minister status attend Cabinet meetings – so the Prime Minister's top table is 34.5% female. This figure has seen a much greater rise since 2014 when it was just 22%.

This is slightly more than the proportion of ministerial roles at all levels which are filled by women, too. Of 131 different Ministerial and whip roles, including the Cabinet and Prime Minister, 43 are filled by women, so the proportion currently stands at 32.8%, a rise of 7.8% since 2014. There are currently no BAME or disabled women in Cabinet.

A less well-known element of our political system, but one that is vital to how we are governed, is the system of Cabinet Committees that "reduce the burden on Cabinet by enabling collective decisions to be taken by a smaller group of ministers"<sup>13</sup> – these decisions are then binding across government. Committees focus on specific topics, from National Security to Economic and Industrial Strategy. Within these Committees, as of January 2018 23.2% of these 271 positions were held by women<sup>14</sup> – up significantly from 2014, when women held just 14.1% of positions.

The Shadow Cabinet, the Official Opposition front-benchers who lead on scrutinizing their opposite numbers in Government Cabinet roles, are at present gender balanced, with 16 women and 16 men in post. That includes two women, Diane Abbott as Shadow Home Secretary and Emily Thornberry as Shadow Foreign Secretary, in 'great office of state' roles, and results from an explicit 50:50 policy at party leadership level.<sup>15</sup>

The Privy Council is, like the Cabinet Committees, a less well-known institution within the UK's Government, and is mostly made up of senior politicians who advise the Queen. It issues Orders-in-Council, a form of secondary legislation, and has a number of other residual functions. Its composition is overwhelmingly male, at just 15.5% women.<sup>16</sup>

12 Matthew Purvis (2014) *Membership of the House of Lords: Ethnicity, Religion and Disability*, House of Lords Library Note

13 <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/the-cabinet-committees-system-and-list-of-cabinet-committees>

14 <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/the-cabinet-committees-system-and-list-of-cabinet-committees#history>, accessed November 2017

15 <https://labour.org.uk/people/shadow-cabinet/>

16 <https://privycouncil.independent.gov.uk/privy-council/privy-council-members/privy-counsellors/> (accessed: 05/02/2018)



## Around Westminster

As well as the elected representatives within Westminster, Government Ministers' decision-making is supported by Special Advisers; public perception of it is influenced by reporting from Lobby Journalists; and both the detail and parameters of the debate are influenced to varying degrees by a range of "think tanks". Each of these remain male-dominated.

There were 87 Government Special Advisers (or SpAds) in post as of the latest data. Just 22 of them, or 25.3%, were women. This represents a significant fall on the 41% recorded in 2014, and suggests a real dearth of women advising the Government. The Prime Minister's office appoints the largest number of these SpAds, with 32 assigned to her department. Of these just 5 are women. The three other 'great offices of state' – the Home Department, Foreign Office, and Chancellor of the Exchequer – account for 11 further SpAds, of which only two are female.<sup>17</sup>

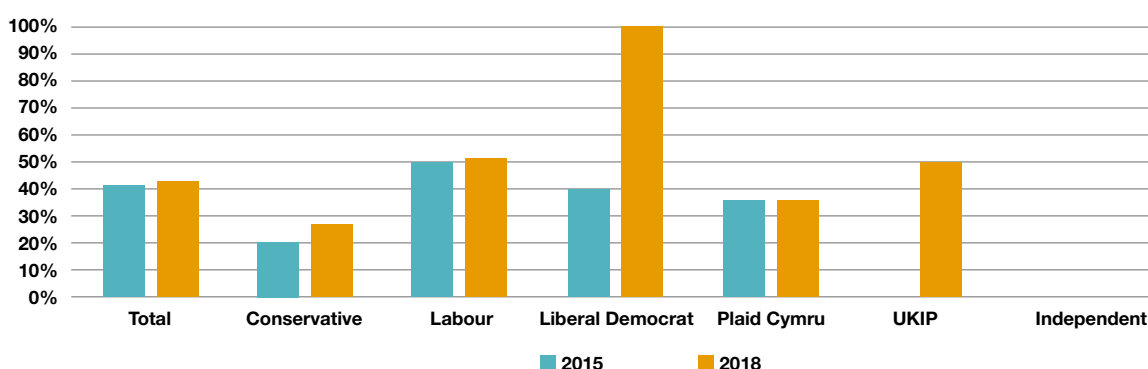
At the date of our data capture there were 410 journalists registered as holding a Lobby pass, meaning that they have special access to Members of Parliament in certain parts of the House of Commons. Of these, just 31.2% were women.<sup>18</sup> This represents an improvement since the data for Sex and Power 2014 was collected, when only 20.4% were women.

There are numerous "think tanks" working across the country on various issues, and we do not claim to have examined them exhaustively. Using a list of 120 maintained by Eddie Copeland,<sup>19</sup> we found that shockingly just 28, or 23.7%, had a women at their helm. This includes influential organisations such as the Nuffield Trust and The Institute for Government – but suggests that the wider world of policymaking may suffer from a deficit of female talent.

## National Assembly for Wales

The Welsh Assembly was the first legislature in the world to reach a 50:50 gender balance in 2003,<sup>20</sup> due to both the use of a proportional representation system and concerted positive action by the Labour Party within the newly-established institution. That progress has however not been maintained – in 2018 the Senedd was 43.3% female, up slightly from 41.6% women in 2014 following the 2016 elections.

### Women in the National Assembly for Wales, by Party



17 Cabinet Office, (2017) 'Special adviser data releases: numbers and costs, December 2017', accessed at <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/special-adviser-data-releases-numbers-and-costs-december-2017>

18 Register of Journalists' Interests [as at 14 December 2017], accessed at <https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm/cmjournal/journalists.htm>

19 <http://eddiecopeland.me/list-uk-think-tanks/>; data collected January 2018

20 At present only Rwanda and Bolivia are listed as having 50% or greater women's representation in the Inter-Parliamentary Union's rankings, accessed at <http://archive.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm>

Within that figure there are considerable party variations. As Figure 3 shows, Labour’s Assembly Members are a little over 50% female, up slightly from equal representation before the election. Conservative AMs are much more likely to be male, with 27.2% men in 2018 and only a 6.2% point increase over the election. Plaid Cymru, jointly the second largest party with the Conservatives at 11 AMs, have seen no progress at 36.4% women since 2015. The Liberal Democrats’ sole AM is a woman.<sup>21</sup>

There do not appear to be any BAME women in the Welsh Assembly, and only two BAME men.

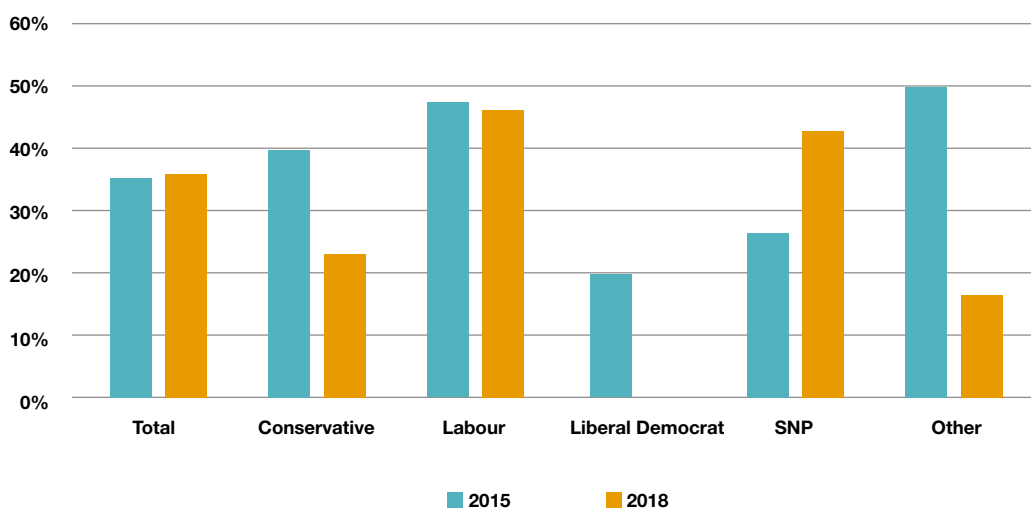
## Scottish Parliament

When Scotland went to the polls in 2016, for the first time all three of the largest parties’ leaders were women – Nicola Sturgeon, Ruth Davidson, and Kezia Dugdale. The election saw women’s representation remain exactly the same as it was in 2015, although a by-election in 2017 won by Rachael Hamilton for the Conservatives means that women now make up 35.7% of Members of the Scottish Parliament.<sup>22</sup>

That lack of change masks large variations by party, shown in Figure 4. The Scottish National Party has increased its women’s representation dramatically, increasing by 16.7% points to 43% as a result of for the first time adopting an all-women shortlists approach for seats with retiring MSPs. That this comes over the same period that the party has seen a slight reversal in its gender balance in Westminster, where quotas have not been used, demonstrates the positive impact that they have and makes a case for consistency.<sup>23</sup> Labour’s proportionate representation changed little despite losing many constituency seats. The Conservatives, unexpectedly according to many commentators, gained many seats and became the second largest party at Holyrood but did not elect any new women, resulting in a dramatic fall from 40% to 22.6% women’s representation.

There are only two BAME members of the 129 member Parliament,<sup>24</sup> and both are men.

### Women’s Representation in the Scottish Parliament, by Party



21 National Assembly website, accessed 11/4/2018

22 House of Commons Library, (2017) Women in Parliament and Government: Supporting tables

23 <https://www.holyrood.com/articles/inside-politics/analysis-representation-women-scottish-parliament>

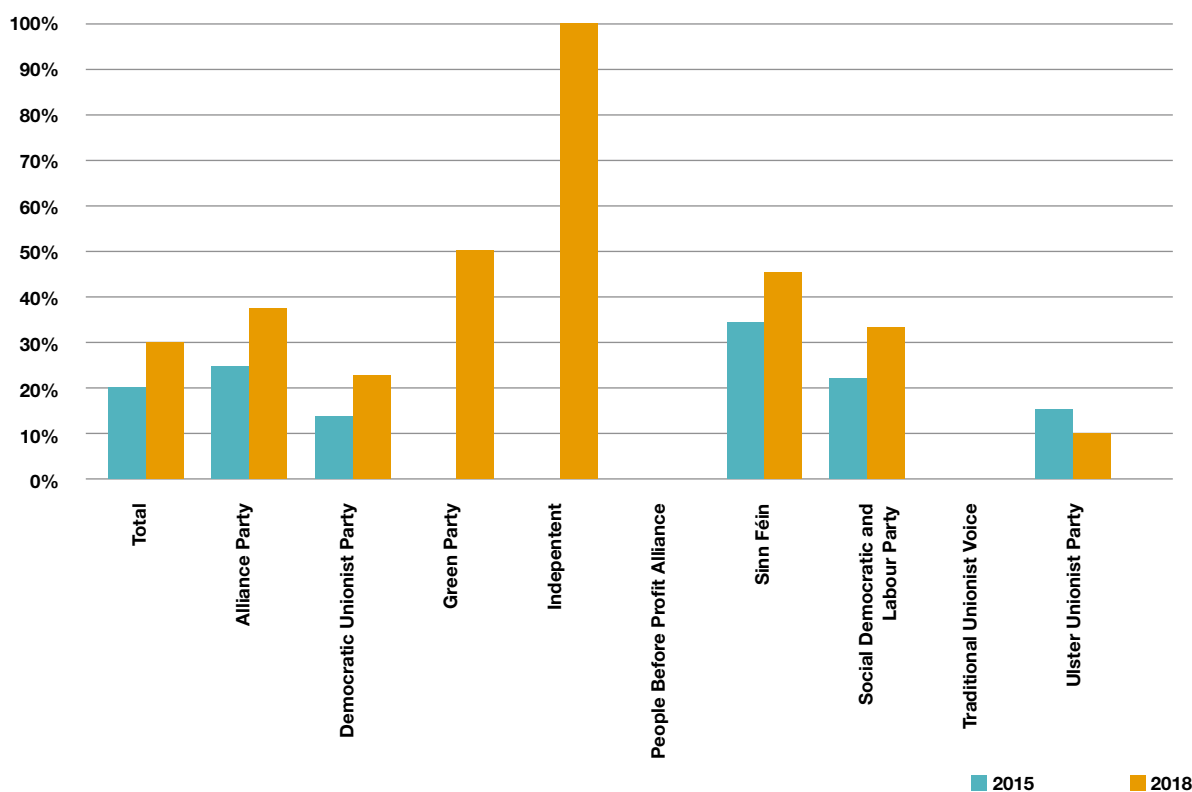
24 [http://www.parliament.scot/ResearchBriefingsAndFactsheets/S5/SB\\_16-34\\_Election\\_2016.pdf](http://www.parliament.scot/ResearchBriefingsAndFactsheets/S5/SB_16-34_Election_2016.pdf)

## Northern Ireland Assembly

The Northern Ireland Assembly and Executive at Stormont has been suspended since January 2017, with two elections held since the 2015 Sex and Power report, in May 2016 and March 2017.

These elections have seen something of a shift in women's representation, rising from just 19.4% in 2015 to 30% now. This has happened without significant change in party fortunes across the two intervening elections – as Figure 5 shows, almost every party has improved their gender diversity, albeit often from a low starting point.<sup>25</sup>

### Women in the Northern Ireland Assembly, by Party



## European Parliament

The last European Parliament elections were held in 2014, so no substantial change has occurred since the UK returned 41.1% women MEPs.<sup>26</sup> The Government intends for the UK to leave the European Union on the 29<sup>th</sup> March 2019, just prior to the next round of European Parliament elections, so it is unlikely that new MEPs will be elected.

## Party Leaders

Recent years have seen a positive increase in the number of UK political parties who are led by a woman. In the Commons, Theresa May, Liz Saville-Roberts (Plaid Cymru) and Caroline Lucas (Green Party) all lead their parties; in the Lords both Labour and Conservative leaders are women; in the Scottish Parliament Nicola Sturgeon (SNP), Ruth Davidson (Conservative) and Maggie Chapman (Green Party) lead or co-lead; Leanne Wood leads Plaid in the Welsh Assembly; and both the DUP and Sinn Féin are led by women in Northern Ireland.

<sup>25</sup> Northern Ireland Assembly website, accessed 3/1/2018

<sup>26</sup> <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/elections2014-results/en/gender-balance.html>

# 

## Councillors and council leaders

Local government spends £94bn each year: it plays a vital role in providing services on which we all depend and tackling the challenges we all confront. But Fawcett and Local Government Information Unit (LGIU) analysis finds that after the 2017 local elections, just one in three councillors in England is a woman, up only 5% points in two decades. Only 28% of councillors in Wales are female.

These figures are likely to be even less representative when it comes to BAME women. Despite BAME people comprising 14% of the population, our survey data found that they made up just 5.5% of women councillors. 19% of women councillors identified as disabled people – but given the older age profile of local representatives, this too may be an under-representation, and younger disabled women are probably under-represented too.

There are significant party variations (shown in Table 1) in that performance, as well as variations across the country's different regions and councils, from Rossendale, North Tyneside, Winchester, Manchester, South Tyneside and Wyre with 50% or more women, to Craven District Council which has as many Roberts (3) as it does women.

**Table 1: Percentage of Councillors Elected Who Are Women, 2017 Local Government Elections in England and Wales**

	County		Unitary		Wales	
	2013	2017	2013	2017	2012	2017
<b>All</b>	26.8	28.6	28.5	28.2	26.8	27.8
<b>Labour</b>	40.7	44.6	42.7	45.2	30.1	32.6
<b>Liberal Democrat</b>	28.8	30.7	30.9	33.0	32.4	30.6
<b>Conservative</b>	23.2	24.9	18.9	19.9	20.2	29.9
<b>Plaid Cymru</b>	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	25.8	24.5
<b>Independent/Other</b>	15.6	27.5	18.2	23.9	21.9	21.4

Fawcett's 2017 report found that women made up just 17 percent of council leaders, and one in four directly elected mayors, in England – a marginal rise from 13.1% in 2014. There are now four women council leaders in Wales, following the 2017 election, out of a total of 22 leaders.<sup>27</sup>

## Metro Mayors and Combined Authorities

In May 2017 residents in six city regions across the country voted for the first time for their new 'Metro Mayors', who have taken on new responsibilities in the West Midlands, Greater Manchester, Liverpool City Region, Tees Valley, Cambridgeshire and Peterborough, and the West of England. Only 7 of the 39 candidates they could vote for were women;<sup>28</sup> and every one of the Mayors who was elected is a man.

Metro Mayors have been working for the last year with their Combined Authorities, comprising the leaders (in most cases) of the local councils who are part of the region. Table 2 shows Fawcett Society/LGIU data from 2017 on the composition of those combined authorities. Women were sorely under-represented, taking up just 4% of roles across the piece and just 11% of roles where there is not currently a Mayoral system in place.

<sup>27</sup> Fawcett Society (2017) *Does Local Government Work for Women? Final Report*

<sup>28</sup> Terry, Chris, *From City Hall to Citizens' Hall: Democracy, diversity, and English devolution*, (Electoral Reform Society, 2017)

This position has changed in some areas since then – Greater Manchester now has 3 women leaders and Beverley Hughes as Deputy Mayor for Policing and Crime – but this is still an area where women’s representation remains extremely poor.<sup>29</sup>

**Table 2: Women in Combined Authority Roles<sup>30</sup>**

Combined Authority (M=Metro Mayor)	Members	Women members	% women	Constituent members	Constituent women members	% women
West Midlands (M)	30	1	3%	15	0	0%
Greater Manchester (M)	11	1	9%	11	1	9%
Liverpool City Region (M)	8	0	0%	7	0	0%
North East	8	1	13%	7	1	14%
Sheffield City Region	11	4	36%	6	2	33%
Tees Valley (M)	7	1	14%	6	1	17%
West Yorkshire	10	3	30%	8	3	38%
Cambridgeshire and Peterborough (M)	9	0	0%	8	0	0%
West of England (M)	4	0	0%	4	0	0%
<b>All Combined Authorities total</b>	<b>98</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>11%</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>11%</b>
<b>Mayoral Combined Authorities total</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4%</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>4%</b>

## Police and Crime Commissioners

Police and Crime Commissioners (PCCs) were first elected in 2012, with a second round in 2016, to take responsibility for the oversight of the 41 police forces in England and Wales. The second round of elections to the role saw Greater Manchester’s police force take on similar governance arrangements to London, and therefore a fall to 40 elected roles.

With two new women PCCs elected and one woman from amongst the first cohort retiring, the proportion who are women has risen marginally from 14.6% to 17.5%.<sup>31</sup> PCCs remain one of the areas of public life examined by this report where women are least well represented and demonstrate how, if gender is not built into the design of new political institutions, they can be a disaster for women’s representation.

## London Assembly

The London Assembly’s 25 Members are elected to scrutinise the decisions made by the Mayor of London (who has been a man since the post was created in 2000). The Assembly is elected from a combination of list (11 members) and constituency (14) members. At present the Assembly is 40% female. 50% of Labour Members, the Liberal Democrat Member, and both of the Green Members are women. Only one of the 8 Conservative representatives is a woman, and both of the two UKIP Members are men.<sup>32</sup>

This is an improvement from the position after the 2012 Assembly and Mayoral election, when just 32% of Members were women.

29 Fawcett Society (2017), *Ibid*

30 Combined authority roles are defined as per authorities’ formal constitutions. ‘Members’ includes Mayors, Deputy Mayors, constituent council members, non-constituent council members, and LEP members. ‘Constituent members’ includes only Mayors, Deputy Mayors, and constituent council members. Greater Manchester’s Deputy Mayor for Policing and Crime is not a formal Combined Authority member and therefore is not included, although it is clearly a vital role.

31 <http://www.apccs.police.uk/find-your-pcc/2016-police-crime-commissioner-elections/>

32 London Assembly website, accessed 16/4/2018 <https://www.london.gov.uk/people/assembly?party=944&borough=All>



# PUBLIC SERVANTS

## The Civil Service

Women are still outnumbered in the upper echelons of the civil service, where only 41% of members of the Senior Civil Service are women – despite there being more women than men in the overall workforce since 2001. The higher up the structure of the civil service that we go, the fewer women there are. The Civil Service Board is the “highest level of governance in the Civil Service and its most senior collective leadership body” – yet only four of its 13 members (30.7%) are women.<sup>33</sup>

In 2015 women’s representation among civil servants with Permanent Secretary status in the main Government departments was 25% - four out of 16. Since then department names have changed, and 5 out of 18 or 27.8% of our Permanent Secretaries are women.<sup>34</sup> This slight improvement means that the reduction from the 2011 high point of 50:50 representation has, concerningly, persisted.

## Council Chief Executives

Council staff are effectively the civil servants of local government- and their workforce overall is also more female than male, 78 percent of the 1.6 million local government employees in England and Wales are women. Yet women are still outnumbered two to one at the top, with just 111 of 352 councils (32%) run by a woman, although this is up from 23.9% since 2013 and does appear to represent a steady positive trend.<sup>35</sup>

## Public Appointments

Appointments to the boards of numerous arms-length bodies or ‘quangos’ are monitored by the Public Appointments Commissioner. These range from the Environment Agency, to the Care Quality Commission, to the UK Statistics Authority – key players in the way that our country is run.

In 2016/17, the latest year for which we have data from the Commissioner, 48.5% of public appointments and reappointments were of women – one of the few areas of this report that comes close to equality. This continues the positive trend seen since 2011/11. Chairs of those bodies were still, however, more likely to be men, with only 28% women in those roles.<sup>36</sup>

## The Bank of England Monetary Policy Committee

The Bank of England’s Monetary Policy Committee (MPC) decides on the Bank of England Base Rate eight times a year – a decision that directly impacts the economy and affects the lives of everyone in the United Kingdom.

Of the nine members of the committee, just one – Silvana Tenreyro, Professor at the London School of Economics – is a woman. This is a marginal improvement since 2013 when there were no women on the MPC. Other committees do not fare well either – the Prudential Regulation Committee has just three out of 16 positions filled by women, and the Financial Policy Committee also has just one woman amongst its 13 members.<sup>37</sup>

33 <https://www.gov.uk/government/organisations/civil-service/about/our-governance#cabinet-secretary-and-head-of-the-civil-service>

34 [www.gov.uk](http://www.gov.uk) records for Government departments

35 Fawcett Society (2017), *Ibid*

36 Commissioner for Public Appointments (2017), *Annual Report 2016/17*

37 <https://www.bankofengland.co.uk/about/people> accessed 12/04/2018



# THE JUDICIARY

At the very top of our civil justice system in the UK<sup>38</sup> sits the Supreme Court's 12 Justices, of whom only two (16.7%) are women (and all are white). They are led by Lady Hale, the first female President of the Supreme Court. The court has added one more woman since 2013.

This level of under-representation of women continues into the next two highest tiers of the judiciary of England and Wales. As of 2017, the latest data, just 9 of the 38 Court of Appeal judges (23.7%) were women, and none of those declaring their ethnicity were BAME.<sup>39</sup> In respect of gender this is an improvement since 2013, when 11.1% of Lord Justices of Appeal were women.

The next tier down, the High Court of England and Wales, shockingly performs worse, with just 21.7% women amongst its 97 judges. This is up a little from 15.6% in 2013, but with only a 2% point increase since 2015 the pace of change is slow. Just 5% of those declaring their ethnic background were BAME – we cannot differentiate this by gender using the data available.

At the lower tiers of the judiciary women are better represented, with 54% women's representation among serving Magistrates, and 11% BAME representation. But this more proportionate representation has not yet equated to equality at the top.



# EDUCATION

## University Leaders

Universities have different governance arrangements, with some employing a Principal and some a Vice-Chancellor as their executive lead – and the salaries paid to those in those roles, whatever they are titled, have come under scrutiny lately.<sup>40</sup> It is clear too that the gender balance at the top of our institutions of learning also needs to be examined.

Of 135 Vice-Chancellors or Principals listed by Universities UK, 100 are men, meaning that just 26% of leaders of the UK's places of higher education are women.<sup>41</sup> This is an improvement of 11.7% points since 2013, when just 14.2% of VCs were women, but that pace of change must be increased for women to achieve equality at the top within the next decade.

## School Head Teachers

When the deadline for reporting gender pay gap data passed on the 4<sup>th</sup> April 2018 many were surprised to see so many educational establishments with such large gaps – after Premier League Football Clubs, multi-academy trusts like the Holy Family Catholic Multi Academy Trust (with a 68% gap) and the Lunesdale Learning Trust (with a 61% gap) reported some of the highest inequalities in pay.<sup>42</sup>

38 And the criminal justice system in England and Wales; Scotland has a separate highest criminal court.

39 All data from Courts and Tribunals Judiciary (2017), Judicial Statistics 2017, accessed at <https://www.judiciary.gov.uk/publications/judicial-statistics-2017/>

40 <https://www.theguardian.com/education/2018/mar/11/university-vice-chancellors-are-paid-far-more-than-public-sector-peers>

41 From Universities UK, 'Our Members', accessed at <http://www.universitiesuk.ac.uk/about/Pages/member-institutions.aspx>

42 Data from the GEO Gender pay gap service, data for reporting year 2017-2018 downloaded 13/4/2018 from <https://gender-pay-gap.service.gov.uk/viewing/download>

Data on Head Teachers is not produced by the Government, but academic research finds that just 38% of head teachers at secondary school level across the country are women – and that this hasn't changed since 2014.<sup>43</sup> This is despite the fact that 73.9% of full-time equivalent teachers are women.<sup>44</sup>

## HEALTH

The workforce of the NHS is predominantly female – overall, 77% of NHS headcount staff are women, a figure which varies from 43% amongst doctors, to 89% amongst nurses, and 57% amongst the 22,720 senior managers.<sup>45</sup> There are 231 NHS trusts of different varieties, and of that total just 73 are chaired by a woman, or 31.6% of the total. A larger proportion of trusts have a woman CEO, at 43.1%.<sup>46</sup>

The latter figure represents an increase in a continued broadly positive trend, with 34.8% women's representation amongst NHS chief executives in 2012 and 28.6% in 2003.<sup>47</sup>

## ARTS AND THE MEDIA

### The Press

In 2013, when *Sex and Power* last looked at the media and news world, newspaper editorship and current affairs was vastly male-dominated, with just the magazine sector seeing greater women's representation in editorship.

That persists today, and slight progress has been made from the dire figures seen in 2013. Then, women were just 5.2% of all national daily newspaper editors. Casting the net slightly differently half a decade on, three women edit the 17 largest newspapers by circulation – or 17.6%.<sup>48</sup> Political editors were slightly more likely in 2018 to be women, at 23.1%.

Regional newspapers have seen a similar change, from 6% in 2015 to 20% today<sup>49</sup> - but that still means that women are in charge at only a fifth of the outlets that influence the policy debate in those areas.

Women edit 14 of the 19 top paid-for magazines in the UK,<sup>50</sup> or 74%, which is a situation that continues from the 75% seen in 2013. However, if we look separately at the list of current affairs magazines explored in 2013,<sup>51</sup> when just 10% were edited by women, we find that women are again under-represented with only 20% now headed by a woman.<sup>52</sup>

43 Fuller, Kay (2017) Women secondary head teachers in England: where are they now? *Management in Education* . ISSN 1741-9883 accessed at <http://eprints.nottingham.ac.uk/41879/8/Women%20secondary%20head%20teachers%20in%20England%20FINAL%20Kay%20Fuller%20v2.pdf>

44 <https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/school-workforce-in-england-november-2016>

45 NHS Workforce Statistics, September 2017, Provisional Statistics

46 List of NHS trusts from <https://www.nhs.uk/servicedirectories/pages/nhstrustlisting.aspx> - information from each trust's website accessed: 13/02/2018

47 Centre for Women and Democracy (2013), *Sex and Power 2013: Who Runs Britain?*

48 17 largest by circulation from Newsworks, accessed at <http://www.newsworks.org.uk/Market-Overview> in January 2018

49 List at <https://www.holdthefrontpage.co.uk/directory/dailynewspapers/>, accessed 19/02/2018, editors found on respective websites

50 Top 20 paid for magazines by circulation during the second half of 2016 - <http://www.pressgazette.co.uk/uk-magazine-abcs-winners-losers-and-full-breakdown-as-circulation-declines-average-6-per-cent/> accessed: 22/02/2018; 1 of the magazines' editorship was vacant at the point of data collection

51 Economist, New Scientist, New Statesman, Private Eye, Prospect, Spectator, Standpoint, Total Politics, Tribune, The Week

52 Analysis of magazine websites, 12/4/2018



## Film and Theatre

The #MeToo movement, started by the activist Tarana Burke and used widely in the wake of the reports of sexual abuse perpetrated by Harvey Weinstein, has shown the impact that male domination at the top of the film industry has on the women that work in it – and it has spread rapidly across industries. The way film and theatre depict women too can be determined by those who are powerful within it.

The BFI's 'Filmography' database spans over 10,000 British films released since 1913 and finds that those at the top are overwhelmingly male, with women making up just 4.57% of directors and 17.3% of producers since the beginning of records. Looking at the last year for which data is published, 2017, only 16.4% of directors and 30.9% of producers were women. That is only a slight improvement on ten years earlier, when 7.8% of directors were women, and 27.7% of producers.<sup>53</sup> Film crews as a whole are male dominated, with just 29.9% women over the last decade.

On the other side of the camera in 2017, the casts of British films were just 32.3% female – no higher than in 2007. Astonishingly, this is lower than the proportion a century ago, when 41% of casts in 1917, and 38% in 1918, were women – a trend the BFI has called “depressing”.<sup>54</sup> In terms of casting, when gender isn't specified in the script, women make up 94% of “prostitute” characters on screen, and 91% of “housekeeper” roles, but 0% of “police inspector” and only 15% of “doctor” roles in films cast after 1985.<sup>55</sup>

In the theatre world, women's representation is also some way from equality. Purple Seven found in 2012-14 that while 65% of theatre audiences are female, women make up only 39% of casts, 28% of playwrights, and 36% of directors.<sup>56</sup>



## BUSINESS

The private sector has long failed to promote women to its highest ranks. When the last Sex and Power report looked at the FTSE 100, just 4 of its chief executive officers were women. That has fluctuated since, but never topped 10% and in 2018 there are still just 6 women at the top of FTSE 100 organisations.<sup>57</sup> None of them are from BAME backgrounds, although there are BAME men who are FTSE 100 CEOs.

Looking a tier lower, women held just 9.8% of executive directorships in 2017, up from 5.8% in 2013, and 27.7% of all directorships, up from 17.3%.<sup>58</sup> Board-level representation is increasing – but mostly in non-executive positions.

53 Data visualisations at <https://filmography.bfi.org.uk/>. The BFI's data includes a number of roles where the gender has not been recorded, which are excluded for the purposes of this analysis.

54 <https://www.theguardian.com/film/2017/sep/20/british-cinema-gender-imbalance-worse-2017-bfi-filmography>

55 <http://www.bfi.org.uk/news-opinion/news-bfi/announcements/bfi-filmography-complete-story-uk-film>

56 Purple Seven (2016), 'Mind the Gender Gap', accessed at <http://www.purpleseven.com/media.ashx/uktheatremagazinedigitalonline.pdf>

57 Analysis of websites of FTSE 100 companies, 20/4/2018

58 Cranfield (2017), The Female FTSE Board Report 2017 - <https://www.cranfield.ac.uk/som/expertise/changing-world-of-work/gender-and-leadership/female-ftse-index> (accessed: 05/02/2018)

## Local Enterprise Partnerships

The 38 Local Enterprise Partnerships (LEPs) are voluntary partnerships between councils and businesses which determine economic priorities and often deliver or commission services to create jobs or train people. They spend £7bn of local growth funding, and deliver significant European Structural Investment funding. Their chairs are usually business people, and the boards comprise a mix of business, education, and the public sector representatives. Our analysis identified a total of 628 members of these boards across the UK.

Of those, just 23% are women. This is an improvement since 2013 when just 15.1% of LEP board members were female, but significantly more improvement is necessary.<sup>59</sup>

Breaking membership down by sector shows that the worst culprits for women's representation on LEPs are, unsurprisingly, the Local Authorities – only 17% of their representatives are women, up barely 4% points since 2013. Private sector representatives are 24% women, but this is a 10% point increase since 2013, while academic representatives are at 30%.

## Trade Unions

Trade Unions play a vital role in our economy and on behalf of their members. Taking the 13 unions with membership of over 100,000, plus the TUC, 5 out of 14 General Secretaries are women, or 35.7%.<sup>60</sup> In 2013 the 8 largest unions had 2 women leaders, or 25%.



## CHARITIES AND CIVIL SOCIETY

Figures from 2017 show that just 27.6% of Chief Executives of the largest 100 charities are women – up only 3.6% on 2013's figure of 24%.<sup>61</sup>

Professional bodies, including many of the chartered institutes, vary but most have a combination of a representative, development, and regulatory function within their industries.

Our analysis found that in 2018 less than a third (30%) of the Chief Executives of these bodies were women. Their Chairs were slightly more gender balanced at 35%. This represents some progress since 2013, when the figures were 19% and 29% respectively, but there is still a considerable amount of progress to be made.<sup>62</sup>

59 Analysis of LEPs' board of directors (excluding advisory members) from a list accessed at <https://www.lepnetwork.net/the-network-of-leps/> - information gained from each LEP's website (accessed 13/02/2018).

60 TUC information at <https://www.tuc.org.uk/unions>, accessed: 25/01/2018; Trade Union data from Annual Report of the Certification Officer 2016-2017, [https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/629446/Appendix\\_4\\_Cert\\_Off\\_Ann\\_Rep\\_2016-2017\\_1.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/629446/Appendix_4_Cert_Off_Ann_Rep_2016-2017_1.pdf)

61 Civil Society, (2017), 'Gender balance of top charity chief executives lags behind wider sector', accessed at <https://www.civilsociety.co.uk/news/gender-balance-of-top-charity-ceos-lagging-behind-wider-sector.html>

62 List in Appendix 1 drawn from the 2013 Sex and Power report; websites accessed 22/02/2018



Of the four UK national governing bodies, only one (Sport Scotland) does not have a woman as it's Chief Executive, although all four chairs of the bodies are men.

Looking at the governance and executive of individual sports, only five of the Chief Executives of those listed in Appendix 1 were women at the date of data collection, or just 26.3%, a minimal change from the 2013 data at 20%. Chairs of those bodies were even less likely to be women, at just 15% representation, up from 5% in 2013.



## Museums & galleries

Those who are responsible for running the UK's art galleries and museums have an important role to play in deciding who and what we commemorate. In 2013 the Sex and Power reports found that just 9.3% of the Chairs of a list of 47 of the most prominent were women, and just 28% of the Directors.

The proportion of Chairs who are women has improved somewhat but remains low, with 21.7% of those roles filled by women. Little progress has been made too in the realm of directors, with just 34% of those jobs held by women. Just as we need more women foregrounded in our public art, we still need more women making decisions about which art is bought and displayed.<sup>63</sup>

## Statues

Analysis by Caroline Criado Perez in 2016 found that when we look solely at non-royal, historical figures who are commemorated in statues, there are just 25 listed in the Public Monuments and Sculpture Association's database of 826 public monuments, or just 2.7% of the total<sup>64</sup> – while there are 498 of non-royal, historical men.<sup>65</sup> The remainder are of a mix of group statues, royals and allegorical figures.

Viewed on the same basis as women's representation in this report, those 25 statues mean that just 5% are of women who are commemorated on the basis of their achievements. There are of course more statues of allegorical, royal, or figurative women – but they often represent something quite different in their commemoration.

There are scarcely any statues of BAME women in public places – Mary Seacole, the black woman nurse who is commemorated in the gardens of St Thomas' Hospital in London being amongst the few.<sup>66</sup> The statue of the artist Alison Lapper pregnant which temporarily stood on the fourth plinth in Trafalgar Square is one of very few, and possibly the only, public statue of a disabled woman.

63 List in Appendix 1, websites accessed 19/02/2018

64 <http://pmsa.cch.kcl.ac.uk/national-recording-project/> - the database is not complete but is the best available record

65 Caroline Criado Perez, (2016) accessed at <https://www.newstatesman.com/politics/feminism/2016/03/i-sorted-uk-s-statues-gender-mere-27-cent-are-historical-non-royal-women>

66 <https://hyperallergic.com/309679/uk-unveils-its-first-public-statue-of-a-historic-black-woman/>

## Bank notes

Like statues, the faces we choose to put on our bank notes are at present another way that women are left out of our public commemoration and celebration. After concerted campaigning following the announcement of the withdrawal of the Elizabeth Fry £5 note in 2016, Jane Austen is now the only non-royal woman celebrated for her achievements on any of the notes currently in circulation. The other three notes have men on them – two men, in the case of Matthew Boulton and James Watt on the £50 note, and plans for a new £20 note have JMW Turner on it. The next note to be replaced must feature a woman.<sup>67</sup>

In Scotland, where RBOS, Bank of Scotland, and Clydesdale issue different notes, Royal Bank of Scotland have taken the positive step of having two women, Nan Shepherd and Mary Somerville, on their new £5 and £10 polymer notes. Pathbreaking doctor Elsie Inglis features on the Clydesdale £50 note. The remainder of the notes issued feature men – 4 for Clydesdale, 1 (William Scott) for the Bank of Scotland, and 1 (Lord Ilay) for Royal Bank of Scotland.

**As public bodies themselves, the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) and the Arts Council England have a statutory duty to promote equality. They should adopt a proactive policy of gender equal representation in arts, culture and memorials which aims to redress this imbalance and sets a target of gender equal representation. This should be linked to funding.**

<sup>67</sup> <https://www.bankofengland.co.uk/banknotes>

# CONCLUSION & RECOMMENDATIONS

It is clear that progress on women's representation remains slow, yet evidence repeatedly shows that diversity in decision-making leads to better decisions, improved board performance and better outcomes for businesses and institutions. In 2018 it is clear that we cannot wait for change to happen. So we are calling for a number of specific interventions to speed up the pace of change and deliver equal power for women.

**A time-limited use of quotas across public bodies and the boards of large corporate organisations enabled by law. For other organisations who cannot countenance quota systems, set targets and publish an action plan.**

**The government should legislate to require all roles to be advertised on a flexible working basis, unless there is a business reason for them not to be, and more roles available on part-time or job-share basis.**

**The immediate implementation of Section 106 of the Equality Act 2010 to gather candidate monitoring data extended to include local government.**

**Across the board, arts funding should be tied to a proactive policy of gender equal representation in arts, culture and memorials which aims to redress this imbalance and sets a target of gender equal representation.**

# APPENDIX 1: LISTS OF BODIES

## Professional bodies

Association of Chief Police Officers, Chartered Institute of Building, Chartered Institute of Environmental Health, Chartered Institute of Housing, Chartered Institute of Personnel and Development, Engineering Council, Faculty of Advocates, General Council of the Bar, General Dental Council, General Medical Council, General Optical Council, General Social Care Council, General Teaching Council for England, General Teaching Council for Scotland, General Teaching Council for Wales, Health and Care Professions Council, Institute of Actuaries, Institute of Chartered Accountants, Institute of Chemical Engineers, Law Society, Law Society of Scotland, Royal College of General Practitioners, Royal College of Nursing, Royal College of Physicians, Royal College of Psychiatrists, Royal College of Surgeons, Royal Institute of British Architects.

## Museums and Art Galleries

Ashmolean, Baltic (Gateshead), Beamish, Birmingham Museums, British Library, British Museum, Design Museum, Fitzwilliam (Cambridge), Geffrye Museum, Glasgow Museums, Hepworth Gallery, Wakefield, Horniman Museum & Gardens, Imperial War Museum, Ironbridge Gorge Museum, Leeds Museums & Galleries, London Transport Museum, Manchester Art Galleries, Museum of London, National Archives, National Army Museum, National Coal Mining Museum, England, National Football Museum, National Galleries Scotland, National Gallery, National Library of Scotland, National Maritime Museum, National Media Museum, National Museum of Science & Industry, National Museum of Wales, National Museums Liverpool, National Museums Northern Ireland, National Museums Scotland, National Portrait Gallery, National Railway Museum, National Trust, Natural History Museum, Norfolk Museums & Archaeology Service, People's History Museum, Royal Air Force Museum, Royal Armouries, Royal Navy National Museum, Science Museum, Science Museum Group, Serpentine Gallery, Sir John Soane's Museum, Tate, Tyne & Wear Archives & Museums, V & A, Wallace Collection, Whitworth Gallery, Manchester

## Sport Governing Bodies

Amateur Boxing Association, British Crown Green Bowling Association, British Cycling, British Equestrian Federation, British Gymnastics, British Horse Racing Authority, British Judo Association, British Rowing, British Swimming, British Volleyball Association, England Golf, England Hockey, English Association of Snooker and Billiards, Football Association, Golf Union of Wales, Lawn Tennis Association, Motor Sports Association, Premier League, Rugby League, Scottish Golf Union, UK Athletics.



The Fawcett Society is the UK's leading campaign for equality between women and men. We trace our roots back to 1866, when Millicent Fawcett began her lifetime's work leading the peaceful campaign for women's votes. Today we remain the most authoritative, independent advocate for women's rights in the UK.

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