SCOTTISH GOVERNMENT DEBATE: INTERNATIONAL WOMEN’S DAY

ENGENDER PARLIAMENTARY BRIEFING

This International Women’s Day Engender is drawing attention to two overlapping areas of women’s inequality: the persistent glass ceiling that has resulted in women filling only 27% of Scotland’s 3029 positions of power across political institutions, public sector, media and cultural bodies, and corporate world; and women’s persistently high share of unpaid domestic and reproductive labour.

1. WOMEN AND POWER IN SCOTLAND

1.1 What do we know about who has power?

Engender’s Sex and Power 2017 report emulates previous work done by the Equal Opportunities Commission and then Equality and Human Rights Commission to provide a gender breakdown for leadership roles across a wide range of domains.

Women make up 52% of the Scottish population, and should be equally represented in civil and political life. However, women are currently:

- 35% of MSPs, 25% of local councillors, 16% of council leaders, 17% of MEPs
- 28% of public body chief executives, 26% of university principals, 23% of sheriffs, 7% of senior police officers
- 0% of major newspaper editors, 19% of major museums and art galleries directors, 14% of national sports bodies chief executives
- 0% of CEOs of ‘top’ businesses
- 50% or more in only 1 of 39 spheres of influence examined: the Scottish Government strategic board, of which there are 15 members.

Since the previous ‘Sex and Power Scotland’ was produced in 2011 by the Equality and Human Rights Commission:

- There has been an increase in the proportion of female Scottish Government Ministers and MPs; Local authority chief executives; Heads of secondary schools; Further education principals; and Supreme courts judges.

• There has been a drop in the proportion of female Senior police officers; University principals; and Trades union general secretaries.
• Gender balance has remained static in the following domains: Members of the Scottish parliament; Local councillors; Members of the European Parliament; and NHS health body chief executives.

1.2 How can we make change happen more quickly?

White, non-disabled men hold the most power in Scotland. This over-representation will continue unless concerted and deliberate action is taken to change our assumptions about who should lead, make decisions in the public interest, and have responsibility for what gets
spent where. Men are not naturally more suited to positions of power, but they do benefit from cultural expectations about leadership and authority.

Conversely, women face persistent barriers to achieving leadership roles. These range from structural issues like a lack of flexible work, through unlawful harassment and discrimination, to an insidious cultural assumption that women just don’t belong around decision-making tables.

We have a First Minister who is as committed to women’s equality as any nation’s leader. Female leaders across the political spectrum show us that leadership is vital, but insufficient by itself to transform the position of women in Scotland. Women’s equal representation in positions of authority in Scotland can’t happen overnight.

We need:

- **Temporary balancing measures like quotas**, as urged by the UN’s Committee to End all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and international evidence². Scotland would need more powers to introduce quotas for the Scottish Parliament and for local councils.
- The Scottish Parliament could use its existing powers to regulate around the public sector equality duty to **require public bodies to take action to enable women’s leadership**.
- **Sector-specific tools to enable sectors to review and change their own practice**. For example, Engender has called for a Gender Matters in Business programme to enhance the Business Pledge and extend Close the Gap’s Think Business, Think Equality self-assessment tool.
- **Better data about pipelines to leadership**. For example, ten years after the introduction of the gender equality duty (now replaced by the public sector equality duty) we still have no centrally-collected data on the demographics of college staff.

## 2. UNPAID WORK: WHO CARES?

### 2.1 What is unpaid work and why does it matter?

The majority of women in Scotland are in paid work. Scotland is slightly below the OECD³ average in terms of our level of female labour market participation, with approximately seven out of every ten women aged between 16 and 64 in paid work⁴. Approximately eight out of every ten men aged between 16 and 64 are in paid work.

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³ The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) is an international economic organisation of 34 countries with market economies, founded in 1961 to stimulate economic progress and world trade.

⁴ Scottish Government (January 2014) *Childcare and Labour Market Participation: Economic Analysis*
If we look underneath those figures, though, we see very different patterns in the ways that men and women participate in the labour market. One of the principal differences is found in propensity to care. **Women make up the majority of carers in employment, and those who provide care for more than 35 hours per week.** Male carers are more likely to be in full-time employment. Women who care are less likely to be in paid work than men of the same age.

The economic calculations of governments and international financial institutions only measure paid work. The calculations to determine Gross Domestic Product (GDP), which measures the economic output of a country, does not count unpaid work. This means that all of the unpaid caring that women (and some men) do for children, sick and disabled people, and older people goes uncounted.

The amount of work that this misses out is enormous. The UK Household Satellite Accounts experimentally measures different types of domestic and reproductive labour and places a value on them. In 2010 they analysed childcare, and determined that the value of informal childcare was £343bn, which is equivalent to 23% of GDP.

In 2013 they analysed adult care. **They determined that the total value of informal adult care had tripled in 15 years, from £21.5bn in 1995 to £61bn in 2010. This is equivalent to 4.2% of GDP.**

Although the Household Satellite Accounts does not take a gendered approach, we know from census data that at least 62% of unpaid carers are women, that women devote twice as much time to household work as men, and that from the 1970s to the 2000s men’s core daily domestic work increased by a rate of about one minute per day per year. Domestic labour and care work form part of socially constructed gender roles.

If unpaid work is uncounted, and only periodically given a value, then we know much less about it than paid work. We know from being part of families, communities, and workplaces that unpaid work sustains our lives and our participation in the labour market. **The interaction between the production and reproduction is crucial for the market economy to thrive.**

### 2.2 #MakingWorkVisible

This International Women’s Day, Engender will be gathering women’s stories about an ‘average day’. We will be highlighting all that women do that remains uncaptured by the

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8 Census 2011
10 Beatrix Campbell (2015) End of Equality
limited ways in which we measure and describe the ‘economy’. At a designated website\(^{11}\) and at our Twitter hashtag of #makingworkvisible, we will be gathering women’s accounts of days in which they work in the formal labour market, but also plan meals, buy groceries, do laundry, collect medicines for family members, provide personal care for children and older people, cook, clean, and manage their households.

### 2.3 How can we make change happen more quickly?

Around the world, different approaches are used to try and ensure that women’s unpaid work is recognised and counted by policymakers. This is so that service design and delivery, as well as employment practices, take account of the unpaid work that props up the economy.

Although women’s paid work has substantially increased over the last hundred years, we haven’t seen a balancing increase in men’s unpaid work. There is no reason, except cultural stereotypes, why women should do so much more domestic and reproductive labour.

Unpaid work should not be a marginal note in assessments of how well our economy is functioning. We need national institutional commitment to making women’s unpaid work visible.

**We need:**

- **Time-use survey data** in Scotland that will tell us more about how men and women spend their time, including on leisure and unpaid work.
- **Better equality impact assessment** during the policy development process, so that care and caring, as well as other forms of invisible domestic and reproductive labour is taken account of in the design and development of policy and programmes.

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**FOR FURTHER INFORMATION**

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**ABOUT ENGENDER**

Engender has a vision for a Scotland in which women and men have equal opportunities in life, equal access to resources and power, and are equally safe and secure from harm. We are a feminist organisation that has worked in Scotland for 20 years to advance equality between women and men.

\(^{11}\) [https://www.engender.org.uk/content/projects-makeworkvisible/](https://www.engender.org.uk/content/projects-makeworkvisible/)