

**GENDER MATTERS**  
**MANIFESTO:**  
**TWENTY FOR 2016**

# TWENTY FOR 2016 : SUMMARY

1. Bring forward a Gender Equality Bill
2. Commit to gender balancing mechanisms at all levels of politics
3. Implement a gendered economic development strategy
4. Establish a national equality and wellbeing index
5. Increase the strategic influence of the Equality Budget Statement
6. Create an independent social care tribunal system
7. Commit to a system of universal childcare provision
8. Hold a summit on women's social security
9. Use new powers to promote gender equality in social security
10. Create an Occupational Segregation Commission

11. Establish a Gender Equality in Business scheme

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12. Invest £50m in a Women's Employment and Enterprise Challenge Fund

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13. Bring forward a holistic gendered education strategy

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14. Create a 'Women in Media' watchdog

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15. Improve women's representation in Scotland's creative industries

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16. Guarantee access to justice for survivors of domestic abuse, rape and sexual assault

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17. Prevent homelessness for women and children experiencing domestic abuse

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18. Commit to a sustainable funding plan for violence against women services

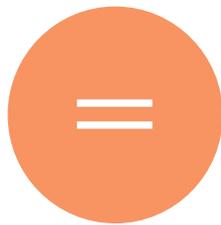
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19. Incorporate CEDAW into Scots Law

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20. Commit to a progressive abortion law for Scotland

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ENGENDER

# OUR VISION

Engender is Scotland's feminist membership organisation. We work on a gender equality agenda, to tackle the impact of sexism on women, men, children, society, and on our economic and political development.

Our vision is to secure social and economic equality for all groups of women in Scotland. Our members want to live in a Scotland where:

- Women's rights are realised regardless of ability, race, sexual orientation, gender identity, age or background
- Women and their children are safe and secure from harm
- Women have equal access to resources and opportunities
- Women have equal influence in political and economic life
- Women are able to participate fully in society and culture
- Women and women's unpaid and paid work are valued
- Diverse groups of women are at forefront of the women's movement

This manifesto sets out measures that, with political will, can be taken over the next parliamentary term in pursuit of these goals. The 2016 Scottish Parliament elections present an opportunity for political parties to show leadership on gender equality and take the bold action that is needed to truly address intractable problems like endemic violence against women, our unjust and unsustainable economy, social insecurity for women and multiple discrimination.

All of the issues that we raise and calls that we make in this manifesto are from an intersectional and inclusive perspective. This means ensuring equal access to change for women from all backgrounds and for women who face multiple discrimination, including disabled women, women from black and ethnic minority (BME) communities, refugee and asylum seeking women, older women and women from deprived and rural areas.

We are calling for diverse groups of women to be involved in designing and delivering the steps to progressive change that we set out, as one key route towards achieving these core aims of gender equality and empowerment for women.

This feminist manifesto has been developed in collaboration with our members, the women's sector and wider stakeholders. It builds on Engender's work before the independence referendum, and participatory engagement that includes our Gender Matters conference 2015. Many thanks are due to all the women who contributed their ideas, effort and time to the process.

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# POLITICS AND POWER

## Gender mainstreaming

Political commitment at the highest level is needed to make substantive progress against intractable gender issues. Gender mainstreaming is a global strategy to this end, which proactively embeds gender analysis in all policy and legislative development and elevates gender concerns within the policy hierarchy. To date, this has not been adopted by the Scottish Government or Scottish Parliament, and lack of policy coherence across government departments undermines distinct strategies that address particular aspects of women's inequality.

We are therefore calling for a Gender Equality Bill to underpin a gender mainstreaming strategy and system of 'gender governance' in Scotland. This could provide for targets across policy areas to hasten the pace of change; ministerial accountability, for instance through a Cabinet Secretary post for Women and Equalities; and institutional mechanisms to enforce and enable compliance with existing commitments. The content of the Bill should be developed in collaboration with women and women's organisations representing diverse groups in Scotland.

### WE ARE CALLING FOR A COMMITMENT TO:

1. Bring forward a Gender Equality Bill to ensure mainstreaming across Scottish Government departments and drive forward action to tackle women's inequality.

## Women's representation

Women have unequal access to power, decision-making and participation across all domains of public life in Scotland. In order to participate fully in society and to exercise equal citizenship, women must be able to contribute across the spectrum of civic life. Political representation is a vital element of this. Evidence from around the world shows that greater gender balance in politics increases the profile of women's rights issues and social policy more broadly. Improving

gender balance tends to also correlate with improved representation amongst minority groups.

However, gender parity across Scotland's political institutions and public sector is far from becoming reality. Parliamentary quotas, implemented at party level, and a range of mechanisms within selection and electoral processes are employed worldwide to increase women's political representation with a high degree of success.

### **WE ARE CALLING FOR A COMMITMENT TO:**

- 2.** Push for the devolution of power to set gender quotas at all levels of politics, ensure that a gender balance of candidates stand in all Scottish elections until 2020, and use new powers to set gender quotas for public boards at 50%.

# FAIR ECONOMY

## Alternative indicators

Gender equality and inclusion are undermined by definitions of 'progress' that do not adequately reflect social policy concerns. Women's unpaid care work props up the economy, and significantly undermines women's career progression and lifetime earnings. Yet measurements of economic growth that rely heavily on GDP do not count women's unpaid work and do not map onto human wellbeing. Environmental disaster and warfare are cast as economically productive, but unpaid caring for older and disabled people or the future workforce is not.

Similarly, Scottish Government economic strategies and performance frameworks value 'growth', wealth creation, paid work, profit, ownership and other macroeconomic norms over other conceptions of progress that capture gender equality concerns. Much broader debate on the value base of our economic strategy and the imbalance between economic and social priorities is urgently needed, in order to move towards economic sustainability and inclusion, including in terms of gender equality.

### WE ARE CALLING FOR A COMMITMENT TO:

3. Establish an equality and wellbeing set of indicators that are linked to national performance frameworks.

## Gender budgeting

Gender budgeting analysis (GBA) is an approach that systematically takes account of how public spending decisions impact on women and men. Frequently, the resource allocation process leads to unintended and unfair consequences, which could be identified with integrated consideration of gender perspectives. GBA exposes the gender bias within resource allocation processes that are assumed to be gender neutral and aims to strengthen gender equality of outcomes, across all public expenditure and government departments. To achieve this, GBA must be integrated throughout financial planning, with parallel accountability mechanisms and strong monitoring and evaluation.

Scotland has made considerable progress towards gender responsive budgeting since devolution, and we recognise the work of the Scottish Women's Budget Group in driving this agenda. This has primarily been in the form of the Equality and Budgets Advisory Group and Equality Budget Statement. However, to extend the impact of these structures they must be strategically linked to the economic strategies and national performance frameworks, and the Equality Budget Statement must substantively inform the Draft Budget.

### **WE ARE CALLING FOR A COMMITMENT TO:**

- 4.** Extend the Equality Budget Statement process into a full gender analysis of the Scottish Budget.

## **Economic development**

Economic development holds huge potential to tackle the gendered occupational segregation that characterises the Scottish labour market. However, strategic approaches to develop growth sectors, skills, job creation, enterprise and other elements of Scottish Government economic policy do not substantively engage with gendered approaches, nor recognise the economic benefits of equality. Investment and development support remains focussed on predominantly male-dominated sectors. There is significant gender segregation across many of Scotland's key sectors, and in some, large tranches of low-paid, female-dominated occupations.

Scotland's economic development strategies should be in line with social policy objectives to increase gender equality and improve outcomes for other equalities groups, including in terms of race and disability. Strategic intervention that embeds equality as a precondition for sustainable growth and actively engages Scotland's diverse population will be vital for a fair and inclusive economy.

### **WE ARE CALLING FOR A COMMITMENT TO:**

- 5.** Mainstream gender equality in economic development strategies, recognising gender and other forms of equality as preconditions of sustainable, equitable growth at the economy, sector, and enterprise level.

# CARE

## Universal childcare

Scotland has some of the highest childcare costs in the UK, and the UK costs are among the highest in the world. Access to affordable childcare is a major barrier to women being able to work, study and train. A quarter of parents in severe poverty in Scotland have given up work, a third have turned down a job, and a quarter have not been able to take up education or training because of high childcare costs. Access is worse for disabled children, older children, or children in rural areas.

The planned Scottish Government increase in free childcare provision by 2016 is welcome. However, this still only equates to the weekly equivalent of primary school hours. Women need wrap-around childcare to enable them to participate in the labour market equally, and train and study on an equal basis. It is also imperative that a rapid expansion of the childcare sector does not simply replicate the low pay that characterises the sector currently, but that childcare workers receive at least a living wage.

### WE ARE CALLING FOR A COMMITMENT TO:

6. Develop a national system of quality universal childcare provision, free at the point of delivery and accessible to fit with all working patterns.

## Carers' rights

Unpaid carers, around 60% of whom are women, save Scotland an estimated £10.3bn per year. This amounts to over a third of the national budget. Women are four times as likely to give up paid work due to multiple caring responsibilities, and are more likely to be in low-paid part-time employment than male carers. This has major impacts on women's access to work, career progression, training and learning, as well as on their physical and mental health. Providing unpaid care fundamentally undermines women's and men's rights.

Yet this contribution is not reflected in a social care system that does not meet the support needs of carers and is in need of major investment. Radical change to how we value care as a society and support carers to realise their rights is needed in Scotland. In the meantime, a complaints process that is unfit for purpose undermines access to justice for carers in terms of the limited rights that they currently have.

### **WE ARE CALLING FOR A COMMITMENT TO:**

- 7.** An independent review of the social care system and the realisation of the existing rights of carers and those they care for through the establishment of an independent social care tribunal system.

# SOCIAL SECURITY

## Anti-austerity

Welfare reform and the wider austerity agenda are having an egregiously disproportionate impact on women's access to resources, security and safety. Between 2010 and 2014, 85% of the £26 billion worth of cuts announced by the UK coalition government came from women's incomes. This is because of systemic issues that see women twice as dependent on social security as men. Women are twice as likely to give up paid work in order to become unpaid carers, 92% of lone parents are women, the pay gap persists at 32% for women's part-time work, and women's economic independence is undermined by endemic domestic abuse.

Many women who experience multiple inequalities are even more at risk of extreme hardship. Disabled women, older women, women from black and minority ethnic communities, rural women, and refugee women are all impacted by policy changes in particular ways. This means that a strategic approach to redress women's inequality within ongoing attempts to mitigate welfare reform in Scotland is urgently needed.

### WE ARE CALLING FOR A COMMITMENT TO:

8. Hold a summit on women's social security, to determine what strategic action should redress the gender impact of welfare reform and public spending cuts.

## New powers

Given the gender profile of social security, there are clear opportunities to design a more equitable system within the forthcoming transfer of powers. The Scottish Parliament should take a divergent, rights-based approach that promotes gender equality through an integrated system linked to devolved policy areas and services. These include childcare, social care, employability, housing and violence against women. It will be vital that different groups of women who use the social security system, including disabled women, unpaid carers, lone mothers and refugees are involved in shaping these programmes.

Specifically, we are calling for use of new powers to introduce default split payments of Universal Credit; to ensure that carers receive a 'living benefit' that matches the living wage; to guarantee access to safe housing for all women, regardless of their immigration status and benefit entitlement; to provide tailored employability support for different groups of women; and for a process to establish how discretionary payments should be strategically engaged to address women's income inequality and child poverty.

### **WE ARE CALLING FOR A COMMITMENT TO:**

- 9.** Use new powers over social security to design a system around equality for women and other marginalised groups.

# LABOUR MARKET AND EMPLOYMENT

## Occupational segregation

Occupational segregation is a key cause underpinning the gender pay gap and is deeply entrenched in Scottish economic structures. Women are significantly overrepresented across low-paid sectors, including care, retail, administration, and lower ranks of the public sector. Meanwhile, the glass ceiling that sees men overrepresented in management positions, including in female-dominated professions like teaching, is clear evidence of ongoing failures to address gender inequality in the workplace.

Given that women in Scotland account for 98% of classroom assistants, but under 3% of chartered civil engineers, an overarching, strategic approach to tackle gender segregation that encompasses education, skills, employability and employment support within the social security system is manifestly needed. Successive Scottish administrations have prioritised occupational segregation at a ministerial level, as a key strategic focus for work on gender inequality. However, despite this and the impressive work of initiatives like Close the Gap and Equate Scotland, results have been extremely limited and a revised approach is necessary.

### WE ARE CALLING FOR A COMMITMENT TO:

- 10.** Create an occupational segregation commission to drive public bodies' activities to tackle vertical and horizontal occupational segregation.

## Employers

Labour Force Survey statistics show that the gap between female and male employment rates has never been narrower. However, these headline figures mask the insecurity, low pay and low quality of women's employment in Scotland. Women make up 78% of the part-time workforce in Scotland, in large part because of the lack of flexible working opportunities that can be reconciled with unpaid work.

There is limited action government can take to improve the performance of private sector employers on equality. However, as the work of Close the Gap demonstrates, voluntary schemes can incentivise gender equal employment practices. We are calling for a Gender Equality in Business Accreditation scheme to be developed in partnership with women's organisations and other stakeholders in Scotland. Envisaged criteria include equal pay reviews, flexible working, gender balance across boards and management, tackling horizontal segregation, shared parental leave, the living wage, workplace culture, and carers-sensitive employment policies.

**WE ARE CALLING FOR A COMMITMENT TO:**

- 11.** Introduce an accredited Gender Equality in Business scheme to incentivise gender-sensitive employment practices.

# EDUCATION AND TRAINING

## Schools

Gender segregation and gender stereotyping in education continues to limit equal opportunities for women and girls, and to perpetuate violence against women and girls. There is a culture of misogyny in education settings that contributes to sustaining this, and Engender and Zero Tolerance have worked with EIS over the past year to build their members' capacity to challenge this. Schools routinely collect data on racist incidents but sexist incidents are not recorded. It is vital to take a 'whole school approach' to building communities in which gender inequality isn't tolerated.

Numerous attempts have been made to tackle the underlying drivers of gender inequality in education, careers advice and school management. This includes *Gender Equality: a toolkit for education staff*, which formed part of a broader drive to mainstream equality within the new Curriculum for Excellence. However, many of its key performance outcomes remain undelivered and opportunities to tackle gender inequalities in education are being missed.

### WE ARE CALLING FOR A COMMITMENT TO:

12. Bring forward a gendered education strategy that explores the value of curriculum content on gender equality and preventing violence against women and girls, and incorporates data gathering, behaviour management, setting school aims, and employment.

## Employment and enterprise support

Similarly, other skills frameworks, including the current employability strategy, recognise particular barriers to the labour market for women, but do not adequately set down a course of action for change. We know that generic skills and employability programmes are likely to replicate gendered patterns of skills acquisition and employment, and that these perpetuate the gender pay gap and women's underemployment. Since 2008, women's self-employment has risen

dramatically, accounting for 63% of newly registered businesses. Over 2014, this figure rose steeply to 88%. However, support for women in enterprise is not systematically linked to the drivers that account for this, and Women's Enterprise Scotland points to the £7.6bn boost to the economy that closing the enterprise gap between men and women would realise.

We are calling for development of a challenge fund to create demonstration employment and enterprise support programmes for different groups of women, including women returning to work after extended leave to care, refugee, disabled and older women, unpaid carers, lone parents and women with mandatory job-seeking commitments.

### **WE ARE CALLING FOR A COMMITMENT TO:**

- 13.** Invest £50m in a Women's Employability and Enterprise challenge fund to create demonstration programmes for different groups of women.

# MEDIA AND CULTURE

## Sexism in the media

The negative impact of the media on women is profound. In 2013, only 5% of editorial positions and 0% of political editorial positions in daily newspapers were held by women across the UK. This is reflected in widespread stereotyping of women in the print and broadcast media, and lack of gender balance on screen. The absence of quality reporting on gender issues contributes to low awareness of women's inequality and thus to sustaining it. Women standing for political office are routinely subjected to sexism in the mainstream media.

The subordinate representation of women in the media is extremely damaging. Sexualised imagery of women and girls across media platforms is so commonplace and widely accepted that it generally fails to resonate as an equality issue. This objectification of women's bodies shapes how women are valued, reinforces sexist attitudes and has negative impacts on body image, self-worth and health. Online safety, particularly for young people, is an emerging issue that requires investment and development.

### WE ARE CALLING FOR A COMMITMENT TO:

- 14.** Create a Scottish 'Women in Media' body, resourced to monitor and challenge underrepresentation, gender stereotyping and sexualisation of women and girls in print, broadcast and social media.

## Creative industries

Women are significantly underrepresented in production roles across creative industries. For instance, between 1999 and 2007, 12-15% of screenwriters and under 10% of directors in the UK film industry were women. This perpetuates the lack of diversity that we see in popular culture, and, in turn, unconscious bias and gender norms. The portrayal of women across advertising, media and the arts is extremely limited. Many women who contributed to the development of this manifesto highlighted their desire for diverse groups of

women, including older women and minority ethnic women to be better represented in cultural life.

Although regulation of creative and media sectors is limited to voluntary codes of practice and the influence of non-statutory industry bodies, such as the Advertising Standards Authority, more can be done to tackle the gender stereotyping at the root of women's cultural representation. This could include gendered data collection on the consumption and production of cultural outputs in Scotland.

**WE ARE CALLING FOR A COMMITMENT TO:**

- 15.** Work with Scotland's creative and media sectors, including Creative Scotland, to improve women's professional and artistic representation across the arts.

# VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

## Access to justice

Violence against women (VAW) is endemic in Scotland. At least one in five women in Scotland will experience domestic abuse in her lifetime and an average of 3 rapes is reported per day, yet this figure masks the extent of sexual violence due to underreporting. A crucial dimension of systemic violence against women is lack of equal access to justice and discrimination within the criminal justice system. This is reflected in low conviction rates for rape, domestic abuse, trafficking of women for sexual exploitation and Female Genital Mutilation.

Access to justice for women who have experience domestic abuse and rape and sexual assault in Scotland is undermined by certain key issues. Priorities for Scottish Women's Aid and Rape Crisis Scotland include lack of accessible legal aid support and advocacy, the 'not proven' verdict and corroboration requirement in Scots Law, means testing for protective orders, poor implementation of the guidelines for forensic medical examination following a sexual offense, and lack of independent legal representation for complainers of rape and sexual assault.

### WE ARE CALLING FOR A COMMITMENT TO:

- 16.** Improve women's access to justice by providing legal aid and independent legal representation, removing the 'not proven' verdict, revising the corroboration requirement, removing means testing for protective orders and implementing medical examination guidelines.

## Homelessness

Domestic abuse is a major cause of homelessness in Scotland. Scottish Women's Aid report that in 2013-14 "a dispute within the household: violent or abusive" was the reason given for a homeless application by 4,124 applicants, (11% of all applications). The gendered relationship between domestic abuse and homelessness is illustrated by the fact that 71% of these applications were made by women and women with children make up 36% of applicants in this category.

Research has highlighted that these figures are likely to significantly underestimate the scale of the problem, as women may not disclose that they are experiencing domestic abuse when making a homeless application, often making several moves to family and friends before doing so. Prevention of homelessness is a key priority for the Scottish Government and addressing the issue of women and children's enforced homelessness as a result of domestic abuse should be specifically addressed within current housing options prevention policy.

**WE ARE CALLING FOR A COMMITMENT TO:**

- 17.** Prevent homelessness for women and children experiencing domestic abuse by reviewing and developing the current housing options processes.

**Resources for violence against women organisations**

Risk of violence and abuse is amplified for women who experience multiple inequalities. Lack of services and barriers to access for BME, disabled and lesbian, bisexual and transgender women is a major problem and much greater understanding of their needs is required. Many refugee and asylum seeking women seek protection in the UK from diverse forms of violence, some of whom have no recourse to public funds and face destitution.

Given this context and the issues set out above, ring-fenced funding to resource VAW advice and support services, and the VAW sector in Scotland, including women's aid groups and rape crisis centres, is clearly vital. A sustainable plan must also include support for survivors of VAW across other devolved policy areas. When asked which interventions would be most effective and helpful, women who have experienced domestic abuse list childcare, housing, income support, and education and skills above refuges.

**WE ARE CALLING FOR A COMMITMENT TO:**

- 18.** A sustainable long-term funding plan to resource VAW support and advice services and the VAW sector in Scotland.

# WOMEN'S RIGHTS

## International commitments

The Scottish Government and Scottish Parliament are bound by the UK's international human rights obligations, including the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). In particular, Scottish Government is accountable for the relation between human rights protection and devolved policy areas.

The Scottish National Action Plan on Human Rights (SNAP) acts as a focus for human rights delivery by Scottish Government itself, and by public bodies across Scotland. Its thematic action plans link to international instruments, including the European Convention on Human Rights, CEDAW, and other treaties that provide for women's social, political, and economic rights. Progress against these obligations and arrangements would be enhanced if responsibility for the implementation of CEDAW was codified in Scots Law.

### WE ARE CALLING FOR A COMMITMENT TO:

- 19.** Incorporate the Convention for the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) into Scots Law.

## Reproductive rights

The original Smith Agreement suggested that all parties were committed to the devolution of abortion. We see potential for the devolution of power and responsibility around abortion to afford a more progressive law. Both pro-choice and anti-choice organisations have identified weaknesses with the 1967 Abortion Act that is currently in effect.

However, abortion is a politically polarising issue around the world, and international experience that suggests that nations infrequently revisit abortion legislation, that legislative processes attract significant amounts of international scrutiny and resources, and that myths around reproductive healthcare are widespread. We are therefore calling for as much time as possible for civil

society to build capacity to engage in the discussion about how women's reproductive health and rights should be realised in Scotland when abortion is devolved to the Scottish Parliament.

**WE ARE CALLING FOR A COMMITMENT TO:**

**20.** A progressive abortion law for Scotland when powers are devolved to the Scottish Parliament.

## This manifesto is endorsed by the following organisations:



### Close the Gap

Close the Gap is a national partnership initiative that works to encourage and enable action to address the gender pay gap.



### Scottish Women's Aid

Scottish Women's Aid is the lead organisation in Scotland working towards the prevention of domestic abuse.



### Rape Crisis Scotland

The national office for the rape crisis movement in Scotland, and host of the Scottish Women's Rights Centre.



### Zero Tolerance

Zero Tolerance is a charity working to tackle the causes of men's violence against women.



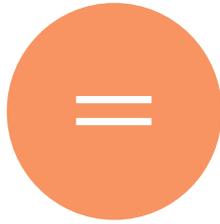
### Scottish Women's Budget Group

The Scottish Women's Budget Group campaigns for gender budget analysis in the Scottish, and local authority, budgets.

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Published September 2015