
Sex & Power 2014: Who Runs Britain?



Sex and Power was researched and written by the Centre for Women & Democracy on behalf of the Counting Women In coalition (CFWD, the Electoral Reform Society, the Fawcett Society, the Hansard Society and Unlock Democracy).

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The report has been researched and written by the Centre for Women & Democracy, with support from the Counting Women In partners - the Fawcett Society, the Electoral Reform Society, the Hansard Society and Unlock Democracy, all of whom have helped with proof-reading, checking, design, infographics, comment and suggestions.

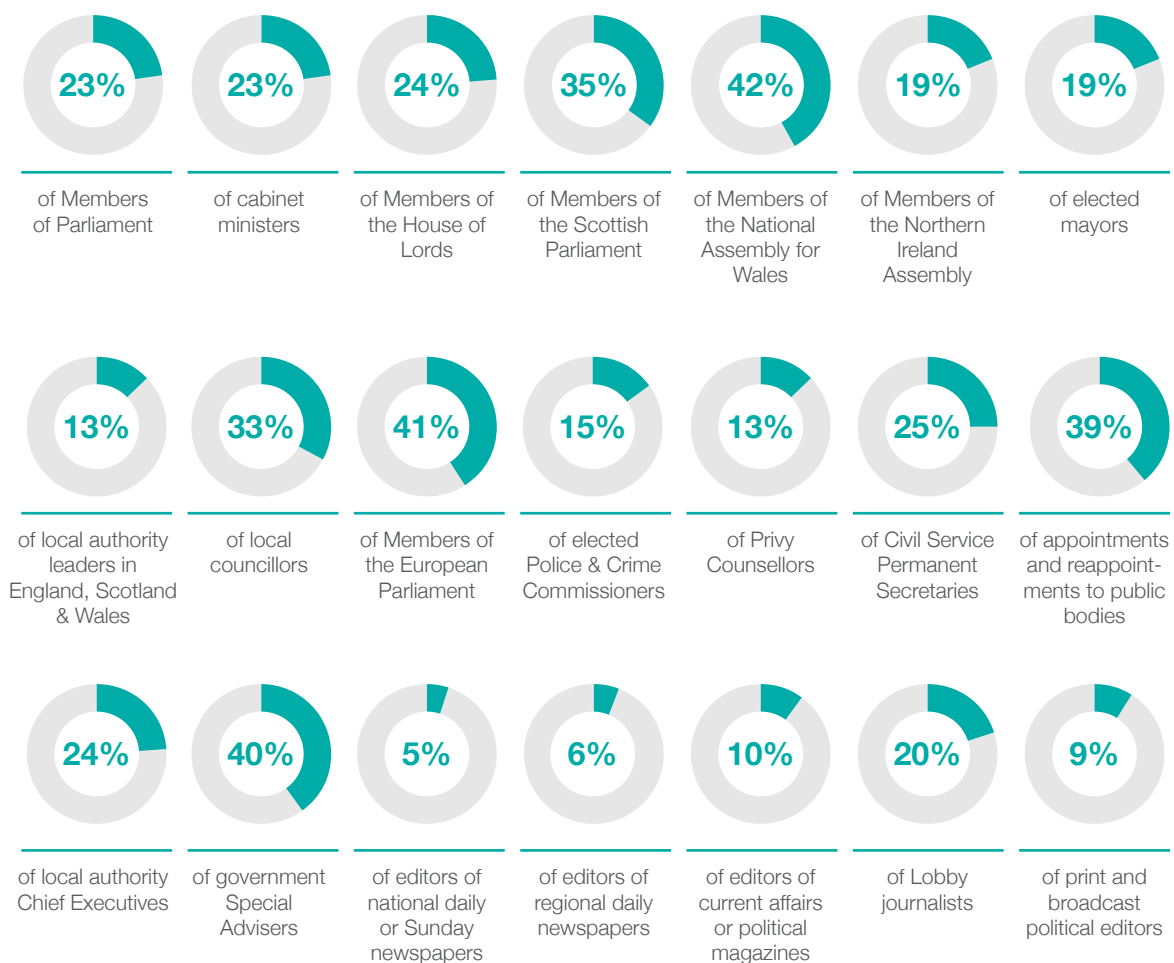
Executive Summary

Executive Summary

In *Sex & Power 2013: Who runs Britain?* we reported a pretty dismal picture of women’s access to political, social and economic decision-making. A year on, how much has changed?

All too predictably, the answer is ‘not much’. It is still the case that, at the current rate of progress, a child born today will be drawing her pension before she has any chance of being equally represented in the UK Parliament.

Women are currently:



The UK Parliament has fallen from 59th prior to the 2010 general election to 65th in the world ranking of parliaments.

It is now almost 40 years since the Sex Discrimination Act was passed, over 40 since the Equal Pay Act, and over 80 since women got the right to vote equally with men, yet women all too often are still missing from politically powerful positions in the UK.

As part of this report we have made six recommendations (listed below) for what needs to be done, both now and in the longer term, to make faster progress towards parity in public life. We call upon all those involved – including government, Parliament, political parties and the media – to implement them immediately. The cash cost of doing so is relatively low, and a small investment now will reap huge rewards in the future. We know that change is possible, but without real, committed and targeted action now we will continue to drift.

Recommendation 1

All political parties (including those with representation in the devolved bodies) should take immediate action (or continue to take action) to increase the number of women candidates at all levels of election, and to draw those candidates from as wide a variety of backgrounds and communities as possible. This should include positive action measures in selection processes wherever necessary, action plans for immediate implementation after the 2015 general election, and steps to promote and increase support for a diverse range of women candidates at all levels of elected office.

Recommendation 2

In order to enable everyone concerned to develop a much better understanding of who is standing for elected office at all levels, an equalities monitoring form similar to that used in recruitment for public appointments and applications for funding should be introduced by the relevant election authority. It would be completed and submitted to returning officers by all candidates together with nomination forms at all levels of election, and the results collated (either by the Cabinet Office or the Electoral Commission) and published annually. This requirement should be implemented at the 2015 Parliamentary and English local elections, and at all elections thereafter.

Recommendation 3

All political parties should establish, publish and implement internal complaints procedures for dealing with sexual harassment, discrimination and bullying. These should reflect the fact that political parties are both employers and spaces where unpaid members, activists, staff and public representatives interact with both one another and the general public.

Recommendation 4

Government, political parties and others should act to implement the recommendations of the Speaker's Conference Report published in 2010. In particular, political parties should make diversity awareness training, advice and support available to party members involved in candidate selections, all parties and the House should work towards the implementation of statutory maternity and parental leave for MPs and peers, and prescriptive quotas and equality guarantees should be seriously considered if significant progress is not made.

Recommendation 5

We call upon the media to ensure that their coverage of political issues includes women and their views, treats all contributors with the dignity and respect to which they are entitled, and accords with the Code of Conduct published by the National Union of Journalists.

Recommendation 6

The 2010 general election was notable for the absence of women from the public discourse, and for the extent to which this was noticed. All organisations – public, private and third sector – should take steps to ensure that, both before and during the election campaign, at meetings and events, both women and men appear on platforms as speakers, and editors and broadcasters should also take responsibility for commissioning contributions

from both women and men as commentators and experts. Individual citizens should be encouraged to object to men-only platforms, panels and programmes. Broadcasters and event organizers should challenge parties which always put up male speakers. We note that the development of sites such as the Women's Room and others means that there is now even less excuse for failing to include women speakers and experts in every discussion, panel and debate.

In a year's time we will be publishing Sex & Power 2015, and we will be looking for real action rather than routine gestures of support. Change happens because people with the power to create it act, and in this case the actions which would make a difference are well-known. Women have waited for centuries for fair and equal access to political power, and they are waiting still. At the current rate of progress, a child born today will be drawing her pension before she has any chance of being equally represented in the Parliament of her country.

That is too long to wait.

Introduction: What's Changed?

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In Sex & Power 2013: Who runs Britain? we reported a pretty dismal picture of women's access to political, social and economic decision-making. A year on, how much has changed?

All too predictably, the answer is – not much, and it is still the case that, at the current rate of progress, a child born today will be drawing her pension before she has any chance of being equally represented at Westminster.

There is now one more female MP than there was a year ago.¹ The Prime Minister has reshuffled his cabinet three times, with the net result that the number of women members has increased from three to five. There is still only one national newspaper edited by a woman, and although the Church of England has finally voted to allow women bishops, all the bishops in the House of Lords are still men. There are 24 more women life peers, but this makes very little difference to the percentage of women in the House of Lords overall. The European elections this year have resulted in the election of more women MEPs representing the UK in Brussels, but the level of women councillors remains stubbornly stuck at a little over 30 percent.

Moreover, the diversity of those women who do make it into public office still leaves much to be desired. In publishing this report we recognise that the current cohort of women (and men) in the Westminster Parliament and the devolved bodies in Scotland and Wales are heavily monocultural, and that, to be truly effective, any campaign to secure the election of more women needs to take account of all aspects of women's identities.

In 2013 we looked at a whole range of fields in which public decisions are made, public money spent and public power exercised. The full picture of women's exclusion (and occasional inclusion) in those activities can be found in Sex & Power 2013.

¹ Emma Lewell-Buck was elected in the South Shields by-election in May 2013.

This year, we have concentrated specifically on political life in the UK as a whole, including separate sections on Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. This is partly because the overall picture has changed very little, and partly because, as a result of a series of events, the whole issue of women's political power has suddenly risen up the agenda (at any rate as a subject for discussion). 2014 saw the first of a series of electoral opportunities for change, and we examine these in some depth in the course of the report.

Since it remains the case that politics is not the only field in which power – political, social and financial – is exercised we have reproduced in Appendix 1 of this edition the tables from the 2013 edition of Sex and Power which show the presence of women in senior roles in a wide range of sectors. This means that it is possible to put the political into a wider context which, regrettably, is much the same as it was a year ago.

However, there has been a significant change in the level of interest in improving the presence of women in public life, particularly in the media. Various events – from internal party scandals to exchanges between party leaders in the House of Commons – have served to highlight the absence of women, and there is a widening realisation that we are entering into a phase in which real change could be achieved, if only the political community as a whole could be brave enough to seize the nettles.

There are three key areas which offer opportunities for significant progress for women's political power. These are the political parties, the political culture, and elections.

Firstly, political parties are the gatekeepers to public office; they find, (hopefully) train, support, and choose candidates, what 'management' there is of elected members is done by them, and, as the Labour and Conservative parties demonstrated in 1997 and 2010 respectively, they can create dramatic change in a relatively short space of time if they are serious about doing so.

In the body of the report we look at how well (or badly) the parties are doing in the selection of candidates for next year's Westminster elections. Not surprisingly, the use of positive action measures by the Labour Party puts them ahead, and concerns about the level of women being selected in other parties has led to such mechanisms being considered by them also.² But none of the parties is

² For instance, Nick Clegg for the Liberal Democrats <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/nick-clegg-backs-allwomen-shortlists-to-solve-lib-dems-lack-of-female-mps-9347033.html> - 9 May 2014, and David Cameron for the Conservatives <http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/jul/14/david-cameron-open-to-female-only-shortlists-tories> 14 July 2014

likely to make far-reaching changes to its candidate selection procedures until after the next general election, by which time the make-up, look and culture of Parliament will have been set for another five years, the inherent injustice of the under-representation of over half of the population will have been reinforced yet again, and the prospect of gender equality in the bodies which govern us will have receded even further. And party leaders will be able to continue to treat the representation of women in the legislature as a kind of competition between male protagonists rather than a problem for democracy which they have a joint responsibility to solve.

We are at a critical point in British politics. The referendum on Scottish independence will take place in a few weeks' time, and we are less than a year away from the next general election on 7 May 2015. A year later, the devolved bodies will also hold elections. Our findings on candidate selection suggest that the political parties are already running out of time to make real change to the representation of women in 2015, and they should already be making plans for action next May if they are not also to lose the opportunities offered by elections in 2016 and 2020.

Some of the changes needed relate to candidate selection procedures, and, in particular, to the use of positive action and quotas. Acting in this way to correct the under-representation of women has been legal since the passing of the Sex Discrimination (Election Candidates) Act 2002, yet to date only the Labour and (in 2010) the Conservative parties have made use of it for Westminster elections, and only Labour and the Green Party in elections for devolved assemblies. Experience from around the world³ suggests that the use of positive action in one form or another can be a significant factor in increasing the presence and representation of women, and our first Recommendation reflects our view that the political parties all need to take responsibility for this.

Recommendation 1

All political parties (including those with representation in the devolved bodies) should take immediate action (or continue to take action) to increase the number of women candidates at all levels of election, and to draw those candidates from as wide a variety of backgrounds and communities as possible. This should include positive action measures

³ <http://www.quotaproject.org/aboutquotas.cfm>

in selection processes wherever necessary, action plans for immediate implementation after the 2015 general election, and steps to promote and increase support for a diverse range of women candidates at all levels of elected office.

The second area in which there needs to be change is our knowledge of who is actually standing for elections, and who is succeeding. At present there is no mechanism for assessing what is happening in terms of diversity generally among candidates at any level. The persistent failure to monitor this suggests that, despite all parties and the Government repeatedly supporting greater diversity in public life, they are willing to take almost no steps to identify exactly what is happening, or to identify where the real problems are or what might be done about them. Monitoring the diversity of candidates would be a good start; until then, we can only be accurate about the representation and participation of women as a whole with very occasional forays into related areas of both privilege and disadvantage.

Recommendation 2

In order to enable everyone concerned to develop a much better understanding of who is standing for elected office at all levels, an equalities monitoring form similar to that used in recruitment for public appointments and applications for funding should be introduced by the relevant election authorities. It would be completed and submitted to returning officers by all candidates together with nomination forms at all levels of election, and the results collated (either by the Cabinet Office or the Electoral Commission) and published annually. This requirement should be implemented at the 2015 Parliamentary and English local elections, and at all elections thereafter.

Our third recommendation deals with the internal culture of political parties, and, in particular, the way in which they deal with complaints. None of the parties seem to have effective (or publicly known) procedures for dealing with bullying or harassment, and, as recent events have shown, when these issues rise to the surface they find it hard to deal with them satisfactorily (or even particularly fairly). We accept that political parties are essentially voluntary organisations, that they are liable to feel that there are political as well as procedural issues at stake, and

that they function as part of a society which has fundamental and sometimes toxic problems with sexism and misogyny, but we do not believe that any of this is any excuse for failing to develop, implement and publish proper procedures which would protect the interests and rights of everyone involved in these cases.

Recommendation 3

All political parties should establish, publish and implement internal complaints procedures for dealing with sexual harassment, discrimination and bullying. These should reflect the fact that political parties are both employers and spaces where unpaid members, activists, staff and public representatives interact with both one another and the general public.

So far as Parliament itself is concerned, there needs to be a fundamental change of attitude. Recent research by the Hansard Society⁴ found that the public were highly critical of Parliament's 'shop window', Prime Minister's Questions: 47 percent said that the atmosphere is too noisy and aggressive, 67 percent that there is too much political point-scoring and only 12 percent agreed that the spectacle made them 'proud of Parliament'.

This feeds into what seems to be a developing consensus, amongst many politicians as well as commentators, observers and voters, that there is something unhealthy about the political culture of the UK. This is true even of those who are themselves the main instigators and proponents of the aggressive, knock-about, sexist culture of our politics, a culture to which many women, (and now increasingly, men) have objected for so long.

Women MPs (particularly those elected in or after 2010) have become increasingly ready to criticise the general atmosphere and behaviour of the House of Commons. Sarah Champion, the MP for Rotherham, described the levels of sexist abuse she encountered in the Chamber as 'utterly appalling',⁵ whilst Pat Glass, the MP for Durham North West, said that women with regional accents fared even worse, and described 'orchestrated barracking'⁶ of women who got up to speak. Mary McLeod MP has referred to 'hectoring and bullying',⁷ whilst even the Speaker of the House of Commons, John Bercow, has said that some women MPs have told him that the atmosphere at Prime Minister's Questions is so bad that they no longer attend.⁸

⁴ Tuned in or Turned off? Public attitudes to Prime Minister's Questions, Hansard Society, February 2014

⁵ <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-25266177> December 2013

⁶ <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/tories-deliberately-mock-women-mps-for-their-northern-accent-says-pat-glass-9133437.html> February 2014

⁷ <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/women/womens-politics/10633666/The-women-of-Westminster-have-had-enough.html> February 2014

⁸ <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-27062577> 17 April 2014

Taken together with reports of sexism inside political parties, scandals involving peers and MPs, and the failure of any of the political parties to take adequate steps to protect the rights of both women and a range of minority groups, these complaints paint a picture of a profession in which women are neither welcome nor valued.

In 2010 the Speaker's Conference published a detailed report suggesting ways in which both access to Parliament and members' experience of it could be improved. A few of its proposals have been implemented, but most have been ignored. Our next recommendation demands that the Speaker's Conference Report should be implemented in full.

Recommendation 4

Government, political parties and others should act to implement the recommendations of the Speaker's Conference Report published in 2010. In particular, political parties should make diversity awareness training, advice and support available to party members involved in candidate selections, all parties and the House should work towards the implementation of statutory maternity and parental leave for MPs and peers, and prescriptive quotas and equality guarantees should be seriously considered if significant progress is not made.

However, Parliament does not operate in isolation. Media coverage of politics is also depressingly sexist, with frequent commentary on what women politicians wear and whether or not they are married⁹, the labelling of them as 'Blair's Babes', 'Cameron's Cuties' or (for those women MPs who had previously worked in television) 'autocuties', and, most recently, the Daily Mail's bizarre portrayal of Downing Street as a catwalk for female ministers during the July 2014 Cabinet reshuffle, (written, depressingly, by women journalists).¹⁰

⁹ In December 2013 the Daily Telegraph used the headline 'Marriage never came my way. I don't know why' to headline an article about government minister Esther McVey MP. <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/conservative/10642338/Esther-McVey-Marriage-never-came-my-way.-I-dont-know-why.html> 16 February 2014

¹⁰ <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/femail/article-2693150/Camerons-cuties-make-stylish-presence-felt-march-Downing-Street-dramatic-reshuffle.html> 15 July 2014

We recognise that recently some male politicians have also come in for this kind of attack,¹¹ and that there currently seems to be a kind of personal cruelty in some political coverage which runs across the board. But we also believe that when applied to women this type of comment is particularly – and sometimes intentionally – demeaning and undermining, and often contains a level of misogyny which would be unacceptable in most other employment arenas.

That there should be a reciprocal culture between Parliament and the media is hardly a surprise. As this report shows, there is only one woman editing a national newspaper, only one editing any of the best-known political magazines and only three (out of 34) working as political editors. The Political Editors of the BBC, ITV, Channel 4 and Sky News are all men. Very few of the leading political bloggers are women, and very few of the leading political blog sites are edited by women.

Moreover, research in 2006 for the Sutton Trust¹² found that over half (54 percent) of the country's journalists had been privately educated, and that this percentage was rising. This research has not been repeated since, but there is no reason to believe that its findings would not be much the same if it were.

In other words, both the political establishment and the people who determine the tone of political news, coverage and commentary are overwhelmingly male, and often from the same background.

Our fifth Recommendation therefore calls on the media to do something about their end of it, not just in terms of the employment of women, but in the tone in which women in politics are reported. Advances in this respect, especially before the next general election, would make a real difference to women in all elected assemblies, and to the Westminster Parliament in particular.

Recommendation 5

We call upon the media to ensure that their coverage of political issues includes women and their views, treats all contributors with the dignity and respect to which they are entitled, and accords with the Code of Conduct published by the National Union of Journalists.

¹¹ For instance the Communities Secretary, Eric Pickles, who was described in 2011 by the Deputy Prime Minister, Nick Clegg, as 'the only cabinet minister who you can spot on Google Earth'.

¹² <http://www.suttontrust.com/news/news/over-half-the-countrys-top-journalists-went-to-private-schools/>

Finally, the media can only report on women in politics in any way if women are both visible and audible. The Counting Women In coalition grew out of the frustration of a wide range of women with the absence of women from platforms and debates during the 2010 General Election, and this is in turn connected to the under-representation of women as experts, commentators, and speakers at events and conferences and in radio and television news and current affairs output. This problem is easily rectified, especially if people highlight and object to the exclusion of women from panels and programmes whenever women it occurs, and our last recommendation covers this area.

Recommendation 6

The 2010 general election was notable for the absence of women from the public discourse, and for the extent to which this was noticed. All organisations – public, private and third sector – should take steps to ensure that, both before and during the election campaign, at meetings and events, both women and men appear on platforms as speakers, and editors and broadcasters should also take responsibility for commissioning contributions from both women and men as commentators and experts. Individual citizens should be encouraged to object to men-only platforms, panels and programmes. Broadcasters and event organizers should challenge parties which always put up male speakers. We note that the development of sites such as the Women’s Room and others means that there is now even less excuse for failing to include women speakers and experts in every discussion, panel and debate.

It is now almost 40 years since the Sex Discrimination Act was passed, over 40 since the Equal Pay Act, and over 80 since women got the right to vote equally with men, yet women, still, are all too often missing from politically powerful positions in the UK.

As part of this report we have made six recommendations for what needs to be done, both now and in the longer term, to make faster progress towards parity in public life, and we call upon all those involved – including government, Parliament, political parties and the media – to implement them immediately. The cash cost of doing so is relatively low, and a small investment now will reap huge rewards in the future. We know that change is possible, but without real, committed and targeted action now we will continue to drift.

In a year's time we will be publishing Sex & Power 2015, and we will be looking for real action rather than routine gestures of support. Change happens because people with the power to create it act, and in this case the actions which would make a difference are well-known. Women have waited for centuries for fair and equal access to political power, and they are waiting still. At the current rate of progress, a child born today will be drawing her pension before she has any chance of being equally represented in the Parliament of her country.

That is too long to wait.



Nan Sloane

Director

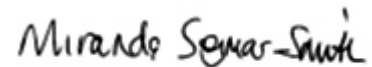
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Sex & Power:

Who Runs Britain 2014?

1 British Political Institutions

There has been very little change in the representation of women in elected office since the publication of Sex & Power 2013; whilst disappointing, this is hardly surprising, since the next UK general election is not until 2015, and the devolved bodies in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland will not now hold elections until 2016. There have, however, been European elections in 2014 as well as local elections in England and elections for shadow authorities in Northern Ireland.¹³

Table 1: Percentage increase/decrease in the presence of women in UK political institutions 2004 - 2014

	2004	2008	2013	2014	Net change 2004/2003	Net change 2013/2014
Members of Parliament	18.1%	19.3%	22.5%	22.6%	+4.5%	+0.1%
The UK Cabinet	27.3%	26.1%	17.4%	22.7%	-4.6%	+5.3%
House of Lords	17.7%	19.7%	21.7%	23.5%	+5.8%	+1.8%
Members of the Scottish Parliament	39.5%	34.1%	35.7%	35.1%	-4.4%	0.6%
Members of the National Assembly for Wales	50.0%	46.7%	41.7%	41.7%	-8.3%	0.0%
Members of the Legislative Assembly of Northern Ireland	16.7%	16.7%	18.5%	19.4%	+2.7%	+0.9%
Elected Mayors	18.2%	8.3%	13.3%	18.8%	-0.6%	+5.5%
Local Authority Council Leaders	16.6%	14.3%	12.3%	13.1%	-3.5%	+0.8%
Local Councillors	30.0%	30.0%	32.0%	32.7%	+2.7%	+0.7%
UK Members of the European Parliament	24.4%	25.6%	33.3%	41.1%	+16.7%	+7.8%
Police & Crime Commissioners	n/a	n/a	n/a	14.6%	n/a	0.0%

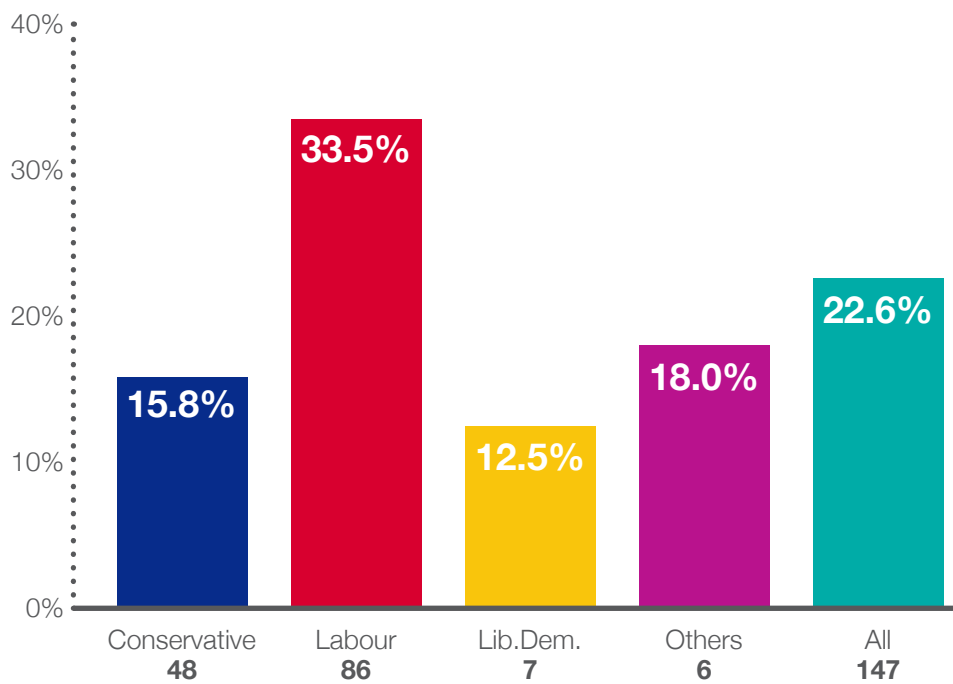
¹³ There are currently 26 local councils in Northern Ireland. However, a reform programme is underway which will see these replaced by 11 new councils on 1 April 2015. On 22 May 2014 elections to these 11 new councils took place and they are now operating in 'shadow' form in preparation for taking on full powers and responsibilities next year.

The sections which follow look in detail at the bodies listed above, and also consider related areas of government such as the civil service.

a) The House of Commons

There are 147 women Members of Parliament (MPs); 22.6 percent of the total 650. This is an increase of one on 2013 following the by-election in South Shields in May of that year. The break-down by political party is shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Women as a percentage of UK MPs by party
(actual number of women MPs shown after each party name)



b) Candidate selection for the 2015 UK General Election

A general election – which now takes place only every five years - is the most significant opportunity political parties have to make any real progress in improving the representation of women in the UK Parliament. The selection of candidates by parties is thus a significant indicator of what can be expected at next year's election on 7 May.

The larger political parties tend to select candidates well in advance of elections, and there is therefore already sufficient information available to enable us to form a picture of what the next Parliament will look like. The snapshot date used for all selection data in this section is 4 August 2014.

In considering the figures which follow it should be borne in mind that, as in all elections other than those for new bodies, the vast majority of current MPs will stand again, and will be re-elected. As a result, there are only two groups of seats which can contribute to real change in the numbers of women elected; firstly, seats which change hands between the parties (referred to in this report as 'target' seats), and secondly those where the sitting MP retires and is replaced by a new candidate (referred to as 'retirement' seats).

All political parties have a list of target seats – i.e., constituencies which they either hope to win from another party, or which they hold with a very narrow margin and hope to retain. In some cases these lists are made public by one means or another, but in others they are not. Labour has announced a list of 106 target seats¹⁴ (with none in the defensive category). The Conservative Party has not announced a detailed list of seats, but they have a 40:40 strategy consisting of 40 constituencies they want to win and 40 they hold with very small majorities and wish to retain.¹⁵ The Liberal Democrats have not announced a definite list of target seats either. For the purposes of this report, therefore, we have looked at Liberal Democrat selections in the 50 most marginal seats which the party does not currently hold.¹⁶

It should be noted that, although the selection of a diverse range of candidates in target seats is important in terms of improving the gender balance in the House of Commons, it is not necessarily in itself a reliable or consistent driver of long-

14 List available from the Labour Party website
<https://www.labour.org.uk/uploads/6b94b880-df0b-ff04-7907-d31fbb040560.pdf>

15 The Conservative Party does not normally announce its target seat strategy publicly, but details are available (e.g., as reported in the Telegraph and on the Conservative Home website, and reference is frequently made to it on the Party's own website.

16 This list is taken from the website LibDem Voice, (<http://www.libdemvoice.org/updated-full-list-of-lib-dems-standing-in-our-held-seats-and-top-50-targets-3-38073.html>) which was accurate as at 9 February 2014. Our own monitoring established that there was minimal change between that date and the snapshot date used for this research.

term permanent change. Target seats change hands at elections depending upon variable national and local factors, and the historic tendency in all parties for women candidates to be concentrated in this type of seat¹⁷ means that overall progress is slow unless women are also selected in 'safe' seats – i.e., those in which sitting MPs with good majorities retire. For this reason we have produced separate figures for target seats and retirement seats as well as for selections as a whole.

We have not included figures for party candidates as a whole; this is because a significant number for both Labour and the Conservatives will be incumbent MPs standing again. The gender breakdown for this group will be similar to that for the current House of Commons (see above), and, given that the majority of incumbent members will be re-elected, they will have little effect on the composition of the House after the election. In addition, whilst we recognise that it is important that women are represented in seats the parties do not expect to win, as well as those they reasonably can, the majority of 'unwinnable' seats have not yet selected candidates. It is also the case that even very high numbers of women candidates in such seats would not contribute to the numbers of women elected.

The selection of candidates in all target and retirement seats, and broken down by party, as at 4 August 2014, is shown in Tables 2, 3 and 4.

Table 2: Candidates selected in all target and retirement seats as at 4 August 2014

	Total candidates selected	No. Women selected	Women as percentage of total selected
Conservative	55	19	34.5%
Labour	127	68	53.5%
Liberal Democrat	42	17	40.5%

¹⁷ For instance, of the 63 Labour women elected for the first time in 1997, over 70 percent represented marginal seats which were lost in subsequent elections.

As at 4 August 2014, a total of 64 MPs from the main three parties had indicated their intention to stand down at the 2015 General Election. Table 3 shows the gender breakdown of MPs retiring, with the last three columns showing only those where selections had taken place by the snapshot date. It should be noted that it is very likely that there are more retirements to come, and that the figures below should not be taken as final.

Table 3: Candidates selected in retirement seats only as at 4 August 2014

	Total incumbent MPs retiring	Incumbent women MPs retiring	Total candidates selected to date (2 Aug 2014)	No. Women selected (as at 2 Aug 2014)	Women as percentage of total selected
Conservative	24	3	16	6	37.5%
Labour	31	10	22	17	77.3%
Liberal Democrat	9	2	8	5	62.5%
All	64	15	45	28	62.2%

Table 4: Candidates selected in target seats only by party as at 4 August 2014

	Target seats	Total candidates selected	No. Women selected	Women as percentage of total selected
Conservative	40	39	13	33.3%
Labour	106	105	57	54.3%
Liberal Democrat	50	34	12	35.3%
All	196	178	82	46.1%

In addition there is one (male) Plaid Cymru MP retiring and one (male) Independent.

It is important to note that at this stage of the pre-election cycle, the parties are not at a comparative stage in their selection processes. Labour has selected more candidates than either of the other two main parties, and some caution therefore needs to be exercised before drawing final comparative conclusions at this stage.

However, it is still possible to identify trends and suggest possibilities.

- a) The Conservative Party is behind both the Labour and Liberal Democrat parties in terms of women selected in retirement seats, and behind Labour in target seats. In the case of retirements, this gap may prove to be significant if the trend continues. These are constituencies the party can reasonably hope to retain in most cases, and fielding women candidates in them would obviously enhance the Conservatives' prospects of improving their female representation in Parliament.
- b) Labour's continued use of positive action mechanisms in the form of all-women shortlists (AWS) for both target and retirement seats is likely to result in an increase in both the number and percentage of Labour women MPs. Women are fairly evenly distributed across the 106 target seats, but even if the Party were to win none of its targets, but retain all its current seats (including retirements) the Parliamentary Labour Party would, on current figures, be more female than at present.
- c) It is sometimes claimed that Liberal Democrats could be without women MPs in the next Parliament; these claims are almost certainly wrong. Although the party is starting from a very low base of only seven MPs, and although five of these have majorities of less than 2.5 percent, the Liberal Democrats are doing well in the selection of women in retirement seats. However, the party has not yet selected candidates in all its target seats, and it is not possible to get as clear a picture of the numbers of women candidates in them as it is with the other two parties.
- d) UKIP have yet to announce many of their candidates for 2015, and in any case it is impossible to make any accurate prediction at this stage as to whether or not they will win seats. In 2010 15 percent of UKIP candidates were female. It has already been suggested that all of their 24 successful European candidates will stand in 2018, and of these seven (29.2 percent) are women.

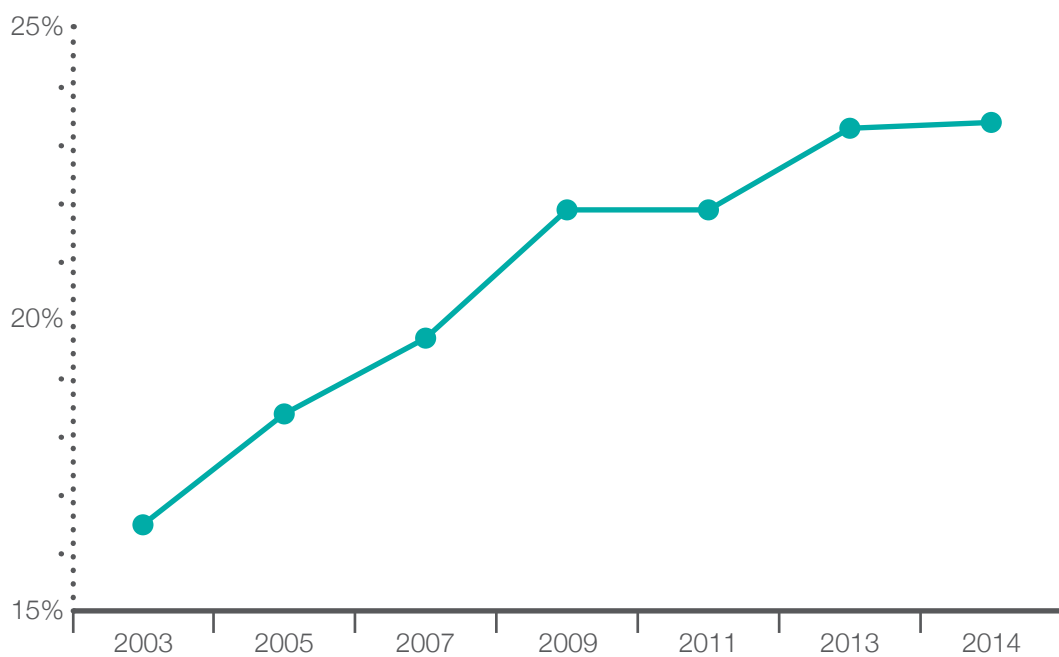
- e) The Green Party has not yet published a central list of candidates selected for the general election, and although there is some information available from local Green party websites there is insufficient to make any accurate assessments. However, historically the Green have a good record in standing women candidates at all levels; in 2010 33 percent of Green candidates were women.
- f) It is likely that there will be a small percentage increase in the representation of women in the House of Commons in 2015, but at this stage it is not possible to make any accurate prediction of what the scale of this is likely to be.

c) The House of Lords

At 23.5 percent female, the House of Lords has a marginally higher percentage of women members than the House of Commons.

Between January 2013 and 4 August 2014 a total of 74 new life peers were created; 24 (32.4 percent) of these were women. Nine new male bishops were introduced to the House during that period, but since the Church of England has not yet appointed women to this rank none of the 26 bishops who sit in the Lords are yet women. Of the 88 hereditary peers still sitting in the House of Lords just two are women.

Figure 2: Women as a percentage of peers 2003 - 2014



The majority of peers (hereditary and life peers) belong to a political party but a significant number have no political allegiance and choose to sit as Crossbenchers or as non-affiliated members. The Bishops are not attached to a political party or group, although on retirement if they are re-appointed to the House of Lords in their own right (rather than because of the office they hold) they often sit as Crossbenchers.

The breakdown of peers by party is shown in Table 5.

Table 5: Women peers by party (or group) as at 4 August 2014¹⁸

	All	Women	% Women
Bishops	26	0	0.0%
Conservative	219	41	18.7%
Crossbench	180	38	21.1%
Labour	216	65	30.1%
Liberal Democrats	98	32	32.6%
Non-Affiliated	20	4	25.0%
Other parties	15	2	13.3%
Total	774	182	23.5%

The House of Lords Appointments Commission, which makes recommendations on the appointment of non-political peers, has, since its creation in 2000, made a total of 63 appointments, of which 23 (36.5 percent) have been women. The Commission itself consists of seven members, three of whom are female.¹⁹

The House of Lords remains a bastion of male power and privilege right at the heart of our democratic system. Even if the House of Commons were to become 50 percent female overnight, the composition of the House of Lords would still ensure that Parliament as a whole was a male dominated institution.

Since there appears to be no current intention to reform the House of Lords we have not made any recommendations specific to it in this report; however, we do consider it to run counter to all principles of equality and equal access to power to persist with a system which, through the representation of bishops and hereditary peers, effectively reserves seats for men in the UK legislative body.

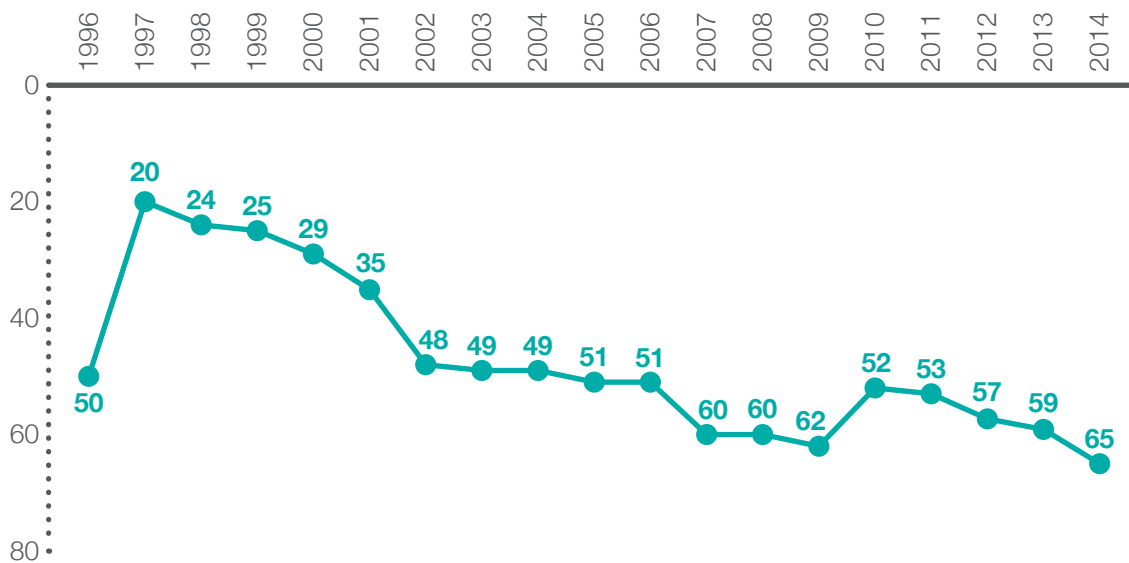
¹⁸ Figures from the Parliamentary website at www.parliament.uk, accessed 4 August 2014.

¹⁹ [http://lordsappointments.independent.gov.uk/media/28825/annual%20report%20oct%2011-sept%2013%20\(pdf\).pdf](http://lordsappointments.independent.gov.uk/media/28825/annual%20report%20oct%2011-sept%2013%20(pdf).pdf) accessed August 2014

d) International Comparisons

Internationally, the UK stood, as at 1 June 2014, 65th in the world rankings behind a total of 74 other countries.

Figure 3: The UK's world ranking in terms of women MPs in percentage terms 1996 - 2014²⁰



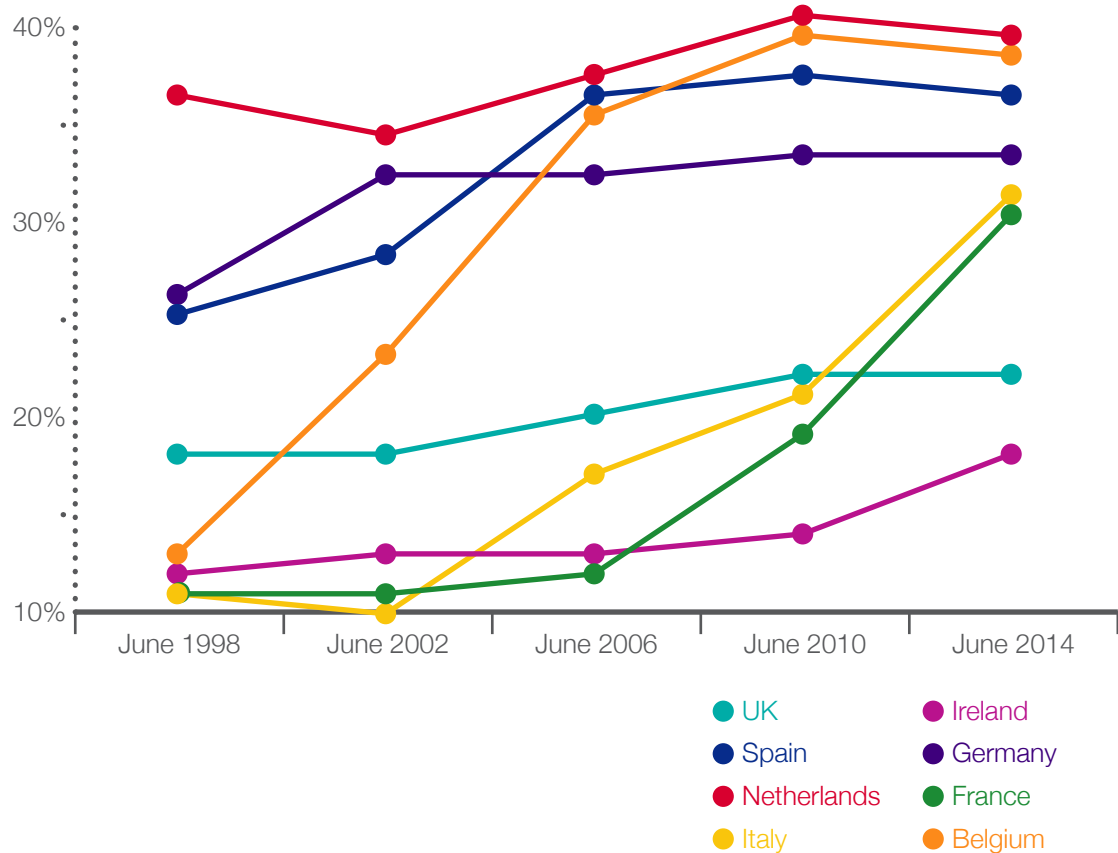
The dramatic increase in women's representation in the break-through year of 1997 (when the percentage of women MPs doubled from the 9.2 percent elected in 1992 to 18.2 percent, and the number from 60 to 120) has not been sustained. Since that point the percentage has risen by little more than four points to 22.6 percent, the number is still under 150, and we have yet to reach the 25 percent mark.

Meanwhile, as Figure 4 shows, other countries have either overtaken the UK or maintained their higher level of women representatives. As the parliamentary term goes on, and as elections take place around the world, the UK slides down the table; in April 2010, prior to the last General Election the UK was 62nd in the global league table, immediately after the election we rose to joint 50th, but by May 2014 had fallen to 65th as we continued to be overtaken by other countries.

²⁰ <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm> accessed June 2014 for all current and historic international figures quoted.

In terms of the EU member states, the UK stands 18th out of 28 - ahead of Greece, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Ireland, Malta, Romania, Cyprus and Hungary, but behind everyone else. Ireland's recent adoption of legal quotas for their next general election in 2016 means that, unless there is significant improvement in 2015, the UK will continue to slip down the global and the European league tables.

Figure 4: Women as a percentage of MPs in eight western European countries 1998 - 2014



It is often argued that the use of quotas is essential to achieving and maintaining high numbers of women in public life. To a great extent this is true; of the top 20 countries worldwide²¹ nine use legally enforceable quota systems and a further six use voluntary quotas.²² Of the remaining five countries, Cuba (ranked third)²³ uses positive action other than quotas to improve women's representation, Finland (ranked eighth) does not use quotas, but has used the supplementary

²¹ Rwanda, Andorra, Cuba, Sweden, South Africa, Seychelles, Senegal, Finland, Nicaragua, Ecuador, Belgium, Iceland, Spain, Norway, Mozambique, Denmark, Netherlands, Timor-Leste, Mexico, Angola and Argentina. <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/arc/classif010514.htm> accessed June 2014

²² Information on quotas from <http://www.quotaproject.org/imdex.cfm>

²³ Since Cuba is a single party state, experience there is not necessarily directly relevant for the UK.

appointment of women at lower levels to swell the pool from which national candidates can be chosen, and Denmark (fifteenth) used quotas to spark the initial progress but ceased to do so in 1996. Neither of the remaining two countries – Andorra (ranked second) and the Seychelles (ranked sixth) has used quotas or positive action but both have very small legislatures (28 and 32 members respectively) and therefore the value of comparison is more limited. It should be noted that the UK comes under the heading of countries which allow political parties to use voluntary quota systems, and this has facilitated much of the UK's progress since 1992.

It is our view that positive action measures, including quotas, have a considerable and significant effect on outcomes, especially when combined with other forms of support such as training, mentoring and other work designed to open up a pipeline of women candidates. Given that progress towards gender balance in 2015 is likely to be limited, it is our view that the use of quotas – both voluntary and mandatory – should be revisited as soon as possible after the general election.

e) The European Parliament and the 2014 European Elections.

The European Parliament held elections across its 28 member states in May 2014.

Prior to the elections, 24 (33.3 percent) of the 72 UK Members of the European Parliament (MEPs) were women - eight Conservatives, five Liberal Democrats, five Labour, two UKIP, and one each for the Greens, the Democratic Unionist Party, Plaid Cymru, and Sinn Fein.

At the elections this rose to 30 (41.1 percent²⁴) – eleven Labour, seven UKIP, six Conservatives, two Greens, and one each for the Democratic Unionist Party, Plaid Cymru, Sinn Fein and the Liberal Democrats.

The European elections in the UK use a form of proportional representation which requires each party to field a ranked list of candidates; electors then vote for the party's whole list as a block rather than for individual candidates. The total number of candidates for all parties was 737, of whom 247 (33.5 percent) were women.

24 The UK elected 73 MEPs in 2014 as opposed to 72 in 2009.

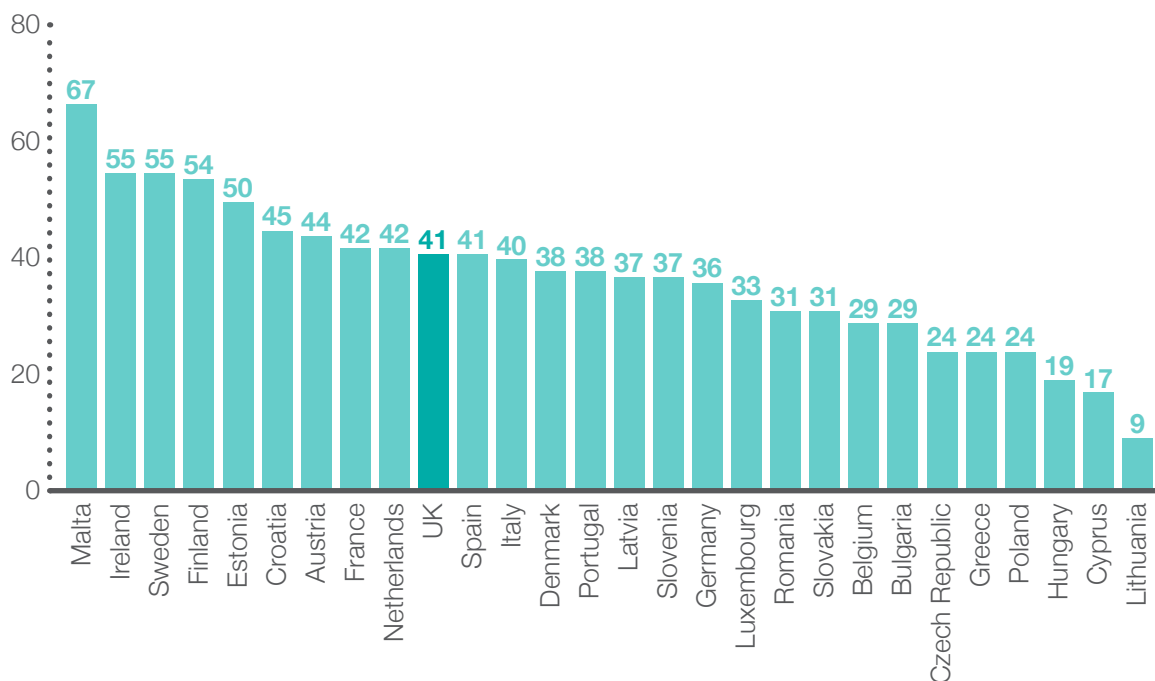
In total 35 political parties fielded candidates at the election; the breakdown of candidates for those which won seats was as follows:

Table 6: Women candidates for successful parties in the May 2014 European elections

	Total candidates	Women candidates	Women as % candidates 2014	Women as % candidates 2009
Conservative	71	22	30.9%	30%
DUP	1	1	100%	100%
Green	71	34	47.9%	52%
Labour	70	37	52.8%	53%
Liberal Democrat	70	24	34.3%	34%
Plaid Cymru	4	1	25%	50%
SNP	6	1	16.7%	16.5%
Sinn Fein	1	1	100%	100%
UKIP	71	13	18.3%	19%
UUP	1	0	0%	0%
Totals	336	134	36.6%	34%

Prior to the election, 35 percent of MEPs across Europe as a whole were women; this rose to 37 percent after the May elections. This breaks down as follows across the member states.

Figure 5: Percentage of women MEPs elected in May 2014 by country



f) The UK Cabinet and Government

The Cabinet consists of 22 (including the Prime Minister) who are full members with salaries and voting rights, and a further eleven who also attend meetings, but who have neither cabinet salaries nor votes.

As a result of reshuffles in October 2013, April 2014 and, most recently in July 2014, the number of women who are full salaried members of the cabinet has risen to five out of 22 (22.7 percent).

Of the eleven ministers who also attend cabinet meetings three are women, which means that just eight (24.3 percent) of the total 33 people eligible to attend Cabinet meetings are female.²⁵

²⁵ <http://www.parliament.uk/mps-lords-and-offices/government-and-opposition1/her-majestys-government/> accessed July 2014

Before he became Prime Minister David Cameron said that by the end of the Parliament (April 2015), a third of cabinet ministers would be women. This target is clearly some way off being met.

The Government as a whole consists of members of the Cabinet plus their ministerial teams. Of the 119 coalition MPs appointed to these posts 31 (26.1 percent) are women.²⁶

Much of the Cabinet's work is done through a series of committees and sub-committees. The most recent public information on the membership of these is dated February 2014, and therefore predates both the April and the July reshuffles.

Most (though not all) of the members of these committees were cabinet members. Of the total 347 places available on these bodies just 49 (14.1 percent) were held by women.²⁷

The nature of these Committees meant that most members sat (at least nominally) on more than one of them, and in some cases on several. As a result, the 49 places held by women were spread between 17 individuals, with Theresa May sitting on eight bodies and Maria Miller (as the then Minister for Equalities) on seven.

Four Cabinet Committees – the Coalition Committee, Banking Reform, Scotland and Public Expenditure – had no women members at all, and there were also none on the Economic Affairs (Infrastructure) and Public Expenditure (Asset Sales) sub-committees. Economic Affairs, European Affairs, Growth and Enterprise and Local Growth had only one woman member apiece (in three cases Maria Miller and in the fourth Theresa May), as had the European Affairs, Nuclear Deterrence and Security and the Public Expenditure (Pay and Pensions) sub-committees. There were five women on the Social Justice Committee.

The new, post-July 2014 Committees will almost certainly have increased female representation, but, given the low numbers of women in Cabinet, there is unlikely to be significant overall improvement.

The under-representation of women at the most senior levels of government is at least in part the consequence of the low level of women in both coalition parties in both Houses of Parliament. This has an important – and deleterious – impact on the range of voices and experiences around the table when key decisions are

²⁶ Ibid

²⁷ Government list at https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/279220/Cabinet_Committee_Membership_Lists_12_Feb_2014.pdf accessed July 2014

being made and results in less diverse decision-making bodies at all levels. There is evidence²⁸ that gender-balanced groups in business make better decisions; if this is indeed the case for companies then it must also be true for governments. Failure to address this shortfall means that not only are women's voices absent from many decisions, but that the quality of decision-making itself continues to be impoverished.

g) The Privy Council

Of the 607 members of the Privy Council, 80 (13.2 percent) are women.²⁹ Since the 2010 general election there have been a total of 121 individuals appointed, of whom 122 (18.2 percent) are women. The rate of appointment of women reflects the overall position of women in the most senior positions in public life.

The Privy Council is 'the mechanism through which interdepartmental agreement is reached on those items of government business which, for historical or other reasons, fall to Ministers as Privy Counsellors rather than as Departmental Ministers'.³⁰ Its members are appointed for a variety of reasons, and are largely, but not exclusively, members and former members of governments. Privy Counsellors therefore provide a good indication of who has, or has had, power in the British political system.

h) The Civil Service

In 2013 we reported that women were very poorly represented in the higher echelons of the civil service, and this has not materially changed.

Four of the 16 Permanent Secretary posts are held by women - these are at Culture, Media & Sport; Environment, Food & Rural Affairs; Health, and Justice.³¹ In addition, there are four women in posts which are regarded as equivalent to Permanent Secretary rank; these are the Second Permanent Secretary (Finance Ministry), the Chief Executive of HM Revenue and Customs, the Chief Medical Officer and the Director of Public Prosecutions.

In 2011, eight of the 16 Permanent Secretaries were women.

According to the Civil Service, women make up 53 percent of all civil servants, and the proportion of women senior civil servants has doubled since 1996.³¹

28 e.g. Gender diversity and corporate performance (Credit Suisse, July 2012), and Lord Davies' reports for the Government on Women on Boards in 2011 and 2013

29 <http://privycouncil.independent.gov.uk/privy-council/privy-council-members/privy-counsellors/> accessed June 2014

30 Privy Council website explanation

31 <https://www.gov.uk/government/organisations/civil-service/about/our-governance#permanent-secretaries> accessed 1 August 2014

32 <https://www.gov.uk/government/organisations/civil-service/about/equality-and-diversity#civil-service-workforce> accessed 1 August 2014.

According to the Institute for Government's Whitehall Monitor, 29% of highest paid civil service posts are held by women compared to 64% of lowest paid posts, with some departments doing rather better than others.³³

Recent research³⁴ has suggested that cuts in the Civil Service may (together with a change in the culture) have had the (presumably unintended) consequence of thinning out the pipeline in terms of women poised to succeed to the higher echelons of the service. If so, this will mean that in the long term the reduction from the high point of 2011 could become a trend rather than a blip.

The Civil Service has not yet published information on whether or not these targets have been met. Indeed, it is interesting to note that at the time of writing all information regarding progress has disappeared from the 'Monitoring Diversity' page of the Civil Service website, leaving only an explanation of how monitoring is done and what the targets are.

i) Public Appointments

In 2010 the Government published its Equality Strategy,³⁵ which set an 'aspirational target' of 50 percent of new public appointments being women. At present, although there is progress, this aspiration does not look like being met in the short term.

In 2013/14, 39.3 percent of appointments and reappointments to public bodies were women, as against 35.6 percent in 2012/13.³⁶

The Commissioner for Public Appointments deals with both new appointments and reappointments, and he reports that 41.1 percent of new appointments in 2012/13 were women (39.9 percent in 2012/13).³⁷ He interprets this as meaning that there is some chance of achieving the 50 percent target in 2015. He also notes that:

The figures suggest that avoiding automatic reappointments may be one way of making progress.³⁸ This is almost certainly true, provided that those women who are currently in post are not removed at the end of their term of office and replaced with men.

33 <http://www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk/blog/7688/diversity-in-the-civil-service-more-key-trends/> accessed August 2014.

34 <http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/politicsandpolicy/archives/39775>, Daniel Fitzpatrick, Claire Annesley, Francesca Gains and Dave Richards

35 <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/equality-strategy>

36 <http://publicappointmentscommissioner.independent.gov.uk/wp-content/uploads/2014/07/OCPA-Statistical-Release-2013-14.pdf> accessed 1 August 2014

37 Ibid

38 Ibid

Figure 6: Women as a percentage of Public Appointments 2001/2 to 2013/14



In April 2014 the Public Appointments Commissioner published a guidance note for departments to help them to increase diversity when they are considering public appointments.³⁹ This is very welcome, and will hopefully be helpful. The Commissioner's full report for 2013/14 is due to be published in October 2014.

j) Local Government, Elected Mayors and Police Commissioners

In 2014, 32.7 percent of local councillors in England were women. This represents a slight increase of 0.7 percent since 2013.⁴⁰

A detailed gender analysis of the 2014 local elections has yet to be published,⁴¹ but initial unpublished analysis suggests that about 35 percent of councillors elected in May are women. As a result, although there may well have been a small increase in the overall percentage of women in elected office in local government, it is not likely to be very great.

³⁹ <http://publicappointmentscommissioner.independent.gov.uk/news/increasing-diversity-public-appointments/>

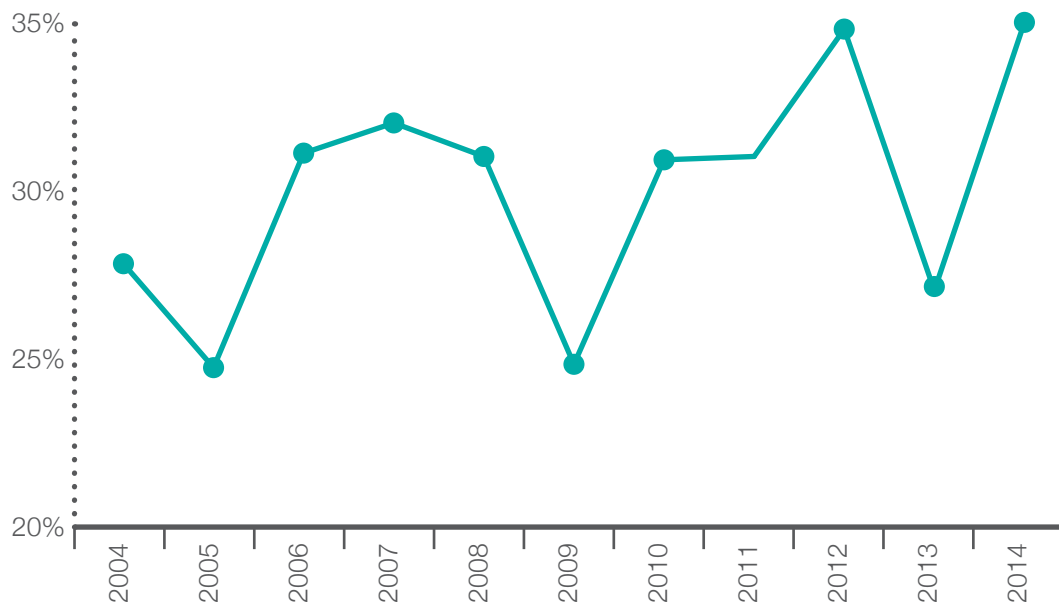
⁴⁰ Information taken from the Local Government Association's National Census of Local Authority Councillor 2013, published June 2014.

⁴¹ This will be produced by the Centre for Women & Democracy in September 2014.

Local elections take place every year in England and Wales, with different groups of authorities running on different cycles. The London boroughs, for example, hold elections every four years, whilst the metropolitan authorities (largely the cities of the north and midlands) elect one third of their members every year for three years, but have no elections in the fourth. Year on year research from the Centre for Women & Democracy⁴² shows that women are most likely to be candidates – and therefore elected – in the London boroughs and the metropolitan authorities in the north of England and the West Midlands; thus the low points in Figure 7 (2005, 2009 and 2013) reflect those years in which neither of these types of authority held elections.

The representation of women in English local government has been stagnant for more than a decade. This is despite the (more or less) sustained use of positive action by the Labour Party and the fielding of relatively high numbers of women candidates at this level by the Liberal Democrats and the Green Party.

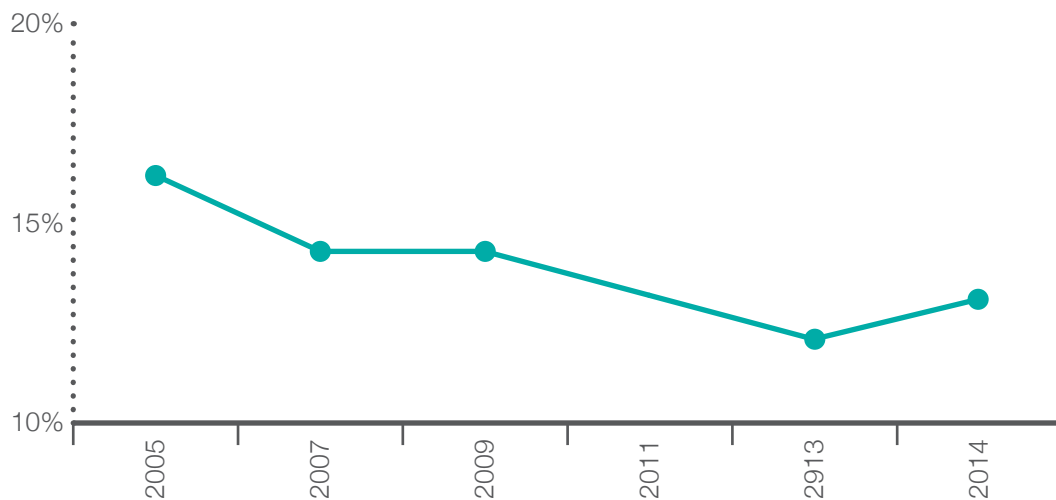
Figure 7: Women as a percentage of councillors elected each year, 2004 - 2014



⁴² <http://www.cfwd.org.uk/resources/publications-reports>

Meanwhile, women continue to be underrepresented at the most senior levels of local government. Following the 2014 local elections 51 (13.1 percent) of the 388 Council leaders in England, Scotland and Wales are women,⁴³ and of the 16 elected mayors (including London) only three are women. Again, these levels are more or less stagnant and show little sign of significant improvement in the short-term.

Figure 8: Women as a percentage of local authority leaders in England 2005 - 2014



Scotland and Wales both have significantly lower levels of women council leaders than England – three out of 32 (9.4 percent) in Scotland and one out of 22 (4.5 percent) in Wales as against 47 out of 334 (14.1 percent) in England.

2012 saw the first elections for new Police & Crime Commissioners. Six (14.6 percent)⁴⁴ of the 41 individuals elected were women. The next elections for these posts will be held in 2016.

k) Local Government Staff and Chief Executives

Local government staff are the civil service of local authorities.

Figures from the Office of National Statistics show that women predominate in local public service; in the fourth quarter of 2013, 61.2 percent of local government officers working full-time were female; when part-time workers are added in this rises to 75.8 percent.⁴⁵ This has been the case for some years; in 2006, for instance, although the total number of local government staff was higher, the total percentage of women was still 74.3 percent (and 59.8 percent of fulltime staff).

⁴³ Information from local authority websites.

⁴⁴ Sue Mounstevens (Avon & Somerset), Ann Barnes (Kent), Jane Kennedy (Merseyside), Julia Mulligan (North Yorkshire), Vera Baird (Northumbria) and Katy Bourne (Sussex).

⁴⁵ http://www.local.gov.uk/local-government-intelligence/-/journal_content/56/10180/2991184/ARTICLE accessed 1 August 2014

However, when it comes to the top level of local government, the picture is rather different, only 23.9 percent of council chief executives in England are women.⁴⁶ It is true that this represents an increase on the previous year's level of 22.9 percent, and that the presence of women at this level has been rising steadily since its 2003 level of 13.1 percent, but on the other hand there is still a long way to go before the local government glass ceiling is broken.

I) Influencing Policy and Framing the Debate

As we noted in Sex & Power 2013, there is considerable concern in some quarters about the 'professionalisation' of politics. An increasing number of people coming into the Westminster Parliament in particular have backgrounds as special advisers, lobbyists, public affairs specialists or directors or researchers in think tanks; as well as providing one of the pipelines into public office these are all professions which influence (or aspire to influence) public policy, and the diversity or otherwise of such voices is therefore relevant in considering who has access to decision-making and power.

There is considerable overlap between these areas, with individuals moving between them depending on political events and career decisions. For most of them, there is no information available about gender balance, but for three of them it is possible to make some kind of assessment.

i) Special Advisers

The most recent information available on government special advisers was published on 25 October 2013. At that point there were 94 in post; 38 of these (40.4 percent) were women. This is very slightly down on the previous year's level of 41 percent.⁴⁷

There are currently no figures available for political advisers working for the opposition.

ii) Think Tanks

Many think tanks employ women as researchers, finance directors and administrators, but when it comes to heading them up as Directors or Chief Executives they are severely under-represented.

⁴⁶ Based on a survey of 167 of 333 English local authorities; of these 40 had women Chief Executives.

⁴⁷ <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/special-adviser-data-releases-numbers-and-costs-october-2013> accessed June 2014

We looked at a total of 40 organisations which engage in and publish research, many of which also campaign on the issues on which they work.⁴⁸ We found that only seven of them (17.5 percent) were run by women.⁴⁹

The influence such organisations exercise varies from time to time, government to government and issue to issue, but they are often the origin of ideas which subsequently become government policy,⁵⁰ and as a consequence the diversity of the people developing these ideas matters. In addition, think tank reports are usually presented in terms of the media by the director or chief executive of the relevant organisation, and as a result the impression is created that research and policy development is more likely to be a male than female activity.

iii) Media & Blogs

The media remains the male bastion it was last year, with only one of 19 national daily or Sunday papers being edited by a woman,⁵¹ and only 6 percent of regional dailies. Just one of ten current affairs and political magazine editors is a woman;⁵² in fact, the only editorial area in which women flourish is in that of magazines targeted at a largely female readership; in 2013 we found that 75 percent of the editors of top 20 paid-for magazines (in terms of circulation) were women.

The reporting of politics is in the hands of newspapers, broadcasters, magazines and websites. An analysis of the group of journalists and reporters known as the Lobby shows how male-dominated this is; of 126 members of the Lobby listed on the Parliamentary Press Gallery website⁵³ only 32 (20.4 percent) are women, and of the 34 Political Editors listed just 3 (8.8 percent) are women. It may or may not be significant that all three are at Sunday newspapers.⁵⁴

Moreover, the Daily Mirror, the Daily Telegraph, the Daily Star, the Independent (daily), the Scotsman, the Mail on Sunday, the Observer, the Sunday Mirror and the Sun on Sunday do not between them have a single female lobby journalist.

48 The Adam Smith Institute, the Bow Group, the Centre for Cities, the Centre for Economic & Social Inclusion, the Centre for European Reform, the Centre for Local Economic Strategies, the Centre for Policy Studies, the Centre for Social Justice, the Centre for Women & Democracy, the Centre Forum, Chatham House, Civitas, Compass, Demos, the Electoral Reform Society, the Fabian Society, the Foreign Policy Centre, the Hansard Society, the Institute for Employment Studies, the Institute for European Environmental Policy, the Institute for Fiscal Studies, the Institute for Public Policy Research, the Institute of Economic Affairs, the Kings Fund, the Legatum Institute, the Local Government Information Unit, the National Institute of Economic & Social Research, the New Economics Foundation, the New Local Government Network, Open Europe, the Overseas Development Institute, Policy Exchange, Reform, the Resolution Foundation, ResPublica, the Smith Institute, the Social Market Foundation, Unlock Democracy, the Work Foundation, and the Young Foundation.

49 The Centre for Cities, the Centre for Women & Democracy, the Electoral Reform Society, the Foreign Policy Centre, the Hansard Society, the Legatum Institute and Unlock Democracy.

50 E.g., the introduction of elected Police and Crime Commissioners was an idea which originated with Policy Exchange in 2003.

51 Dawn Neeson at the Daily Star

52 Bronwen Maddox at Prospect

53 <http://www.pressgallery.org.uk/> accessed June 2014

54 Jane Merrick at the Independent on Sunday, Kirsty Buchanan at the Sunday Express and Isabel Oakeshott at the Sunday Times.

In recent years the rise of blogging and political commentary websites has meant that the political weather can be made by writers other than journalists. The nature of blogging has changed considerably recently, with fewer people maintaining their own blogs over a long period and more contributing to sites which are either directly political (Conservative Home, Labour List, Lib Dem Voice) or offering independent political commentary. Some contributors are regular, whilst others are more occasional. In addition, some periodicals and newspapers run their own blogs (e.g. the Guardian's Comment Is Free or the Spectator's Coffee House blog), and there are also news and political gossip websites such as Politics Home, Political Scrapbook and Guido Fawkes. In some cases, the lines between these various outlets are blurred, and although there is a general impression that women are under-represented in online political comment, there is no recent analysis of the extent or effect of this.

However, as an indicator, we looked at who was editing a selection of political blogs⁵⁵ and found that in only two cases was a woman named as editor or equivalent.⁵⁶

There are a number of feminist sites publishing news (e.g. Women's eNews) and blogs (e.g. the FWord UK), but the absence of women's voices from mainstream political newswriting and blogging is, even at the most cursory glance, striking.

⁵⁵ Comment is Free, Conservative Home, Guido Fawkes, Labour Uncut, LabourList, Left Foot Forward, Left Futures, LibDem Voice, Liberal Conspiracy, Open Democracy, Political Betting, Progress, Shifting Grounds, Speaker's Chair, Spectator's Coffee House Blog, the Staggers (New Statesman), Young Fabians

⁵⁶ Caron Lindsay at LibDem Voice and Isabel Hardman at the Spectator's Coffee House Blog.

2 Who Runs Scotland 2014?

Scotland has its own Parliament, local councils, civil service and judicial system. Charities operating in Scotland must register with the Office of the Scottish Charity Regulator (OSCR). These are (with the exception of the Holyrood Parliament) heavily male in composition, particularly in the case of local government, where the level of women elected lags behind even that of Northern Ireland.

The Scottish Parliament has, since its inception in 1999, performed better than Westminster in terms of gender diversity. This is in part directly attributable to the use of positive action by the Labour Party since 1999, but also reflects the fact that a form of proportional representation (the Additional Member system) is used for the elections.

Table 7: Women as Members of the Scottish Parliament (MSP) as at June 2014⁵⁷

	Total MSPs	No. Women MSPs	% Women MSPs
Scottish National Party	65	17	26.2%
Scottish Labour	38	18	47.4%
Scottish Conservative & Unionist	15	6	40.0%
Scottish Liberal Democrats	5	1	20.0%
Scottish Green Party	2	1	50.0%
Independent	2	1	50.0%
Presiding Officer (Unaffiliated)	1	1	100%
All	128	45	35.1%

⁵⁷ Figures in Table 7 are taken from the Scottish Parliament website <http://www.scottish.parliament.uk/msps/177.aspx> accessed January 2014

Both the Scottish Labour and the Scottish Conservative parties are led by women.⁵⁸

Four (40 percent) of the elected members of the Scottish Cabinet are women; two unelected people also attend (the Lord Advocate and the Solicitor General), and one of these, the Solicitor General post, is currently held by a woman.

Scotland sends 59 Members to the Westminster Parliament; 13 (22.0 percent) are women.

The referendum on independence for Scotland will be held on 18 September this year. The Chairs of both the Yes and the No campaign are men, as are the Directors. 40 percent of the Yes Scotland Board (four out of ten members) and 44.4 percent of Better Together's Board (four out of nine members) are women. Figures supplied in December 2013 by the respective campaigns⁵⁹ show that in terms of staff 27.8 percent of Yes Scotland's staff are women, and 33.3 percent of Better Together's staff.

At 24.3 percent, Scotland has a lower percentage of women councillors than England (30 percent), Wales (26.3 percent) or Northern Ireland (26.7 percent). Across 32 local authorities just 297 out of 1,223 elected councillors are women, and only three council leaders.⁶⁰

51.3 percent of all Scottish government employees are women,⁶¹ but only 36.8 percent of the senior civil service.

None of the editors of Scottish daily or Sunday papers is female, but the picture for magazine editors is rather better; of the 11 top circulation magazines six are edited by women, including Holyrood, which is a political journal.

A quarter (eight out of 32) of the Senators of the College of Justice (the equivalent of High Court judges) are women, one out of the six Sheriffs Principal, and 21.3 percent of Sheriffs. The Lord Advocate is a man, but both the Solicitor General and the Crown Agent are women.

Women are not particularly well-represented at the top of Scottish charities. 15 percent (three out of 20) Chief Executives are women, and five (20 percent) of Chairs.

⁵⁸ Johann Lamont and Ruth Davidson respectively.

⁵⁹ <http://www.yesscotland.net/> and <http://bettertogether.net/>. Figures of staffing were supplied by the campaigns on request in December 2013.

⁶⁰ Jennie Laing in Aberdeen, Rhondda Geekie in East Dunbartonshire and Johanna Boyd in Stirling, all Labour.

⁶¹ <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Resource/0042/00421238.pdf> for information relating to Scottish government employees in this section.

3 Who Runs Wales 2014?

Wales has its own Assembly and government, but the same legal and judicial system as England. There are 22 local authorities, although this is currently under review and a reduction is likely. Again, apart from in the National Assembly for Wales, men predominate in Welsh decision-making roles.

The Welsh Assembly, established in 1999, was the first elected legislature in the world to reach a 50:50 gender balance (in 2003). This is in part directly attributable to the use of positive action by the Labour Party since 1999, but also reflects the fact that a form of proportional representation (the Additional Member system) is used for the elections.

Sadly, however, this early success has not been maintained, and the last set of elections (in 2011) produced a rather different picture.

Table 8: Women as Members of the Welsh Assembly (AMs) as at June 2014⁶²

	Total AMs	No. Women AMs	% Women AMs
Welsh Labour	30	15	50.0%
Welsh Conservatives	14	4	21.1%
Plaid Cymru	11	4	36.4%
Welsh Liberal Democrats	5	2	40.0%
All	60	25	41.6%

⁶² Figures in Table 8 are taken from the Welsh Assembly website <http://wales.gov.uk/about/?lang=en> accessed June 2014

Three (27.3 percent) of the eleven members of the Welsh Cabinet are women, and two of the parties (Plaid Cymru and the Welsh Liberal Democrats) are led by women.⁶³

Wales sends 40 Members to the Westminster Parliament, of whom seven (17.5 percent) are women.

The Clerk to the National Assembly is female.

The Welsh Government's civil service is organised into Directorates; the Permanent Secretary is male, as are six of the seven Directors General. At the next level down 35.3 percent (12 out of 34) Directors are women. 46.6 percent of the 103 Deputy Directors (or equivalent) are women. Only one member of the six-strong Civil Service Board is a woman.⁶⁴

In terms of local government, 26.3 percent of councillors are women, and just one⁶⁵ of the 22 Council leaders.

⁶³ Leanne Wood and Kirsty Williams respectively.

⁶⁴ <http://wales.gov.uk/about/civilservice/?lang=en>

⁶⁵ Ellen ap Gwyn at Ceredigion

4 Who Runs Northern Ireland 2014?

Northern Ireland has the most male dominated political and power structures in the United Kingdom.

19.4 percent of Members of the Legislative Assembly (MLAs) are women. These break down by party as follows:

Table 9: Women as Members of the Northern Ireland Assembly (MLA) as at June 2014⁶⁶

	Total MLAs	No. Women MLAs	% Women MLAs
Alliance	8	2	25.0%
Democratic Unionist Party	38	5	13.2%
Green Party	1	0	0.0%
Independent	1	0	0.0%
NI21	2	0	0.0%
Sinn Fein	29	10	34.5%
Social Democratic & Labour Party	14	3	21.4%
Traditional Unionist Voice	1	0	0.0%
UKIP	1	0	0.0%
Ulster Unionist Party	13	2	15.4%
All	108	21	19.4%

⁶⁶ Figures in Table 9 are taken from the Northern Ireland Legislative Assembly website <http://www.niassembly.gov.uk/YourMLAs/> accessed January 2014

In terms of Executive Ministers (the equivalent of the Cabinet), three of the 15 members (20 percent) are women.⁶⁷

Northern Ireland sends 18 Members to the Westminster Parliament; of these four (22.2 percent) are women.

This under-representation of women in the most senior levels of government in Northern Ireland has implications beyond gender equality (important though that is). The United Nations has repeatedly stressed the importance of women in successful peace processes; in October the UN Security Council adopted a resolution calling on all member states to 'strengthen (their) commitment to ensuring that women play a more prominent role in conflict prevention, resolution and in post-war peacebuilding.'⁶⁸

In terms of other public appointments, 34 percent are held by women; this level has moved very little from its 1995 level of 32 percent.⁶⁹

There are currently 26 local authorities in Northern Ireland, with a total of 580 local councillors, of whom 155 (26.7 percent) are women.⁷⁰ A reorganisation due to take effect in 2015 will, however, reduce the number of councils to 11; in May 2014 elections were held for the shadow authorities, which will take over when the new councils come into being in 2015, and 21.7 percent of those elected were women. Thus 2015 will see a fall in the number of women involved in local government in Northern Ireland.

Three (11.5 percent) of the 26 Council Chief Executives are women.⁷¹

33 percent of people serving on publicly appointed boards and bodies in 2012 were women.⁷²

67 Arlene Foster (Enterprise, Trade & Investment), Michelle O'Neill (Agriculture & Rural Development) and Carál Ní Chuilín (Culture, Arts & Leisure).

68 UN Security Council, October 2013 <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp/html/story.asp?NewsID=46283&Cr=Violence+against+women&Cr1=#.UvoRpt4DsY>

69 Northern Ireland Statistics & Research Agency, Women in Northern Ireland, September 2011

70 Data taken from local authority websites January 2014

71 In Derry, Larne and Newtonabbey.

72 Report from Northern Ireland Commissioner for Public Appointments January 2014. http://www.publicappointmentsni.org/under-representation_and_lack_of_diversity_in_public_appointments_in_northern_ireland.pdf

Northern Ireland has a separate judiciary, which has authority over both civil and criminal cases. Women are represented in it as follows:

Table 10: Women in the Northern Ireland Judiciary as at December 2013⁷³

	Total	Women	% Women
Lord Chief Justice	1	0	0.0%
Lord Justices of Appeal	3	0	0.0%
High Court Judges	10	0	0.0%
County Court Judges	17	5	29.4%
Masters of the High Court	7	0	0.0%
District Judges	4	0	0.0%

⁷³ <https://www.courtsni.gov.uk/en-GB/AboutUs/OrganisationalStructure/Pages/Judiciary-of-Northern-Ireland.aspx> accessed June 2014

Appendix 1: Women Decision-Makers by Sector in the UK

The tables which follow are reproduced from *Sex & Power 2013: Who runs Britain?* and show the percentages of women at top or senior levels in a variety of fields, occupations and professions other than politics and government. Readers wishing to know which organisations and bodies were included in the studies for these tables will find detailed lists in Appendix 2 of the 2013 edition.

a) Finance & the Economy

		Percentage Women
Bank of England Monetary Policy Committee⁷⁴		0.0%
Directors of FTSE 100 Companies⁷⁵		17.3%
Directors of FTSE 250 Companies⁷⁶		12.0%
Non-Executive Directors of UK Banks⁷⁷		15.5%
CEOs of UK Banks⁷⁸		11.1%
Local Enterprise Partnerships⁷⁹	All	15.1%
	Private Sector Members	14.9%
	Local Authority Members	13.2%
	Academic Members	25.0%
Trade Union General Secretaries⁸⁰		27.8%
Trade Union General Secretaries (over 200,000 members)⁸¹		25.0%

⁷⁴ <http://www.bankofengland.co.uk/about/Pages/people/court.aspx#photo> accessed August 2012

⁷⁵ <http://www.boardsforum.co.uk/boardwatch.html> accessed August 2012

⁷⁶ <http://www.boardsforum.co.uk/boardwatch.html> accessed August 2012

⁷⁷ Data collated from the websites of the following banks: Bank of England, Barclays, Clydesdale/Yorkshire Bank, Co-Op Bank, HSBC, Lloyds TSB, Nationwide, RBS/Nat West, Santander, accessed August 2012

⁷⁸ Ibid

⁷⁹ Data collated from the websites of 32 Local Enterprise Partnerships in England listed in Appendix 2, accessed August 2012

⁸⁰ http://www.tuc.org.uk/tuc/unions_main.cfm accessed August 2012

⁸¹ Ibid. The 8 unions with in excess of 200,000 members are: CWU, GMB, NASUWT, NUT, PCS, Unison, Unite and USADW

b) Justice & the Law

		Percentage Women
Supreme Court⁸²		8.3%
Court of Appeal⁸³	Heads of Divisions (incl. Lord Chief Justice)	0.0%
	Lord Justices of Appeal	11.1%
High Court⁸⁴	Chancery, Queens Bench & Family Divisions	15.6%
Crown & County Courts⁸⁵	Circuit Judges	17.6%
	Recorders (2011)	16.5%
	District Judges	23.0%
	Deputy District Judges (2011)	32.9%
Magistrates Courts⁸⁶	Bench Chairmen	45.9%
	Magistrates (2011)	50.6%
Tribunals⁸⁷	Judicial and Lay Members	37.0%

⁸² Website of the Supreme Court <http://www.supremecourt.gov.uk/about/whos-who.html>

⁸³ Ibid

⁸⁴ Ibid

⁸⁵ Ibid

⁸⁶ Ibid

⁸⁷ Ibid

c) Charities & Professional Bodies

Some charities are also professional bodies which regulate or represent specific activities such as branches of medicine or engineering. These have not been included in the sections on public appointments because they are private bodies not under the auspices of either the government or the Commissioner for Public Appointments, but they are important because their senior officers are usually seen as figures of authority within their fields, and, because they may be called upon to comment on various matters, are also the public faces of their profession.

		Percentage Women
Major Charities⁸⁸	Chair	8.0%
	CEO (or equivalent)	24.0%
Professional Bodies⁸⁹	Chair	29.2%
	CEO	19.2%

d) Education

	Percentage Women
University Vice Chancellors⁹⁰	14.2%
Secondary School Heads⁹¹	38.4%
Primary School Heads⁹²	71.3%
Independent School Heads⁹³	11.9%
Free School Heads⁹⁴	63.6%

⁸⁸ All data taken from Women Count: Charity Leaders 2012, Norma Jarboe OBE, for Women Count, May 2012

⁸⁹ Data collated from the websites listed in Appendix 2 and accessed September 2012

⁹⁰ <http://www.universitiesuk.ac.uk/AboutUs/WhoWeAre/Pages/Members.aspx> accessed August 2012

⁹¹ <http://www.education.gov.uk/rsgateway/DB/SFR/s001062/index.shtml> accessed August 2012

⁹² Ibid

⁹³ <http://www.hmc.org.uk/schools/> and individual school websites, accessed August 2012

⁹⁴ Data collated from the websites of individual schools as listed at <http://www.education.gov.uk/schools/leadership/typesofschools/freeschools/b0066077/open-free-schools> accessed August 2012

e) Health

The NHS is currently undergoing a significant restructuring which means that this is the last year in which the figures below will be produced. In 2013, both Acute and Strategic Health Authorities will be abolished and replaced with new commissioning arrangements.

Although the new commissioning bodies are in existence in many places, very little data on them is available. However, research in 2011⁹⁵ looked at the gender breakdown of the groups which will make up the new boards and found that women were less likely to be well represented in all of them for one reason or another.

The Health & Social Care Act also merges parts of the existing Primary Care Trusts' responsibilities with the public health functions already held by local authorities and creates new Health and Wellbeing Boards. These have already been established, and although it should be noted that their composition will change once the Act becomes operational, the core local authority membership is already known.

		Percentage Women
Acute NHS Trusts⁹⁶	Chairs	19.1%
	Chief Executives	38.3%
Ambulance NHS Trust Board⁹⁷	Chairs	27.3%
	Chief Executives	0.0%
Mental Health NHS Trusts⁹⁸	Chairs	35.8%
	Chief Executives	32.1%
Strategic Health Authority Trusts⁹⁹	Chairs	50.0%
	Chief Executives	25.0%
Health & Wellbeing Boards¹⁰⁰	Chairs	40.2%
	Members (All)	40.0%

⁹⁵ Unintended Consequences: the impact of the government's legislative programme on women in public roles, Centre for Women & Democracy, July 2011

⁹⁶ Data collated from the websites of 162 Acute NHS Trusts, as listed in Appendix 2 and accessed September 2012

⁹⁷ Data collated from the websites of 11 Ambulance Trusts, as listed in Appendix 2 and accessed September 2012

⁹⁸ Data collated from the websites of 52 Mental Health Trusts, as listed in Appendix 2 and accessed September 2012

⁹⁹ Data collated from the websites of Strategic Health Authorities as listed in Appendix 2 and accessed September 2012

¹⁰⁰ Data collated from the websites of 50 (out of 130) Health & Wellbeing Boards as listed in Appendix 2 and accessed November 2012

f) The Armed Forces

In all countries, the Armed Forces are and remain – with the possible exceptions of the highest echelons of sport - the most indomitably male of all areas. There are long-standing cultural reasons for this, and change, though glacial, is slowly coming.

There are currently no women at all at the very highest ranks of any service in the UK, although until recently there was one female Brigadier in the Army.¹⁰¹ It is true that women are represented in increasing numbers at lower ranks in all services, and could therefore reasonably be expected to come through in future years.

There are higher levels of women at lower officer levels in all three services;¹⁰² on the lowest rungs 19 percent of Flying Officers, 13 percent of Army Lieutenants and 14 percent of Naval Lieutenants are women.¹⁰³ However, the Ministry of Defence does not give any indication of how it proposes to ensure that some of these women do achieve the highest ranks in future, nor is it clear what the drop-out rate is for either women or men as they progress up the ranks.

		Percentage Women
Army ¹⁰⁴	General, Major General, Brigadier	0.0%
	Colonel	3.6%
	Lieutenant Colonel	6.2%
Royal Air Force ¹⁰⁵	Air Chief Marshal, Air Marshal, Air Vice Marshal	0.0%
	Air Commodore	5.5%
	Group Captain	5.2%
	Wing Commander	7.7%
Royal Navy ¹⁰⁶	Admiral, Vice Admiral, Rear Admiral, Commodore	0.0%

101 Brigadier Nicky Moffat was head of pay and strategic manning at the Ministry of Defence, but resigned in August 2012.

102 It should be noted the MoD advises caution when interpreting officer percentages due to small numbers used in the percentage calculations.

103 Unintended Consequences: the impact of the government's legislative programme on women in public roles, Centre for Women & Democracy, July 2011

104 <http://www.dasa.mod.uk> accessed September 2012

105 Ibid

106 Ibid

g) The Police

The table below gives figures both for Chief Constables and for officers holding Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO) rank, which is defined as ‘chief officers who hold a substantive rank or appointment at the rank of Assistant Chief Constable level (Commander in the Metropolitan Police Service and City of London Police) or above as well as senior police staff equivalents’.¹⁰⁷

Unlike other similar public services (e.g. the NHS or the armed forces), policing locally is now run by elected individuals. The first Police and Crime Commissioner elections were held in November 2012.

The former Police Authorities have been replaced by Police and Crime Panels whose remit is to advise and scrutinise the activities of the Commissioner, and with whom budgets have to be agreed. Unpublished research¹⁰⁸ suggests that these Panels are on average no more than 20 percent female.

	Percentage Women
Chief Constables (UK All) ¹⁰⁹	13.7%
England	13.2%
Scotland	12.5%
Wales	25.0%
Northern Ireland (1 post)	0.0%
ACPO Ranks (including Chief Constables) ¹¹⁰	17.6%
Chief Superintendent ¹¹¹	12.4%
Superintendent ¹¹²	16.2%
Police Commissioners ¹¹³	14.6%

¹⁰⁷ Association of Chief Police Officers website <http://www.acpo.police.uk/>

¹⁰⁸ Research on Police Commissioners and Police and Crime Panels being carried out by the Centre for Women & Democracy to be published in early 2013

¹⁰⁹ <http://www.acpo.police.uk/About/CouncilMembership.aspx> accessed August 2012, together with information from individual police force websites

¹¹⁰ <http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/publications/science-research-statistics/research-statistics/police-research/hosb0912/> figures as at March 2012 and accessed September 2012

¹¹¹ Ibid

¹¹² Ibid

¹¹³ <http://www.choosemypcc.org.uk/election-results> accessed November 2012

h) News, Media & Current Affairs

Editors	Percentage Women
National Daily Newspaper Editors ¹¹⁴	5.0%
Regional Daily Newspaper Editors ¹¹⁵	5.9%
Top 20 Paid-for Magazines (Circulation) ¹¹⁶	75.0%
Current Affairs & Political Magazines ¹¹⁷	10.0%
Parliamentary Lobby Journalists (National dailies, Jan 2013) ¹¹⁸	23.1%
Political Editors (National dailies, Jan 2013) ¹¹⁹	0.0%
Parliamentary Lobby Journalists (Sunday papers, Jan 2013) ¹²⁰	20.0%
Political Editors (Sunday papers, Jan 2013) ¹²¹	33.3%
Parliamentary Lobby Journalists (Broadcasters, Jan 2013) ¹²²	32.1%
Political Editors (Broadcasters, Jan 2013) ¹²³	20.0%
Political Bloggers (2011) ¹²⁴	11.1%
Directors of Television News Companies ¹²⁵	27.6%

114 Data collated from the websites of 20 national daily newspapers as listed in Appendix 2 and accessed August 2012

115 Data collated from the websites of 68 regional daily and evening newspapers as listed in Appendix 2, and accessed September 2012

116 ABC Audit of circulation figures for the first half of 2012 <http://www.pressgazette.co.uk/node/49860>; top 20 magazines listed in Appendix 2

117 Data collated from the websites of 10 current affairs magazines listed in Appendix 2, and accessed September 2012

118 Research conducted by the Guardian newspaper article and data published 9 January 2013 <http://www.guardian.co.uk/news/datablog/2013/jan/09/david-cameron-female-political-journalists-question>

119 Ibid

120 Ibid

121 Ibid

122 Ibid

123 Ibid

124 <http://www.totalpolitics.com/blog/259042/top-100-uk-political-bloggers.shtml>

125 Data collated from the websites of the BBC, Channel 4, ITV, Sky and Viacom (MTV), accessed August 2012

i) The Arts

At all levels, the arts are dependent upon sponsors and other funders; this is particularly the case at the lower levels. We have therefore included an analysis of the boards of three of the major funders in the field.

		Percentage Women
National and Regional Museums and galleries ¹²⁶	Directors	28.0%
	Chairs	9.3%
	Trustees/Boards	27.4%
Television Companies ¹²⁷	CEO	0.0%
	Chair	0.0%
	Directors	27.6%
	BBC Trustees	50.0%
National Theatre Companies ¹²⁸	Directors	31.8%
	Chairs	10.0%
Funders	Arts Council Board	43.8%
	Big Lottery Fund Board	30.0%
	Heritage Lottery Fund Board	60.0%

¹²⁶ Data collated from the websites of 50 museums and art galleries listed in Appendix 2 and accessed September 2012

¹²⁷ Data collated from the websites of the BBC, Channel 4, ITV, Sky and Viacom (MTV), accessed August 2012

¹²⁸ Data collated from the websites of 22 theatres and theatre companies listed in Appendix 2 and accessed August 2012

j) Sport

		Percentage Women
National Governing Bodies	Sport England ¹²⁹	25.0%
	Sport Scotland ¹³⁰	22.2%
	Sport Wales ¹³¹	35.7%
	Sport Northern Ireland ¹³²	7.7%
Individual Sport Governing Bodies (including the Ladies Golf Union)¹³³	Board Members	20.7%
	Chairs	9.5%
	Chief Executives & Directors	23.8%
Individual Sport Governing Bodies (excluding the Ladies Golf Union)	Board Members	18.7%
	Chairs	5.0%
	Chief Executives & Directors	20.0%

129 http://www.sportengland.org/about_us/how_we_are_structured/our_main_board.aspx accessed August 2012

130 http://www.sportscotland.org.uk/About_us/Who_we_are/Our_board accessed August 2012

131 <http://www.sportwales.org.uk/about-us/about-sport-wales/our-team/board-members.aspx> accessed August 2012

132 <http://www.sportni.net/about/board> accessed August 2012

133 Data collated from the websites of 22 sport governing bodies listed in Appendix 2 and accessed August 2012

Methodology

The figures in *Sex and Power 2014* represent a snapshot of the gender breakdown of people in senior decision-making roles in June and July 2014 (unless otherwise stated in the text).¹³⁴

Any snapshot is by definition out-of-date almost immediately, and thus there are likely to be some figures which, if checked again at the time of publication (August 2014) will be found to have changed. We are confident, however, that in no case is the change very great.

Unless otherwise stated, the terms 'Britain' or 'Great Britain' mean England, Scotland and Wales. The term 'UK' includes Northern Ireland. In some cases figures relate only to England and Wales, and, again, this is made clear in either the text or a footnote.

In Appendix 1 we have reproduced the tables from *Sex & Power 2013* showing women decision-makers by sector. These are therefore more than a year out of date; however, it was decided that, so close to the 2015 General Election we should concentrate on women's representation in the political sphere. Other areas will be revisited for the next edition which will be published after the election.

In many cases we undertook our own research in order to arrive at the relevant figures in Appendix 1. Where this happened we have indicated the sources we have used, and Appendix 2 in *Sex & Power 2013* consists of a list of specific organisations examined in stated categories.

It should be noted that the number of government agencies and advisory bodies is a moveable feast, and that on-going restructuring means that any calculation can only provide a snapshot which may become very quickly out of date. However, we are confident that the picture that this snapshot shows remains broadly accurate even taking account of recent changes (for instance to government executive agencies).

134 In a few cases the figures given are from December 2013; where this is the case it is indicated in the text or a footnote.

Sources used for the whole project have been very varied, ranging from the websites of individual bodies (e.g. theatres, independent schools and sports governing bodies) to those of professional organisations (e.g. the police and the legal profession). However, in some cases we have used research already published elsewhere, and when we have done this we have made the sources clear in footnotes.

Every effort has been made to ensure that the picture presented in this report is fair and accurate, and that sources have been identified and acknowledged. The authors would be grateful if any errors or omissions could be brought to their notice as soon as possible.

Counting Women In Coalition

countingwomenin.org



The Centre for Women & Democracy campaigns to increase and promote women at all levels of public decision-making in the UK. Based in the north of England, we work with partners and supporters across the country to achieve equal representation and power for women in politics, democracy and public life.

cfwd.org.uk



Founded in 1944, the Hansard Society is an independent, non-partisan political research and education charity that works in the UK and around the world to promote democracy and strengthen parliaments. We believe that the health of representative democracy rests on the foundation of a strong Parliament and an informed and engaged citizenry.

hansardsociety.org.uk



The Electoral Reform Society is campaigning for a better democracy.

We put voters first. We offer an independent voice, and work across Britain to shape the democratic debate at all levels. Our vision is a representative democracy fit for the 21st century.

electoral-reform.org.uk



Unlock Democracy is the UK's leading campaign for democracy, rights and freedoms.

We campaign for a vibrant inclusive democracy that puts power in the hands of people.

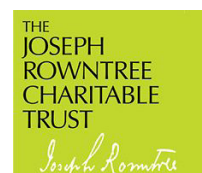
unlockdemocracy.org.uk



Fawcett is the UK's leading campaign for women's rights – at home, at work and in public life. We trace our roots to 1866 and our founders' parliamentary campaign for women's suffrage.

Our vision is of society where women and our rights are equally valued and respected and where we have equal say in decisions that affect our lives.

fawcettsociety.org.uk



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