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THE POWER OF PARITY: ADVANCING WOMEN'S EQUALITY IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

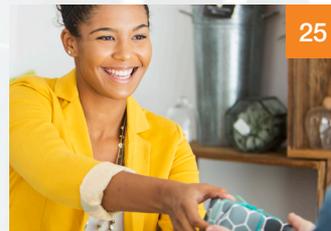
SEPTEMBER 2016

HIGHLIGHTS



11

Economic opportunity



25

Gender parity indicators



37

Actions to capture opportunity

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25

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MCKINSEY & COMPANY: GENDER AND DIVERSITY

Over the past decade, McKinsey has made a sustained commitment to researching and writing about gender and diversity. Since 2007, McKinsey's Women Matter research has explored the role women play in workplaces around the world. In 2015 and 2016, McKinsey released research reports on Women in the Workplace with LeanIn.Org, as part of a five year partnership on a comprehensive study of the state of women in corporate America. In the fall of 2015, McKinsey Global Institute published a global research on the economic benefits of advancing women's equality in 95 countries, *The power of parity: How advancing women's equality can add \$12 trillion to global growth*. It is on MGI's global research on the power of parity that this UK deep dive is based.

THE POWER OF PARITY: ADVANCING WOMEN'S EQUALITY IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

SEPTEMBER 2016



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PREFACE

Over the past decade, McKinsey has made a sustained commitment to researching and writing about gender and diversity. Since 2007, McKinsey's Women Matter research has explored the role women play in workplaces around the world. The challenge of inclusive growth is a theme that MGI has explored in many reports, and gender inequality is an important part of that picture. We have committed publicly, through the United Nations' HeforShe initiative and the 30% Club, to ambitious gender goals for our own firm over the next five years. McKinsey's global managing director, Dominic Barton, is one of 47 US chairpersons and CEOs who have publicly committed to greater gender equality at all levels. McKinsey works with UN Women and LeanIn.Org in several ways and has a range of internal programs to drive this agenda. In 2015 and 2016, McKinsey released research reports on Women in the Workplace with LeanIn.Org, as part of a five year partnership on a comprehensive study of the state of women in corporate America.

Gender inequality is a pressing human issue that also has huge ramifications for jobs, productivity, GDP growth, and inequality. In September 2015, MGI published *The power of parity: How advancing gender equality can add \$12 trillion to global growth*. Over the course of 2015 and 2016, MGI has published deep dives into gender inequality in India—the country with the largest economic potential if it tackles the issue—and the United States, the country with the largest economic prize for equality among developed economies. This paper builds on that body of work, putting efforts to improve gender equality in the context of the changing UK economy and future needs for productivity and growth. While the United Kingdom has come a long way towards improving social and economic opportunities for women, challenges remain in a number of areas of inequality across both work and society. In analysing this issue globally and in different regions of the world, we hope to help policy makers, business leaders, and other stakeholders chart the way towards effective interventions that promote equitable growth and broad-based prosperity.

This research was led by Vivian Hunt, Managing Partner, UK & Ireland; Richard Dobbs, a Director in London; Emma Gibbs, a Partner in London; Anu Madgavkar, an MGI Partner in Mumbai; Jonathan Woetzel, an MGI Director in Shanghai; and Smriti Arora, an Associate Principal in London. Mekala Krishnan, a consultant based in Stamford, advised on the work. Wan Hong, a consultant based in London, led the project team, which comprised Rishi Arora, Claire Barnett, and Cameron Brookhouse.

Guiding this work were a number of McKinsey Partners and Associate Principals we would like to thank: Laura Blumenfeld, Jonathan Dimson, Kweilin Ellingrud, Dennis Layton, Paul Morgan, and Jay Scanlan.

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IN BRIEF

THE POWER OF PARITY: ADVANCING WOMEN'S EQUALITY IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

- Bridging the UK gender gap in work has the potential to create an extra £150 billion on top of business-as-usual GDP forecasts in 2025, and could translate into 840,000 additional female employees.¹ In this scenario, every one of the United Kingdom's 12 regions has the potential to gain 5 to 8 percent incremental GDP, with the largest opportunities in London, the South East, and the North West.²
- 38 percent of this extra GDP could come from increased female participation in the labour force, with participation rising from 76 percent under the business-as-usual forecast in 2025 to 79 percent. 35 percent would come from more women working in the more productive sectors, and 27 percent from a rise in women's working hours by an average of 25 to 30 minutes a day.
- Today, women work in less productive sectors and are concentrated in lower-paid occupations, which affects their financial stability. They are least represented in high-productivity sectors—including science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM)—and higher-salaried occupations, including skilled trades and managerial and leadership positions, which report the highest densities of skill shortages. Paving the way for women to occupy these roles could support productivity gains and act as one of the levers for the United Kingdom to narrow the productivity gap with its peers.
- Data from the past decade indicate little improvement in work indicators on the national level; at current rates, the United Kingdom will not achieve parity within the next three decades. MGI's global report also showed that, worldwide, enhancing women's economic potential has gone hand in hand with achieving greater gender equality in society.
- Analysis of UK indicators of gender parity in work and society shows that inequality most affects women as they enter the workforce or take on a parenting role. Areas of extreme inequality include STEM careers, single parenthood, and political representation.³ Inequality is high in leadership and managerial positions, unpaid care work, entrepreneurship, breadwinning ratio, teenage pregnancy, and access to credit.⁴ This picture varies only slightly between UK regions.
- To capture the economic opportunity, government, private-sector organisations, and other groups should undertake a package of actions to remove direct barriers to women working; create better opportunities to enable them to work in the most productive sectors, occupations, and roles; and reshape the underlying social norms and attitudes that define the choices women make, and the way society receives and supports those choices. We have grouped these actions in seven "impact zones": women in leadership, women in STEM, childcare and unpaid care work, women in entrepreneurship, woman in politics, violence against women, and social attitudes and mindset. They are focused on understanding why inequality in outcomes persists; addressing inequality by prioritising proven remedial actions; and tracking and publishing progress.

Download the full report at www.mckinsey.com/mgi

¹ This can be achieved if every UK region matches the pace of the fastest-improving region in terms of gender parity over the past decade.

² GVA is used for regional projections because the United Kingdom reports only GVA, not GDP, at the regional level. These regional-level GVA results are rolled up proportionately to derive GDP impact.

³ STEM careers include associate health professionals, health professionals, science professionals, research and development managers, draughtspersons and building inspectors, science and engineering technicians, IT service delivery occupations, ICT professionals, building professionals, SET managers, engineering professionals, skilled construction and building trades.

⁴ Breadwinning is defined as the percentage of mothers who are the primary earners in their household (earning at least 50 percent of household income), including single mothers.

THE ECONOMIC CASE FOR UK GENDER PARITY

£150 Billion

in GDP could be added to the UK economy in 2025 if every UK region matches the pace of the fastest-improving region over the past decade.



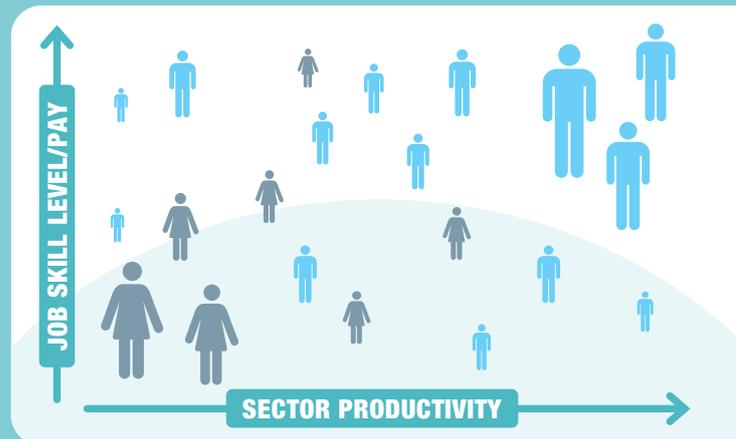
THIS IS EQUIVALENT TO

≥5%

incremental GDP compared to 2025 forecasts in every UK region.

The UK is ahead of peers on gender parity in legal protection and entrepreneurship. However, women are working in less productive sectors and occupations, and being paid less period.

TO CAPTURE THE £150 BILLION, THE UNITED KINGDOM WILL NEED...



840,000 more women in the workforce



Women able to do paid work for about 30 minutes more per day



More women employed in most productive sectors

TO ADDRESS THIS,

we identified a portfolio of stakeholder actions across WORK and SOCIETY



Women in leadership



Childcare and unpaid care work



Women in politics



Women in STEM



Women in entrepreneurship



Violence against women



Social attitudes and mindsets

Results

Actual

725 000

452 000

610 000

925,000



3

Q4

better execute

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Moving towards gender equality is not only a moral and social issue; it is important to future economic growth in the United Kingdom. This research explores the economic potential of narrowing gender gaps at the national level as well as across UK regions; it also examines the opportunity to address gender disparities within various occupations and sectors of the economy. Gender equality in work necessitates gender equality in society, so this research adopts a holistic view, assessing how gender inequality impacts a woman through her life, and identifying a comprehensive set of interventions to help UK stakeholders take action on gender inequality in the short and longer term.

NARROWING THE GENDER GAP IN WORK HAS THE POTENTIAL TO ADD £150 BILLION TO UK GDP FORECASTS FOR 2025 AND TO ADDRESS THE SKILLS GAP IN HIGH-PRODUCTIVITY SECTORS

Achieving full gender parity—whereby women are involved in the economy identically to men in terms of labour-force participation, hours worked, and sector mix of employment—could add £600 billion of additional GDP to business-as-usual forecasts in 2025.¹ This may seem an unattainable goal in the next ten years, but the prize of even partial progress towards parity is well worth striving for. If every UK region matches the pace of the fastest-improving region over the past decade (our “best-in-UK” scenario), this could still add £150 billion in GDP in 2025—a 6.8 percent increase over 2025 GDP business-as-usual forecasts.² This would be the equivalent of raising GDP growth by 0.7 percent per year for the next ten years. The uplift roughly equates to the size of the entire UK financial and insurance sector’s annual GDP today, or total annual government expenditure on education, defence, and transport combined.

The economic opportunity is driven by three factors. In the best-in-UK scenario, 38 percent of incremental GDP could come from increased female participation in the labour force, 35 percent from women moving into more productive sectors, and 27 percent from extending female hours worked. It would result in the women’s labour-force participation rate rising from 76 percent under the business-as-usual forecast in 2025 to 79 percent, and in women working an average of 25 to 30 minutes more per day in 2025, the equivalent of women’s working hours climbing from 79 percent of men’s in 2015 to 84 percent of male working hours in 2025. Every region in the United Kingdom has the potential for an increase in gross value added (a measure of the value of goods and services produced in an area, industry, or sector of the economy) of between 5 and 8 percent, with the largest opportunities in London, the South East, and the North West.³ This could translate into 840,000 additional female employees in the economy, a 2.4 percent increase over business-as-usual 2025 projections.

To understand how this uplift could be achieved, we take a deeper look at where women are participating in the UK economy today (Exhibit E1). We find that women tend to be concentrated in low-productivity sectors and low-paying occupations.

¹ As projected by Oxford Economics.

² Regions based on Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics (NUTS) category, a European Union geocode standard for referencing the administrative divisions of countries for statistical purposes. Refer to the appendix for details of our methodology and selection of best-in-UK benchmark regions.

³ GVA = GDP + subsidies - (direct and sales) taxes. GVA is used for regional projections because the United Kingdom reports only GVA, not GDP, at the regional level. These regional-level GVA results are rolled up proportionately to derive GDP impact.

Looking at occupations, women are currently overrepresented across sectors in lower-paid activities, such as caring, leisure, and other services, and administrative and secretarial roles. Women in these occupations are unlikely to progress up the earnings ladder without targeted intervention; research shows that income mobility is low in the United Kingdom—48 percent of people in the bottom income quintile in 2000 were still there in 2008.⁵ Women are also underrepresented in leadership and managerial positions in all sectors except public administration, education, and health. Reducing the barriers to women’s progression and skill building will allow them to access a better range of jobs and help ameliorate national skill shortages. There are significant vacancies in high-productivity sectors, with the top three skills gaps in energy and water; banking, finance, and insurance; and manufacturing. The same is true of high-salary occupations, such as skilled trades and managerial and leadership positions, from which women are largely absent. More broadly, the United Kingdom is facing a skills gap in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM), with an additional one million new professionals needed by 2020. This talent shortage could impede the progress of the United Kingdom’s most productive industries, such as energy and manufacturing. While some STEM careers such as health care employ many women, in other careers, such as engineering, women make up only 10 percent of the workforce. Paving the way for women to occupy these types of roles could support productivity gains and act as one of the levers for the United Kingdom to narrow the productivity gap with its peers.⁶

We acknowledge that in addition to the supply-side approach presented here, demand-side policies will be required to help create jobs to absorb additional female workers. In addition, education and vocational training systems will need to keep pace with rapid technological changes that are altering the nature of work and creating new types of jobs.

GENDER PARITY INDICATORS HIGHLIGHT NINE AREAS TO TARGET TO ENSURE THAT WOMEN FULFIL THEIR ECONOMIC POTENTIAL

Worldwide, enhancing women’s economic potential has gone hand in hand with achieving greater gender equality in society. In September 2015, the McKinsey Global Institute (MGI) published *The power of parity: How advancing women’s equality can add \$12 trillion to global growth*, which showed that the level of gender equality in society is a powerful indicator of the female contribution to the economy. In order to fulfil the economic opportunities outlined, interventions to address the gender gap need to extend beyond the workplace and have wider societal impact. MGI’s global research used 15 work and societal indicators to evaluate gender inequality by nation. We have adopted a similar approach, with some adjustments, to produce 16 priority indicators of gender inequality for the United Kingdom (Exhibit E2). Analysis of the UK data suggests high or extreme inequality on nine indicators, spanning both work and society.⁷

Of the indicators we examined, data suggest that gender parity across social metrics is mixed, with parity in higher education and in legal protection. However, other social indicators reveal medium levels of disparity or worse. The highest disparity is in single parenthood. In addition, women spend almost twice as much time as men on unpaid care work, lagging North America and Oceania but ahead of the average in Western Europe. The problem is exacerbated by the United Kingdom’s relatively high rates of teenage pregnancy: it sits in the second quartile of the 95 countries examined in MGI’s global report, along with many developing nations. Further data indicate that the second-highest inequality indicator relates to STEM careers; women are less than one-fifth as likely as men to fill these roles.

⁵ Lee Savage, *Moving on up? Social mobility in the 1990s and 2000s*, Resolution Foundation, 2011.

⁶ International comparisons of productivity, UK Office for National Statistics (ONS), 2014.

⁷ For an explanation of how indicators are mapped to “low”, “medium”, “high”, and “extreme” inequality, please see the appendix.

This appears to be a particular problem for the United Kingdom, which has a lower proportion of women in STEM—particularly in engineering—than the rest of Europe.⁸ Political representation is the third-highest source of UK inequality, lagging the Western European average. Sexual violence against UK women is at a medium level, with 0.53 percent of women aged 16 to 59 experiencing severe sexual violence (including attempts) on an annual basis.⁹

Exhibit E2

Analysis of the UK data suggests parity in higher education and legal protection, and extreme inequality in STEM careers, single parenthood, and political representation

Low inequality ■ ■ ■ Extreme inequality ■ ■ ■

Gender equality in work	
Labour-force participation rate F/M ratio—employed or looking for work as % of gender aged 16–64	0.87
Median annual pay F/M ratio—gross annual salary of full-time employees	0.81
Mean hours worked F/M ratio—mean hours worked, per week, by employees of gender	0.79
Leadership and managerial positions F/M ratio—in managerial role ¹ as % of employees of gender aged 16–64	0.58
Unpaid care work M/F ratio—mean hours spent on unpaid care work, per week, by gender aged 16–64	0.54
Entrepreneurship F/M ratio—employed or involved in new enterprise ² as % of gender aged 18–64	0.56
Breadwinning Incidence—earning ≥50% household income as % of mothers with dependent children	33%
STEM careers F/M ratio—employed in a STEM-related position ³ as % of employees of gender aged 16–64	0.17
Gender equality in society	
Essential services and enablers of economic opportunity	
Higher education F/M ratio—enrolled in higher education as % of gender aged 16–64	1.22
Single parenthood⁴ F/M ratio—single parent with dependent children as % of all parents	0.09
Teenage pregnancy⁴ incidence—1+ births in past year as % of women aged 15–19	1.69%
STEM degrees F/M ratio—studying STEM subject as % of higher education enrollees of gender	0.80
Access to credit F/M ratio—took a loan in past year as % of gender aged 15+	0.74
Legal and political voice	
Legal protection (composite) Binary average—selected law is in place	1.00
Political representation (composite) F/M ratio—in selected political office ⁵	0.35
Physical security and autonomy	
Sexual violence⁶ Incidence—victim of 1+ incidents in past year as % of gender aged 16–59	0.53%

1 Defined as occupations within the managers, directors and senior officials band of the Standard Occupational Classification (SOC) 2010.

2 Defined as those involved in setting up a business (<3 months), or who are owner-managers of a “new” business (<3.5 years).

3 Includes associate health professionals, health professionals, science professionals, research and development managers, draughtspersons and building inspectors, science and engineering technicians, IT service delivery occupations, ICT professionals, building professionals, SET managers, engineering professionals, and skilled construction and building trades.

4 Excludes Northern Ireland and Scotland due to lack of data.

5 Composite indicator, averaging the F/M ratio of representatives in the House of Commons, the House of Lords, and ministerial positions.

6 Defined as the “most serious” incidents of sexual violence, including attempts, under the Crime Survey for England and Wales 2012 guidelines.

SOURCE: ONS; OECD; IPPR; GEM; IET; World Bank; HESA; UK Parliament; McKinsey & Company analysis

At work, women are underrepresented at the higher levels of organisations in the United Kingdom, lagging North America and Oceania but ahead of the Western European average. Women are also almost 50 percent less likely to be involved in entrepreneurial activity than men despite the United Kingdom’s being ranked fifth on the Dell Global Women Entrepreneur Leaders index. Among the more commonly used work-

⁸ Women’s Engineering Society, *Women in engineering: Statistics on a page, 2014*; *Women in engineering: Fixing the talent pipeline*, Institute for Public Policy Research (IPPR), 2014.

⁹ As defined by the Crime Survey for England and Wales (CSEW), 2013.

related indicators—labour-force participation rate, median annual pay, and mean hours worked—data indicate medium inequality in the United Kingdom. Women’s participation in the workforce has been growing, from 69.1 percent in 2004 to 72.3 percent in 2015, in contrast with trends in some other developed economies such as the United States.¹⁰ However, UK women work fewer hours compared with women in regional peers such as Sweden and other comparable countries such as the United States. Due to a lack of consistent data at the time of our analysis, we have not included a measure of equal pay for equal work, but national research continues to be conducted into this topic, with the Institute for Fiscal Studies launching a programme looking into the gender wage gap in 2016, and the government publication of companies’ gender pay data scheduled to begin in 2018.¹¹

Data suggest that national work indicators have not shown significant improvement: labour-force participation rate, hours worked, and median wage have all remained within the medium inequality range, while the women in leadership and managerial positions indicator continues to demonstrate high inequality. At the same time, while UK regions have seen differing rates of improvement over the past decade, there is currently little regional variation in parity measures—especially relative to the level of disparity among states in India and the United States—and no apparent correlation between inequality and regional productivity.¹²

To better understand how to address inequality, we mapped each source of gender disparity to the stages of a woman’s life: childhood, young adulthood, adulthood, and parenthood (Exhibit E3). We have referenced all indicators from the global report, including those deprioritised in the rest of this report, in the interests of providing a comprehensive view. The United Kingdom has little gender inequality during childhood, with strong scores in digital inclusion, education, legal protection, child marriage and sex ratio at birth.¹³ Once a woman reaches young adulthood, factors such as the UK’s relatively high prevalence of teenage pregnancy may limit her ability to enter the workforce; when coupled with low income mobility, this can restrict her future economic contribution. Gender-based violence may also impact some women during this phase, with possible ramifications for educational attainment and, later, labour-force participation. In the workplace, high inequality in leadership opportunities, entrepreneurship, access to credit, breadwinning, and STEM careers can hinder a woman’s ability to be as productive as her male peers, both as an individual and as a contributor to the UK economy.¹⁴ If she becomes a mother, high levels of inequality in unpaid care work and single parenthood can impede a woman’s ability to participate in the workforce to the extent that she may like, reducing the number of hours she can work and her ability to be as productive as her male peers. Mothers often earn less than they otherwise would have for the remainder of their career. Meanwhile, high inequality in political representation throughout life may contribute to further inequalities.¹⁵

¹⁰ Annual Population Survey, ONS, December 2005–December 2015; Labour Force Survey, ONS, December 2005–December 2015; Current Population Survey, US Bureau of Labor Statistics.

¹¹ Monica Costa Dias, William Elming, and Robert Joyce, *The gender wage gap*, briefing note number BN186, UK Institute for Fiscal Studies, 2016; UK Government Equalities Office and Nicky Morgan, *Nicky Morgan: Nowhere left to hide for gender inequality*, February 12, 2016.

¹² *The power of parity: Advancing women’s equality in India*, McKinsey Global Institute, November 2015; *The power of parity: Advancing women’s equality in the United States*, McKinsey Global Institute, April 2016.

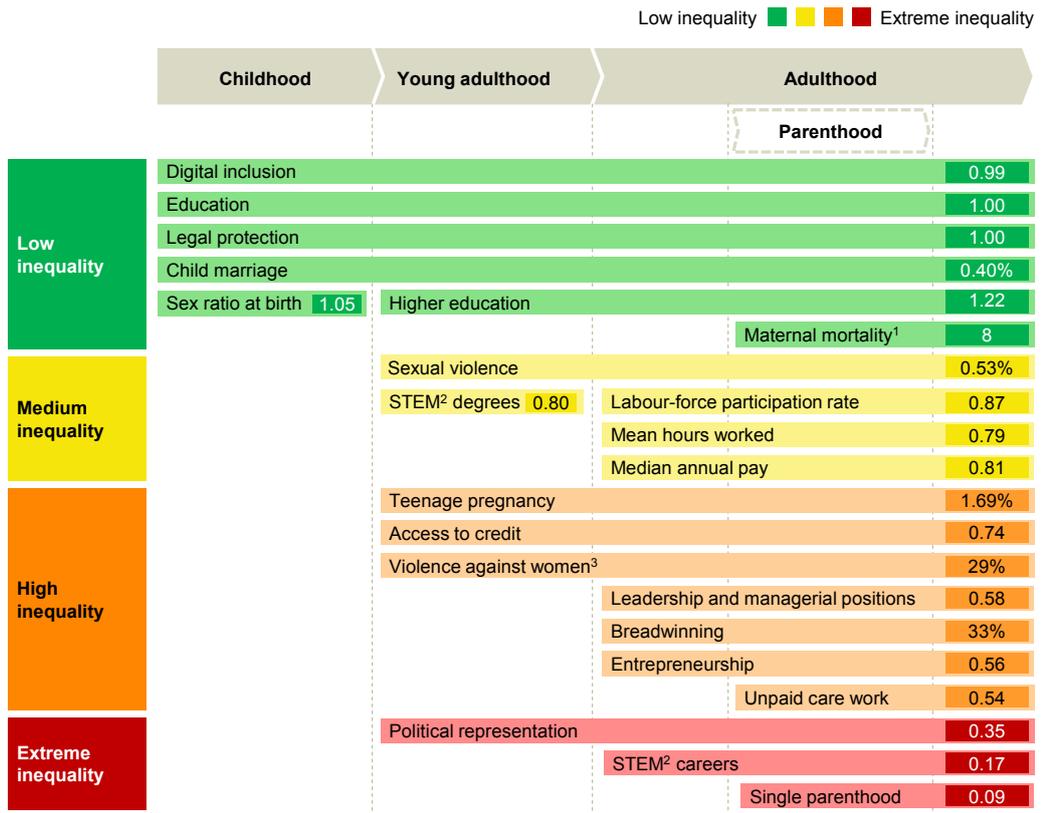
¹³ Defined as the female-to-male ratio of Internet users.

¹⁴ STEM career include associate health professionals, health professionals, science professionals, research and development managers, draughtspersons and building inspectors, science and engineering technicians, IT service delivery occupations, ICT professionals, building professionals, SET managers, engineering professionals, and skilled construction and building trades.

¹⁵ *Why women? The impact of women in elected office*, Political Parity, 2015.

Exhibit E3

In the United Kingdom, inequality is low in childhood, but women confront greater inequality as they progress through their lives



1 Per 100,000 live births.
 2 Science, technology, engineering, and mathematics.
 3 By an intimate partner at any point in lifetime.

SOURCE: ONS; OECD; IPPR; GEM; IET; World Bank; HESA; UK Parliament; McKinsey & Company analysis

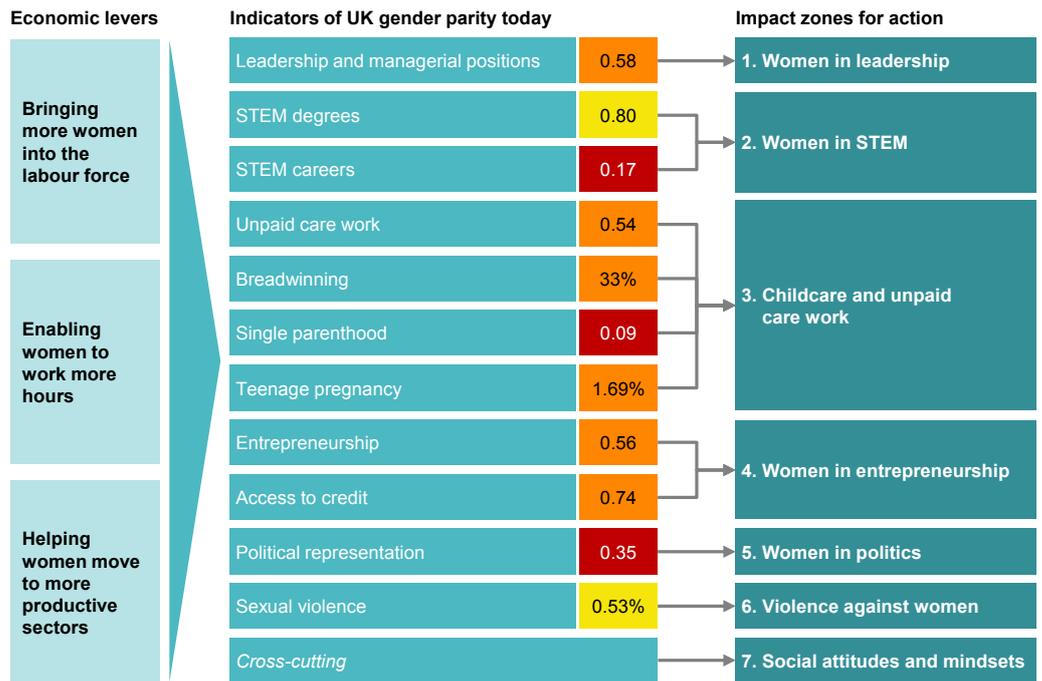
INITIATIVES WILL BE REQUIRED IN SEVEN IMPACT ZONES, FOCUSING ON UNDERSTANDING, ADDRESSING, AND TRACKING THE GENDER GAP

To capture the economic opportunity, government, private-sector organisations, and other groups should undertake a package of actions to remove direct barriers to women working; create better opportunities to enable them to work in the most productive sectors, occupations, and roles; and reshape the underlying social norms and attitudes that define the choices women make and the way society receives and supports those choices. These actions are grouped into seven “impact zones”: women in leadership, women in STEM, childcare and unpaid care work, women in entrepreneurship, women in politics, violence against women, and social attitudes and mindset. These categories of intervention are designed to respond to our priority parity indicators and to help achieve the three economic levers of increased labour-force participation, moving into more productive sectors, and higher hours worked (Exhibit E4).

McKinsey undertook an extensive review of initiatives in the United Kingdom and comparable countries that have been considered to tackle aspects of the gender gap. Clearly, a large number of initiatives can help, so from a list of over 120 interventions we prioritised 35 key actions across the impact zones, grouped into three types of action essential to drive change: stakeholders will need to understand the drivers of inequality to a sufficient degree, carry out targeted intervention programmes to address the specific issues holding back women, and track the progress and impact of current and future efforts to ensure that they are having a material effect.

Exhibit E4

Impact zones are designed to respond to the indicators with highest disparity and to help achieve the three economic levers



SOURCE: McKinsey & Company analysis

- For women in leadership, this means organisations that employ women should use data to understand the female talent pipeline, improve the uptake of agile working, establish strong return-to-work programmes, create an inclusive environment in which women and other diverse groups can reach their full potential, and visibly track progress in implementing the interventions as well as the outcomes.
- For women in STEM, this entails industry, educators, and professional bodies focusing on recruiting more women into the STEM pipeline from a young age and then putting additional emphasis on retaining women through agile working, return-to-work programmes, and creating inclusive work environments.
- For childcare and unpaid care, this necessitates making care more affordable through a range of financial support mechanisms, making care more accessible by encouraging investment in care businesses, and ensuring that care can be shared more equally between men and women.
- For women in entrepreneurship, this involves building on current efforts to help women entrepreneurs access the capital, contacts, and skills needed to start and scale their businesses. This includes encouraging investment in less traditional growth sectors such as care, education, and lifestyle sectors.
- For women in politics, this means creating a more inclusive political culture and encouraging more women into politics through apprenticeship and mentoring.
- For violence against women, this requires increased activity to prevent violence, provide survivor support, and improve the likelihood of perpetrators being brought to justice—all of which needs to be tracked and underpinned by robust data about the prevalence of violence.

- For social attitudes and mindsets, this entails addressing gender stereotypes across media and in all organisations, working with all ages and across demographics, as well as tracking how attitudes change as progress is made across all the other impact zones.

Alongside the specific initiatives, certain established factors have been shown to increase the likelihood of success. They include visible commitment from leaders in government and at the top of organisations, engaging women in the diagnosis of gender equality issues and solutions, engaging men in inclusive programmes for change as role models and as promoters of the diversity agenda, engaging stakeholders from across sectors and industries to reach broad audiences and tap diverse skills sets, tackling multiple interventions as part of a broad crosscutting action plan, and identifying opportunities to build on what is already in place to create scale and momentum. Bodies such as the Women and Equalities Parliamentary Committee, a parliamentary select committee, will act as overall focal points across all aspects of gender parity—but government, private-sector organisations, and other groups all have a role to play as well. Individual UK regions may prioritise different sets of actions depending on whether their challenge is principally to help women who choose to increase their participation in work, to facilitate women's access to more productive-sectors, or both.

Closing the gender gap could give the UK economy a substantial boost: adding £150 billion to GDP in 2025, helping to address skill shortages, and contributing to closing the productivity gap with comparable countries. Capturing this opportunity will require action across work and society, encompassing change within business in concert with government and other organisations as well as new coalitions. This effort should focus on the seven identified impact zones that can help women access a wider range of opportunities and choices and so create change that will benefit everyone.



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