

Unintended Consequences:

the impact of the government's legislative programme on women in public roles





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A Study by the
Centre for Women & Democracy

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Produced with support from the Feminist Review Trust, www.feminist-review-trust.com

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Registered in England No. 8106867

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Acknowledgements

It would not have been possible to produce this report without the generous financial support of the Feminist Review Trust and the patience of its Chair, Professor Dorothy Griffiths. Projects like this are very hard to fund, and the Feminist Review Trust is one of the few bodies wholly dedicated to this kind of work. Their help has been very much appreciated.

We would also like to thank Dr Ruth Fox at the Hansard Society and Anna Bird at the Fawcett Society for their advice and support in the early stages of this work, the (sometimes rather bemused) people at various organisations and government departments who tried to help with our questions, and Laura Wigan at CFWD for her comments, questions and proof-reading.

This report looks at a range of legislative measures only from the point of view of how they affect the representation of women on public decision-making or scrutiny bodies. It makes no comment on the nature of the measures themselves, or on their impact in any other respects, and for this reason some of the key elements of some of the larger, more high-profile Bills are not mentioned at all. This is solely because they have no direct bearing on the issue of women's representation, and not because their importance in other respects is not either understood or recognised.

Our remit covers only the representation of women, but we recognise that within that there are many other groups, including BME women, women with disabilities and lesbian and transgender women. We have not been able to be specific about these groups principally because there is virtually no data about their representation on these various bodies, so that although we have only been able to investigate the representation of women as a whole, we know that the position is more complex than this, and some of our recommendations reflect that.

For ease of both reading and reference, we have looked at each piece of legislation in turn under a series of headings. These identify:

- where (at the time of writing) the Bill is in the legislative process;
- what its proposals in terms of public decision-making are;
- what the current position is;
- what impact the proposed (or actual) legislation will have;
- whether or not the Government has done an Equality Impact Assessment and, if so, what it says;
- recommendations for what could be done to improve matters.

In a number of areas, it has been impossible to find figures for women's representation, and in these cases we have collated data ourselves using websites and membership lists. In some cases - Police Authorities, for instance, or Strategic Health Authorities - it has been possible to do this with a fair degree of accuracy, but in others (e.g. Primary Care Trusts) it was only possible to look at a sample, whilst in others again (e.g. GP Practice Managers) even the basic data was so time-consuming to find so that in the end we had to use a 'best guess estimate' based on what was available. We have indicated in the text the quality of the data we have used, and have listed the websites involved in the 'Sources' section.

Finally, we have made every effort to ensure that the information contained in this report is accurate, and any errors in our research are of course our own.

Executive Summary

This report examines the impact of a number of pieces of legislation either recently enacted, or currently going through the parliamentary process, on the representation of women in public policy-making, decision-making or scrutiny roles.

The report finds that whilst in some areas legislation is likely to result in improved representation for women, in many key areas - notably economic strategy and policing - women lose out to a much greater degree. Moreover, in many cases power is effectively being allocated to groups of people in which women are least likely to feature, and new elected posts are being created which are of a type for which women are known to be least likely to stand.

These changes matter because, to be effective in the twenty-first century, representative democracy needs to reflect the communities it serves. It needs to be able to make full use of all the skills, experiences and expertises available, and to be inclusive in ways that pre-universal suffrage democratic models could not achieve. In other words, being able to vote is not in itself enough, and as we develop new more participative ways of working we need to ensure that they do not default to the exclusivity of earlier days.

The report looks at eight pieces of legislation and one White Paper. For each, it identifies how far it has got in the legislative process, what is being proposed, what the effect on the representation of women will or could be, whether or not the Government has carried out an Equality Impact Assessment and, if so, what it says. Finally, we make recommendations for what steps could be taken to mitigate (or encourage) the usually unintended consequences of each measure for women's access to public life.

As we went to press, the Government published its long-awaited - and very overdue - Open Services White Paper. This is therefore not included in this study, but many of the comments on the Localism Bill will also be applicable to the Open Services proposals.

As a result of this study we have concluded that over the next few years there will be an imperceptible but steady withdrawal of women from the public sphere, resulting in a net reversal of the gains of recent decades and damaging the quality of both the decision-making process and representative government itself.

However, we also believe that most of this is avoidable, and the recommendations we make at the end of each section outline the measures that need to be taken at all levels.

Education

This section covers the Academies Act (which received royal assent in 2010) and the Education Bill, currently in the House of Lords.

The Academies Act is the enabling legislation for the extension of academy status, whilst the Education Bill proposes a range of changes including the abolition of a number of educational quangos and changes to the make-up of school governing bodies.

Currently, over 50% of school governors are women. Many are nominated by Local Education Authorities, and the numbers of these governors will be reduced. The absence of collated information about the make-up of either current school governing bodies or new academy bodies makes it difficult to predict precise outcomes. We were able to look at the trustees and governors of a small number of free schools, and found that 61% of them are female.

The Government has produced an extensive Equality Impact Assessment for this legislation, but it does not cover its effect on women as decision-makers.

Recommendations

1. The Department of Education should keep, or require to be kept, publicly available statistics on the make-up of school governing bodies. Free schools should also be required to make this information available.
2. School governing bodies should be required to achieve a degree of balance in their membership. It might be, for example, that, excluding the Headteacher, there should be a requirement that at least 40% of governors should be male and 40% female. Such a requirement should be applied to all schools, including free schools and academies, and should apply to all types of governor.

Fixed Term Parliaments Bill

This Bill sets a five year term for each parliament.

If implemented, it will marginally extend the time it will take (currently over a century) for the House of Commons to achieve gender balance of 50:50.

There has been no Equality Impact Assessment for this legislation.

Recommendations

1. Political parties should consider the impact of this measure on their strategies for improving the representation of women (and other under-represented groups) at Parliamentary level.

2. Both political parties and Parliament should consider the cumulative (negative) impact of constitutional legislation on the representation of women in Parliament, and should take steps to mitigate it. In particular, Government should make time for a Parliamentary debate on the Speaker's Conference Report as soon as possible (see Voting and Parliamentary Boundaries below).

Health & Social Care Bill

This Bill is taking a considerable time to progress, at least in part because of the long pause for the Future Forum consultation and report. To date, the Government alone has tabled over 180 amendments.

The Bill abolishes both Primary Care Trusts (PCTs) and Strategic Health Authorities (SHAs), and introduces Clinical Commissioning Consortia (CCCs), Health & Wellbeing Boards and an NHS Commissioning Board.

Currently, 40.7% of PCT Board members are women, and 35.9% of SHA directors. SHAs will be abolished and not replaced, whilst most of the functions of the PCTs will be transferred to Clinical Commissioning Consortia. Local Healthwatch groups will be established, and local authorities will be tasked with setting up Health & Wellbeing Boards.

There is very little detail available on the composition of the emerging CCCs. However, we looked at the representation of women in the groups which will make up the boards, and found that:

- although 42% of GPs are women, they are much less likely to be Partners, and therefore less likely still to sit on CCC Boards;
- although over 50% of Practice Managers are women, they appear to be under-represented on the few Boards about which it is currently possible to find information;
- although over 90% of nursing staff are women, men seem proportionately more likely to occupy senior or strategic nursing posts;
- 28% of consultants are women, so that secondary care specialists on Boards are more likely to be male;
- 35.3% of lay members of PCTs are women, and it is therefore reasonable to suppose that a significant percentage of lay members of CCC Boards will be also.

We also found that, if women are represented on Health & Wellbeing Boards as well as they are in their constituent elements (councillors, Directors of Adult and Children's Social Services, Directors of Public Health, etc) these new bodies may well have a better gender balance than many others.

Recommendations

1. Government should require at least 40% of members of Clinical Commissioning Boards to be women, and that those women should reflect the diversity of the area. This would at least maintain the current level of women's involvement in policy making and commissioning at local level.
2. Local authorities should ensure that at least 50% of their members of Health and Wellbeing Boards are women.
3. The Government should take steps to require that men and women are equally represented on local Healthwatch Boards.
4. The Department of Health should ensure that future Equality Impact Assessments take account of the diversity of decision-makers as well as the impact of changes on patients and staff.

House of Lords Reform Draft Bill

This Bill is currently in draft form and has a long way to go before it enters the statute books.

It seeks to reduce the size of the House of Lords from over 800 to 300 members over a 15 year period, with 60 members being appointed and the remainder elected using proportional representation. It retains the membership of Church of England bishops but reduces their number from 26 to 12.

22% of members of the current House of Lords are women; this is the same level as the House of Commons.

This legislation could result in an increase in women peers, and thus an increase in women's parliamentary presence as a whole. However, this could only be achieved if both the political parties and the government (as well as the church) were prepared to take advantage of the opportunity offered by the electoral system to be used.

No Equality Impact Assessment has been carried out for this Bill.

Recommendations

1. Government should set a target that the reformed House of Lords will be 50% female by 2030.
2. The Bill should be amended to include a requirement that 50% of the 60 appointed members should be women.
3. The Bill should be amended so as to require political parties to ensure that their candidate lists are 50% female.

4. The Bill should be amended so to require the Church of England (and any other religious organisations subsequently gaining representation in the House of Lords) to ensure that, by 2030, at least 50% of their representatives are women.
5. The Government should take other appropriate measures to ensure that the reformed House represents the diversity of the country.

Local Growth White Paper

This was published in October 2010 and dealt with, amongst other things, the abolition of the English Regional Development Agencies (RDAs) and their replacement with a larger number of Local Enterprise Partnerships (LEPs).

Currently, 24% of RDA Board members are women. It might be expected that women would be more likely to be members of more locally-based LEP Boards, but hitherto, in the 15 approved so far, only 16.2% of LEP Board members are women. LEP Boards are made up of representatives from both the private and public sectors, with business people forming the majority.

No Equality Impact Assessment has been carried out for this measure.

Recommendations

1. The appointments system for private sector members should be adjusted to ensure that an agreed percentage - at least 40% and preferably higher - of private sector LEP Board members are female.
2. Public sector bodies who are to be represented on LEPs should ensure that at least 2 of their nominees are women.
3. When seeking applications for LEP Board members, Government should ensure that women are actively invited to apply by targeting small businesses and women's networks as part of the process. It is recognised that this may be done to some extent already, but there may be room for improvement.
4. Government should publish diversity figures for applicants and appointees for each LEP area.

Localism Bill

The Localism Bill covers a wide range of areas connected with local government. Amongst other things it proposes an increase in directly elected mayors, local referendums, a new right for local groups and others to buy land or buildings defined as a community asset, and increased local involvement in development plans.

There are currently 13 elected mayors, of whom 2 are women. As a percentage (15%) this is marginally higher than the level of local authority women leaders (14%). Many other of the provisions in the Bill are for new arrangements, and direct comparisons with the current situation is therefore not possible.

The Government has carried out separate Equality Impact Assessments for the various parts of the Bill. The only one which comes anywhere near recognising that there may be an issue for women as decision-makers is that relating to neighbourhood planning and the community right to build, which seems to accept earlier research which said that 'those whose responsibilities for caring for young children prevent them from attending public meetings held in the evening'¹ might be disadvantaged. However, the Assessment does not identify this as affecting women in particular, nor does it offer any remedy.

Recommendations

1. Political parties should take steps to ensure that they field more women candidates in mayoral elections where they have a good chance of winning.
2. Local authority leaders should appoint more women to cabinet portfolio-holding roles, and should ensure that these include areas like regeneration and planning as well as education and social services.
3. Government, local authorities and other relevant agencies should take steps to ensure that plans for neighbourhood planning and community asset owning do not exclude women.
4. The new tenants panels should be required to have equal numbers of men and women members.

Police & Social Responsibility Bill

This Bill (currently in its Committee stage in the House of Lords) proposes the establishment of Police and Crime Commissioners (PCCs) in 43 force areas, the creation of Policing and Crime Panels (PCPs) to work with and scrutinise the PCCs, and the abolition of the current Police Authorities.

At present, 31.4% of Police Authority members are women; 21.5% of local authority members and 42.8% of independent members. 25.6% of Police Authority Chairs are women. There are 3 women Chief Constables in England and Wales.

32.5% of Police Authority Chief Executives are women and 30.8% of Treasurers.

There are currently no directly elected police commissioners.

¹ Published by the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister 2005

The potential impact of this legislation on the presence of women in either decision-making or scrutiny roles in policing is very serious, and could result in women becoming even less able than they are now to influence the direction of policy in this area.

Although there are currently no elected police commissioners, it is known that women are less likely to stand as candidates for comparable offices (e.g., elected mayors, where 17% of candidates are women) than for local councils (30%) or as MPs (21%).

None of the political parties use any form of positive action mechanisms for mayoral elections, although some do for others (e.g., parliamentary).

It is anticipated by government that many candidates for PCC elections will be independent of any party, but this has only proved to be the case in a limited number of mayoral elections, and only 25% of such candidates have been women. Women are less likely to stand as Independent candidates at every level of election.

The new Police and Crime Panels are less likely to include women than the existing Police Authorities because they will be predominantly made up of local councillors, with independent members being reduced to 2. There are currently 230 women on Police Authorities; if this measure is enacted over 100 of them will be removed from decision-making or scrutiny roles as a result.

The Government has produced an Equality Impact Assessment which does not recognise this fact, but does accept that women and other groups are under-represented in key 'public-facing' roles. However, it proposes no remedy for the PCPs, and, in the case of PCCs, says only that 'Political parties will need to consider how they might increase their diversity to appeal to and encourage wider engagement across all sections of the population.'

Recommendations

1. Political parties should take steps to ensure that at least 40% of their candidates for Police Commissioner elections are women.
2. Government should monitor the situation with regard to Police Commissioners, and, if necessary, should take active steps to ensure that women are better represented in this post.
3. Government should require that Police and Crime Panels are established with a gender balance of 50:50
4. Steps should also be taken to ensure wider diversity (e.g. race, age, disability etc) in PCPs.

Public Bodies Bill

This Bill is near the end of its legislative journey. It is enabling legislation to give Government the power to abolish, merge or otherwise change a number of quangos and public bodies. 192 quangos have already been abolished or merged using other powers.

Women currently hold 32.6% of public appointments.² The Appointments Commission has failed to meet its target of 50% of appointments being women, whilst the other body responsible for this area, the Commissioner of Public Appointments, appears to have no diversity targets.

It is hard to establish exactly what the effect of this legislation on women's representation will be, other than to observe that, if the level of women appointed remains much as it is, it will not rise much above 30%, regardless of the configuration of the public bodies involved.

Recommendations

1. All future changes to quangos should include an equality impact assessment, and this should deal with representation as well as other relevant areas.
2. Government should set clear, realistic and achievable targets for gender balance in public appointments, should ensure they are monitored, and should publish the figures annually.
3. Both the Appointments Commission and the Commissioner for Public Appointments should have clear strategies for achieving the targets set.

Parliamentary Voting System & Constituencies Act

This received royal assent on 16 February 2011.

It provides for a referendum on the Alternative Voting System (held on 6 May 2011) and for a reduction in the number of parliamentary constituencies from 650 to 600.

Currently, 22% of MPs are women; this is an historic high in the UK but lags behind most other Western European countries.

A reduction in the number of constituencies will inevitably mean the loss of some women MPs, but whether this loss will be disproportionate or not remains to be seen. The new boundary proposals will not be available until September 2011, when it will be possible to make a much clearer assessment of what the effect is likely to be.

² Government Equalities Office

An Equality Impact Assessment has not been carried out for this Act.

Recommendations

1. Political parties should make sure that women MPs and candidates are not disproportionately disadvantaged by their own internal arrangements in regard to seat allocation following the review.
2. Political parties should also takes steps to ensure that at least 50% of candidates in vacancies created by sitting MPs not seeking re-election, as well as at least 50% of candidates in marginal seats, are women. They should also ensure that those women candidates are themselves diverse.
3. In January 2010 the results of the Speaker's Conference's inquiry into Parliamentary Representation was published. This made recommendations for how a range of bodies, including Parliament itself, could improve the diversity of the House of Commons, and it also asked that the Government make time for a debate on its findings. This debate should be held at the earliest possible opportunity, and should include issues around the boundary reviews.
4. After the 2015 general election the Government of the day should take stock of the outcomes of the changes in terms of diversity and should take whatever steps are necessary to ensure that Parliament achieves gender balance as soon as possible thereafter.

Much has been made in recent years of the slow rate of progress in women's representation in Parliament (currently 22%) and local Government (31%). These levels of decision-making are clearly important, but they are not the only ones at which public money is spent, public policy set or public scrutiny conducted.

Up and down the country, groups of people exercise power (or influence) over public life. They act as school governors, sit on police authorities, or decide economic strategies. They are members of quangos, primary care trusts and local community groups. Public policy may often start in Parliament or with Government, but it filters down into all areas of activity, and certainly wherever public money is either raised or spent it has a major impact.

The current Government is committed to a wide programme of change both in terms of service delivery and of the way in which decisions about those services are made. In the course of this, they are changing the roles, functions and composition of decision-making and scrutiny bodies. Some are being restructured so as to bring them closer to local people, others are being abolished, and new posts and groups are being created. Local communities will gain new powers to influence (and sometimes even veto) local decisions, whilst at the same time functions now exercised by groups of elected individuals will be concentrated into the hands of just one.

Even Parliament itself is being changed as the size of the House of Commons is reduced and proposals are made to reform the House of Lords.

All of these areas - Parliament, the police, the NHS, education, economic strategy and so on - involve women as public decision-makers or in scrutiny roles, yet there has been very little discussion of the impact of individual pieces of legislation on the diversity of public decision-making, nor any assessment of the cumulative effect of the various measures.

This is a gap which this report was designed to address. Initially it seemed like a fairly straightforward task, but in fact it turned out to be both lengthy and complex. The main problem was not working out what the effect of particular measures were likely to be, but establishing what the current situation actually is. No-one seemed to know, for instance, what proportion of police authority members are women, how many women school governors there are or how many woman members of Primary Care Trusts. An inordinate amount of time had to be spent establishing these things ourselves before we could make any attempt at working out what impact the new arrangements would have.

The situation was further complicated by constant changes in what the legislation actually contained (e.g., as a result of the publication of the Future Forum report in the Health and Social Care Bill), and delays in the publication of long-awaited bills (as with the House of Lords Reform Bill).

The report which results, therefore, should be treated as a snapshot. In some cases - such as the Parliamentary Voting and Constituencies Act - the outcomes themselves of the legislation are known (a reduction in the number of Parliamentary seats) but not how they will play out when they are implemented, whereas in others there are still changes yet to come - the Government has so far tabled 181 amendments to the Health Bill, with more expected, and at the time of writing it remains to be seen what effect defeats in the Lords over the Police and Social Responsibility Bill will have on the final legislation.

Despite all this, we believe that we have produced a comprehensive overview of the impact of the Government's proposed and actual legislation on the presence of women in public decision-making roles. Although in some places there may be a slight increase, overall the trend is downwards, with power in local communities being increasingly concentrated in male hands, and women removed in some numbers from roles they now hold.

With one or two exceptions, the loss of women in each area is not in itself necessarily significant. But taken as a whole, the position is much more serious, with power effectively being allocated to groups of people in which women are least likely to feature and new elected posts being created which are of a type for which women are known to be least likely to stand.

This is dispiriting, but it is hardly surprising. Much lip service is paid (by almost everyone) to the need to involve more women in public life but very little is actually done to achieve it. The various Government departments' Equality Impact Assessments - where they exist - are of very variable quality, and none of them cover the diversity of decision-makers. Even when they make a cursory nod in its direction they seem to regard the problem as one which others (usually the political parties) should resolve.

It might be argued that the loss of women's voices here and there in public life is of minor importance in the greater scheme of things. But concern about the low levels of women in Parliament or the cabinet is actually meaningless if we are not also concerned about their absence further down the scale. To be effective in the twenty-first century, representative democracy needs to reflect the communities it serves. It needs to make full use of all the skills, experiences and expertises available, and to be inclusive in ways that pre-universal suffrage democratic models could not achieve. In other words, being able to vote is not in itself enough, and as we develop new more participative ways of working we need to ensure that they do not default to the exclusivity of earlier days.

This report does not examine the impact of any aspect of Government legislation other than the gender of decision-makers, but work done elsewhere has already suggested that one of the side-effects of the cuts as a whole may be a slow removal of women from employment and other public spheres³. If this is indeed the case, there will be an imperceptible but steady withdrawal of women from the public sphere at all levels, resulting in a net reversal of the gains of recent decades and damaging the quality of both the decision-making process and representative government itself.

This trend is not inevitable. There are measures which could be taken to eliminate or mitigate the drift, and recommendations are made throughout the report. In general, though, a simple recognition of the problem would go at least some way towards resolving it.

This is a work in progress. In some cases, it remains to be seen what the impact of the legislation actually is. How many women Police Commissioners will the elections in 2012 actually produce? Will having more elected mayors mean more women in those posts? Will women MPs lose out disproportionately when the constituency boundaries change?

Almost as we went to print, the Government finally published the long-awaited (and long-delayed) Open Services White Paper. This proposes sweeping changes to the way services are provided and has many implications for the purposes of our report. Unfortunately, the White Paper came too late to be included in this study, but will hopefully be investigated in terms of its possible effect on the representation of women decision-makers at some future date.

We believe that the loss of women from what the Government calls 'public-facing' roles is regrettable, unnecessary, and avoidable. We hope that this report will contribute to a better understanding of what is happening, and thus to making it possible to change. Otherwise, the achievements of decades will be wiped out in months, and women will have some of their battles to fight all over again.

Nan Sloane

Director, Centre for Women & Democracy

July 2011

³ Various pieces of research by the Fawcett Society, the Institute for Fiscal Research and the House of Commons Library have pointed to this in different ways.

Academies Act and the Education Bill

Progress

There are two pieces of legislation which affect education; the first is the Academies Act, which received royal assent on 27 July 2010, and second the Education Bill, which has completed its progress through the House of Commons and is now making its way through the House of Lords.

What the Bill proposes

The Academies Act 2010 is the enabling legislation for increasing the number of schools at both primary and secondary level which become academies. Hitherto, academy status has largely been available only to 'failing' schools.

The Education Bill contains a range of provisions which, for the purposes of this report, include the abolition of five quangos (the General Teaching Council for England, the Training and Development Agency for Schools, the School Support Staff Negotiating Body, the Qualifications and Curriculum Development Agency and the Young Person's Learning Agency), and the transfer of many of the powers those bodies exercised to the Secretary of State and other agencies. Clause 37 of the Bill also includes changes to the make-up of school governing bodies which would have the effect of abolishing local education authority (LEA) governors; however, following debate in both Houses of Parliament this will now be amended to allow for the appointment of one LEA governor and one staff representative.

The establishment of 'free schools' is not included in this legislation, since enabling legislation was not required in order to proceed with them.

The current position

Despite considerable effort, it has not been possible to establish what percentage of school governors are currently women. Although this data may be available as a result of academic work, neither the Department for Education, nor the National Governors' Association, nor the Equalities and Human Rights Commission nor UK National Statistics were able to give us any information at all, with the result that it is not possible to say with any certainty what the current situation is. In 2006, a report on gender statistics produced for the now-defunct Equal Opportunities Commission (EOC) said that:

'Currently in England, there are 350,000 volunteer governor places in nursery, primary and secondary schools, though not all of these will be filled at any one time. In Wales, there are over 24,000 school governors, and in Scotland, there are over 2,000 school boards. No details of

There are 350,000 school governor places in England. There are no official figures for how many are women.

gender balance of membership of boards have been identified for England, Wales or Scotland.⁴

It went on to recommend that these should be collated and acted upon, but nothing seems to have been done to implement this to date.

However, when CFWD conducted a review of the gender of school governors in Yorkshire & the Humber in 2007, we found that 53% of governors were women - this figure is probably not applicable across the country, but gives an indication that, overall, school governors are more likely to be female than local councillors or MPs.

Another issue it is impossible to be precise about is the number of women LEA governors. This is because by no means all of them are councillors, and it is in any case often difficult to distinguish which governors are representing the LEA and which have come through other routes.

Of the bodies proposed for abolition:

- the General Teaching Council is the 'independent professional and regulatory body for teaching in England. 580,000 qualified teachers are registered with it, (and) its principal statutory remit is to contribute to improving standards of teaching and the quality of learning and to maintain and improve standards of conduct in the public interest.'⁵ It is run by a Council of 64 members, 28 (37.5%) of whom are women, and an Executive of 16 of whom 6 are female. Upon abolition its functions will be taken over by the Secretary of State for Education;
- the Training and Development Agency for Schools is the 'national agency and recognised sector body responsible for the training and development of the school workforce.'⁶ It is run by a Board of 14, of whom 4 are women. Upon abolition its functions will be taken over by the Secretary of State for Schools;
- the School Support Staff Negotiating Body is a joint body between employers and unions set up to consider matters relating to remuneration and conditions for many non-teaching staff;
- the Qualifications and Curriculum Development Agency deals with a variety of matters relating to schools. It is run by a Board of 8, of whom 2 are women. Upon abolition the Agency's functions will transfer to either the Secretary of State or Ofqual, which regulates qualifications, examinations and assessments. Ofqual is run by a Board of 12, of whom 7 (including the Chief Executive) are women;

⁴ Esther Breitenbach, University of Edinburgh, *Gender Statistics: An Evaluation*, p44

⁵ <http://www.gtce.org.uk/>

⁶ <http://www.tda.gov.uk/>

- the Young People’s Learning Agency Board’s remit is to ‘champion young people’s learning by providing financial support to young learners; by funding Academies, general FE and sixth form colleges, and other 16 - 19 providers; and supporting local authorities to commission suitable education and training opportunities for all 16 - 19 year olds.’⁷ It is run by a Board, 4 of whose 12 members are women. Upon abolition its functions will be transferred to the Secretary of State, who intends that they should be carried out by a non-statutory organisation (the Education Funding Agency) within the Department of Education.⁸

The impact on women in decision-making roles

In terms of the quangos being abolished, there will be an initial reduction in the number of women making decisions at strategic levels in education, although since it is highly likely that replacement mechanisms set up by the Secretary of State will involve women, it is hard to quantify what the effect will be in the longer term, nor is it likely that these statistics will ever become available.

Similarly, the absence of accurate data on the numbers of women school governors makes it extremely difficult to predict whether or not there will be a net improvement. On the basis of CFWD’s (limited) research some years ago, women are more likely to be parent governors and less likely to be local authority governors, so that the proportion of women on governing bodies will probably rise overall. The legislation will not affect the number of women headteachers, (women constitute 70% of the teaching workforce and 67% of headteachers)⁹.

In the case of new academies, the absence of information about the gender balance of current governing bodies makes it difficult to make any kind of realistic assessment about the gender balance of new ones.

Only a few of the 21 free schools which have had their business plans approved, and are now in the pre-opening stage, publish details of their governing bodies and trustees, but of the seven¹⁰ that we were able to find, 61% (28 out of 46) governors and trustees are women.

The absence of accurate data on the numbers of women school governors makes it extremely difficult to predict whether or not there will be a net improvement.

⁷ <http://www.ypla.gov.uk/>

⁸ As outlined in the Education White Paper *The Importance of Teaching*

⁹ Figures produced by the Training and Development Agency for Schools 7 March 2011 <http://www.tda.gov.uk/about/media-relations/press-releases-2011/07-03-2011.aspx?keywords=women>

¹⁰ Discovery New School (West Sussex), Etz Chaim Jewish Primary School (Barnet), Langley Hall Primary Academy (Slough), BBG Academy (Kirklees), Kempston Academy (Bedford), Canary Wharf College (Tower Hamlets) and Rivendale Free School (Hammersmith & Fulham).

Equality Impact Assessment

The government has carried out an extensive Assessment covering many areas, but it does not touch upon the effect on women as decision-makers.

Recommendations

1. The Department of Education should keep, or require to be kept, publicly available statistics on the make-up of school governing bodies. Free schools should also be required to make this information available.
2. School governing bodies should be required to achieve a degree of balance in their membership. It might be, for example, that, excluding the Headteacher, there should be a requirement that at least 40% of governors should be male and 40% female. Such a requirement should be applied to all schools, including free schools and academies, and should apply to all types of governor.

Fixed Term Parliaments Bill

Progress

This Bill has received its third reading in the House of Lords and is now in the process of 'ping-ponging' between the Lords and the Commons. The Government was defeated in the Lords when peers voted to allow each Parliament after the current one to reaffirm its intention to continue with fixed-term arrangements. Once this matter has been resolved the Bill will receive Royal Assent.

What the Bill proposes

The bill provides for the next general election to take place on 7 May 2015 and at five-yearly fixed intervals thereafter. It also contains provision for an election should a Government fall and not be replaced as a result of a no confidence motion, or should two-thirds of the House of Commons agree to hold one.

The current position

General Elections are the only opportunity (other than the occasional by-election) at which women can enter the House of Commons. At present, 21.9% of MPs are women, an increase of 2% on 2005, and this was the largest increase since the 9% rise in 1997. If that rate of progress were to be maintained regardless of all other factors (which is highly unlikely given the reduction in the size of the House of Commons at the next election), parity would not be achieved for over a century.

The impact on women in decision-making roles

This bill will have a negligible impact on women except in so far as it extends the period between elections, thus effectively reducing the opportunities at which women could enter Parliament. As a result, it could take even longer to reach gender parity in the House of Commons.

Equality Impact Assessment

No Equality Impact Assessment has been carried out for this piece of legislation, since it was not believed to be required.

Recommendations

This bill, if passed, will have very little direct impact on the representation of women in decision-making roles. However, since it is likely that gaps between elections will be longer it will extend the period of time it could take (if the current rate of progress is maintained) to reach 50:50 representation between men and women.

Political parties should consider the impact of this measure on their strategies for improving the representation of women (and other under-represented groups) at Parliamentary level

1. Political parties should consider the impact of this measure on their strategies for improving the representation of women (and other under-represented groups) at Parliamentary level.
2. Both political parties and Parliament should consider the cumulative (negative) impact of constitutional legislation on the representation of women in Parliament, and should take steps to mitigate it. In particular, Government should make time for a Parliamentary debate on the Speaker's Conference Report as soon as possible (see Voting and Parliamentary Boundaries below).

Progress

This Bill began its legislative journey in the House of Commons on 19 January, clearing its first and second reading before entering the Committee stage. At the end of March there was a pause for public consultation, the results of which were published on 13 June 2011 as the Future Forum Report. Following this the Government tabled 181 amendments to the Bill, with more to follow. The Bill has now re-entered the Committee stage in the Commons.

What the Bill proposes

For the purposes of this survey, the Bill proposes:

- the abolition of both Primary Care Trusts and Strategic Health Authorities
- the introduction of Clinical Commissioning Consortia
- the establishment by local authorities of Health & Wellbeing Boards
- the establishment of an NHS Commissioning Board

The current position

There are a number of different kinds of Boards, Authorities and Trusts involved in running the NHS, some of which will be relatively unaffected by the new arrangements, and others of which will change only their status. This section of this report only looks at the two major levels to be abolished, but it should be recognised that there are changes happening to other bodies which may have an effect on women's representation, but which it has not been possible to investigate in detail.

Primary Care Trusts

Primary Care Trusts (PCTs) are 'public authorities in England responsible for planning, securing, funding and coordinating all of the NHS services in a defined geographical area. Collectively PCTs spend around 85% of the total NHS budget.'¹¹ There are over 150 of them around the country, some of which have combined with neighbouring PCTs to improve service delivery.

PCTs are run by Boards made up of executive and non-executive directors. The Chair (appointed by Government) is a non executive director, and each Board includes the Chief Executive of the PCT. The executive directors must include at least 3 healthcare professionals, one of whom must be a GP.

There are no currently available statistics on the gender composition of PCT Boards . CFWD research has found that 40.7% of PCT Board members are women.

¹¹ Figures from NHS Confederation Primary Care Trusts

There are no currently available statistics on the gender composition of PCT Boards¹², nor is there any requirement for them to be diverse. Accordingly, we have looked at the make-up of a quarter of Boards¹³ and found that:

- 40.7% of PCT Board members overall are female;
- 35.3% of non executive members are female;
- 46.3% of executive directors are female;
- 27% of PCT Chairs are women;
- 48.6% of PCT Chief Executives are women.

Strategic Health Authorities

There are 10 Strategic Health Authorities (SHAs) covering England. They are responsible for quality control, planning and resourcing the NHS in their area as well as ensuring that national priorities are implemented.

Like the PCTs they oversee, SHAs are run by a Board. We have examined the 10 Boards¹⁴ and found that:

- 35.9% of SHA directors overall are female;
- 32.7% of non-executive directors are female;
- 38.5% of executive directors are female;
- 6 of the 10 SHA Board Chairs are women;
- 3 of the 10 SHA Chief Executives are women.

The impact on women in decision-making roles

The Strategic Health Authorities will be abolished and not replaced by any comparable bodies. Responsibility for overseeing commissioning will be taken over by a new body, the NHS Commissioning Board, which will have a national remit and be governed by a Board of 5 members. Other SHA functions will either be subsumed by the Department of Health or acquired by the new Clinical Commissioning Groups (formerly known as GP Commissioning Consortia).

¹² The EOC study *Gender Statistics: An Evaluation* notes that ‘Data on decision-making are limited, and it is not possible to get an overview of the gender balance in membership of local health boards, NHS Trusts, Primary Care Trusts, and Strategic Health Authorities, nor of the gender balance among senior management in the NHS.’ (p 72)

¹³ See Appendix 1 for the list of those analysed.

¹⁴ See Appendix 2 for details

It is clear that the number of women involved in strategic decision-making in the NHS will be reduced, and although many of the bodies to which functions are transferred may themselves have women members, the loss of women SHA members will undoubtedly contribute to a reduction in women decision-makers overall.

The Primary Care Trusts will also be abolished altogether, and the majority of their functions passed on to the new Clinical Commissioning Groups. These are GP-led groups of practices - sometimes very large - which will commission healthcare on behalf of the practices they include. They are run by Boards, which initially were to be composed entirely of GPs and Practice Managers, but which, following the Future Forum report, have now been amended to include at least two lay members (one of whom should be either Chair or Deputy Chair) who will cover the fields of patient and public involvement and audit, remuneration and conflicts of interest. There will also be at least one registered nurse on the Board as well as at least one doctor who is a secondary care specialist.

It is difficult to tell whether or not the relatively high involvement of women in PCT Boards will be continued in Commissioning Groups.

The Government has identified over 80 'pathfinder' Commissioning Groups across the country. These are testing various models, and, because the outcomes of the Future Forum report have only recently become known, many have not yet adjusted their Board membership. However, the chief problem in assessing what the involvement of women in these new organisations will be is the absence of detail about Commissioning Groups. Many do not publish information about their Boards, some do not have websites, and some are still functioning under the umbrella of PCTs which will be abolished in 2013. As a consequence, it is difficult to tell whether or not the relatively high involvement of women in PCT Boards will be continued in Commissioning Groups.

However, it is possible to hazard some outcomes as a result of the position of women in the various groups to be represented. For instance, 42% of GPs are women¹⁵, but of those 49% work part-time. Part-time GPs are less likely to become practice partners and are therefore less likely in turn to be appointed to Commissioning Group Boards. This sequence has to be treated with a little caution, since information on the subject is hard to come by, but all the same it seems unlikely that anywhere near 50% (or even 42%) of GP members of Commissioning Boards will be women.

There are no statistics at all - so far as we can discover - about the gender of Practice Managers, but even the most cursory survey of GP Practice websites suggests that slightly over half are women. This might suggest that at least half of Practice Manager Commissioning Group members should be female, but this does not seem to be the case on the few Boards about which it has been

¹⁵ This and subsequent figures on women GPs are taken from Mary Anne Elston, *Women and Medicine: the Future*, published by the Royal College of Physicians in 2009.

possible to obtain detailed information. However, it should be stressed that very little data has yet been made public, and that the situation with Commissioning Groups is still developing, so that final judgement should perhaps be reserved until the full position is known.

In the case of nursing staff, it would be reasonable to assume that a majority of these will be female. Over 90% of nurses are women, but some estimates suggest that as many as 40% of senior nursing and nurse management posts may be filled by men.¹⁶ It remains to be seen whether or not nurses on Commissioning Group Boards reflect the profession as a whole or only the higher echelons of it.

According to the RCP's 2009 report, 28% of consultants are women, although this percentage is slowly rising as more women enter specialism training. However, this means that the majority of secondary care specialists on Commissioning Group Boards are likely to be men, particularly if there is only one post available.

Finally, given that 35.3% of non executive directors of PCT Boards are women, it is reasonable to suppose that a significant percentage of lay members of Commissioning Group Boards will be also, and that, as a consequence, at least a quarter of Board Chairs will be female. However, there is no guarantee of this, and the number of lay women involved will significantly reduce (as will the number of lay men).

One of the other developments outlined in the Bill is the introduction of Health and Wellbeing Boards, which will be set up to have the following duties:

- to encourage health and social care services in a given area to work in an integrated manner;
- to provide advice, assistance or other support to arrangements for the provision of such services;
- to encourage providers of health-related services in its area to work closely with the Health and Wellbeing Board;
- to encourage everyone responsible for the provision of any health-related services in its area to work closely together.

These are not executive or commissioning functions, but the make-up of the Boards will include key people in the area, including:

- at least one local authority councillor (or the elected mayor, where there is one). The Government's response to the Future Forum report says that 'We can confirm that it will be for local authorities to determine the precise

¹⁶ It has not been possible to verify this figure.

number of elected members on a health and wellbeing board, and they will be free to insist upon having a majority of elected councillors’;

- the Director of Adult Social Services for the local authority;
- the Director of Children’s Services for the local authority;
- the Director of Public Health for the local authority;
- a representative of the local HealthWatch¹⁷ organisation for the area of the local authority;
- a representative of each relevant Commissioning Group;
- and such other persons, or representatives of such other persons, as the local authority thinks appropriate.

Depending upon the gender of local councillors appointed to Health and Wellbeing Boards, it is possible that there will be a degree of gender balance in their membership. Only 31% of councillors are women,¹⁸ but they are disproportionately represented on Adult Social Services portfolio teams.¹⁹ 51% of Directors of Adult Social Services are women²⁰, and 50% of Directors of Children’s Services.²¹ There is very little information available for Directors of Public Health, but it may well be that less than 40% are women.²² The full composition of HealthWatch groups is not yet known²³, but assuming that at least some of the Commissioning Group representatives are women, it seems not unreasonable to suppose that Health and Wellbeing Boards will have a better percentage of women members than many other of the new bodies profiled in this report.

The Department of Health should ensure that future Equality Impact Assessments take account of the diversity of decision-makers as well as the impact of changes on patients and staff.

¹⁷ Local Healthwatch is being set up (and will come into effect in October 2012) to be an ‘independent consumer champion for health and social care’. It will operate under the auspices of the Care Quality Commission, and its duties will be to ensure that the views and feedback from people who use services, carers and members of the public are integral to local commissioning, to provide advocacy and support to people and help them to make choices about services, and to provide intelligence for HealthWatch England about the quality of providers. Following the Future Forum Report the Government proposed amendments to the Bill to strengthen the Boards’ role.

¹⁸ *National Census of Local Authority Councillors 2008*, IDEA/LGA 2009

¹⁹ CFWD research on local authority leadership to be published in September 2011

²⁰ CFWD analysis of 179 Directors of Adult Social Services as listed by the Association of Directors of Adult Social Services

http://www.adass.org.uk/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=166&Itemid=168 accessed July 2011.

²¹ CFWD analysis of 151 Directors of Children’s Services as listed by the Association of Directors of Children’s Services <http://www.adcs.org.uk/contacts/dcs.html> accessed July 2011.

²² 3 of the 16 Directors of Public Health in Yorkshire & the Humber are women, but that may not be the pattern nationwide.

²³ Although the Government’s response to the Future Forum report says that they will table an amendment to the bill to add an explicit requirement that local HealthWatch membership is representative of different users, including carers.’

Equality Impact Assessment

The Department of Health has produced a lengthy and detailed Equality Impact Assessment which deals with many aspects of the Bill, but not with its implications for diversity in decision-makers.

Recommendations

1. Government should require at least 40% of members of Clinical Commissioning Boards to be women. This would at least maintain the current level of women's involvement in policy making and commissioning at local level.
2. Local authorities should ensure that at least 50% of their members of Health and Wellbeing Boards are women.
3. The Government should take steps to require that men and women are equally represented on local Healthwatch Boards.
4. The Department of Health should ensure that future Equality Impact Assessments take account of the diversity of decision-makers as well as the impact of changes on patients and staff.

Progress

The Government announced its plans for a House of Lords Reform Bill on 17 May 2011 in the form of a draft Bill accompanied by a White Paper. The Bill has not yet entered the formal legislative process, although a pre-legislative scrutiny joint committee consisting of 13 MPs and 13 peers has been established.

What the Bill proposes

The Bill proposes that:

- the House of Lords be reduced from over 800 members to 300;
- 80% of members be elected for 15 year terms (with a third of seats coming up for election every five years);
- 60 members be appointed by the House of Lords Appointments Commission (which will have 7 members to be appointed by the Crown);
- members be elected to represent multi-member districts, and the Single Transferable Vote (a form of proportional representation [PR]) be used to elect them;
- Church of England bishops should remain as members of the House of Lords, but their number should be reduced from 26 to 12;
- the introduction of the new arrangements should be phased over 3 electoral cycles - i.e., the new House would not be fully operational until 2030.

22% of current members of the House of Lords are women - exactly the same as the House of Commons.

The Government says that it 'will consider' a wholly elected second chamber if there turns out to be support for that option as the Bill progresses.

There are no specific proposals to ensure the representation of women in the new House of Lords, although there is reference to the issue on P 17 of the Bill:

'There is widespread agreement that the balance between men and women members in Parliament needs to be improved. Research suggests that the choice of proportional representation should facilitate the election of women to the reformed House of Lords.

'However, parties also have an important role to play in ensuring that Parliament reflects the society that it serves. 49. Reform of the House of Lords is therefore an opportunity to consider how to increase the

participation of women in Parliament. The political parties and the Government should consider how to achieve this.²⁴

The current position

At present, there are 828 members of the House of Lords. Of these 24 are bishops (all male), 90 are hereditary (of whom 2 are female), 23 are law lords (1 female) and 691 are appointed (178 - 26% - female). Overall, 22% of members of the House of Lords are women - exactly the same as the House of Commons.

The impact on women in decision-making roles

This Bill has the potential to increase the percentage of women in the second chamber over a period of time. The drafters of the Bill are right that election by proportional representation (PR) should facilitate the election of women, but only if the political parties choose to take advantage of the opportunity. Under the proposed system the House would not be able to achieve 50:50 representation unless there were at least 6 women bishops of the Church of England eligible to sit as peers, and without some fairly decisive action this is not likely to be the case in the short to medium term. In addition, election by thirds would mean women coming into the House in small numbers across five-year periods, with the result that it would be at least 15 years before women members reached the 40% mark.

However, it is also the case that, if the Bill is passed, the use of PR would facilitate an increase in women's Parliamentary representation, so that the new House of Lords could reach the 40% female mark decades in advance of the House of Commons.

Equality Impact Assessment

It has not been possible to find an Equality Impact Assessment for this Bill, and it is therefore presumed that one has not been carried out.

Recommendations

This Bill has the merit of at least considering the issue of the representation of women, but it proposes no real mechanism for achieving improvements other than recommending the political parties and the Government to consider what should be done. Whilst we would support this, there are also a number of other measures which could be taken to improve matters.

1. Government should set a target that the reformed House of Lords will be 50% female by 2030.

²⁴ <http://www.cabinetoffice.gov.uk/sites/default/files/resources/house-of-lords-reform-draft-bill.pdf>

2. The Bill should be amended to include a requirement that 50% of the 60 appointed members should be women.
3. The Bill should be amended so as to require political parties to ensure that their candidate lists are 50% female.
4. The Bill should be amended so as to require the Church of England (and any other religious organisations subsequently gaining representation in the House of Lords) to ensure that, by 2030, at least 50% of their representatives are women.
5. The Government should take other appropriate measures to ensure that the reformed House represents the diversity of the country.

Local Growth White Paper

What the White Paper says

The Local Growth White Paper, published in October 2010, outlined the Government's policy in regard to regional and local economic development issues. White Papers often lead to the production of Parliamentary Bills, but not always, and in this case the White Paper itself laid out policy, without the need for any subsequent legislation except the Public Bodies Bill, which enables the abolition of (amongst other things) the Regional Development Agencies, and which is dealt with separately below.

The Local Growth White Paper announced the abolition of the nine English Regional Development Agencies (RDAs) and the establishment of a larger number of smaller Local Enterprise Partnerships (LEPs). Like the RDAs, these will be private sector led but include representatives of public bodies such as local councils, national parks and universities. Local consortia were invited to apply to set up LEPs and at the time of writing 35 have been approved. These are now in the process of recruiting Boards, of which 15 have now been approved (or 'recognised')²⁵.

The current position

The nine RDAs have responsibility for promoting and enabling economic growth in the regions. They develop Regional Economic Strategies, work to create the conditions for growth and promote job creation. They invest public funds to achieve strategic objectives and draw together a range of agencies and interests across the region. They have had varying degrees of success and are regarded with varying degrees of support; in some regions there have been high-profile campaigns to try to save the RDA, but in others they are seen as less helpful.

RDAs are run by Boards appointed by the Secretary of State for Communities (except in London, where they are appointed by the Mayor). There are no requirements for gender balance, though there have been periodic drives to increase the diversity of public appointments generally.

There are currently 121 members of RDA Boards, of whom 32 (24%) are women. Only one Board - Yorkshire Forward - is chaired by a woman (and is also the only RDA to have both a female Chair and a female CEO). Table 1 shows the representation of women on RDA Boards, and Table 2 the position on the 15 LEP Boards recognised to date.

²⁵ See Department for Business and Skills website
<http://www.bis.gov.uk/policies/economic-development/leps/lep-contact-details>
(accessed 28 June 2011)

Table 1

RDA	Chair	Number of Board Members	Number of Women Board Members	% Women
Advantage West Midlands	m	15	4	26.7%
East of England	m	12	4	33.3%
East Midlands	m	15	4	26.7%
London	m	11	4	36.4%
North West	m	15	3	20.0%
One North East	m	12	4	33.3%
South East	m	14	2	14.3%
South West	m	15	3	20.0%
Yorkshire Forward	f	12	4	33.3%
Totals		121	32	26.4%

Table 2

LEP	Chair	Total Board Members	Number of Women Board Members	% Women
Black Country	m	20	3	15.0%
Cheshire & Warrington	f	11	2	18.2%
Coast to Capital	m	14	2	14.3%
Cornwall & Isles of Scilly	m	11	2	18.2%
Coventry & Warwickshire	m	14	2	14.3%
Cumbria	m	12	4	33.3%
Greater Cambridge & Greater Peterborough	m	14	2	14.3%
Greater Manchester	m	13	2	15.4%
Leeds City Region	m	17	2	11.8%
Lincolnshire	f	12	2	16.7%
New Anglia	m	12	1	8.3%
Oxford City Region	m	16	3	18.8%
Sheffield City Region	m	17	2	11.8%
Stoke & Staffordshire	m	14	2	14.3%
West of England	m	10	3	30.0%
Totals		191	31	16.2%

The impact on women in decision-making roles

In theory, a larger number of more locally-based economic development bodies should mean the involvement of more women, but in fact this is not the case. Despite the fact that women run many small businesses, are setting businesses up in ever-increasing numbers, and are regarded in many parts of the world as key to economic growth and recovery, there are fewer women on the LEP boards rather than more. As can be seen, there are only two women chairing LEPs so far.

The current Regional Development Agencies will cease to exist by April 2012, by which time most of the country should be covered by Local Enterprise Partnerships. If development of these continues as it is at present, it is almost certain that women will be seriously under-represented, both as entrepreneurs and as public sector representatives, and that very few chairs will be female.

According to the Federation of Small Businesses (FSB), although women make up only 29% of their sector, they contribute £130 billion to the economy, and it is widely recognised that women's economic activity drives growth and creates jobs. Yet the new strategic arrangements for regional and local economic development are having the effect of excluding both them and their expertise from policy and decision-making. It also seems bizarre that, given the concern there is over the absence of women from the Boards of FTSE companies and banks,²⁶ neither Government nor local authorities seem to be concerned by the absence of women from local strategic decision-making.

Figures for the numbers of women applying for LEP Board private sector seats have not been published, but it is possible that fewer women than men apply. There may be a range of reasons for this, but these are not at present properly understood since there has been no research on the issue. Alternatively, if women are applying in sufficient numbers to appoint, there should be some examination of why they are not being appointed.

Equality Impact Assessment

It has not been possible to find an Equality Impact Assessment for this measure, and it is therefore presumed that one has not been carried out.

Recommendations

There is still time for both Government and public sector appointment mechanisms to rectify the developing problem - well over half of LEP Boards have still to be recognised, and their make-up and chairing arrangements could

²⁶ According to the report *Women on Boards* produced by Lord Davies for the Department for Business & Innovation in 2010/1, 12.5% of Board members of FTSE 100 companies are women.

therefore be made much more diverse if action were to be taken. We therefore recommend the following:

1. The appointments system for private sector members should be adjusted to ensure that an agreed percentage - at least 40% and preferably higher - of private sector LEP Board members are female.
2. Public sector bodies who are to be represented on LEPs should ensure that at least 2 of their nominees are women.
3. When seeking applications for LEP Board members, Government should ensure that women are actively invited to apply by targeting small businesses and women's networks as part of the process. It is recognised that this may be done to some extent already, but there may be room for improvement.
4. Government should publish diversity figures for applicants and appointees for each LEP area.

Localism Bill

Progress

This Bill began in the House of Commons and is now at the Committee stage in the House of Lords.

What the Bill proposes

The Localism Bill covers a wide variety of areas connected with local Government, the planning process and regional and local economic planning. The measures included which would have a direct impact upon women in decision-making roles are:

- the introduction of elected executive mayors in the 12 largest authorities in England;
- provisions to allow local authorities to revert from the Cabinet to the Committee system if they so wished;
- provision for local referendums;
- provisions to enable referendums locally to veto 'excessive' council tax increases;
- provisions to enable local groups, subject to procurement requirements, to take over the running of local services;
- provisions to enable local groups to buy land or buildings if the local authority identifies them as a community asset;
- rights for communities to draw up 'neighbourhood development plans';
- the abolition of the National Infrastructure Planning Commission and the transfer of responsibility for decisions on nationally significant infrastructure projects to Government ministers;
- the abolition of the Tenant Services Authority and the transfer of its functions to the Homes & Communities Agency, and the establishment of tenant panels.

The current position

At the time of writing there are 13 elected mayors in England, of whom 2²⁷ are women. Initially the proposal was to convert 12 local authority leaders into 'shadow' mayors in advance of affirmative referendums in the local authorities

²⁷ The Conservative Mayor of North Tyneside and the Liberal Democrat Mayor of Watford.

concerned. This has now been amended to remove the 'shadow' proposal, and referendums in the relevant authorities²⁸ will be held in May 2012.

Elected mayors are 'responsible for effective implementation of council policy and delivering services in line with the council's approved budget and policy framework.'²⁹ The Council has to approve the budget and a number of policy framework plans³⁰, but can only reject these by a majority of two-thirds. Thus the elected mayor has effective control over a wide range of both policy and delivery issues which were formerly exercised by the leader and cabinet. The mayor may appoint a cabinet of councillors or assist him (or more rarely, her); 34% of members of mayoral cabinets are women (as against 26% of cabinets in leader and cabinet model authorities)³¹, but their authority derives from the elected mayor rather than the elected council.

14% of council leaders are women, 26% of portfolio-holders and 31% of local councillors. 15% of elected mayors are women.

The majority of local authorities (excluding those with an elected mayor) work with a Leader and Cabinet. There are normally between 7 and 10 cabinet members, each of whom is responsible for one portfolio (or area of corporate management or service delivery). 14% of council leaders are women, and 26% of portfolio-holders. Women are most likely to hold the Community (25%), Education (24%) and Health (23%) portfolios, and least likely to hold Planning (3%), Finance (4%) or Economic Development (7%).³²

There are currently no provisions for local referendums, on either specific issues or council tax increases (apart from those to decide on whether or not to have an elected mayor), nor are local groups able to buy community assets or draw up local development plans.

The National Infrastructure Planning Commission is 'the independent body that examines applications for nationally significant infrastructure projects.'³³ 22% (8) of its 36 commissioners are women, and 50% of its senior management team.

The Tenant Services Authority is the independent regulator for affordable housing in England. 4 of its 10 board members are women.

The impact on women in decision-making roles

The Government is requiring mayoral referendums to be held in 11 local authority areas in 2012, and given that the outcomes of these will not be known

²⁸ Birmingham, Bradford, Bristol, Coventry, Leeds, Liverpool, Newcastle upon Tyne, Nottingham, Manchester, Sheffield and Wakefield. The twelfth city was Leicester, which has now already voted for (and elected) its mayor.

²⁹ Local Government Act 2000

³⁰ For instance, for Children's Services, Community Care, Education, Local Development, etc

³¹ CFWD research on patterns of leadership and portfolio-holding to be published in September 2011.

³² Ibid

³³ <http://infrastructure.independent.gov.uk/>

until then, it is not possible to assess how many new mayors there will be, or how many of them will be women. However, it is known that women are as likely to be elected mayors (15%) as council leaders (14%), and that mayoral cabinets are more likely to contain women. However, whilst women cabinet members in authorities with a traditional leader have the opportunity ultimately to become leader themselves, this is not the case with elected mayors. Given that senior leadership roles in local authorities are one of the known routes into the wider political field³⁴, the narrowing of opportunity for progression at local level has implications for diversity elsewhere.

That said, it is not inevitable that elected mayors in themselves reduce the level of women in local government leadership roles, and particularly not if the political parties take steps to rectify the very low level of women they field as mayoral candidates.

Local referendums - whether on specific issues or council tax increases - may increase the participation of women in local decision-making, as may the ability for local groups to take over community assets. According to the latest *Audit of Political Engagement*³⁵ women are as likely as men to vote in local elections (52%), more likely to support charities or campaign groups (42% of women as opposed to 40% of men), more likely to engage in voluntary work (28% of women and 23% of men), and as likely to be interested in what happens locally (69% of women and 70% of men). However, the same study found that women were less likely to believe that they knew 'a great deal' or 'a fair amount' about how things work locally (42% of women and 50% of men) which may mean that women will be less inclined to vote on referendums on specific issues, and in fact only 43% of women (and 44% of men) actually said that they wanted to be more involved in local decision-making.

The abolition of the National Infrastructure Commission will have the effect of moving strategic infrastructure decisions from an unelected body to elected ministers, but, given the very low level of women in the ministerial ranks,³⁶ this will inevitably - at least in the short term - result in a reduction in the number of women making these decisions.

The Board of the Homes & Communities Agency, which will take over the functions of the Tenant Services Authority, has 4 women amongst its 10 members; there will therefore be no change in the short-term in the representation of women at this level.

³⁴ The EHRC's report on *Pathways to Politics* (2011) says that 52% of national politicians have experience as councillors. Much of this experience is at the most senior levels.

³⁵ Hansard Society 2011

³⁶ 18% of Cabinet Ministers are women, and 13% of more junior ministers. (CFWD analysis of data from UK Parliament website, last accessed 11 July 2011)

There are no gender requirements being proposed for the makeup of tenant panels, so that it is not possible to predict how well women will be represented on them.

Equality Impact Assessment

The Government has carried out separate impact assessments for most parts of the Bill, but very few of these say that there are any implications for equalities issues.

The exception to this is the Assessment for the parts of the Bill dealing with neighbourhood planning and the community right to build. This quotes research published by the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister in 2005, which said that:

‘The very way the planning system operates can unwittingly exclude some persons and groups. Examples are those who do not understand the technical language that planners use, or those whose responsibilities in caring for young children prevent them from attending public meetings held in the evening.’

The Assessment then goes on to identify people from BME communities and people with disabilities as being potentially disadvantaged by the proposals, but makes no mention of women, either in terms of being a group which might be specifically disadvantaged, or in terms of ways in which any such disadvantage might be addressed.

Recommendations

1. Political parties should take steps to ensure that they field more women candidates in mayoral elections where they have a good chance of winning.
2. Local authority leaders should appoint more women to cabinet portfolio-holding roles, and should ensure that women are represented across the spectrum of portfolios.
3. Government, local authorities and other relevant agencies should take steps to ensure that plans for neighbourhood planning and community asset owning do not exclude women.
4. The new tenants panels should be required to have equal numbers of men and women members.

Local authority leaders should appoint more women to cabinet portfolio-holding roles, and should ensure that women are represented across the spectrum of portfolios.

Police & Social Responsibility Bill

Progress

The Police and Social Responsibility Bill has passed through its first and second readings in both Houses and has also concluded its report stages. It is about to return to the House of Commons for its third reading.

What the Bill proposes

The measures in this Bill include:

- the creation of elected Police and Crime Commissioners (PCC) in all Force areas (except the City of London and the Metropolitan Police) who may hold office for up to two four-year terms, and will have responsibility for:
 - representing and engaging with communities;
 - setting priorities for the Force and preparing the annual Policing Plan;
 - holding the Chief Constable to account;
 - setting the Force budget and setting the council tax precept
 - appointing (and dismissing) the Chief Constable;
 - publishing an annual report stating how priorities and targets have been met, and other information as specified by the Secretary of State to enable greater public awareness of police and crime performance in the area.
- the creation of Police and Crime Panels (PCP) in each Force area to publicly advise and scrutinise the PCC. These Panels will be made up of elected councillors and independent members, but with independent membership much reduced from its current level;
- the appointment by the PCC of a Chief Executive and a Chief Finance Officer;
- the creation, in London, of the Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime, which will have all the functions of a PCC except that of appointing the Commissioner and Deputy Commissioner, who will continue to be appointed by the Queen (on the advice of the Home Secretary). The London Assembly will set up a sub-committee to act at the PCP, and may appoint independent members;
- the abolition of the current Police Authorities.

The current position

The country is currently divided up into 43 police authority areas, in each of which there is a Chief Constable and a Police Authority consisting of local councillors and independent members. 31.4% of members of these authorities are women - 21.5% of local authority members and 42.8% of independents. 25.6% (11) of Police Authority Chairs are women, and 32.6% of vice chairs³⁷. There are 3 women Chief Constables in England and Wales (7%).³⁸

The level of female Police Authority members is the same as that of local councillors as a whole, but local council members of police authorities are overwhelmingly likely to be male, with a small number³⁹ having no women councillors on them at all. All police authorities have some women amongst their independent members, and indeed in 21 cases more than 50% of independent members are female.

Police authorities are responsible for ensuring that local people have a say in how they are policed. They hold the Chief Constable to account, set the police force budget and decide how much money to raise towards the cost of policing through the local council tax, and they are charged with ensuring the maintenance of an efficient and effective police force.

Almost all police authorities employ a Chief Executive and a Treasurer, though in some cases one person holds both posts, in others the Chief Executive of one of the constituent local authorities fulfils the role, and in others still one or both is part-time. 32.5% of Police Authority Chief Executives are female, and 30.8% of Treasurers.

There are currently no directly elected police commissioners.

The impact on women in decision-making roles

The potential impact of this legislation on the presence of women in either decision-making or scrutiny roles in policing is very serious, and could result in women becoming even less able than they are now to influence the direction of policy in this area.

Police and Crime Commissioners

These will be elected every four years. Anyone eligible and registered to vote in the Force area concerned will be able to take part, and the election will be by a simple majority vote if there are two candidates, and the supplementary voting system if there are three or more.⁴⁰ Candidates must be at least 18 years old,

31.4% of members of Police Authorities are women - 21.5% of local authority members and 42.8% of independents.

³⁷ See Appendix 3 for details for individual Police Authorities

³⁸ Taken from the website of the British Association for Women in Policing, <http://www.bawp.org/ACPOWomen.php>, last accessed 11 July 2011

³⁹ Cheshire, Cleveland, Dyfed-Powys, Gwent, Lincolnshire, Norfolk and North Wales

⁴⁰ i.e., voters rank candidates in order of preference.

registered to vote, and not a candidate in any other police area. Serving police officers and special constables will be barred from standing, as will a large number of others - the Mayor of London, for example, as well as judges, civil servants, members of the armed forces, MPs, MEPs, Welsh Assembly Members and Members of the Scottish Parliament, members of the House of Lords, councillors at any level in the police area, local authority staff other than teachers in the police area, etc..

This has the effect of narrowing the field from which candidates may be drawn quite considerably. The Government's hope is that candidates will come from communities of various kinds and will not be political in the party sense. However, this was also the hope for elected mayors, and although there have been some successful independents (e.g. in Middlesbrough and Hartlepool) the vast majority of elected mayors - 10 out of the current 13 - have party political affiliations or backgrounds. Since political candidates are not excluded from standing, the probability is that the main political parties will all wish to be represented on the ballot paper, particularly since crime and policing are such major issues for them.

The only comparable elections in the UK are those for executive mayors, and there the fortunes of women have not been good. Research has shown that the level of women candidates is often significantly lower for mayoral elections (in 2011 it was 17%) than for local elections (30% in 2011).⁴¹ General elections are more comparable in 2010; 21% of Parliamentary candidates were women.

Political parties vary considerably in their approach to the use of positive action measures such as zipping and all-women shortlists to increase the numbers of women candidates, but none of them use any form of positive action for the selection of mayoral candidates. As a consequence, the level of women standing for any of the main parties is very low - just two out of the fifteen fielded between them in 2011 - and the number of women elected is also very low. At present only two elected mayors are women.⁴²

It may be that political parties will find ways of ensuring greater diversity in their PCC candidates, but there is no evidence from any other elections to date to suggest that this might be the case.

Similarly, although there are usually a number of Independent candidates at mayoral elections, these tend to be male (75% in 2011) and less likely to get elected unless they are incumbents standing again. Women are less likely to stand as Independent candidates at all levels, and although the Government hopes that the task, status and remuneration of PCCs will attract more Independents, there is little evidence that this will be the case, and very little to

⁴¹ CFWD paper *Mayoral Candidates in 2011*

<http://www.cfwd.org.uk/uploads/pdfs/Mayoral%20Candidates%202011.pdf>

⁴² The Conservative Mayor of North Tyneside and the Liberal Democrat Mayor of Watford

suggest that the electorate on the whole prefers Independent candidates to those with political affiliations.⁴³

If women were to be elected as Police and Crime Commissioners in the same proportions as they are to executive mayoralities, seven of the forty-three Commissioners would be women.

Police and Crime Panels

The most significant reduction in the level of women involved in policy and decision-making or scrutiny in policing will come with the abolition of the current Police Authorities and the establishment of new Police and Crime Panels.

These will be made up of councillors from all the local authorities contained within a Force area, together with two Independents. At present, independent members of Police Authorities account for 63% of women members overall, with local authorities being very poor at nominating women councillors to them - only 84 of the 391 councillor members of Police Authorities are women.

This is not entirely surprising - councils tend to send their more senior or experienced members to Police Authorities, and these are overwhelmingly male⁴⁴. As we have seen, in some cases there are no women councillors appointed at all, and in only a very few cases are more than 50% of councillors appointed female.⁴⁵ There is no reason to suppose that this will change under the new dispensation, even in Wales, where the Secretary of State will nominate Panel members on the recommendation of the local authorities concerned.

Thus, if the current level of women councillors on Police Authorities is repeated on Police and Crime Panels, and if - as an optimistic assessment - each PCP makes sure that one of the two independent members it appoints is female, it is likely that at least 100 (of the current 230) women will be removed from decision-making roles on policing as a result of these changes.

Equality Impact Assessment

The Government has conducted an Equality Impact Assessment on this area of the Bill, but the outcome is muddled, fails to take account of current circumstances and their likely continuation, and fails to identify any realistic remedy for the problem it identifies.

It is likely that at least 100 (of the current 230) women will be removed from decision-making roles on policing as a result of these changes.

⁴³ Parties other than the Conservatives, Labour or the Liberal Democrats took only 10% of the vote share at the recent general election. (Ipsos Mori analysis)

⁴⁴ For instance, only 14% of Council Leaders are female, only a quarter of portfolio-holders, and less than a quarter of those holding the Community Safety portfolio. Source: CFWD's annual review of local Government leadership and unpublished research on patterns of portfolio-holding.

⁴⁵ Bedfordshire, North Yorkshire, Surrey, and the Met.

The Assessment acknowledges that:

‘We know that there are a disproportionately low number of BME people and women in key public facing roles for example members of Parliament, local councillors, and chief police officers.

‘Consideration of how those from diverse groups can stand and participate in elections is key in gaining the support from, and understanding the needs of diverse communities. This includes people with disabilities, people who are gay, as well as younger and older people.

‘Also people from BME groups are much more unlikely to get involved in influencing local services and voting so it is important that the PCC can represent the views of all local communities effectively.’

This sounds promising, but the remedy the Assessment supports is the establishment of Police and Crime Panels made up almost entirely of the least representative element of the current arrangements, and abolishing the majority of places for independents, thus inevitably - and probably inadvertently - reducing the numbers of women.

It then goes on to say:

‘We will require that PCP arrangements must secure that, as far as is reasonably practicable, the Local Authority Members represent all parts of the relevant police area but we will not legislate to determine how constituent Local Authorities appoint or select their member to each Police and Crime Panel. We will also not legislate to prescribe how Local Authorities will select the remaining councillors over and above their required 1 member, other than to say that it is for the Local Authorities within that force to agree on the councillor representation up to the minimum size of a PCP (10+2).

‘Each PCP will have 2 co-opted members in addition to their Local Authority constituent members. We will set out in legislation the broad selection criteria for the co-opted members of the PCP. In co-opting members, the PCP must secure that, as far as is reasonably practicable, the members of the panel have, between them, the skills, knowledge, and experience necessary for the PCP to discharge its functions effectively.’

Thus at no stage are local authorities to be required to ensure diversity of any kind in their representation, nor is there any recognition of the fact that women,

in particular, will be adversely affected by these new arrangements. The only reference to diversity is in a later section which says:

‘Once the Councillor members to the panel are appointed, they in turn must appoint independent members and in doing so have regard to relevant skills, diversity, and experience.’

On the matter of the diversity of Police and Crime Commissioners, the Assessment simply says that:

‘Potential PCC candidates will not be restricted to those supported by a main political party. **Any** (*Assessment’s emphasis*) independent member of the public (except those disqualified) may stand for election. Political parties will need to consider how they might increase their diversity to appeal to and encourage wider engagement across all sections of the population.’

Political parties should take steps to ensure that at least 40% of their candidates for Police Commissioner elections are women.

All the major political parties already have policy on securing diversity - and are committed to achieving it - and have been urged in report after report to consider how they might encourage wider engagement. To date, this has not been acted upon in the case of elected mayors, and there seems no reason to believe that it will be for Police and Crime Commissioners, either.

The Government - in the shape of the Home Office and the Government Equalities Office - have recognised that there may be a problem in terms of diversity in PCCs, and have said that these two bodies ‘are working together to identify activities which will encourage a wide range of diverse candidates to stand for election as police and crime commissioners. We will engage with a diverse range of stakeholders and communities to ensure that we raise awareness of the proposed reform and consider their views in developing policy’.⁴⁶ It is not possible yet to assess the outcomes of this work, which will need to be reviewed after the first round of elections.

Recommendations

The Police and Social Responsibility Bill will, if passed, remove at least 100 women from decision-making or scrutiny roles in policing, and is likely to result in the election of Police and Crime Commissioners who are overwhelmingly male. We therefore recommend that:

1. Political parties should take steps to ensure that at least 40% of their candidates for Police Commissioner elections are women.

⁴⁶ http://www.equalities.gov.uk/what_we_do/representation_in_public_life.aspx

2. Government should monitor the situation with regard to Police Commissioners, and, if necessary, should take active steps to ensure that women are better represented in this post.
3. Government should require that Police and Crime Panels are established with a gender balance of 50:50.
4. Steps should also be taken to ensure wider diversity (e.g., race, age, disability etc) in PCPs.

Progress

The Public Bodies Bill was introduced in October 2010 in the House of Lords, where it has completed its stages. The Bill was considerably amended during this process, in particular to limit the powers of ministers in certain circumstances and to compel a consultation period. It is currently (July 2011) in the House of Commons.

What the Bill proposes

The Bill (in its present form, following amendment in the House of Lords) gives Ministers the power to abolish, merge, or otherwise change the existence and functions of the relevant public bodies following a period of consultation and affirmation by both Houses of Parliament. It makes provision for the devolution of these powers by Ministers to the devolved institutions in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland, and makes arrangements for any consequential changes that may be necessary. It is enabling legislation following the Government's review of over 900 non-departmental public bodies, non-ministerial departments, and Government-owned public corporations and trading funds following the 2010 general election.

As a result of this review, 192 quangos (quasi-autonomous non-Governmental organisations) were either abolished outright, or abolished as free-standing entities with some or all of their functions being transferred to the civil service, local authorities, charities, other public bodies or the private sector. 118 others were merged, whilst 117 more were earmarked for substantial reform.

Many of the quangos reviewed were either departmental or non-statutory, and therefore did not require legislation to enable change or abolition. The bodies covered by the Bill are therefore only those which require Parliamentary approval for change or abolition.⁴⁷

The current position

Given the long list of bodies involved in both the review and the Bill, it has been impossible to examine each one and identify how many women sit on their boards or hold key roles.

According to the Government Equalities Office, in 2009 women held 32.6% of public appointments; this includes appointments to quango boards. The Appointments Commission says in its Annual Report that, in 2010/11, 35.3% of the people it appointed to health and social care bodies were women. This falls a good way short of its own agreed target of 50% by 31 March 2011, (although it

Government should set clear, realistic and achievable targets for gender balance in public appointments, should ensure they are monitored, and should publish the figures annually.

⁴⁷ Listed in Appendix 4

is worth noting that whilst it also failed to meet its target of 14% for disabled appointments, it exceeded its BAME target of 11%). The Commissioner for Public Appointments (a different body from the Appointments Commission) does not appear to have any diversity targets, although the Code of Practice recognises the need to ensure equality of opportunity.

The impact on women in decision-making roles

This is hard to establish with any precision. Although a great many quangos are being abolished or merged, hundreds will still remain, and it is reasonable to assume that, if women's representation on them is still in line with the figures given above, over 30% of members will be female.

However, the apparent absence of targets for gender balance in public appointments in many areas, combined with the failure of public appointments in the NHS to come anywhere near their 50% target, is not encouraging for the future.

Equality Impact Assessment

It has not been possible to find an Equality Impact Assessment for this measure, and it is therefore presumed that one has not been carried out.

Recommendations

1. All future changes to quangos should include an equality impact assessment, and this should deal with representation as well as other relevant areas.
2. Government should set clear, realistic and achievable targets for gender balance in public appointments, should ensure they are monitored, and should publish the figures annually.
3. Both the Appointments Commission and the Commissioner for Public Appointments should have clear strategies for achieving the targets set.

Parliamentary Voting System and Constituencies Act

Progress

This Bill has completed its progress through Parliament and received royal assent on 16 February 2011.

What the Act does

This Act provides for a reduction in Parliamentary constituencies (and thus MPs) from 650 to 600 at the next (2015) general election. It also allowed for a referendum on whether to move from a first past the post electoral system to one using the alternative vote; this was held on 6 May 2011, when the proposal to change was defeated. The Boundary Commission will publish its initial proposals for changes to constituencies in September 2011.

What is the current position?

There are currently 650 MPs, 143 (22%) of whom are women. This is an historic high in the UK, but lags behind most other Western European countries.⁴⁸

What will be the impact on women in decision-making roles?

A reduction in the number of constituencies will inevitably result in the loss of some women MPs, although this does not in itself mean that the percentage of women will go down. Nor, until the detail of which constituencies are likely to disappear is available, will it be possible to say how many and which women MPs will be directly affected.

The increase in women MPs since 1992 (when the level stood at 9.8% - 60 women) has been achieved largely by political parties' use of positive action in various ways at various elections, thus ensuring that they fielded women candidates in seats they could reasonably expect to win - i.e., seats where a sitting MP was retiring or seats which were regarded as marginal, and where the challenging party believed it could be successful. Clearly it is impossible to tell at the moment which of the new seats will be marginal, nor do we yet know which MPs will retire, or which of those whose seats are abolished will find new seats elsewhere. In some cases, constituencies which are currently considered reasonably safe for the party which holds them will become more marginal, whilst in others the reverse will happen.

However, the number of constituencies each region/nation will lose has been made public,⁴⁹ and it is therefore possible to set these figures against the

The increase in women MPs since 1992 (when the level stood at 9.8% - 60 women) has been achieved largely by political parties' use of positive action in various ways at various elections.

⁴⁸ For instance, 39% of MPs are women in the Netherlands, 37% in Spain, 33% in Germany, 29% in Switzerland and 28% in Austria. Figures from www.ipu.org

current percentages of women MPs. Table 3 does this, ranking the regions and the devolved assemblies by percentage of women MPs.

Table 3

Region/Nation	Total Current Constituencies	Current Women MPs	Current % Women	No. Constituencies to be Abolished
North East	29	10	34.5%	3
London	73	24	32.8%	5
North West	75	19	25.3%	7
East Midlands	46	11	23.9%	2
Northern Ireland	18	4	22.2%	2
Scotland	59	13	22.0%	7
South West	55	11	20.0%	2
South East	84	16	19.0%	1
West Midlands	59	11	18.6%	5
Yorkshire & Humber	54	10	18.5%	4
Wales	40	7	17.5%	10
East of England	58	8	13.8%	2
Totals	650	144	22.1%	50

Equality Impact Assessment

It has not been possible to find an Equality Impact Assessment for this measure, and it is therefore presumed that none was carried out.

Recommendations

Clearly, neither the Government nor the various Boundary Commissions will be likely to take into account the need to maintain (or even increase) the numbers of women MPs when making decisions on the review. However, there are still some things which could be done to protect the Parliamentary progress women have made to date.

1. Political parties should make sure that women MPs and candidates are not disproportionately disadvantaged by their own internal arrangements in regard to seat allocation following the review.
2. Political parties should also takes steps to ensure that at least 50% of candidates in vacancies created by sitting MPs not seeking re-election, as well as at least 50% of candidates in marginal seats are women. They should also ensure that those women are themselves diverse.

⁴⁹ Figures published by the Boundary Commissions for England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland.

3. In January 2010 the results of the Speaker's Conference's inquiry into Parliamentary Representation was published. This made recommendations for how a range of bodies, including Parliament itself, could improve the diversity of the House of Commons, and it also asked that the Government make time for a debate on its findings. This debate should be held at the earliest possible opportunity, and should include issues around the boundary reviews.
4. After the 2015 general election the Government of the day should take stock of the outcomes of the changes in terms of diversity and should take whatever steps are necessary to ensure that Parliament achieves gender balance as soon as possible thereafter.

Information on Bills

The main source for the content and progress of Bills has been the Parliamentary website at www.Parliament.uk, where it is possible to find full lists of Bills before Parliament, together with an explanation of each Bill's progress through the legislative process, the Government's explanatory notes, lists of amendments and other relevant information.

This has been supplemented by accessing departmental websites for further detail on individual Bills. These are:

Department for Business, Innovation and Skills	www.bis.gov.uk
Cabinet Office	www.cabinetoffice.gov.uk
Department for Communities and Local Government	www.communities.gov.uk
Department of Education	www.education.gov.uk
Department of Health	www.dh.gov.uk
The Home Office	www.homeoffice.gov.uk
UK Government	www.direct.gov.uk
Number 10	www.number10.gov.uk

During the course of the research we have accessed a large number of websites in order to establish the current composition of various boards, committees, and authorities. To save space these are not listed individually but are:

- Websites of 9 Regional Development Agencies
- Websites of Strategic Health Authorities (Listed in Appendix 2)
- Websites of 37 Primary Care Trusts (listed in Appendix 1)
- Websites of Clinical Commissioning Groups
- Websites of 43 Police Authorities (listed in Appendix 3)
- Websites of various quangos (e.g., those proposed for abolition in the Education Bill)
- Websites of GP Practices in Yorkshire & the Humber
- Websites of 7 Free Schools (Discovery New School, Etz Chaim Jewish Primary School, Langley Hall Primary Academy, BBG Academy, Kempston Academy, Canary Wharf College and Rivendale Free School)

Other websites viewed are:

Appointments Commission	www.appointments.org.uk
Association of Directors of Adult Social Care	www.adass.org.uk
Association of Directors of Children's Services	www.adcs.org.uk
Boundary Commission (England)	www.boundarycommissionforengland.independent.gov.uk
Boundary Commission (Northern Ireland)	www.boundarycommission.org.uk
Boundary Commission (Scotland)	www.bcomm-scotland.gov.uk
Boundary Commission (Wales)	www.bcomm-wales.gov.uk
British Association for Women in Policing	www.bawp.org
Centre for Women & Democracy	www.cfd.org.uk
Commissioner for Public Appointments	www.publicappointmentscommissioner.independent.gov.uk
Equalities & Human Rights Commission	www.equalityhumanrights.com
Fawcett Society	www.fawcettsociety.org.uk
Federation of Small Businesses	www.fsb.org.uk
Government Equalities Office	www.equalities.gov.uk
Hansard Society	www.hansardsociety.org.uk
Health Service Journal	www.hsj.co.uk
Ipsos Mori	www.ipsos-mori.com
Local Government Group	www.local.gov.uk
National Association of Local Councils	www.nalc.gov.uk
National Governors Association	www.nga.org.uk
NHS Confederation	www.nhsconfed.org
NHS Information Centre	www.ic.nhs.uk
Office for National Statistics	www.ons.gov.uk

Royal College of Nursing	www.rcn.org.uk
Training & Development Agency for School	www.tda.gov.uk
UK National Statistics	www.statistics.gov.uk
Yorkshire & Humber Public Health Observatory	www.yhpho.org.uk

Print sources (other than Bills and related documents):

Audit of Political Engagement Ruth Fox, Matt Korris and Rachel Heydecker, (Hansard Society 2011)

Future Forum Report (Department of Health: 2011)

Changes in Response to Future Forum (Department of Health 2011)

Response to Future Forum (Department of Health: 2011)

Code of Practice for Ministerial Appointments to Public Bodies (Commissioner for Public Appointments)

Gender Statistics: An Evaluation, Esther Breitenbach, University of Edinburgh, (Equal Opportunities Commission 2006)

Improving the Diversity of Public Appointments in Health & Social Care: 2010/11 Action Plan (Appointments Commission)

Mayoral Candidates in 2011, (Centre for Women & Democracy)

Pathways to Politics, Catherine Durose, Francesca Gains, Liz Richardson, Ryan Combs, Karl Broome and Christina Eason (EHRC Research Report 65, 2011)

Public Appointments Commission Annual Report 2010/11

Sex & Power: Who Runs Britain? 2008 (Equality & Human Rights Commission)

Speaker's Conference (on Parliamentary Representation), Final Report, 11 January 2010

Women and Medicine: the Future, Mary Anne Elston, (Royal College of Physicians, 2009)

Primary Care Trusts

This table shows the gender breakdown of Chairs, CEOs, executive and non-executive directors on 37 Primary Care Trusts in England.

PCT	Chair	CEO	Non Exec			Exec			Board (All)		
			all	f	%f	all	f	%f	all	f	%f
Ashton, Leigh & Wigan	m	m	4	0	0.0%	5	1	20.0%	9	1	11.1%
Barking & Dagenham	f	m	8	6	75.0%	6	3	50.0%	14	9	64.3%
Bassetlaw	m	f	7	1	14.3%	5	1	20.0%	12	2	16.7%
Bolton	f	m	7	2	28.6%	3	0	0.0%	10	2	20.0%
Bristol	m	f	8	3	37.5%	7	4	57.1%	15	7	46.7%
Buckinghamshire	m	f	9	3	33.3%	8	3	37.5%	17	6	35.3%
Calderdale	f	m	8	3	37.5%	6	2	33.3%	14	5	35.7%
Cambridgeshire	f	m	6	2	33.3%	5	1	20.0%	11	3	27.3%
Cumbria	m	f	7	2	28.6%	7	3	42.9%	14	5	35.7%
Darlington	m	f	6	4	66.7%	5	3	60.0%	11	7	63.6%
Devon	m	f	7	2	28.6%	8	5	62.5%	15	7	46.7%
Ealing	m	m	8	2	25.0%	6	3	50.0%	14	5	35.7%
East Sussex Downs & Weald	m	f	6	1	16.7%	3	3	100.0%	9	4	44.4%
Great Yarmouth & Waveney	m	m	5	3	60.0%	11	4	36.4%	16	7	43.8%
Hampshire	m	f	4	2	50.0%	8	4	50.0%	12	6	50.0%
Hartlepool	m	f	6	2	33.3%	3	1	33.3%	9	3	33.3%
Islington	f	f	6	4	66.7%	5	4	80.0%	11	8	72.7%
Kensington & Chelsea	m	f	8	5	62.5%	8	4	50.0%	16	9	56.3%
Kent & Medway	m	f	7	1	14.3%	12	9	75.0%	19	10	52.6%
Knowsley	f	f	8	2	25.0%	7	2	28.6%	15	4	26.7%
Leeds	f	m	6	1	16.7%	7	2	28.6%	13	3	23.1%
Luton	m	f	8	1	12.5%	7	3	42.9%	15	4	26.7%
Milton Keynes	m	m	7	2	28.6%	8	4	50.0%	15	6	40.0%
Norfolk	f	m	6	4	66.7%	4	2	50.0%	10	6	60.0%
North Somerset	m	f	6	1	16.7%	5	4	80.0%	11	5	45.5%
Nottingham	m	m	7	0	0.0%	7	1	14.3%	14	1	7.1%
Redbridge	f	m	5	2	40.0%	7	5	71.4%	12	7	58.3%
Redcar & Cleveland	m	f	6	2	33.3%	3	1	33.3%	9	3	33.3%
Rotherham	m	m	7	3	42.9%	5	0	0.0%	12	3	25.0%
Southampton	f	f	4	2	50.0%	3	2	66.7%	7	4	57.1%
Stoke-on-Trent	m	m	6	3	50.0%	7	3	42.9%	13	6	46.2%
Surrey	m	f	7	3	42.9%	10	5	50.0%	17	8	47.1%
Telford & the Wrekin	m	m	7	2	28.6%	5	2	40.0%	12	4	33.3%
Wakefield	m	m	5	3	60.0%	7	3	42.9%	12	6	50.0%
West Sussex	m	m	7	2	28.6%	7	4	57.1%	14	6	42.9%
Wiltshire	m	m	6	2	33.3%	6	4	66.7%	12	6	50.0%
Wolverhampton	m	m	6	2	33.3%	5	2	40.0%	11	4	36.4%
Totals	10	18	241	85	35.3%	231	107	46.3%	472	192	40.7%

Appendix 2

Strategic Health Authorities

This table shows the gender breakdown of Chairs, CEOs, executive and non-executive directors on 10 Strategic Health Authorities in England.

PCT	Chair	CEO	Non Exec			Exec			Board (All)		
			all	f	%f	all	f	%f	all	f	%f
East Midlands	f	m	4	2	50.0%	4	2	50.0%	8	4	50.0%
East of England	f	m	5	2	40.0%	11	4	36.4%	16	6	37.5%
London	m	f	5	2	40.0%	5	3	60.0%	10	5	50.0%
North East	m	m	6	2	33.3%	5	0	0.0%	11	2	18.2%
North West	f	m	5	1	20.0%	9	6	66.7%	14	7	50.0%
South Central	m	f	5	1	20.0%	7	3	42.9%	12	4	33.3%
South East Coast	f	f	5	2	40.0%	5	4	80.0%	10	6	60.0%
South West	m	m	5	1	20.0%	10	2	20.0%	15	3	20.0%
West Midlands	f	m	6	1	16.7%	6	1	16.7%	12	2	16.7%
Yorkshire & Humber	f	m	6	3	50.0%	3	0	0.0%	9	3	33.3%
Totals	6	3	52	17	32.7%	65	25	38.5%	117	42	35.9%
	60%	30%									

Police Authorities

This table shows the gender breakdown of Chairs, CEOs, Councillor members and independent members of 43 existing (as at July 2011) Police Authorities in England.

Authority	Chair	Cllrs			Ind			All			CEO	CFO
		all	f	% f	all	f	% f	all	f	% f		
Avon & Somerset	m	9	2	22.2%	8	7	87.5%	17	9	52.9%	m	m
Bedfordshire	m	9	5	55.6%	8	3	37.5%	17	8	47.1%	f	f
Cambridgeshire	f	7	1	14.3%	8	5	62.5%	15	6	40.0%	f	
Cheshire	f	9	0	0.0%	8	5	62.5%	17	5	29.4%	m	f
Cleveland	m	9	0	0.0%	8	1	12.5%	17	1	5.9%	f	m
Cumbria	m	9	2	22.2%	8	5	62.5%	17	7	41.2%	m	m
Derbyshire	m	9	1	11.1%	8	5	62.5%	17	6	35.3%	m	f
Devon & Cornwall	m	10	2	20.0%	9	6	66.7%	19	8	42.1%	f	m
Dorset	m	9	3	33.3%	8	3	37.5%	17	6	35.3%	m	m
Durham	m	9	2	22.2%	8	3	37.5%	17	5	29.4%	f	m
Dyfed-Powys	f	10	0	0.0%	9	5	55.6%	19	5	26.3%	m	f
Essex	m	9	2	22.2%	8	2	25.0%	17	4	23.5%	m	m
Gloucestershire	m	9	1	11.1%	8	4	50.0%	17	5	29.4%	m	m
Greater Manchester	m	10	1	10.0%	9	5	55.6%	19	6	31.6%	f	m
Gwent	f	9	0	0.0%	8	2	25.0%	17	2	11.8%	f	m
Hampshire	f	9	2	22.2%	8	2	25.0%	17	4	23.5%	f	f
Hertfordshire	m	9	2	22.2%	8	4	50.0%	17	6	35.3%	m	m
Humberside	f	9	2	22.2%	8	2	25.0%	17	4	23.5%	m	m
Kent	f	9	1	11.1%	8	2	25.0%	17	3	17.6%	m	m
Lancashire	m	9	1	11.1%	8	4	50.0%	17	5	29.4%	f	m
Leicestershire	m	9	2	22.2%	8	3	37.5%	17	5	29.4%		
Lincolnshire	m	9	0	0.0%	8	1	12.5%	17	1	5.9%	m	f
Merseyside	m	9	4	44.4%	8	4	50.0%	17	8	47.1%	m	m
Metropolitan	m	12	7	58.3%	11	5	45.5%	23	12	52.2%	f	m
Norfolk	m	9	0	0.0%	8	4	50.0%	17	4	23.5%	m	m
North Wales	m	9	0	0.0%	7	2	28.6%	16	2	12.5%	m	m
North Yorkshire	f	9	5	55.6%	8	2	25.0%	17	7	41.2%	m	f
Northamptonshire	f	9	3	33.3%	8	5	62.5%	17	8	47.1%	f	f
Northern Ireland	m	9	1	11.1%	8	3	37.5%	17	4	23.5%		
Northumbria	m	9	2	22.2%	8	6	75.0%	17	8	47.1%	m	m
Nottinghamshire	m	10	2	20.0%	9	5	55.6%	19	7	36.8%	m	f
South Wales	m	10	3	30.0%	9	3	33.3%	19	6	31.6%	m	f
South Yorkshire	m	15	5	33.3%	6	2	33.3%	21	7	33.3%	m	f
Staffordshire	m	9	2	22.2%	8	4	50.0%	17	6	35.3%	m	m
Suffolk	f	9	4	44.4%	8	5	62.5%	17	9	52.9%	m	m
Surrey	m	9	5	55.6%	8	6	75.0%	17	11	64.7%	f	m

Authority	Chair	Cllrs			Ind			All			CEO	CFO
		all	f	% f	all	f	% f	all	f	% f		
Sussex	m	9	1	11.1%	8	3	37.5%	17	4	23.5%	m	m
Thames Valley	m	10	1	10.0%	8	2	25.0%	18	3	16.7%	m	m
Warwickshire	m	9	2	22.2%	8	2	25.0%	17	4	23.5%	m	m
West Mercia	f	9	2	22.2%	8	1	12.5%	17	3	17.6%	m	m
West Midlands	m	9	2	22.2%	8	2	25.0%	17	4	23.5%	f	m
West Yorkshire	m	9	2	22.2%	8	4	50.0%	17	6	35.3%	m	f
Wiltshire	m	9	1	11.1%	8	4	50.0%	17	5	29.4%		
Totals	11	391	84	21.5%	341	146	42.8%	732	230	31.4%	32.5%	30.8%

Public Bodies Abolished by the Review**Abolish**

Aircraft and Shipbuilding Industries Arbitration Tribunal
 British Shipbuilders
 Union Modernisation Fund Supervisory Board
 Office for Civil Society Advisory Body
 Communities and Local Government (CLG) Advisory Panel for the Local Innovation Awards Scheme
 National Housing and Planning Advice Unit
 National Tenant Voice
 Standards Board for England
 Advisory Council on Libraries
 Legal Deposit Advisory Panel
 Department of Energy and Climate Change (DECC) Advisory Committee on Carbon Abatement Technologies
 Renewables Advisory Board
 Advisory Committee on Organic Standards Abolish
 Agricultural Dwelling House Advisory Committees (x16) Abolish
 Agricultural Wages Board for England and Wales Abolish
 Defra Agricultural Wages Committees (x15) Abolish
 Defra Animal Health and Welfare Strategy England Implementation Group Abolish
 Defra Committee on Agricultural Valuation Abolish
 Defra Commons Commissioners Abolish
 Defra Expert Panel on Air Quality Standards Abolish
 Defra Food from Britain Abolish
 Defra Inland Waterways Advisory Council Abolish
 Defra Royal Commission on Environmental Pollution Abolish
 DfE Teachers TV Board of Governors Abolish
 FCO Caribbean Board Abolish
 MoJ Administrative Justice and Tribunal Council Abolish
 MoJ Courts Boards (x 19) Abolish
 MoJ Legal Services Ombudsman Abolish
 MoJ Public Guardian Board Abolish
 MoJ Victim's Advisory Panel Abolish
 MoJ Youth Justice Board for England and Wales Abolish
 MoD Animal Welfare Advisory Committee Abolish
 DfT Railway Heritage Committee Abolish

Abolish (with some or all functions transferred to civil service, local Government, other quango, expert committee, charity or private sector)

BIS British Nuclear Fuels Limited
 BIS Competition Service
 BIS Copyright Tribunal
 BIS Design Council
 BIS Hearing Aid Council
 BIS NESTA (National Endowment for Science, Technology and the Arts)
 BIS Regional Development Agencies (x eight)
 BIS SITPRO Ltd
 BIS Strategic Advisory Board for Intellectual Property
 BIS Waste Electrical and Electronic Equipment Advisory Body (WAB)
 CO Civil Service Appeal Board
 CO Commission for the Compact
 CO Government Strategic Marketing Advisory Board
 CO Main Honours Advisory Committee

CO Security Commission
CLG Advisory Panel on Standards for the Planning Inspectorate
CLG Audit Commission for Local Authorities and the National Health Service in England
CLG Community Development Foundation
CLG Firebuy
CLG Infrastructure Planning Commission
CLG London Thames Gateway Development Corporation
CLG Olympic Park Legacy Company Ltd
CLG Rent Assessment Panels / Residential Property Tribunal Service
CLG The Office for Tenants and Social Landlords (also known as Tenant Services Authority)
CLG Thurrock Development Corporation
CLG Valuation Tribunal for England
CLG Valuation Tribunal Service