CHANGING PLACES: WOMEN ON BOARDS

Centre for Diversity Policy Research and Practice
Oxford Brookes University
The research team would like to thank all those women and men who generously gave their time to take part in the study described in this paper. The team also wish to thank KPMG and the 30% Club for sponsoring the research. They would especially like to thank Elizabeth Passey and Anne Richards of the 30% Club Higher Education Working Group for supporting the project. They are grateful to the members of the advisory group, Professor Janet Beer, Denise Wilson, Melanie Richards, Jane Scott and Dr Kate Blackmon for their valuable input. Finally, the team are indebted to Professor Sally Mapstone and Professor Jackie Labbe for sharing their views.
FOREWORD

Melanie Richards
It is several years now since the Davies Review suggested that cross-sector appointments could help to improve the gender and professional diversity of boards. Since then both business and university boards have made major gains in broadening the gender talent pool which has been hugely positive. Despite this, the latest data shows that there is much more to be done and organisations in both sectors need to continue their efforts.

With this in mind, KPMG is proud to co-sponsor the first major UK study into the exchange of board-level talent between business and academia to understand what both sectors can be doing to encourage senior women to ‘change places’.

The study makes some startling findings. Principally that while the number of businesswomen taking roles on academic boards is comparatively strong, academia has remained a largely untapped talent pool for corporate appointments.

UK businesses need to open their eyes to the capabilities that senior academics, both male and female, can bring. These are not limited to specialist expertise but also include critical thinking and real experience of management and leadership.

The positive comments made by senior women, board chairs and others interviewees who took part in this study confirm that skills are highly transferable between sectors, and also underline the career benefits of cross-sector experience.

It is clear that both corporates and universities can and should be doing much more to maximise the value of talented women, and the study points to improving cross-sector dialogue as being the most critical step to boosting both gender and professional diversity.

It is up to companies and universities to put the findings and recommendations of this study into action in order to reap the benefits and build on the encouraging momentum developed over the past few years.

*Melanie Richards, Vice-Chair, KPMG UK.*
Brenda Trenowden

The 30% Club is delighted to partner on this research, providing as it does a number of material insights into the potential levers for improving cross-fertilisation between the higher education and corporate sectors. As so presciently identified by Lord Davies in his Women on Boards review, the widening of the talent pool through greater cross-sector mobility is an impactful means through which businesses and academic institutions can increase the number of women on their boards.

The reality is that this remains a largely untapped opportunity with much work still to be done to promote greater transference in both directions and – whilst the flow of female talent from business to university boards is “relatively” healthy – the paucity of academic women on UK corporate boards is startling, especially given the comparatively strong number of academics who sit on US boards for example.

I would urge businesses and search firms to wake up to the skills and competencies that female academics can bring to board roles, and encourage them to look beyond discipline-specific expertise alone and recognise the business acumen required to run organisations and departments that often rival corporate businesses in both size and complexity. Likewise, I would encourage academics to do more to actively seek out and put themselves forward for corporate opportunities, and to recognise the chance to meaningfully engage with, and influence, the business community.

Brenda Trenowden, 30% Club Global Chair
Professor Janet Beer

When Lord Davies challenged Companies to look beyond their usual, largely male pool of possible board members and increase representation to 25% by 2015 they rose to the challenge. Unfortunately they did not take the opportunity to look far beyond the private sector, for example, to senior women working in higher education. To be fair, company boards are not over-populated with male academics either. However, as this research demonstrates, universities do recruit the vast majority of their board members from private sector companies, so there is significant exposure of senior private sector figures to the complex and demanding nature of leadership in higher education. Because the direction of travel is all one way, the senior people in universities, leading organisations with annual turnovers that vary between the tens of millions and a billion, are an untapped resource for board roles, as are senior academics often already working beyond academia in ground-breaking university-industry research and development partnerships.

KPMG, as is so often the case, are taking the lead in trying to broker relationships between talented individuals and organisations in search of board members. Their ‘Connect on Board’ initiative needs to be promulgated throughout higher education but also beyond, so as to draw in third sector as well as public and private organisations to the challenge of diversification. One very important lesson I learned when sitting in an executive education classroom with other women leaders, most from commercial and financial organisations, is that leadership challenges are universal. We have more that we share than is often acknowledged. Let’s resolve to deploy our best talent for the good of our organisations and build on the recommendations of this important study.

Professor Janet Beer, Vice Chancellor University of Liverpool

Professor Alistair Fitt

Both business and higher education share a common interest in promoting equality. The Davies Report, with its recommendation that companies look outside the corporate mainstream to widen their talent pools, provides a good opportunity to examine the role that women in academia can play in achieving diversity on company boards. Research shows that many business women contribute their skills to university boards, and this report highlights that this relationship could become more reciprocal, as academics have much to offer to the corporate world. Not only can academics supply subject expertise, but many senior academics also have significant leadership and management skills to offer. Although some aspects of university life are unique, there is plenty of evidence that academic leaders share many experiences with senior managers in other sectors, with their involvement in project management, human resource management, change management and financial management.

At Oxford Brookes University, as with the rest of the HE sector, we pride ourselves on our expertise in helping students develop transferable skills. This report brings home the fact that female academic leaders also have transferable skills, skills which could be used more effectively by the corporate sector. Indeed, as is reported here, the ability of academics to bring their transferable skills to corporate boards is already recognised in the US, where academics play a more extensive role at board level.

The Davies Report and the work of the 30% club have created significant momentum for change and corporations have made some progress towards meeting the targets set. It is my hope that this report by the Oxford Brookes Centre for Diversity Policy Research and Practice will continue that momentum, and provide a stimulus for the corporate world to recognise the talent pool comprised of female academic leaders. Finally, I would like to thank KPMG and the 30% Club for sponsoring this valuable project.

Professor Alistair Fitt, Vice-Chancellor Oxford Brookes University
Better gender diversity at board level is a priority for the UK’s businesses and universities. Both sectors have made big improvements. Even so, the latest data shows that women are still under-represented at board level.

In response, KPMG and the 30% Club commissioned Oxford Brookes University Centre for Diversity Policy Research and Practice to conduct a study into this issue. The study, led by Professor Simonetta Manfredi, began by researching the status quo. It then asked senior women to talk about their experience on boards. The goal was to answer important questions. What skills and experiences do boards require? What can senior women contribute? Is female expertise being put to full and effective use? If not, why not?

The study produced some compelling findings. These not only point to the value of gender diversity on boards. They also show the importance of professional diversity.

• Academic participation on company boards – for men and women – is much lower in the UK than in the US.
• The major barrier to the appointment of academic directors is not about gender. It is a lack of awareness about the value of senior academics’ capabilities.
• The flow of female talent from business to UK university boards is comparatively strong.
• A large proportion of women serving as external members of university boards are likely to have valuable multi-sector experience, gained from sitting on multiple boards.
• Cross-sector appointments of women are highly valuable to both boards and appointees.
• Cultural and practical barriers to female board participation remain significant.

In short, the study shows that both sectors need to do more to encourage senior women to ‘change places’. It also suggests that the diverse experience of senior women may enhance the contributions they make to corporates generally.

**EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

The study’s key take away is the need for better cross-sector dialogue. That applies not just to institutions, but also to individuals. The study ends with some practical suggestions to achieve this.

1. Promote business understanding of academic capabilities.
2. Increase academic participation on company boards.
3. Encourage more women to apply for university board roles.
4. Advise women to think about board roles earlier.
5. Help recruiters to understand female career patterns.
I guess I was seeing the time and also the need to have experience outside of purely my executive day job and wanting to have experience of not-for-profit and other organisations...my horizons were expanding as I met other female non-executives doing all sorts of roles in organisations.”   

Female executive
Companies and universities in the UK have made big improvements in the gender diversity of their boards. In 2015, 26% of FTSE 100 board members were women. Women's board representation in the FTSE 350 has risen to almost 22%, from 9.5% in 2011. In addition, women have increased their share of UK university board roles from 32% in 2013 to 36% in 2015.

Even so, there is no room for complacency. Two thirds of FTSE 250 firms have not yet met the Davies Review’s 25% target for women board members. There are still 41 UK universities with female board membership of less than 30%.

There is a strong case for companies and universities to draw on each other’s female talent. This would achieve a double boost for gender and professional diversity. The Davies review pointed out that women from academia are largely untapped as corporate board members. This view is supported by unpublished research undertaken by KPMG in 2016 showing that FTSE boards often lack sector diversity.

In the UK there has been little academic research into women ‘changing places’ between business and academia. This paper summarises a new study, undertaken by Oxford Brookes University’s Centre for Diversity Policy Research and Practice, which aims to throw light on this issue. The study, co-sponsored by KMPG and the 30% Club, was led by Professor Simonetta Manfredi. It involved a mix of desk-based research and interviews with senior business women and female academics, company chairs and search consultants.

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3 The full report can be accessed at http://www.brookes.ac.uk/the-centre-for-diversity-policy-research-and-practice/
The study had three key objectives.

1. To investigate the exchange of senior female talent between academia and business.

2. To learn from the experiences of these women.

3. To suggest some practical ways to improve gender diversity.
FTSE chairs who gave their views for the study are keen to improve the gender diversity of boards. They pointed to several drivers of change. These include social and political factors, the Davies Review and the role of groups such as the 30% Club. More positively, they also reported growing awareness of the benefits that diversity can bring.

While chairs agreed that real progress has been made, they also felt that more is required. The increase in women’s participation has mostly been among non-executive directors (NEDs). More needs to be done to improve gender diversity among executive directors. The study did not examine diversity at executive committee level, but KPMG’s recent “Cracking the Code: Revisiting the Executive Pipeline” looks at this topic in detail. Chairs also noted that companies in the FTSE 250 need to make more progress on gender diversity.

Many chairs are happy to seek board candidates outside the corporate world, as long as they bring the right skills. Chairs saw two major areas where academic NEDs can make a valuable contribution. The first is where a NED’s expertise matches a company’s focus, especially in science and technology. Medicine is an obvious example, but other valuable disciplines include international relations, finance and economics. The second area is where academics bring experience of university leadership to company boards.

Some academics are like CEOs,…for example Head of colleges, or Vice-Chancellors…so I think we are denying ourselves perhaps the broader management and organisational and charismatic skills that some of these people have to get teams to work together …That’s a very powerful thing that they have actually learnt, acquired skills which are very pertinent to companies in the private sector”. **FTSE company chairman**

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PROGRESS ON BOARDS: A VIEW FROM FTSE CHAIRS

However, chairs also saw some barriers to the appointment of academic NEDs. One is an informal bias against academics. This could reflect a view that academics’ tendency to argue on intellectual lines may hamper board discussions. A second barrier is academic wariness of the continuous change that is a feature of commercial work. A third obstacle is a simple lack of interest in private sector work among some academics.

Several chairs have direct experience of UK and US boards that include academic NEDs. There was a view that academic NEDs are more common in the US, and that they are active in a wider range of companies.

**In conclusion: Improving board diversity**

Chairs had some specific ideas for encouraging the appointment of female academic NEDs. Some felt that formal diversity targets at executive committee level could help, by increasing the future availability of potential female board appointees. Others said that more professional selection would help boards to look at wider talent pools.

Chairs also suggested that female academics looking for NED roles would benefit from:

- Building governance experience on committees or in the voluntary sector;
- Developing their chairing skills and experience of collective decision-making;
- Understanding the legal aspects of governance;
- Joining executive search networks; and
- Focusing on what they offer and which sectors they are drawn to.

Overall, chairs encouraged academic women to think about the transferability of their experience to the corporate arena.
Prior to this study, most research into the role of academics on corporate boards has taken place in the US. It suggests that academic directors can bring many benefits to private sector boards. These include specialised knowledge, access to networks, reputational strength and critical thinking. There is also evidence linking academic directors to high performance indicators in areas such as research and development.

Set against that, existing research reveals barriers to the appointment of academics, especially women. These include the low numbers of women at senior levels in academia and bias towards male leadership traits.

To address the lack of UK research, the study analysed academic participation on British boards. It made some important quantitative findings.

- There are 19 academic directors among FTSE 350 companies (see Figure 1). Women make up 42% of this number, suggesting that gender is not a major barrier.

- Many academic directors (62%) have a STEMM\(^5\) background, with the rest in business or management disciplines. Two individuals hold the most senior executive post in their universities.

- Over half of academic directors have worked in business at some stage in their careers. Most have previous governance experience with public sector, voluntary or professional bodies.

- Academic directors are active in a range of sectors. Pharma companies dominate, but academics also serve on investment, consumer product, healthcare and engineering boards.

- The study found that a number of directors with mainly private sector careers also fulfil roles as visiting professors, honorary professors or lecturers. Within this group there is a striking gender imbalance. Women only represent seven of the 32 individuals from FTSE 350 companies actively engaged in research or teaching.

\(^5\) KPMG (2016). Cross Sector Career Mobility: Myth or Must?  
6 Science, Technology, Engineering, Medicine, Mathematics
For comparison, the study analysed academic participation on US private sector boards. This confirmed that academic directors are more common in the US, and that movement between the sectors is more frequent.

The study found no fewer than 59 academic directors in the US, serving on half of Fortune 100 boards. Some still work in academia, but others have retired from higher education. Academic NEDs in the US also seem to be more outward-facing than their UK peers. Many have high profile roles outside their institutions. A majority hold more than one board-level role in the private, public or third sector. Many contribute to commissions, think tanks or professional bodies.

Despite these differences, there were also similarities with the UK findings.

- Gender does not appear to be a major barrier for academics joining Fortune 100 boards.
- Many academic directors are from business-relevant disciplines. STEMM subjects account for 24 individuals. A further 28 are drawn from the law, economics, finance or business studies. Around a quarter have senior executive experience as university presidents.
- Many academic directors have cross-sector experience. However, a career history of senior private sector roles is more common than in the UK.
To complement the study’s findings, female academic directors of UK companies were asked about their experiences.

**Involvement and appointment.** Research interests are a key driver of academic involvement in corporate boards. This is not always the result of direct collaboration. The insight that comes from working across sectors is seen as a related motivation. Research interests are often combined with a desire to ‘give something back’ to society. Many women saw experience of charity work, international work or academic leadership as stepping stones towards their appointment.

**Professional benefits.** Participants see board work as having many professional benefits. These include developing new ways of thinking, improving leadership skills, building networks and balancing the demands of investors and other stakeholders.

**Contributing to boards.** In addition to their specific expertise, academic NEDs feel they can make two other major contributions. One is to act as an independent, critical voice. The other is to apply the management skills honed as vice-chancellors, faculty deans or heads of department. These roles enhance transferable skills such as strategic planning, financial management and risk assessment.

**Barriers to appointment.** Women feel that many barriers to the appointment of academic directors are not gender-specific. The most important is a lack of appreciation for the experience and skills gained in academia. Conservative thinking among chairs or nomination committees is also seen as a barrier. So too are geographic location and the demands of board commitments.

[Being on a company board] opens your eyes to the outside world in a way you do not get in academia”

**Female professor**
In conclusion: Tapping the female academic talent pool

The small number of UK academic NEDs suggests huge scope for the private sector to make better use of university talent. Interviewees suggested a number of practical steps to help other women make a contribution outside academia, as follows.

- Gaining access to business development training.
- Seeking out committee work early in their careers.
- Using formal and informal mentoring, especially in less applied disciplines.
- Matching their interests and skills with opportunities.
- Drawing on bodies such as the Leadership Foundation for Higher Education.

Of course, not all academics are interested in private sector board work. But even though women hold only 22% of UK university chairs, this still amounts to a pool of 4,415 female professors. If the focus is narrowed to heads of faculty, then 250 women are available. And there are 35 female vice-chancellors and 220 female deputy or pro vice-chancellors in the UK. There is much latent female academic talent for UK businesses to explore.

…the hardest non-executive directorship to get is your first one. So since I’ve had this one I’ve had head-hunters coming to me saying ‘are you interested in potentially going for others’, and that’s never happened to me before. Once you’ve proved you can do it, it becomes easier”

Female university executive

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Universities in the UK operate in an international environment. University boards need to avoid ‘groupthink’, adopt a commercial mind set and ensure they are diverse. Attracting senior business women to university boards can further all these goals.

The study reviewed the careers of independent board members across the Russell, University Alliance and GuildHE groups of universities.

Of the 880 board members identified, 338 or nearly 40% are women. (see Figure 2)

Figure 2: Number of university board independent members

The career history of this group shows a mixture of private and public sector experience. The largest proportion has careers spanning the public, private and third sectors. In contrast, independent male university board members are more likely to have private sector careers. (see Figure 3)
These findings show that female commercial expertise is reaching university boards. However, they also show further scope for improvement. To explore this potential, women serving as external members of university boards were asked about their experiences.

**Career trajectories.** Interviewees have a range of qualifications and experience. A number could be defined as “tri-sector leaders”, with a valuable range of leadership skills (see box). Many see multi-sector experience as an important factor in their success.

**Tri-sector leaders**

The concept of “tri-sector leaders” developed by Lovegrove and Thomas (2013) refers to leaders who have successfully worked across different sectors. These leaders present six key characteristics:

1. The ability to balance competing demands and being motivated by a desire to create “public value”
2. Transferable skills and ability to “recognise similarities in seemingly unconnected situations”
3. Contextual intelligence enabling them to assess differences and translate these across sectors
4. Forge an intellectual thread by understanding underlying principles and transcending constraints when dealing with cross-sector issues
5. Build integrated networks which span across different sectors
6. Maintain a prepared mind, meaning their ability to take up opportunities across different sectors that can extend and enhance their skills and expertise
Motivation for involvement. Participants share altruistic motives for joining university boards. These include a sense of indebtedness and an interest in the social mission of universities. Other motivations include being an alumna, and a desire to match skills with personal values.

Appointment to boards. Most interviewees were invited to apply by existing board members. Personal connections developed through cross-sector work were seen as vital. Very few women had been headhunted, but universities seem increasingly willing to use executive search firms. Experience of financial management, audit committees and change management is highly valued. So too are fundraising, international work and softer skills.

Professional benefits. Women are very positive about their experience of university boards. Most have acquired valuable, transferable insights. Some have been surprised by the complexity of public sector management. Interviewees enjoy the new challenges, the need to work with different stakeholders and the chance to meet experts. Despite some practical differences, many see similarities between corporate and university governance.

Contributing to boards. University boards gain from the experience of female members from other sectors. Specific benefits include connections with professional bodies, insight into commercial practices and international views.

Barriers to appointment. Time commitment and a lack of remuneration are seen as barriers to greater gender diversity. This is particularly true for women with caring roles and those building their careers. Some women feel that universities need to do more to encourage women to apply for board appointments.

In conclusion: Harnessing multi-sector female talent

UK university boards already show real professional diversity. Many include lay members from the private, public and third sectors. Those interviewed encouraged other business women to follow them onto university boards. However, they stressed that passion, a genuine interest and valuable skills are all essential. Some suggested that younger women should start by sitting on school or charity boards.

The study shows that female ‘tri-sector leaders’ can not only bring valuable private sector skills to universities. They can also harness their cross-sector experience in a commercial setting. University board roles should be a valuable stepping stone for female NEDs and chairs in the private sector.

Elizabeth Passey graduated with First Class Joint Honours from the University of Glasgow in History and Management, and throughout her 22 year career in financial services she has also held several non-executive leadership roles. Her career spans the private sector, the public sector and the charitable sector, including roles in financial services, conservation and education.

She is currently a Senior Advisor to J. Stern & Co. Private Investment Office and a Non-Executive Director of VPC Specialty Lending Investments Plc. She is a past Managing Director of Morgan Stanley, as well as past Chairman of the Morgan Stanley International Foundation. She is also a past Managing Director and Investment Director of Investec Asset Management.

In 2014 she was appointed a Member of the Board of the Big Lottery Fund. She is Convener (Chairman) of Court of the University of Glasgow and a past member of the Court of the University of Greenwich. She is Chairman of the Wye and Usk Foundation, Vice President & Member of Council of the Zoological Society of London, London Committee Member of Human Rights Watch and Programme Committee Member of WWF-UK. She is a Freeman of the Goldsmith’s Company. Elizabeth is on the Steering Committee of the 30% Club, and co-Chair of its Higher Education Working Group.
Cross-sector mobility has huge potential to improve the gender diversity of boards. There is a good flow of women from the private sector onto university boards. The same cannot be said about female academics entering corporate boardrooms.

Women who have ‘changed places’ find huge similarities between governance in both sectors. These women make very positive contributions to boards. They also benefit greatly in terms of their own personal development.

Women active in both sectors are likely to have had multi-sector careers. This means they have built up transferable skills and an ability to adapt to different organisations. The fact that women’s careers rarely follow standard models may help them to become ‘tri-sector’ leaders. This implies that senior women can make a particularly valuable contribution.

Not all of the study’s findings are gender specific. In particular, businesses need a better understanding of senior academics’ capabilities. This includes specific expertise, intellectual discipline, a questioning mentality and experience of management and leadership.

WHAT NEXT?
Overall, the study points to strong social and economic arguments for women to ‘change places’, especially from academia to the private sector. That points to a need for:
With these factors in mind, the study concludes with some practical suggestions.

**Promote business understanding of academic capabilities.** For example, the 30% Club’s Higher Education Working Group allows leaders from both sectors to improve the exchange of talent.

**Increase academic participation on company boards.** Increase the visibility of academics, especially women, already serving as NEDs. Emphasise the positive contribution they make to boards. Encourage male chairs to champion academic women on boards. Raise academic awareness of the social value of corporate governance, and how business engagement can boost the impact of research. Set up ‘board shadowing’ schemes.

**Encourage more women to apply for university board roles.** Draw on alumni networks. Build on initiatives that put aspiring women in touch with those already on university boards. Encourage talent managers to see university board roles as valuable experience. Require nomination committees to review a wide talent pool.

**Advise women to think about board roles earlier.** Seek out stepping-stone roles such as school governorships. Encourage women interested in NED roles to use networks such as KPMG’s “Connect On Board”, which connects organisations with candidates from a diverse talent pool.

Help recruiters to understand female career patterns. Use ‘gender intelligence’ to better understand women’s career development and preferences for so-called ‘Protean careers’ defined by an individual’s values. Understand the value that ‘tri-sector leaders’ can bring. Cast a wide net when seeking to identify and recruit female candidates for corporate and university boards.

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8 https://connectonboard.uk.kpmg.com/

"The paradox of the modern age, I realised, is that we live in a world that is closely integrated in some ways, but fragmented in others...we continue to behave and think in tiny silos"

Study author profiles

**Professor Simonetta Manfredi**

Simonetta Manfredi is Professor of Equality and Diversity Management, Director of the Centre for Diversity Policy Research and Practice and acting Assistant Dean for Research and Knowledge Exchange in the Faculty of Business at Oxford Brookes University. Her research interests and expertise are primarily focused on gender and leadership, age discrimination and retirement policies, work-life balance, and applied diversity policy research in the Higher Education sector. She has published widely in these areas, led several projects funded by a range of organisations which include the European Commission, the Higher Education Funding Council for England, the Leadership Foundation for Higher Education and Equality Challenge Unit. Simonetta is regularly invited to speak at academic and practitioner conferences and her work has been featured by the press and media. She is co-author of Managing Equality and Diversity, published by Oxford University Press, which received the Charted Management Institute Management Book of the Year Award in 2013 (under the management and leadership category).

**Norma Jarboe, OBE**

Norma Jarboe OBE has over 15 years’ experience in women’s development and diversity and has worked at senior levels in public/private partnerships, the private sector and the not-for-profit sector. She was previously Director of Opportunity Now (1999-2008), the UK’s leading employer network to advance women in the workplace. Norma’s recent work, as founder and director of WomenCount, benchmarks the participation of women in leadership roles in Higher Education and the third sector, analyses the findings and explores actions to accelerate progress. Publications include WomenCount: Leaders in Higher Education 2016 and WomenCount: Charity Leaders 2012. Norma works in partnership with other organisations and initiatives committed to diversity, and is currently Chair of the Women’s Equality Network Wales which is funded by the Welsh Assembly Government. She has an MA in International Studies from the University of Denver and a Diploma from the Stonier Graduate School of Banking at Rutgers University.

**Kate Clayton-Hathway**

Kate Clayton-Hathway is a researcher and lecturer with the Centre for Diversity Policy Research and Practice (CDPRP) at Oxford Brookes. Building on a successful career in HR and change management, Kate returned to study to gain an MA in Equality and Diversity from London Metropolitan University and spent a number of years working on public sector equality and widening participation educational projects. Her work as a researcher with the CDPRP has included a qualitative study of equality issues in research careers and consultancy work assisting university departments achieve Athena Swan gender equality accreditation. Kate is also an active gender rights campaigner and has been the women’s campaign co-ordinator for Amnesty International Oxford City as well as a founder member of Oxford Fawcett Group. She is in her third year of a part-time PhD: a socio-legal study assessing the impact of the Public Sector Equality Duty on single mothers using local authority services, with fieldwork conducted in Bristol.

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