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Councillor remuneration and citizen engagement in Wales: Evidence review

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Views expressed in this report are those of the researcher and not necessarily those of the Welsh Government

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Glossary

ACT	Australian Capital Territory
AILG	Association of Irish Local Government
ALGA	Australian Local Government Association
ASHE	Annual Survey of Hourly Earnings
AWS	All Women Shortlist
BAME	Black, Asian, and Minority Ethnic
CBD	Central Business District
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CEMR	Council of European Municipalities and Regions
CLGF	Commonwealth Local Government Forum
CPI	Consumer Price Index
DCE	Department of Constituency Empowerment
EU	European Union
FCM	Federation of Canadian Municipalities
HMRC	Her Majesty's Revenue and Customs
HQ	Headquarters
ICRT	Independent Councillor Remuneration Tribunal
IPSA	Independent Parliamentary Standards Authority
IRB	Independent Remuneration Board
IRPW	Independent Remuneration Panel for Wales
LGBTQ+	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer (Plus)
LGIU	Local Government Information Unit
LGNZ	Local Government New Zealand
LGPS	Local Government Pension Scheme
MP	Member of Parliament
MS	Member of the Senedd
MSCECD	Ministry for Social Care, Constituency Empowerment and Community Development
NJC	National Joint Council
NSW	New South Wales
NZ	New Zealand

OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
ONS	Office for National Statistics
PEO	Parliamentary Education Office
ROI	Republic of Ireland
PSSA	Public Services Stability Agreement
RP	Representative Payment
RPI	Retail Price Index
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
SRC	Salaries and Remuneration Commission
UN	United Nations
UNSDSN	United Nations Sustainable Development Solutions Network
WLGA	Welsh Local Government Association
WPI	Wage Price Index

1. Introduction

- 1.1 Using currently available evidence, this review explore how levels of councillor remuneration are determined by local authorities and/or remuneration bodies in Wales and other countries selected for their comparability.¹
- 1.2 The aims of the evidence review are to:
- Examine the basis upon which levels of councillor remuneration are calculated in Wales and elsewhere and assess whether there is a core workload upon which remuneration is set;
 - Improve understandings of the extent to which the expectations placed on local councillors are realistic and fair in different contexts; and
 - Understand how other countries recognise and reflect the “voluntary” aspect of a councillor’s role and how.
- 1.3 It achieves its objectives by:
- Conducting a rapid evidence assessment of relevant literature relating to councillor remuneration in Wales and elsewhere;
 - Presenting a broad overview of remuneration criteria and determinations in Wales and elsewhere; and
 - Identifying examples of good practice.

Background

- 1.4 This evidence review is part of Phase Two of the Diversity in Democracy project. Phase Two is designed, in part, to “increase the confidence of councillors that they are valued, expectations placed on them are fair and that their remuneration levels appropriately reflect the work undertaken” (James, [2020](#)).
- 1.5 Phase One ran from July 2014 to March 2017. Its aim was to increase the diversity of individuals standing for election to local government in Wales. Following recommendations made in a report by the Expert Group on Diversity in Local Government (2014), [*On Balance: Diversifying Democracy in Local Government in*](#)

¹ Remuneration refers here to the basic salaries and allowances councillors in all contexts may be eligible to claim.

[Wales](#), the project implemented a mentoring initiative; awareness, promotion, and employer campaigns; engagement with political parties; and the development of short promotional films.

- 1.6 A 2018 report conducted by the Wales Governance Centre, [Unpacking Diversity: Barriers and Incentives to Standing for Election to the National Assembly](#), further revealed the challenges facing candidates in Wales as well as a host of other individual, socio-cultural, political, and institutional factors that may discourage individuals from standing for election.
- 1.7 A recent evaluation of the Diversity in Democracy programme outlined several key recommendations (McConnel and Stevenson, [2019](#)). The authors suggest that there is a “very strong need” to better communicate the role of both principal and community and town councils (McConnel and Stevenson, 2019, p. 112). Additionally, there are “misconceptions” surrounding levels of councillor remuneration and hostility towards councillors due to a lack of understanding of their role and responsibilities which could be mitigated in part through political education in schools as well as more public interaction (McConnel and Stevenson, 2019, p. 113).
- 1.8 While the Diversity in Democracy project was successful in addressing some of the barriers individuals may face when standing for election to local government, more information is needed on the role and remuneration of councillors.
- 1.9 Raising awareness of the role and contribution of local councillors is one of the aims of Phase Two of the Diversity in Democracy project. Alongside this evidence review, two surveys will explore principal and community and town councillors’ and citizens’ understandings of councillors’ roles.

Structure

- 1.10 The methodological approach used to identify the evidence presented in this review is outlined in Chapter 2. It also outlines the limitations of this evidence, particularly when it comes to the wider applicability of findings.
- 1.11 Following on from this, four primary case studies (Chapters 3, 4, 5, and 6) provide an overview of councillor remuneration in Wales, the Republic of Ireland, Australia,

and New Zealand. All case studies follow a similar structure: each begin with a contextual overview of local government and councillor roles and responsibilities. Next, an insight into levels of councillor remuneration and remuneration criteria is given. As this evidence review will demonstrate, councillor remuneration varies on a country-to-country basis and is often dependent on a range of context-specific factors, including population, location, and council size.

- 1.12 Chapter 7 then provides a broad overview of councillor remuneration in both Europe and across different regions of the Commonwealth. The first section in this chapter explores Germany, Sweden, Norway and Finland. The second section explores Canada, Barbados, Kenya, and Sri Lanka. This will help to broaden understandings of councillor remuneration in diverse contexts.
- 1.13 While the factors that determine councillor remuneration cannot necessarily be generalised across the case study countries explored here, Chapter 8 unpacks some of the issues that emerged from close readings of primary and secondary source materials: citizen participation; equality and diversity; rurality and population; and comparable salaries and economic benchmarks.

2. Methodology

- 2.1 In order to gain an understanding of how councillor remuneration is calculated in Wales as well as the case study countries outlined above, a rapid evidence assessment of relevant literature was undertaken. This was considered the most appropriate course of action given the time-critical nature of the evidence review.
- 2.2 This evidence review was undertaken in the period February to April 2021. As a result, the salaries and allowances detailed reflect information available at the time of writing.
- 2.3 Primary evidence was sourced through the local authorities and/or bodies responsible for determining councillor remuneration in a given country. For example, the Independent Remuneration Panel for Wales (IRPW) or Remuneration Authority of New Zealand. This includes annual reports, historical overviews, published determinations, and any relevant contextual information such as Local Government Acts and other legislation.
- 2.4 Additional evidence was sourced from: Welsh Government; Welsh Local Government Association (WLGA); One Voice Wales; Commonwealth Local Government Forum (CLGF); European Union Committee of Regions; Council of Local and Regional Authorities; Council of European Municipalities and Regions (CEMR); Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD); Local Government New Zealand (LGNZ); Australian Local Government Association (ALGA); Local Government Information Unit (LGIU); United Nations Sustainable Development Solutions Network (UNSDSN); and local government webpages. References are provided at the end of the evidence review.
- 2.5 MAXQDA, a qualitative software tool, was used to organise, identify, and code remuneration criteria and other relevant information across a broad corpus of documents. A full list of codes is available in Annex A.

Limitations

- 2.6 When interpreting the information presented here, several limitations should be taken into account. Firstly, the availability of data differs on a country-to-country basis. The annual reports and determinations of remuneration bodies in Wales,

Australia and New Zealand, for example, were readily available in the public domain. Conversely, in the Republic of Ireland, information was largely sourced from an independent review of pay conditions of elected representatives published in 2020.

- 2.7 Secondly, the findings presented here cannot be generalised, although some shared issues emerge. Ultimately, this evidence review is designed to give readers a broad overview of councillor remuneration in Wales and a small range of associated case study countries.
- 2.8 Thirdly, it is beyond the remit of this evidence review to provide a full overview of how local authorities in the different countries explored here respond to issues surrounding equality and diversity, though it is touched upon in Chapter 8. Future research could better address the international dimension of this important topic as well as further improve understandings of councillor remuneration across different contexts.

3. Wales

Background information

- 3.1 This section begins by outlining how Welsh local government works, and then goes on to provide an overview of the relationship between, and the role and workload of, both principal and community and town councillors in Wales.

Tiers of local government

- 3.2 There are two tiers of local government in Wales. The first tier of local government is made up of 22 principal councils, also known as unitary authorities, which are responsible for the provision of local government services within a given area (see Figure 1). The 22 principal council areas were established following the [Local Government \(Wales\) Act 1994](#). Each of these areas has a locally elected council known as a 'county council,' 'county borough council' or 'principal council' (Law Wales, [2016a](#)). Principal councils are legally obligated to provide the following services:

- education
- social care
- housing
- planning
- refuse and recycling
- council tax.

- 3.3 The second tier of local government, community and town councils, were formed as a result of the division of community areas within the 22 principal council areas. Community and town councils replaced the previous system of parish councils following the [Local Government Act 1972](#) (Law Wales, [2016b](#); Woods, [2014](#), p. 21). There are 735 community and town councils in Wales and these cover approximately 94 per cent of land area and 70 per cent of the Welsh population (One Voice Wales, [2021](#)).

Figure 1: Local authorities of Wales

WALES
LOCAL AUTHORITIES



3.4 Community and town councils typically attend to the provision and upkeep of:

- village halls
- playing fields and open spaces
- seats
- shelters
- street lighting
- footpaths.

3.5 The activities and remit of both tiers of local government in Wales are mandated by Acts of UK Parliament and/or Senedd Cymru legislation.

Relationship between principal and community and town councillors

3.6 The Welsh Local Government Association (WLGA), the organisation that represents the 22 principal local authorities, and One Voice Wales, the organisation that represents community and town councils, have a shared interest in promoting local democracy and providing advice and support to elected members, according to the WLGA's [Independent Review on the Future Role of Community and Town Councils](#) (2018).

3.7 In 2013, the WLGA and One Voice Wales agreed upon a [Memorandum of Understanding](#) in an effort to promote local democracy and encourage partnership working between the two tiers of local government in Wales. They pledge to:

- Respect the mutual commitment of councils in delivering the best outcomes for their communities.
- Understand the frameworks, structures, and constraints in which the two tiers of local government operate.
- Recognise the evolving political, legislative, and financial contexts in which the agenda for local democracy is located.
- Identify areas for improvement across local government tiers, make effective use of resources, and avoid “unnecessary duplication of functions” in the delivery of services.
- Identify areas of shared work (pp. 3-4).

3.8 The relationship between individual principal and community and town councils varies in terms of formality, dynamic, and local political relationships, but at a national level, the WLGA and One Voice Wales work together on various initiatives, most notably through the National Training Advisory Group, sharing information and learning materials for new councillors such as training guides, modules, and other multimedia (WLGA, 2018, pp. 1-2).

3.9 All councillors are expected to behave appropriately and are bound by a statutory [Code of Conduct](#).

Principal councillors

3.10 Principal councillors are elected to represent their local council and receive an annual basic salary. They may be party-affiliated or independent and typically hold office for four years. Principal councillors liaise with council employees and community partners to help decide how local services are best utilised. According to the Welsh Government publication [Councils and Councillors: An Introduction](#) (2015), this involves:

- Advocating for the best interests of constituents.
- Lobbying for local issues.
- Working towards a common community vision with partner organisations.
- Resolving conflict among community organisations.
- Developing solutions alongside community organisations.
- Balancing competing demands for community resources (p. 6).

3.11 Principal councillors are expected to work closely with their local communities, both face-to-face and online. On a day-to-day basis, principal councillors may hold surgeries, send newsletters, respond to phone calls, emails, and letters, use social media to engage with the wider community, and undertake casework on behalf of constituents (Welsh Government, 2015, p. 7). Alongside representing communities, principal councillors are expected to regularly attend council meetings and may sit on council, cabinet, or overview and scrutiny committees (Be a Councillor, [2021a](#)).

Community and town councillors

3.12 The role of community and town councillors in Wales is a voluntary one, although they may be eligible to claim certain expenses. They are active in community representation, place shaping, and the delivery of community services and management of community assets (WLGA, 2018, p. 3). Community and town councillors typically hold office for four years. According to One Voice Wales ([2017](#)), community and town councillors have three main areas of responsibility:

- **Decision making:** which activities to support, where money should be spent, and what policies should be implemented;
- **Monitoring:** keeping an eye on how things are working; and
- **Getting involved locally:** attending meetings of local organisations, taking up issues on behalf of constituents, and holding surgeries for local residents (pp. 9-10).

3.13 According to a Welsh Government report, [Looking at Community and Town Councils in Wales](#) (2018), this could involve taking care of “place-based services” such as

- burial grounds
- bus shelters and street furniture
- village halls, community centres, and public toilets
- libraries, arts venues, and museums
- street cleaning, bin collection, grass cutting, and drainage
- local footpaths and pavements
- leisure centres and sports halls
- markets
- playing fields, open spaces, and allotments
- war memorials (pp. 14-15).

- 3.14 The duties and remit of community and town councillors should not be confused with the “statutory, regulatory, and statutory strategic ‘people-based services’” provided by local authorities (Welsh Government, 2018, p. 15). Variation will occur, however, as “service delivery and the management of assets is a matter for local discretion and local negotiation” (WLGA, 2018, p. 8).

Expected workload of principal and community and town councillors

- 3.15 Principal councillors are expected to spend the equivalent of three days per week on council business, though some elected members report working in excess of this (Be a Councillor, [2021b](#); Independent Remuneration Panel for Wales (IRPW), [2021](#), p. 12). According to the IRPW (2021), elected positions carry the expectation of “a level of personal commitment that goes beyond defined remunerated hours” (p. 11). In its [Annual Report 2021-22](#), the IRPW (2021) reflects that while the basic salary for principal councillors has not kept pace with the cost of living, it must strive to balance the issue of affordability with fairness to the members and operations of local councils (p. 1). The IRPW must also ensure that councillor salaries do not divert resources away from key council priorities. In determining the salaries of principal councillors, the IRPW state that the role entails an unpaid public service contribution (p. 4).
- 3.16 Community and town councillors report spending between three and seven hours per week on official council business, though there are some councillors who may work in excess of this (One Voice Wales, 2017, p. 11).

Councillor remuneration in Wales

- 3.17 This section begins with an overview of how councillor remuneration is calculated in Wales. It then outlines the salaries and allowances that principal and community and town councillors may be entitled to. Unlike the case study countries featured in this evidence review, the remuneration of councillors across Wales’ 22 principal and 735 community and town councils is set at fixed amounts regardless of context-specific factors such as population, council size, or social deprivation (see Chapter 8 for further discussion).

The Independent Remuneration Panel for Wales (IRPW)

- 3.18 The IRPW determines the salaries and allowances for all councillors in the 22 principal and 735 community and town council areas in Wales. The IRPW was established in 2008 by the then Welsh Government Minister for Social Justice and Local Government. It initially set maximum salaries and was given full power to extend its remit and determine actual salaries and other allowances under the [Local Government \(Wales\) Measure 2011](#), as set out in its [Historical Overview of IRPW Determinations on Members' Salaries](#) (IRPW, 2020, p. 1). The IRPW also sets the salaries and allowances of both national park and fire and rescue authorities in Wales.
- 3.19 The IRPW bases its remuneration framework on nine key principles, including upholding trust and confidence, simplicity, remuneration, diversity, accountability, fairness, quality, transparency and remuneration of officers.²
- 3.20 The current financial support available to both principal and community and town councillors is outlined in the IRPW's [Annual Review 2021-22](#).
- 3.21 Principal councillors are entitled to:
- A basic annual salary of £14,368 before tax from 1 April 2021;
 - Reimbursement of travel and subsistence costs as per standard HM Revenue and Customs (HMRC) and Welsh Government rates;
 - Reimbursement of necessary costs for the care of dependent children and adults;
 - Enrolment in the Local Government Pension Scheme (LGPS); and
 - The continued payment of their basic salary when taking family absence (maternity, new born, adoption and parental absences).

² [Further information on the IRPW's Principles of remuneration.](#)

3.22 Community and town councillors are entitled to:

- An annual expenses allowance of £150;
- Reimbursement of travel and subsistence costs as per standard HMRC and Welsh Government rates;
- Reimbursement of necessary costs for the care of dependent children and adults;
- An annual payment of £500 for those community and town councillors with specific responsibilities; and
- Compensation for financial loss (IRPW, 2021, pp. 55-59).

Basic salary and determinants

3.23 The maximum basic salary of principal councillors was set at £13,868 in 2009. This was calculated by the IRPW as three-fifths of the Wales Median Salary, the median gross earnings of all full-time workers in Wales. This is reported in the Annual Survey of Hourly Earnings (ASHE) published every October by the Office of National Statistics (ONS). This amount was considered comparable to constituents' pay and adjusted for the part-time work of a principal councillor with no additional responsibilities (IRPW, 2021, p. 9). The IRPW does not take into account issues such as the location or population of a given council area when it comes to the calculation of its determinations.

3.24 According to [An Historical Overview of IRPW Determinations on Members' Salaries](#) (2020), the IRPW departed from using the Wales Median Salary as its primary benchmark when it reduced the basic salary of principal councillors by five per cent to £13,175 in 2011 (pp. 1-2). Table 1 shows how the IRPW basic salary has deviated from the Wales Median Salary in the period from 2013 to 2020.

Table 1: IRPW basic salary and the Wales Median Salary, 2013-2020

Year	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
IRPW Basic	13,175	13,300	13,300	13,300	13,400	13,600	13,868	14,218
Wales Median Salary	13,175	13,702	13,784	13,922	14,297	14,441	14,758	15,053

Source: IRPW, 2020, p. 2.

3.25 The Wales Median Salary increased by 16.8 per cent in comparison to the IRPW basic rise of 6.4 per cent in the period from 2013 to 2020 (see Table 2).

Table 2: IRPW basic salary and Wales Median Salary percentage changes, 2013-2020

Year	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	Total
IRPW Basic		0.9	0	0	0.8	1.5	2.0	2.5	6.4%
Wales Median Salary		4.0	0.6	1.0	2.7	1.0	2.2	2.0	16.8%

Source: IRPW, 2020, p. 3.

3.26 Table 3 shows the percentage increases made by the IRPW in its basic salary determinations in the period from 2013 to 2020.

Table 3: IRPW determinations on Members' salaries, 2013-2020

Year	Basic Salary (£)	Percentage increase (%)
2013	13,175	0
2014	13,175	0
2015	13,300	0.95%
2016	13,300	0
2017	13,300	0
2018	13,400	0.75%
2019	13,868	2.1%
2020	14,216	2.5%

Source: IRPW, 2020, p. 1.

3.27 The IRPW has used various alternative economic benchmarks when calculating its basic salary determinations for principal councillors in addition to the Wales Median Salary. These include the Retail Price Index (RPI); Consumer Price Index (CPI);

National Joint Council Scale (NJC); Living Wages; and the salaries of Members of the Senedd (MSs) and Members of Parliament (MPs), as outlined in Table 4.

Table 4: Alternative economic benchmarks for principal councillors' basic salary, 2013-2020

Year	IRPW Basic Salary (£)	Wales Median	RPI	CPI	NJC	Living Wage	MSs	MPs
2013	13,175	13,175	13,175	13,175	13,175	13,175	13,175	13,175
2014	13,175	13,702	13,531	13,158	13,267	13,425	13,175	13,307
2015	13,300	13,784	13,747	13,720	13,321	13,828	13,175	13,440
2016	13,300	13,922	13,912	13,734	13,587	14,257	13,175	14,824
2017	13,300	14,297	14,259	13,775	13,723	15,326	13,306	15,017
2018	13,400	14,441	14,845	14,175	13,860	15,970	15,662	15,227
2019	13,868	14,758	15,245	14,515	14,137	16,672	15,991	15,501
2020	14,218	15,569	15,702	14,805	14,505	17,489	16,550	15,920

Source: IRPW, 2020, p. 3.

- 3.28 Since the IRPW's creation in 2008, its calculation of the maximum basic salaries of principal councillors have reflected its commitment to keeping its determinations affordable and acceptable (2020, p. 3). While the IRPW no longer uses the Wales Median Salary as the primary benchmark for its basic salary calculations, its determinations for the period 2020 to 2021 equals an increase of £350 – or 2.5 per cent – a point midway between the RPI and CPI (2020, p. 13).
- 3.29 Had the benchmark of the Wales Median Salary been consistently applied in the period from 2013 to 2020, the basic salary of principal councillors would now be in excess of £16,600. Issues of acceptability and affordability mean that the IRPW have “almost invariably [opted] for a lower figure than might otherwise be justified by such comparators” (IRPW, 2020, p. 7).
- 3.30 This reflects similar dilemmas faced by the Independent Remuneration Board (IRB) and Independent Parliamentary Standards Authority (IPSA) when it comes to setting the salaries of MSs and MPs, the latter of which was formed in direct response to the parliamentary expenses scandal of 2009 (IPSA, [2021](#)).

Travel and subsistence

- 3.31 Both principal and community and town councillors are entitled to claim reimbursement for travel and subsistence costs when undertaking official council duties. The mileage determination for the period 2021 to 2022 follows standard HMRC benchmarks (see Table 5).

Table 5: Reimbursement of mileage costs in Wales

45p per mile	Up to 10,000 miles in a year by car
25p per mile	Over 10,000 miles in a year by car
5p per mile	Per passenger carried on authority business
24p per mile	Motorcycles
20p per mile	Bicycles

Source: IRPW, 2021, p. 38.

- 3.32 The subsistence determination for the period 2021 to 2022 follows standard Welsh Government benchmarks (see Table 6).

Table 6: Reimbursement of subsistence costs in Wales

£28 per day	Day allowance for meals (inc. breakfast) where not provided in the overnight charge
£200 per night	London
£95 per night	Elsewhere
£30 per night	Staying with friends or family

Source: IRPW, 2021, p. 39.

- 3.33 Principal and community and town councillors must produce the relevant receipts in order to make their travel and subsistence reimbursement claims, except in the instance where they stay with family and friends.

Costs of care

- 3.34 Both principal and community and town councillors are entitled to reimbursement of care costs for dependent children and adults. The former monthly cap of £403 has been replaced by a new system, in which all relevant authorities must provide a payment towards the following costs:

- Formal (registered with Care Inspectorate Wales) care costs to be paid as evidenced.
- Informal (unregistered) care costs to be paid to a maximum equivalent to the Real UK Living Wage at the time the claim for reimbursement is made (IRPW, 2021, p. 32).

3.35 Reimbursement must be used for the additional costs incurred by councillors in order for them to carry out their official duties (IRPW, 2021, p. 35).

Pension

3.36 The IRPW is able to make determinations on pension provision for elected members under powers granted by the Local Government (Wales) Measure 2011. Only principal councillors are entitled to join the LGPS (IRPW, 2021, p. 22).

Family absence

3.37 Under [regulations](#) approved by the then National Assembly for Wales in 2013, principal councillors are entitled to retain their basic salary when taking family absence. This covers maternity, new born, adoption, and parental absences from official council duties (IRPW, 2021, p. 23).

Special responsibilities

3.38 The IRPW (2021) state that “the roles individual councils undertake [vary] significantly and in accordance with this wide variation, the responsibilities and accountabilities of councillors must also vary” (p. 40). Thus, those councillors serving local authorities with an income or expenditure of £1million as well as delivering significant services are perceived by the IRPW as operating in a more “complex” environment than those authorities with an annual budget of less than £30,000 (IRPW, 2021, p. 40).

3.39 Community and town councillors who take on special responsibilities within their respective council, for example, assuming the position of committee chair, are eligible for an additional annual payment of £500. This is on top of the annual £150 allowance for general expenses. The number of members eligible for this payment depends on councils’ annual income or expenditure (see Table 7).

- 3.40 Councils from Group A can make this additional payment to a minimum of one and maximum of five members with special responsibilities. Councils in Groups B and C can make this payment to up to five members each (IRPW, 2021, p. 42).

Table 7: Community and town council groupings in Wales.

Community and Town Council Group	Income or Expenditure in 2019-2020 of:
A	£200,000 and above
B	£30,000 - £199,999
C	Below £30,000

Source: IRPW, 2021, p. 40.

Compensation for financial loss

- 3.41 Community and town councillors are entitled to compensation for any financial loss sustained when attending to their official council duties. Councillors must demonstrate that financial loss has been incurred. Community and town councils may pay:
- Up to £55.50 compensation for each period (not exceeding four hours).
 - Up to £110.00 compensation for each period (exceeding four hours but not exceeding 24 hours) (IRPW, 2021, p. 43).
- 3.42 Community and town councillors can also claim mileage costs related to their claim for financial loss when driven by a third party (i.e., a person who is not an employee of the local authority in question) (IRPW, 2021, p. 43).

4. Republic of Ireland

Background information

- 4.1 This section begins by outlining how local government works in the Republic of Ireland. It then touches upon the role and responsibilities of Irish councils and councillors.

Tiers of government

- 4.2 The local government sector makes up the second tier of government in the Republic of Ireland. This includes all local authorities, regional assemblies and a number of Approved Housing Bodies (Central Statistics Office, [2020](#)). Regional assemblies promote the co-ordination of local service provision as well as monitor the impact of EU programmes under the Community Support Framework (Central Statistics Office, 2020).
- 4.3 The Department of Housing, Local Government, and Heritage oversees the implementation and operation of local government in the Republic of Ireland. It also provides the policy frameworks within which local authorities and its elected members work and represent constituents (gov.ie, [2020](#)).
- 4.4 Following the [Local Government Reform Act 2014](#):
- The number of local authorities in the Republic of Ireland was reduced from 114 to 31.
 - The number of elected members was reduced from 1,627 to 949.
 - 80 town councils were dissolved.
 - 95 municipal districts were established in 25 local authorities (gov.ie, [2020](#); Moorhead, [2020](#), p. 47).
- 4.5 The 31 local authorities (see Figure 2) in the Republic of Ireland are made up of:
- 26 county councils, of which three are in Dublin (Fingal, Dún Laoghaire-Rathdown, and South Dublin).
 - 3 city councils (Dublin, Galway, and Cork).
 - 2 city and county councils (Limerick and Waterford) (gov.ie, [2020](#)).

Figure 2: County and city councils of the Republic of Ireland



- 4.6 Municipal districts represent areas that are made up of one or more council areas; all counties and cities are divided into municipal districts, excluding the areas of Dún Laoghaire, Fingal, and South Dublin and the cities of Dublin, Cork, and Galway (gov.ie, [2020](#)).

The role of councils and councillors in the Republic of Ireland

- 4.7 Councils in the Republic of Ireland are typically responsible for:

- housing
- planning and permits
- roads and traffic
- economic and community development
- environmental protection and animal control
- libraries, recreation and amenity services
- fire Services
- maintenance of the Electoral Registry (Citizens Information, [2020](#); gov.ie, [2020](#)).

- 4.8 Councillors in the Republic of Ireland serve for a term of five years. They have both a policy role and a representative role (Local Government Information Unit (LGIU), [2021a](#)). On a day-to-day basis, councillors' responsibilities may include:

- Policy making and evaluation of local authority services.
- Attending meetings and voting for/against resolutions.
- Oversight, governance, and compliance of/by local authority.
- Representing local authorities and constituents on external boards or bodies.
- Community leadership and advocacy.
- Representing constituents (Citizens Information, 2020; Moorhead, 2020, p. 6).

- 4.9 As Moorhead (2020) observes in the [Independent Review of the Role and Remuneration of Local Authority Elected Members](#), the office of councillor in the Republic of Ireland has long been considered a part-time position; this is thought to encourage individuals from underrepresented groups to participate in local government while balancing other professional or personal commitments (pp. 6-7). A 2015 Association of Irish Local Government (AILG) workload survey revealed that councillors spent an average of 33.15 hours per week fulfilling their official duties (Moorhead, 2020, p. 22).

Councillor remuneration in the Republic of Ireland

- 4.10 This section provides a brief overview of councillor remuneration in the Republic of Ireland. In contrast to Wales, councillors' salaries are calculated with reference to the salaries of senior public servants and some accommodation has been made in relation to councillors who serve wider geographic areas following local government reforms in 2014.

Representative payment and determinants

- 4.11 All councillors in the Republic of Ireland are entitled to an annual Representative Payment (RP) of €17,359. This amount represents one quarter of the annual basic salary of a Senator which, at the time of writing, stood at €68,111 (Moorhead, 2020, p. 42). Under the Public Services Stability Agreement (PSSA), the RP is expected to increase by 2 per cent per annum in line with Senators' pay increases (Moorhead, 2020, p. 26).

Annual expenses allowance

- 4.12 Councillors in the Republic of Ireland are entitled to an Annual Expenses Allowance. This is made up of three component parts: an annual travel rate, an annual subsistence rate, and an unvouched fixed annual rate for miscellaneous expenses of €2,286 to €2,667 OR a vouched annual expenses allowance of up to a maximum of €5,000 (Moorhead, 2020, p. 27).³
- 4.13 Reimbursement for travel expenses is calculated using a formula based on the distance from a councillor's home to council HQ, standard Civil Service travel rates,

³ Councillors are not required to provide receipts when claiming unvouched expenses.

and a “notional” number of meetings a councillor is expected to attend each year based on four indexed meeting bands (see Table 8) (Moorhead, 2020, p. 28).

Table 8: The four indexed meeting bands that determine levels of travel allowance for councillors in the Republic of Ireland

Local Authorities	Indexed based on a notional number of meetings
Carlow, Cavan, Galway City, Kilkenny, Laois, Leitrim, Louth, Longford, Monaghan, Offaly, Roscommon, Sligo, and Westmeath	Index = 80 (travel rate) Index = 40 (subsistence rate)
Cork City, Clare, Donegal, Galway County, Kerry, Kildare, Limerick, Mayo, Meath, Tipperary, Waterford, Wexford, and Wicklow	Index = 110 (travel rate) Index = 55 (subsistence rate)
Dún Laoghaire-Rathdown, Fingal and South Dublin	Index = 150 (travel rate) Index = 75 (subsistence rate)
Cork County and Dublin City	Index = 170 (travel rate) Index = 85 (subsistence rate)

Source: Moorhead, 2020, p. 28.

- 4.14 The subsistence element of the Annual Expenses Allowance is aligned to the Civil Service rate of €36.97 per day, as set by the Minister for Public Expenditure and Reform (Moorhead, 2020, p. 28).
- 4.15 Councillors in the Republic of Ireland can claim annual unvouched expenses of €2,286 to €2,667 depending on the size of their local authority area. Once councillors have attended 50 per cent (or required number) of meetings, they qualify for the full amount of the maximum unvouched expenses allowance for their local authority area (Moorhead, 2020, p. 29).
- 4.16 Councillors opting for the annual vouched expenses allowance of €5,000 can claim for: stationery and printing costs, office rental and utilities, home office equipment and furniture, meeting room hire, advertising, and leaflet distribution (Moorhead, 2020, p. 30).

Retirement gratuity lump sum

- 4.17 Councillors in the Republic of Ireland do not pay into a pension scheme. They are instead eligible for a retirement gratuity lump sum; unlike a traditional pension, councillors are not required to make contributions to this amount. This amount is

calculated as 4/20 of the annual RP a councillor receives; councillors must serve a minimum of three years and a maximum of twenty years' service to qualify (Moorhead, 2020, p. 36). The maximum amount a councillor can receive is €69,436, or approximately 400 per cent of the RP; a minimum qualifying age of 50 applies (Moorhead, 2020, pp. 36-37).

Care allowance

- 4.18 Councillors in the Republic of Ireland are not entitled to reimbursement for childcare or other care costs incurred while attending to council duties or attending meetings. A universal childcare subsidy has been in place since 2017; all children (aged six months and over) are entitled to access Tusla-registered (Child and Family Agency) facilities across the Republic of Ireland (Moorhead, 2020, p. 34).

Municipal district and area committee members allowance

- 4.19 Councillors who serve a municipal district or area committee are eligible for an additional flat-rate allowance of €1,000. Given the overall reduction in the number of elected members following the Local Government Reform Act 2014, some councillors have bigger geographical areas to serve; this allowance is in recognition of the work done by councillors at a sub-county level (Moorhead, 2020, p. 26).

Mobile phone allowance

- 4.20 Councillors in the Republic of Ireland are eligible for a mobile phone allowance up to a maximum of €600 per annum, provided a cheaper alternative is not available under any contracts held by the local authority (Moorhead, 2020, p. 36).

5. Australia

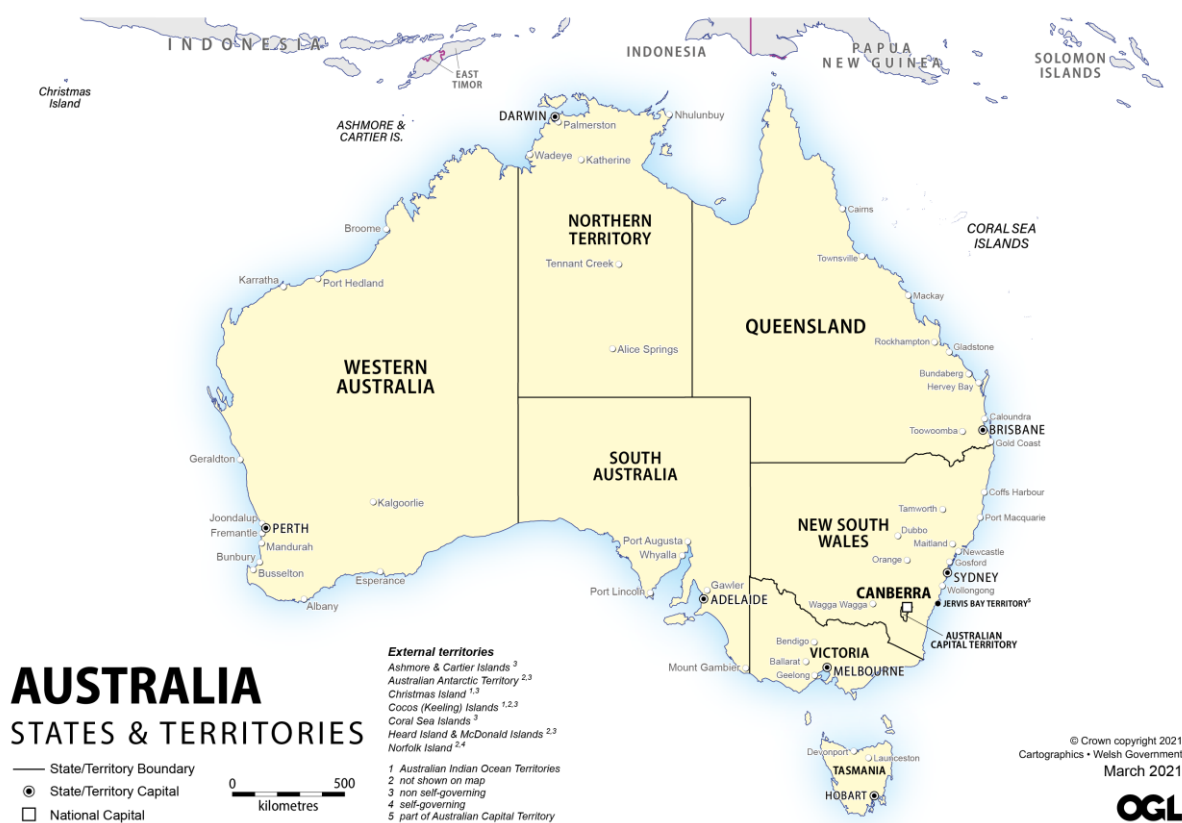
Background information

- 5.1 This section begins by outlining how local government works in the Australian context. It then explores the role and responsibilities of Australian councils and councillors more broadly.

Tiers of government

- 5.2 There are three tiers of government in Australia: federal, state and territory, and local councils. There are eight states and territories in Australia: Western Australia, South Australia, Northern Territory, Queensland, New South Wales, Australian Capital Territory (ACT), Victoria, and Tasmania (see Figure 3). There are 537 councils across Australia; 55 per cent of these are regional, rural, or remote (Australian Local Government Association (ALGA), [2021](#)). For the purpose of this evidence review, ACT has not been included in discussion because it does not have local councils.

Figure 3: States and territories of Australia



- 5.3 Local councils in Australia are responsible for issues that affect local communities in a given state or territory such as parking, outdoor spaces, rubbish collection and recycling, and animal control (Parliamentary Education Office (PEO), [2020](#)).
- 5.4 All three levels of Australian government raise money to pay for public services through the collection of taxes. Local councils receive funding from both the federal and state and territory governments (PEO, 2020). Councils can also receive additional funding from federal government programmes such as Roads to Recovery, an initiative designed to improve Australia's road infrastructure (ALGA, [2021](#)).

The role of councils and councillors in Australia

- 5.5 The responsibilities of Australian councils varies between states and territories but they typically have a statutory mandate to provide the following services:
- Local infrastructure, including roads, bridges, and footpaths.
 - Recreation facilities, such as outdoor spaces, swimming pools, and communal halls.
 - Health services such as food inspection, immunisation, and toilet facilities.
 - Community services, such as childcare, elderly care, and welfare services.
 - Building services, including inspection and certification.
 - Planning and development approval.
 - Facilities management (airports, ports, and parking).
 - Libraries, art galleries, and museums.
 - Water and sewerage

(ALGA, 2021; LGIU, [2021b](#))

- 5.6 Councillors are elected for a term of four years. The Local Government Act of respective states and territories outlines the role and responsibilities of councillors but they are expected to represent their local community, help to set the strategic direction of councils, and participate in high-level decision making (Know Your Council, [2015](#)). This may involve:

- Attending council meetings.
- Facilitating communication between the local community and council.
- Serving on scrutiny panels.
- Liaising with constituents, addressing any issues raised.
- Helping to develop new council policies, and sitting on the boards of other organisations with a similar remit to the council (LGIU, 2021b).

Councillor remuneration in Australia

- 5.7 This section provides a very broad overview of councillor remuneration in the states and territories of Australia (excluding ACT). As this section will demonstrate, the population of a given council area as well as geographic location and the socio-cultural and economic ‘reach’ of councils are all factors taken into consideration by the relevant remuneration bodies of a given state or territory. Councillors in Australia’s most rural or least populated council areas are typically entitled to additional travel allowances, as outlined here. It is important to note that, depending on the state or territory, the level of available information relating to councillor remuneration can vary in detail and/or depth; some remuneration bodies outline their determinations in lengthy annual reports while others release short statements.

New South Wales (NSW)

- 5.8 Councillor remuneration in NSW is determined by its Remuneration Tribunals under powers granted by the [Local Government Act 1993](#). The Tribunals use a category system to differentiate between councils on the basis of their geographic location, population, council income, and reach. In order to achieve this, the Tribunals assess:

- Area size.
- The physical terrain of areas.
- The population of areas and population distribution.
- The nature and volume of council business.
- The nature and extent of development in given areas.

- The diversity of communities in given areas.
- The regional, national, and international significance of councils.
- Such matters deemed relevant to the effective provision of local government by the Tribunal.
- Such matters deemed relevant by the Local Government Act (NSW Remuneration Tribunals, [2020](#), p. 5).

5.9 These categories form the basis of the Tribunals' determinations (see Table 9). The Tribunals invite submissions from individual councils in relation to this categorisation model, the resulting categorisation of their council area, and their view on any proposed changes to a council's ranking (NSW Remuneration Tribunals, 2020, p. 6).

Table 9: Categorisation model used by the NSW Remuneration Tribunals.

Metropolitan	Non-Metropolitan
Principal Central Business District (CBD)	Major Regional City
Major CBD	Major Strategic Area
Metropolitan Large	Regional Strategic Area
Metropolitan Medium	Regional Centre
Metropolitan Small	Regional Rural
	Rural

Source: NSW Remuneration Tribunals, 2020, p. 9.

- 5.10 The category of 'Principal CBD' refers only to Sydney, the area with the largest population in NSW as well as widest sphere of economic influence and socio-cultural impact. The category of 'Rural' represents townships with a population of less than 20,000 residents (NSW Remuneration Tribunals, 2020, pp. 20-23).
- 5.11 Councillors without additional special responsibilities are remunerated according to this categorisation model which allows councils to better attend to local concerns (see Table 10). Those councillors serving the biggest populations receive higher levels of remuneration. These minimum and maximum allowance amounts appear to include additional expenses.

Table 10: Minimum and maximum allowances available to councillors in NSW by category.

Category	Minimum	Maximum
Principal CBD	\$27,640	\$40,530
Major CBD	\$18,430	\$34,140
Metro Large	\$18,430	\$30,410
Metro Med	\$13,820	\$25,790
Metro Small	\$9,190	\$20,280
Major Regional City	\$18,430	\$32,040
Major Strategic Area	\$18,430	\$32,040
Regional Strategic Area	\$18,430	\$30,410
Regional Centre	\$13,820	\$24,320
Regional Rural	\$9,190	\$20,280
Rural	\$9,190	\$12,160
Water	\$1,820	\$10,140
Other	\$1,820	\$6,060

Source: NSW Remuneration Tribunals, 2020, p. 19.

- 5.12 The Tribunals' determinations are considered in line with the Government's approach to wage increases; public sector wages, including councillor allowances, cannot increase by more than 2.5 per cent per annum (NSW Remuneration Tribunals, 2020, p. 4).

Northern Territory

- 5.13 Councillor remuneration in the Northern Territory is determined by its Remuneration Tribunal, an independent statutory body. The Tribunal uses a category system to differentiate council areas by population.
- 5.14 The first category features Darwin, the capital city of the Northern Territory. The fourth category is made up of the Northern Territory's smallest communities (see Table 11).

Table 11: Northern Territory council areas by category.

Category 1	Category 2	Category 3	Category 4
Darwin	Alice Springs	Katherine	Belyuen
	Palmerston	Litchfield	Coomalie
		Barkly	Wagait
		Central Desert	
		East Arnhem	
		MacDonnell	
		Roper Gulf	
		Tiwi Islands	
		Victoria Daly	
		West Arnhem	
		West Daly	

Source: Northern Territory Remuneration Tribunal, [2020](#), p. 1.

5.15 The minimum basic salary of councillors with no additional special responsibilities depends on which category their council area falls in (see Table 12).

Table 12: Minimum basic salary available to councillors in the Northern Territory by category.

Category	Minimum
1	\$22,515.39
2	\$15,761.63
3	\$13,509.96
4	\$4,503.32

Source: Northern Territory Remuneration Tribunal, 2020, p. 1

5.16 Additional annual meeting, training, and electoral fees vary on a category-by-category basis and, excluding training fees, and correspond with the population of a given council area (see Table 13).

Table 13: Additional fees available to councillors in the Northern Territory by category.

Category	Meeting Fees	Training Fees	Electoral Fees
1	\$15,010.25	\$3,753.17	\$8,238.34
2	\$10,508.15	\$3,753.17	\$5,767.68
3	\$9,006.64	\$3,753.17	\$4,943.73
4	\$3,003.01	\$3,753.17	\$1,647.90

Source: Northern Territory Remuneration Tribunal, 2020, p. 1.

Western Australia

5.17 Councillor remuneration in Western Australia is determined by its Salaries and Allowances Tribunal under powers granted by the [Local Government Act 1995](#). The Tribunal uses a band allocation model that differentiates between the levels of responsibilities of councillors in different sized councils. In order to achieve this, the Tribunal takes into account:

- Council expenditure (operating and capital).
- Risk management.
- Asset management and infrastructure planning.
- Diversity and type of service delivered.
- Population.
- Staff numbers.
- The role of CEO and council profile.
- Distinguishing features of local governments.

(Western Australia Salaries and Allowances Tribunal, [2013](#), p. 12)

5.18 Councillors without additional special responsibilities are remunerated according to where councils fall in the band allocation model. This does not include council meeting, committee meeting and prescribed meeting attendance fees (see Table 14).

Table 14: Annual fees of councillors in Western Australia in lieu of council meeting, committee meeting, and prescribed meeting attendance fees by band.

Band	Minimum	Maximum
1	\$24,604	\$31,678
2	\$14,865	\$23,230
3	\$7,688	\$16,367
4	\$3,589	\$9,504

Source: Western Australia Salaries and Allowances Tribunal, [2020](#), p. 21

5.19 Councillors in Western Australia can also claim reimbursement for the cost of equipment (one telephone and one fax machine) as well as child care and travel costs incurred when attending council meetings (Western Australia Salaries and Allowances Tribunal, 2020, pp. 24-26).

5.20 According to the Western Australia Salaries and Allowances Tribunal (2020), changes to a council's classification in their band allocation model will only be considered if local governments can demonstrate a "substantial and sustained increase" within the parameters of the model (p. 2).

South Australia

5.21 Councillor remuneration in South Australia is determined by its Remuneration Tribunal every four years under powers granted by the [Local Government Act 1999](#). The Tribunal uses a category system to differentiate council areas based on:

- Size of area;
- Population of area;
- Council Revenue; and
- Any other relevant economic, social, demographic, and regional factors (South Australia Remuneration Tribunal, [2018a](#), p. 4).

5.22 Councillors without additional special responsibilities are remunerated according to which council band they fall under (see Table 15). This amount appears to exclude additional allowances.

Table 15: Minimum annual allowances of councillors in South Australia by category (excl. Adelaide).

Council Band (excl. Adelaide)	Minimum
1A	\$23,350
1B	\$20,630
2	\$17,270
3	\$13,900
4	\$9,900
5	\$6,500

Source: South Australia Remuneration Tribunal, [2018b](#), p. 2

- 5.23 This categorisation excludes Adelaide, the capital of South Australia; the Remuneration Panel issues a separate determination in this respect. Councillors in Adelaide without additional special responsibilities are eligible for an annual allowance of \$25,930 (South Australia Remuneration Tribunal, [2018c](#), p. 1).

Queensland

- 5.24 Councillor remuneration in Queensland is determined by its Local Government Remuneration Commission under powers granted by the [Local Government Act 2009](#). The Commission uses a category system to differentiate council areas with reference to:

- Decreases in the Consumer Price Index (CPI);
- Increases in the Wage Price Index (WPI); and
- Queensland Weekly Payroll Jobs and Wages

(Local Government Remuneration Commission, [2020](#), p. 6)

- 5.25 Councillors without additional special responsibilities are remunerated according to which category their council falls under (see Table 16). Only councillors in Category 1 are eligible for additional expenses.

Table 16: Minimum annual allowances of councillors in Queensland by category.

Category	Minimum
1	\$54,110
2	\$62,435
3	\$70,759
4	\$91,571
5	\$108,222
6	\$124,869
7	\$141,520
8	\$154,006

Source: Local Government Remuneration Commission, 2020, pp. 14-15

- 5.26 Councillors in the first category are entitled to an additional meeting fee of \$1,503.28 per month (or fortnightly equivalent) for attendance at and participation in scheduled council meetings (Local Government Remuneration Commission, 2020, p. 15).
- 5.27 Brisbane, the state capital of Queensland, is excluded from this determination of the Local Government Remuneration Commission. The Independent Councillor Remuneration Tribunal (ICRT) determines remuneration in respect to Brisbane. According to its [*Findings and Recommendations Report*](#) (2019), the Tribunal considers the following when making its determinations:
- Average national and state wage increases;
 - Council obligations regarding superannuation;
 - Actual councillor wage increases;
 - Community expectations;
 - Councillor workloads; and
 - Comparative conditions of employment provided to other civil servants (p. 1).
- 5.28 As of 2019, councillors in Brisbane receive an annual salary of \$160,938. They do not receive any additional allowances (ICRT, 2019, p. 4).

Tasmania

- 5.29 Councillor remuneration in Tasmania is determined by its Local Government Association under powers granted by the [Local Government Act 1993](#). Remuneration is calculated using indexation. Councillor allowances are adjusted each calendar year by multiplying the allowances of the previous years with the inflationary factor for the current year. The inflationary factor itself is calculated using the Tasmanian WPI of a given period (Local Government Association Tasmania, [2020](#), p. 1). Determinations for the 29 Tasmanian council areas for the period 2020 to 2021 can be found at Annex B.
- 5.30 Councillors in Tasmania can claim reimbursement of reasonable expenses relating to care of dependents, internet, telephony and stationary costs as per individual council policy (Local Government Association Tasmania, 2020, p. 2).

Victoria

- 5.31 Councillor remuneration is currently determined by local councils in accordance with limits set by the Victorian Government. Under the [Local Government Act 2020](#), responsibility for councillor remuneration will be transferred to the Victorian Independent Remuneration Tribunal. The Tribunal will make its first determination within six months of being asked to do so by the Minister for Local Government (Know Your Council, [2020](#); Victorian Independent Remuneration Tribunal, [2020](#)).
- 5.32 Councils in Victoria are divided into three categories based on council income and population. Councillors without additional special responsibilities are remunerated according to which category their council falls under (see Table 17).

Table 17: Minimum and maximum allowances for councillors in Victoria by category.

Category	Minimum	Maximum
1	\$8,833	\$21,049
2	\$10,914	\$26,245
3	\$13,123	\$31,444

Source: Know Your Council, 2020.

- 5.33 The exceptions to this are Melbourne City Council and Greater Geelong City Council whose allowances are determined separately. The current annual allowances for councillors in Melbourne is \$47,165, and \$31,444 for councillors in the City of Greater Geelong (Know Your Council, [2020](#)).
- 5.34 Victorian councillors are entitled to be reimbursed for any necessary expenses incurred while undertaking official council duties. They are further entitled to a “remote travel allowance” of up to \$40 per day (maximum \$5,000 per annum). Councils are expected to adopt and maintain a policy in relation to councillor expenses (Know Your Council, 2020).

6. New Zealand

Background Information

- 6.1 This section begins by outlining how local government operates in the context of New Zealand. It then provides a broad overview of the role and responsibilities of New Zealand councils and councillors.

Tiers of Government

- 6.2 There are only two tiers of government in New Zealand: central government and local government.

- 6.3 Local governments attend to the interests and needs of specific communities through councils. They provide services such as:

- Water, sewage treatment and rubbish collection and disposal;
- Outdoor spaces such as parks and reserves;
- Street lighting, roads, and local public transport;
- Libraries;
- Building and environmental permits; and
- Council tax, or 'rates' (New Zealand Now, [2021](#)).

- 6.4 The activities of local government are mandated by the [Local Government Act 2002](#).

The role of council and councillors in New Zealand

- 6.5 New Zealand has sixteen regions (see Figure 3) and six provinces: Auckland, New Plymouth, Wellington, Nelson, Canterbury, and Otago. There are 78 council areas throughout New Zealand and these are made up of:

- 11 regional councils;
- 61 territorial authorities (11 city councils and 50 district councils); and
- Six unitary councils (territorial authorities with regional council responsibilities (Local Government New Zealand (LGNZ), [2021a](#)).

Figure 4: Regions of New Zealand



- 6.6 Regional councils and unitary authorities are responsible for managing the environment (land, air, coast, and water quality) as well as regional parks, flood protection, emergency management, and regional transport (LGNZ, [2021b](#)).
- 6.7 Territorial authorities are responsible for a broad range of services, including water and sewerage, roads and transport, libraries, outdoor spaces and recreation services, town planning, and community and economic development (LGNZ, [2021c](#)).
- 6.8 Councillors in New Zealand serve for a term of three years. Their duties will vary from council-to-council depending on its type (territorial, unitary, and regional), but they typically:
- Represent the interests of the community;
 - Prepare for and attend meetings;
 - Ensure the council is fulfilling its regulatory function;
 - Adopt a “Long Term Plan” that outlines how they will meet community expectations and “exercise responsible stewardship” of community assets;
 - Oversee the strategic direction of the council; and
 - Monitor council performance (LGNZ, [2016](#)).

Councillor remuneration in New Zealand

- 6.9 This section explores councillor remuneration in New Zealand. As will become apparent, New Zealand appears to take a more holistic approach to councillor remuneration in contrast to the other principal case studies of Wales, the Republic of Ireland and Australia. This involves assessing fairness both to councillors themselves as well as ratepayers and a range of other determinants. As a result, there are no blanket allowances in New Zealand.
- 6.10 Councillor remuneration in New Zealand for all 78 councils is determined by the central Remuneration Authority under powers granted by the Local Government Act 2002 and the Remuneration Authority Act 1977.
- 6.11 The Local Government Act 2002 allows the Remuneration Authority to:

- Set salary scales, allowances, range and form of remuneration;
- Prescribe rules for salary scales, ranges and forms of remuneration;
- Differentiate between those in equivalent positions in different or the same local authorities;
- Set pay arrangements for individuals occupying equivalent positions;
- Make determinations that apply to individuals occupying equivalent positions; and
- Approve rules for the reimbursement of expenses by local authorities (Remuneration Authority, [2021](#)).

6.12 Additionally, the Remuneration Authority is obliged to:

- Minimise the potential for remuneration to “distort” the behaviour of elected members;
- Achieve and maintain “fair relativity” with remuneration levels elsewhere;
- Be fair to the individual being remunerated as well as ratepayers; and
- Attract and retain “competent persons” (Remuneration Authority, 2021).

6.13 Under the Remuneration Authority Act 1977, the Remuneration Authority must also pay attention to any “prevailing adverse economic conditions” which may result in remuneration being paid at a lower level than normal (Remuneration Authority, 2021).

6.14 Councillor remuneration is set according to the principles of the Local Government Act 2002 and Remuneration Authority Act 1977, but the Remuneration Authority is not permitted to make a determination that summarily reduces levels of remuneration unless mandated by existing legislation. In response to members’ desire to take a pay cut in solidarity with constituents adversely affected by the COVID-19 pandemic, the Remuneration Authority was able to set a capped remuneration reduction of 20 per cent for up to six months following the Remuneration Authority (COVID-19) Measures Amendment Act 2020

(Remuneration Authority, [2020](#), p. 11). This only applied, however, to remuneration amounting to over \$100,000 per annum.

6.15 In determining appropriate levels of remuneration, the Remuneration Authority must consider a number of statutory criteria:

- Fair relativity with comparable positions;
- Fairness to remunerated individuals and ratepayers;
- Recruitment and retention of competent persons;
- Requirements of service;
- Conditions of service; and
- Prevailing adverse economic conditions (Remuneration Authority, 2020, p. 1).

6.16 Following a two-year review and extensive consultation with various stakeholders, the Remuneration Authority has made two changes to the way local government remuneration is set. This includes the implementation of:

- Revised and updated council size indices for each type of council (territorial, unitary, and regional); and
- More locally responsive ways of determining remuneration (Remuneration Authority, 2020, p. 8).

6.17 The revised and updated council size indices examine the governance role of each council. These rankings are not related to the number of councillors serving a given council area. Alongside this, the Remuneration Authority has implemented a local government pay scale that uses parliamentary remuneration as its comparator for the biggest councils. The biggest councils sit at the top of the pay scale, and smaller councils at the bottom. Remuneration for the smaller councils is determined by the pro rata proportion of the average annual wage. This process, however, excludes Auckland and the Chatham Islands due to their respective extreme size; Auckland is home to approximately 1.44 million residents, while the Chatham Islands is home to approximately 600 residents (Remuneration Authority, 2020, p. 8; LGNZ, 2021a).

- 6.18 In order to facilitate a more locally responsive way of determining councillor remuneration, the Remuneration Authority implemented a “total governance remuneration pool” for each council (Remuneration Authority, 2020, p. 9). The size of this pool does not correspond to the number of councillors per council, but rather, the council’s ranking on the revised council size index and the total amount of funds allocated to pay councillors per annum (Remuneration Authority, 2020, p. 9).
- 6.19 Additionally, the Remuneration Authority has applied a minimum level of remuneration for even the smallest community boards representing the least populated local authorities. According to the Remuneration Authority, members of these boards are entitled to fair payment, even if the annual payment of \$2000 is simply considered a meeting attendance fee (Remuneration Authority, 2020, p. 10).
- 6.20 The 2020/21 remuneration schedule for the 78 territorial, unitary, and regional councils of New Zealand is available in Annex C.
- 6.21 On top of their basic salary allowances, councillors in New Zealand are eligible to claim additional expenses relating to vehicle mileage allowances, travel time allowances, communications (personal computer or laptop, printer, and mobile phone) allowances, and child care allowances (up to \$6,000 per annum) (Legislation.govt.nz, [2020](#)).

7. International Overview

Europe

- 7.1 This section provides a brief overview of local government and councillor remuneration in Germany, Sweden, Norway, and Finland, covering both federal and unitary state systems. These countries were chosen because of their perceived high standards of living; the Nordic countries in particular often feature highly in the [World Happiness Report](#), the landmark survey conducted by the United Nations Sustainable Development Solutions Network (UNSDSN). The 2020 Report investigated how social, urban, and natural environments combine to affect individuals' happiness; in the period 2017-2019, Finland was ranked the happiest country out of 153 surveyed countries (UNSDSN, 2020, p. 19). It is thought that the quality of Nordic political institutions and high levels of community trust have contributed to citizen wellbeing (p. 140).

Germany

- 7.2 Germany is a federal state that has two primary tiers of local government: states and municipalities.
- 7.3 There are 11,054 municipalities across the 16 states (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), [2018](#), p. 3).
- 7.4 Councillors in Germany are remunerated according to the size of states and municipalities and may receive a fixed basic salary or honorary fee (Council of European Municipalities and Regions (CEMR), [2010](#), p. 17). According to the CEMR (2010), councillors in Germany may not be entitled to additional social welfare protections (p. 6).
- 7.5 Public sector salaries in Germany are highly stratified; they are assigned according to an individual's length of service, the responsibility associated with one's office, the importance of this role for the general public, and with regard to prevailing economic conditions (DBB Beamtenbund und Tarifunion, [2021](#)).
- 7.6 Municipalities in Germany have a statutory obligation to provide the following services: planning and permits, council tax, roads and public transport, water and

waste management, flood management, social care, education, and fire services (CEMR, [2016](#), p. 33).

Sweden

- 7.7 Sweden is a unitary state with two primary tiers of local government: regional and municipalities. There are 21 regions and 290 municipalities (see Table 19) (OECD, 2018, p. 3).

Table 18: Regions in Sweden

Blekinge	Jönköping	Södermanland	Västra Götaland
Dalarna	Kalmar	Uppsala	Örebro
Gotland	Kronoberg	Värmland	Östergötland
Gävleborg	Norrbottn	Västerbotten	
Halland	Skåne	Västernorrland	
Jämtland	Stockholm	Västmanland	

Source: Sveriges Kommuner och Regioner, [2020](#).

- 7.8 According to a 2019 Congress of Local and Regional Authorities report, [Financial Compensation of Local and Regional Elected Representatives in the Exercise of their Office](#), the role of councillor is a voluntary one in Sweden, with councillors receiving an allowance. They are expected to work for between 0-4 hours per day. Councillors are not entitled to any additional social welfare protections such as a pension or health insurance (pp. 15, 18, 28).
- 7.9 Regional governments in Sweden provide the following services: healthcare, dental care, and public transport. They may also have responsibilities in relation to regional development, culture, and tourism (CEMR, 2016, p. 78; EU Committee of the Regions, [2018](#), p. 58).
- 7.10 Municipalities in Sweden provide the following services: childcare, education, elderly care, support for the physically and intellectually disabled, healthcare, planning and permits, environmental protection, refuse and waste disposal, emergency services, water and sewerage, and road maintenance (CEMR, 2016, p. 77).

- 7.11 The relationship between regions and municipalities is not hierarchical; each have their own self-governing local authorities (Sveriges Kommuner och Regioner, [n.d.](#)).

Norway

- 7.12 Norway is a unitary state with two primary tiers of local government: counties and municipalities. In January 2020, the Norwegian government reduced the number of municipalities from 428 to 356, and the number of counties from 19 to 11 (see Table 20) (Government.no, [2019](#)).

Table 19: Counties in Norway

Agder	Vestfold og Telemark
Innlandet	Troms og Finnmark
Møre og Romsdal	Trøndelag
Nordland	Vestland
Oslo	Viken
Rogaland	

Source: Life in Norway, [2021](#)

- 7.13 The role of councillor in Norway is a voluntary one; councillors are expected to work between 0-4 hours per day and receive an allowance. Councillors in Norway are entitled to claim reimbursement for transport and subsistence costs and overnight accommodation. They can also claim unemployment benefits (Congress of Local and Regional Authorities, 2019, pp. 14, 18, 28).
- 7.14 Counties in Norway oversee primary and secondary education, dental health, regional development, transport, environment, culture, and trade and industry policy (CEMR, 2016, p. 62).
- 7.15 Municipalities in Norway are responsible for child welfare, education, healthcare and social services, planning, culture and leisure, and infrastructure (CEMR, 2016, p. 61).

Finland

- 7.16 Finland is a unitary state with two primary tiers of local government: regional and municipalities. There are 19 regions (including the autonomous region of Åland –

see Table 21) and 310 municipalities in Finland (Association of Finnish Municipalities, [2021](#)).

Table 20: Regions in Finland

Uusimaa	Pirkanmaa	Etelä-Savo	South Ostrobothnia	Kainuu
Varsinais-Suomi	Päijä-Häme	Pohjois-Savo	Ostrobothnia	Lapland
Satakunta	Kymenlaakso	North Karelia	Central Ostrobothnia	Åland (autonomous)
Kanta-Häme	South Karelia	Central Finland	North Ostrobothnia	

Source: Regional Council of Southwest Finland, [n.d.](#)

- 7.17 The role of councillor in Finland is a part-time one, with councillors expected to work 0-4 hours per day. Councillors receive an allowance as well as performance-related fees. Councillors in Finland are eligible to claim reimbursement for travel and accommodation costs, as well as for training and education. Councillors are also entitled to a pension, health insurance, and travel insurance (Congress of Local and Regional Authorities, 2019, pp. 14, 18, 27).
- 7.18 Regional authorities in Finland are responsible for regional development, planning, promotion of mental and economic wellbeing, promotion and implementation of EU programmes, and the protection of cultural and regional traditions (CEMR, 2016, p. 27).
- 7.19 Municipalities in Finland are responsible for health care, social services, education, culture and leisure, sport, planning, infrastructure (roads, energy, water, waste and sewerage, harbours, and public transport), employment, and tax (CEMR, 2016, p. 26).
- 7.20 Germany, Sweden, Norway, and Finland have all ratified Article 7.2 of the European Charter of Local Self-Governance. Article 7.2 stipulates that elected representatives (namely, mayors and councillors) receive appropriate and sufficient remuneration for their duties in the form of salaries, allowances, or other forms of financial compensation (Congress of Local and Regional Authorities, 2019, p. 2; Monitoring Committee of the European Charter of Local Self-Government, [2019](#)).

Commonwealth

- 7.21 This section provides a brief overview of councillor remuneration in countries across the different regions of the Commonwealth, namely: North America (Canada), Caribbean (Barbados), Africa (Kenya), and South Asia (Sri Lanka). This will help to broaden understandings of how local government in these countries approach councillor remuneration, the type of context-specific issues that councillors may attend to, and, particularly in the case of Barbados, give an idea of how voluntary citizen participation in local government is encouraged.

Canada

- 7.22 Canada is a federal state with two primary tiers of local government: provincial and/or territorial and municipal. There are ten provincial governments and three territories in Canada (see Table 22). Three provinces have a multi-tiered local government system with an additional regional tier. There are two supra-regional authorities (in Québec), 143 regional authorities and approximately 3,600 local governments (Commonwealth Local Government Forum (CLGF), [2018a](#), p. 48).⁴
- 7.23 The role of councillor in Canada is a full- or part-time position depending on the size of the municipality. Municipality size often determines councillors' salaries, but each municipality will have its own method of calculating remuneration (Government of British Columbia, [2021](#)). This can, for example, involve the use of appropriate economic benchmarks such as the CPI or average earnings of a given province or territory. The municipality of Edmonton, capital city of Alberta, for example, calculates remuneration using the Alberta Average Weekly Earnings from the previous financial year (City of Edmonton, [2021](#)).
- 7.24 Provincial and territorial governments in Canada are responsible for education, health care, and road regulations. They also have the power to change their own laws and manage public lands (Government of Canada, [2021](#)).
- 7.25 Municipalities are responsible for parks and recreation, libraries, roads and public transport, parking facilities, local police, local fire services, water systems, and local land use (Government of Canada, 2021).

⁴ Supra-regional refers here to authorities which serve more than one region.

Table 21: Canadian provinces/territories and their municipalities.

Province/Territory	Local	Regional	Supra-Regional	Population (2011 Census)	% Rural (2011)
Alberta	338	-	-	4,067,175	17
British Columbia	186	27	-	4,684,055	14
Manitoba	137	-	-	1,278,365	28
New Brunswick	105	-	-	747,101	48
Newfoundland and Labrador	276	-	-	519,716	41
Northwest Territories	30	-	-	41,786	46
Nova Scotia	55	-	-	923,598	43
Nunavut	25	-	-	35,944	52
Ontario	444	30	-	13,448,494	14
Prince Edward Island	74	-	-	142,907	53
Québec	1,133	86	2	8,164,361	19
Saskatchewan	782	-	-	1,098,352	33
Yukon	13	-	-	35,874	39
TOTAL	3,598	143	2	35,151,728	19

Source: CLGF, 2018a, p. 49.

Barbados

7.26 Barbados is a unitary island nation that does not have an elected local government. Following the Constituency Councils Act 2009, 30 appointed constituency councils were established (see Table 23). Each constituency council is made up of 11 individuals appointed by the Ministry for Social Care, Constituency Empowerment and Community Development (MSCCECD) (CLGF, [2018b](#), pp. 25-26).

Table 22: Distribution of councils and population in Barbados.

Parish	Constituency Councils	Population (2010 census)
Christ Church	5	54,336
St Andrew	1	5,139
St George	2	19,767
St James	3	28,498
St John	1	8,963
St Joseph	1	6,620
St Lucy	1	9,758
St Michael (incl. Bridgetown)	11	88,529
St Peter	1	11,300
St Philip	3	30,662
St Thomas	1	14,249
Total	30	277,821

Source: CLGF, 2021b, p. 26.

7.27 The role of councillor in Barbados is a voluntary one. Councillors are eligible to hold office for a maximum of six years (or three terms). Councillors in Barbados each receive an annual stipend of BB\$120 (US\$60) except for the chairperson who will receive BB\$200 (US\$100) per annum (CLGF, 2021b, p. 27). Constituency councillors act as advocates on behalf of constituents.

7.28 The role of constituency councils in Barbados is “to maintain links with the Government and its agencies; and to effectively and efficiently assist in the management of resources assigned for the development of the given constituency” (CLGF, 2021b, p. 26).

Kenya

7.29 Kenya is a unitary state with one tier of local government: counties. There are 47 county governments in Kenya and these consist of a county assembly and a county executive. County assemblies are made up of elected members and county executives comprise of a county governor, deputy county governor, and appointed

members (CLGF, [2021c](#), pp. 101-102). A table detailing the distribution of councils and population in Kenya can be found at Annex D.

7.30 According to Kenya's [Local Government Act](#), the role of councillor is a full-time position and they serve a term of five years (pp. 24, 60). Councillor remuneration in Kenya is determined by the national [Salaries and Remuneration Commission](#) (SRC).

7.31 County governments are typically responsible for agriculture, county health services, control of air and noise pollution, roads and public transport, animal control and welfare, trade development and regulation, planning and development, public works and services, fire services and disaster management, and control of drugs and pornography (CLGF, 2021c, pp. 104-105).

Sri Lanka

7.32 Sri Lanka is a unitary state with two primary tiers of local government: provincial and local. There are nine provinces and 341 local governments comprised of 24 municipal councils, 41 urban councils, and 276 pradeshiya sabhas or village councils (see Table 24) (CLGF, [2021d](#), p. 227).

Table 23: Distribution of councils and populations in Sri Lanka.

Provincial Councils	District	Municipal Councils	Urban Councils	Pradeshiya sabhas	Population (2011 Census)	% Rural (2010)
Central	3	4	6	38	2,571,557	89.4
North Western	2	1	3	29	2,380,861	95.9
North Central	2	2	0	25	1,266,663	96.0
Uva	2	2	1	25	1,266,463	94.5
Sabargamuwa	2	1	3	25	1,928,655	94.0
Western	3	7	14	27	5,851,130	61.2
Southern	3	3	4	42	2,477,285	89.4
Northern	5	1	5	28	1,061,315	83.3
Eastern	3	3	5	37	1,555,510	74.9
Total	25	24	41	276	20,359,439	91.8

Source: CLGF, 2018d, p. 228.

- 7.33 According to the CLGF (2021d), the Sri Lankan national government provides grants which cover councillor salaries in whole or in part; in pradeshiya sabhas the whole salary bill is covered, whereas in smaller authorities, 70 per cent of salaries are covered (p. 230).
- 7.34 Provincial councils in Sri Lanka are responsible for development planning, education, health, and social welfare. Local authorities are responsible for public health, utilities, and roads. Pradeshiya sabhas have additional development responsibilities (CLGF, 2021d, p. 27).

8. Discussion

8.1 This evidence review was designed to provide a broad overview of councillor remuneration in Wales and a small range of case study countries: the Republic of Ireland, Australia, and New Zealand. It has also provided a brief overview of councillor remuneration in Germany, Sweden, Norway, and Finland as well as in different countries of the Commonwealth, namely, Canada, Barbados, Kenya, and Sri Lanka.

8.2 The aim of this evidence review was to:

- Examine the basis upon which levels of councillor remuneration are calculated in Wales and elsewhere and assess whether there is a core workload upon which remuneration is set;
- Improve understandings of the extent to which the expectations placed on local councillors are realistic and fair in different contexts; and
- Understand how other countries recognise and reflect the “voluntary” aspect of a councillor’s role and how.

8.3 The evidence review has done this by:

- Conducting a rapid evidence assessment of relevant literature relating to councillor remuneration in Wales and elsewhere;
- Presenting a broad overview of remuneration criteria and determinations in Wales and elsewhere; and
- Identifying examples of good practice.

8.4 As this evidence review has demonstrated, the local authorities or relevant remuneration bodies of a given country have diverse ways of calculating councillor remuneration. Levels of remuneration often depend on a range of local concerns. Chapter 4, for example, outlined how the salaries of councillors in the Republic of Ireland are aligned to that of senior public servants. Chapter 5 discussed how the states and territories of Australia often use population among their remuneration criteria. Chapter 6 highlighted that the Remuneration Authority in New Zealand appears to be more holistic in its approach to councillor remuneration, with attempts

made to balance issues of fairness with council size. Chapter 7 demonstrated that, in the case of Norway, Sweden, and Barbados, the role of councillor is a voluntary position, with individuals entitled to a small allowances.

- 8.5 Additionally, the evidence presented here shows that there are no generalizable councillor workloads. This is due to the distinct geographical features of some local authorities (as prominently highlighted in the case of Australia) as well diverse local concerns. Furthermore, the voluntary aspect of councillors' roles is reflected in different ways across different contexts, as this chapter will discuss in greater depth.
- 8.6 While the evidence presented in this review cannot be generalised, this chapter will discuss four important aspects of councillor remuneration that emerged from the cases explored here. These are: citizen participation; equality and diversity; rurality and population; comparable salaries and economic benchmarks. In unpacking these issues, this evidence review hopes to facilitate a better understanding of what councils in different contexts are doing right, which areas need improvement, and whether examples of good practice could feasibly apply to Wales.

Citizen participation

- 8.7 As Chapter 3 demonstrated, the role of community and town councillor in Wales is a voluntary position; they are eligible for a standard annual allowance of £150. While principal councillors in Wales are expected to attend to their council duties three days per week, any extra hours are considered as an unpaid public service contribution by the IRPW. Similarly, in the case of the Republic of Ireland (Chapter 4), Moorhead (2020) states that "the ethos of voluntary public service is a long-standing core value of the role of a councillor and publically accepted part of local elected office" (p. 6). Subsequently, those putting themselves forward for public office in the Irish context are assumed to do so knowing that the role itself involves a significant time commitment.
- 8.8 In respect to this, research shows that some Welsh councillors are dissatisfied with levels of remuneration; 35 per cent of respondents to a 2017 WLGA study, [*Exit Survey of Members Standing Down*](#), stated that remuneration was part of the reason why they stepped down from their position as councillor (McConnel and Stevenson, 2019, p. 14; WLGA, 2017, p. 11). One respondent stated, "It was almost

a full-time job but only part-time pay” (WLGA, 2017, p. 12). Another noted that, in light of workloads and time commitment, “our rate of pay [was] below the minimum wage” (WLGA, 2017, p. 12).

- 8.9 Due to the distinct geographical features of some local authority areas, as well as council size, income, and councils’ broader socio-cultural and economic influence, it is difficult to determine either a standard councillor workload or the voluntary aspect of councillors’ role across the states and territories of Australia. Guidance to those running for election to local government in NSW, [Stand for Your Community](#) (n.d.), suggests that council size and prevailing local issues will ultimately determine councillor workload; they note that being a councillor will require a substantial time commitment from individuals (p. 9).
- 8.10 The Remuneration Authority of New Zealand note in their 2018 [Oversight of Issues](#) report that “history would suggest that people do not run for election to local government for money” (p. 9). However, they state that it is nevertheless important that councillors are remunerated fairly for the work that they do. In the Canadian context, research has shown that remuneration committees “have felt it necessary [to ensure] that wages are competitive” (Schoebel, 2014, p. 148). It is reported that more than one-third (68 per cent) of Canadian municipalities felt that it was important that councillors are “adequately remunerated” for their time (Schoebel, 2014, p. 148). It is suggested that, with adequate levels of remuneration, Canadian municipalities are able to attract the best range of candidates from the local community.
- 8.11 In response to a Remuneration Authority survey, councillors in New Zealand reported that they were remunerated appropriately and, in some cases, would even work for less, but claimed that the job itself is often bigger than the remuneration offered even when “public good” is taken into account (2018, p. 9). Some councillors reported having to rely upon their partner’s salary to cover any shortfall in wages (p. 12). Additionally, some councillors said that the pay and conditions associated with the role of councillor may discourage potential candidates.
- 8.12 In Norway and Sweden, the role of councillor is understood primarily as a voluntary one, with additional social welfare benefits depending on the country (see Chapter

7). Results from a survey designed to gauge how councillors in Norway interpret citizen input show that they have “regular and frequent contact with citizens and representatives of local associations” (Askim and Hansen, 2008, pp. 392, 399). Askim and Hanssen (2008) observe that this is due to the relatively small size of municipalities, citizens’ existing “widespread membership in voluntary organisations,” and broad use of information technologies (p. 394). As a result, it is reported that councillors in Norway are able to develop locally-responsive solutions to local problems given their robust “knowledge of citizens’ views and preferences” (Askim and Hanssen, 2008, p. 399).

- 8.13 In Barbados, there is no elected local government, as touched upon in Chapter 7. Rather, the Department of Constituency Empowerment (DCE) within the Ministry of Social Care, Constituency Empowerment and Community Development appoints constituency councils that “efficiently assist in the management of national government resources assigned for the development of each constituency, within a framework of good governance” (CLGF, 2018b, p. 25). It is worth noting here that the population of Barbados is relatively small, particularly when compared to Welsh principal council areas; in a 2010 census, Barbados was reported as having 277,821 residents (CLGF, 2018b, p. 26). This is smaller than the population of Cardiff. This may make it easier for residents in Barbados to participate in local government initiatives on a voluntary basis.
- 8.14 In analysis of the relationship between public participation and the institutional features of twelve case study countries, Slutsky *et al.* (2016) note that “political opportunity structures [...] highlight the extent to which different types of institutions and processes create different opportunities for political participation” (p. 752). It is suggested that public participation in politics – voluntary or otherwise – is likely to be influenced by systems already in place as well as “patterns of political attitudes and culture that generally inform behaviour within a country” (Slutsky *et al.*, 2016, p. 752), as the case of Norway has demonstrated. Similarly, despite its small size, the voluntary-constituency model employed in Barbados forms an integral part of its constituency empowerment programme. This also helps Barbados to achieve the UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDG); it is in fact the first country to appoint a

permanent secretary to oversee the implementation and coordination of SDGs (CLGF, 2018b, p. 27).

- 8.15 In analysis of councillors' attitudes to citizen participation across 16 countries, Alibegović and Slijepčević (2015) report that over 50 per cent of survey respondents in Germany, Switzerland, the Czech Republic, Italy, Croatia, Norway, Poland, Austria, Greece, the United Kingdom, France, Israel, and Spain believe that citizens "should participate actively and directly in making important local decisions" (p. 166). However, the authors observe that this is not possible if citizens do not know or are unaware of what to expect from local government (Alibegović and Slijepčević, 2015, p. 169).
- 8.16 In analysis of public participation and procedural fairness in local government, Herian *et al.* (2012) suggest that the public tend to view the activities of local government as fair when they are included in decision-making processes and conclude that "if citizens do indeed consider the use of public participation to be procedurally fair, there may be considerable implications for government since [...] there are clear attitudinal and behavioural implications when individuals consider authorities to be acting in a fair way" (p. 833).
- 8.17 The research discussed here suggests that gauging the view of both councillors and members of the public is important for the effective running of local government. Running parallel to this evidence review are two surveys: the first will explore principal and community and town councillors' own perception of their role and work. The second survey will examine levels of public interest in councillors, the work they do and citizens' views on councillor remuneration. This will help to shed some light on attitudes towards councillors and the work that they do.

Equality and diversity

- 8.18 Findings from a 2019 report by Senedd Cymru's Equality, Local Government and Communities Committee, [Diversity in Local Government](#), suggest that compared to "traditional paid employment," the basic annual salary of principal councillors in Wales is too low to attract either young people or encourage greater diversity (2019, p. 115). The IRPW reiterates its commitment to enhancing diversity in local government in Wales in its [2021-2022 Annual Report](#). However, it is unclear

whether the pay and conditions offered by the IRPW are indeed attractive to prospective candidates, particularly when other forms for employment may have set working hours, better pay, and less overall responsibilities.

- 8.19 In the case of the Republic of Ireland, the part-time position of councillors are thought to reflect the diversity of the communities elected members represent. It is reported that this should allow councillors to balance both the needs of local communities and other personal or professional commitments (Moorhead, 2020, p. 7). Prior to the 2019 local elections, Moorhead (2020) observes that €500,000 was made available to specific initiatives in order to increase the participation of women in local government (p. 86). Key stakeholders such as Women for Election, the National Women's Council of Ireland, and the Immigrant Council of Ireland were consulted throughout this process (Moorhead, 2020, p. 86).
- 8.20 In Australia, the state of Victoria is the most successful in respect to gender diversity; it has 272 women councillors, representing 44 per cent of all Victorian councillors. Victoria is also home to the Gender Equality Advisory Committee; the Committee is advising the Victorian Government on how to deliver the Government's target of 50 per cent women mayors and councillors by 2050 (State Government of Victoria, [2021](#)). Additionally, local authorities in the Northern Territory, Queensland, and South Australia have created special provisions for councils serving Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities. According to the CLGF ([2018e](#)), these are known as "land councils" and are fully recognised as "local governing bodies for the purposes of federal funding, and many participate in state or territory local government associations" (p. 8).
- 8.21 New Zealand's Local Government Act 2002 requires councils to consider the current and future wellbeing of communities; this includes promoting equality and diversity. It was reported in 2019 that women make up 42 per cent of all local government elected members in New Zealand, which is higher than the proportion of women board directors in the country's private sector (24 per cent) as well as the number of women in parliament (38 per cent). The city of Auckland has the highest percentage of women elected representatives at 51 per cent (LGNZ, [2019](#)).

- 8.22 The 2002 Act has also introduced new responsibilities and opportunities for engagement and cooperation between councils and New Zealand's Māori people. LGNZ offers a range of resources designed to strengthen relationships between councils and Iwi, Hapu, and Māori communities (LGNZ, [2021d](#)). The central New Zealand government is introducing a bill designed to improve Māori representation in local government. The proposed Local Electoral (Māori Wards and Māori Constituencies) Amendment Bill will make it easier for councils to establish Māori wards and constituencies in time for the 2022 local government elections (Murray-Wragg, [2021](#)).
- 8.23 Similar to New Zealand, Wales has the Well-being of Future Generations (Wales) Act 2015 which “requires public bodies in Wales to think about the long-term impact of their decisions, to work better with people, communities and each other, and to prevent persistent problems such as poverty, health inequalities and climate change” (Future Generations Commissioner for Wales, [2021a](#)). There are a range of well-being goals that public bodies must work to achieve and the act itself sets out ways of working that public bodies (including local authorities) must adapt in order to achieve these goals.⁵ Community and town councils in particular are tasked with taking “all reasonable steps in its area towards meeting the local objectives included in the local well-being plan that had effect in its area” (Future Generations Commissioner for Wales, [2021b](#), p. 26).
- 8.24 In the Canadian context, Section 35 of the Constitution Act 1982 “recognises and affirms” existing aboriginal and treaty rights of the Indian, Inuit, and Métis peoples of Canada. The Inherent Right Policy 1995 recognises groups’ right (“inherent right”) to self-government. This relates to “matters that are integral to their communities, integral to their unique cultures, identities, traditions, languages, and institutions, and with respect to their special relationship to the land and resources” (CLGF, 2018a, p. 51). However, this is not considered local government per se; matters of jurisdiction must be negotiated (CLGF, 2018a, p. 51). Additionally, as of 2014, women represented 16 per cent of mayors and 27 per cent of councillors in

⁵ For more information on these goals and ways of working, see: <https://www.futuregenerations.wales/about-us/future-generations-act/>.

Canada, though there is wide variation across its provinces and territories (CLGF, 2018a, p. 51).

- 8.25 Charles and Jones (2013) observe that, following the second Senedd Cymru elections in 2003, Wales became the first legislative assembly in the world to achieve gender parity (p. 186). However, women's representation in local government has remained significantly lower. Paradoxically, research suggests that measures such as gender quotas or all-women shortlists (AWS) that previously resulted in high female representation in the Senedd "are seen as giving an unfair advantage to individuals which not only goes against the idea of equal opportunities and equal treatment but can also undermine women's legitimacy as political representatives" (Charles and Jones, 2013, p. 197). Additionally, the authors observe that there is some disagreement among Wales' main parties as to how gender equality can realistically be achieved (Charles and Jones, 2013, p. 184).
- 8.26 Research suggests that the "critical mass" of female representation in politics is around 15-30 per cent (Bjørna, 2012, p. 52; Childs and Krook, 2006). It is from this "tipping point" that female elected representatives are expected to make a difference in relation to the issues that are typically associated with women or disadvantaged and underrepresented groups (Bjørna, 2012, p. 52). However, this idea of a "critical mass" is a contested one (Childs and Krook, 2006; Dahlerup, 2006). As Dahlerup (2006) observes, "[...] we will not find any agreement about what making a difference implies" (p. 517). Bjørna (2012) concurs that, "factors like political positions, time in office, personal opinion and party ideology, electoral systems, reactions to women in office, complexity of power relations, and the like, also matter" (p. 53).
- 8.27 Nonetheless, research suggests that, depending on levels of local need, some projects can be given special consideration, as Bjørna (2012) notes in the case of a council in Queensland, Australia (p. 60). In this case, "issues of particular interest and importance to the indigenous population are higher on the agenda than ever before," and this has resulted in the establishment of a Health and Wellbeing Hub and a Justice and Domestic Violence Centre (Bjørna, 2012, p. 60).

- 8.28 As the Expert Group on Diversity in Local Government (2014) note in their [On Balance](#) report, 30 per cent is “the target adopted for female representation for women in decision-making positions across the Commonwealth” (p. 33).⁶ This is regarded as something of an ambitious figure given that “many Commonwealth countries have cultures in which it is very difficult for women to advance as they have in more developed economies” (Expert Group, 2014, p. 33). This target has often been met or even surpassed by some states and territories in Australia and New Zealand as well as the other Commonwealth countries discussed in the latter half of Chapter 7.
- 8.29 In Barbados, for example, 96 out of 236 constituency councillors (41 per cent) were women as of 2010 (CLGF, 2018b, p. 26). Following the 2017 Counties Assemblies election, 35 per cent (787 out of 2,247 members) of councillors in Kenya were women. Provision has been made to increase the number of women’s seats on county assemblies (CLGF, 2018c, p. 103). Additionally, there are a number of special seats reserved for members of marginalised groups, such as young people or people with disabilities (CLGF, 2018c, p. 102). In the Sri Lankan context, the Local Authorities Election (Amendments) Act 2017 requires that each council has a minimum of 25 per cent women elected members; following the 2018 election, 29 per cent of councillors were women (CLGF, 2018c. p. 230). As Dahlerup (2006) points out, while the idea of a “critical mass” has its own particular set of issues, “international recommendations are important because they render legitimacy to national advocacy for more women in politics” (p. 515).
- 8.30 In the Welsh context, Charles and Jones (2013) suggest that there are some additional conversations to be had regarding the intersections of gender and class; not only has there been resentment among councillors in regard to decentralised selection processes, but also of “middle-class candidates [running] in traditionally very working-class areas” (p. 190).

⁶ This target formed part of The Commonwealth Plan of Action for Gender Equality 2005-2015. A target of “no less than 30 per cent of women in the political, public, and private sectors was recommended by the Fifth Meeting of Commonwealth Ministers Responsible for Women’s Affairs (5WAMM) in 1996 and endorsed by the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM) in Edinburgh in 1997” (Expert Group, 2014, p. 33).

Rurality and population

- 8.31 The IRPW, while recognising variations in the geography, scale, and scope of town and community councils across Wales, does not consider the population or rurality of local authorities when it comes to determining appropriate levels of councillor remuneration (2021, p. 40). The IRPW also recognises that there can be significant travel and subsistence costs when attending to large geographic areas (2021, p. 42). Councils who opt to pay these costs would then be responsible for administering reimbursement according to the IRPW's determinations on travel and subsistence.
- 8.32 Wales' nine rural local authorities have formed the WLGA Rural Forum and call upon a soon-to-be newly elected Senedd and Welsh Government to pay greater attention to rural issues (WLGA, [2021a](#)). The WLGA Rural Forum advocates taking a holistic approach to economic and community development; they claim that local authorities themselves are ideally situated to act as "delivery agents" for socio-economic development in rural areas (WLGA, [2021b](#)). In [A Rural Vision for Wales](#), the WLGA (2021b) outline the "essential and central role" that local authorities – particularly community and town councils – will play in the implementation of this programme but do not elaborate on how this might impact upon existing councillor workloads and the remuneration of community and town councillors. Currently, community and town councillors without additional special responsibilities are entitled to allowances of £150 per annum (see Chapter 3).
- 8.33 Important lessons can be learned from the Republic of Ireland, where, following local government reforms in 2014, council boundaries have shifted; this is said to make it easier for councillors to attend to their duties. In the event that councillors must travel further afield or serve bigger crossover municipal areas, they are eligible for an additional annual payment of €1,000 on top of their RP, as explored in Chapter 4.
- 8.34 As discussed extensively throughout Chapter 5, councillor remuneration in Australia varies depending on the state or territory. Councillors serving the smallest or most rural Australian council areas are often eligible for additional allowances. Councillors in the lowest council bands in Queensland, for example, are entitled to

additional meeting fees. Similarly, councillors in Victoria may qualify for an additional remote travel allowance. This is not surprising when the land area of Australia is taken into account; while the population of Australia was estimated at 25.5 million residents in 2020 (less than the United Kingdom), its land area comprises of approximately 7.692 million square kilometres (Australian Bureau of Statistics, [2021](#); Australian Government, [2021](#)).

- 8.35 As touched upon in Chapter 6, the Remuneration Authority in New Zealand excludes Auckland and the Chatham Islands from its regular determinations because of their respective extreme sizes. Auckland has a population of approximately 1.44 million residents, whereas the Chatham Islands is home to approximately 600 residents (Remuneration Authority, 2020, p. 8; LGNZ, 2021a).
- 8.36 In the European context, the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities (2019) – an EU body that promotes local and regional democracy according to the principles of the European Charter of Local Self-Governance – suggest that there is a special case to be made for big cities; they argue that elected representatives such as mayors and councillors serving millions of residents should not have the same level of remuneration as those serving small or rural communities (p. 11).
- 8.37 The Congress (2019) ultimately discourage harmonisation, i.e., making remuneration the same for all elected representatives irrespective of any local concerns (p. 31). In their view, remuneration must be both appropriate and adequate to the requirements and demands of both role and individual (Congress of Local and Regional Authorities, 2019, p. 31). Ideally, material considerations should not discourage individuals from putting themselves forward for election to local government. However, economic realities and inadequate levels of remuneration mean that many are discouraged, particularly women and those from disadvantaged and underrepresented groups.
- 8.38 Blanket remuneration, according to the Congress (2019), is “harmful to the overall quality of governance of local and regional authorities” (p. 32). Additionally, “dissatisfaction in the levels of compensation can also harm the effectiveness of elected candidates and increase the risk of corruption and illegitimate practices” (Congress of Local and Regional Authorities, 2019, p. 32). This is a risk that the

Nordic countries (Sweden, Norway, and Finland) and New Zealand have managed to mitigate through their responsiveness to local concerns, commitment to fairness, and citizens' high level of trust in political institutions.

- 8.39 The IRPW do not take population or rurality into account when determining levels of councillor remuneration for the 22 principal council areas. However, there are no population extremes in Wales such as those found in countries like Australia. The Australian Government Centre for Population ([2020](#)) reports that the most populated local authority is Brisbane, Queensland, with over 1.2 million residents. Conversely, the smallest is Maralinga Tjarutja, Southern Australia, with only 64 residents.
- 8.40 If the remuneration of councillors in Wales was based on the population size of a given local authority, councillors in Cardiff would receive the highest allowances, and those in Merthyr Tydfil the smallest. Population estimates for mid-2019 put Cardiff's population at 366,903 residents, and the population of Merthyr Tydfil at 60,326 residents (StatsWales, [2020](#)). However, this does not take into account the population of specific wards served by individual councillors. One Voice Wales ([2017](#)) reports that, on average, there is one community and town councillor for every 250 residents and one principal councillor for every 2,320 residents across Wales. Each ward will undoubtedly have its own local concerns.
- 8.41 Additionally, using population as a remuneration criteria in the Welsh context would not take into account levels of social deprivation in areas of Merthyr Tydfil and other local authorities in Wales. According to a 2019 Welsh Government report, [Welsh Index of Multiple Deprivation \(WIMD\)](#), Merthyr Tydfil is one of the most deprived local authorities in Wales alongside Denbighshire, Caerphilly, Rhondda Cynon Taf, Bridgend, Wrexham, and Newport (p. 12).
- 8.42 In their analysis of time investment and councillor roles in England and Wales, Thrasher *et al.* (2015) attempt to extend understandings of the relationship "between place and the realities of councillor workloads and interactions with constituents" (p. 731). The authors use ward-level data, including relative social deprivation and electoral competitiveness, to show that councillors who represent deprived areas spend up to six hours more attending to council duties than

colleagues who represent more affluent areas (pp. 713, 721-22). As a result, the authors make the argument that context matters when it comes to time spent on council duties and how “the nature and frequency of councillors’ activities is related to the place that is represented” (2014, p. 731). Given that only 89 Welsh wards were included in this study, future research could shed further light on the complex relationship between councillor workloads, place, and remuneration in the Welsh context.

Comparable Salaries and Economic Benchmarks

- 8.43 As discussed in Chapter 3, the IRPW initially used the Wales Median Salary to calculate councillor remuneration. The IRPW soon abandoned this approach when it perceived the yearly increases in the Median Salary as unsustainable and out of line with its ethos of affordability and accountability. As a result, the determinations of the IRPW have not kept pace with average Welsh earnings; the IRPW have attributed this to existing financial constraints on the public sector and the resulting impact of this on local authority expenditure.
- 8.44 When it comes to the broader issue of accountability, research suggests that its “intent” must first be understood in order to determine whether it is at all possible to achieve (Schoebel, 2014, p. 145). It can be a virtue or a mechanism: accountability as a virtue refers to the “norms or behaviour” of the actor in question and accountability as a mechanism refers to instances where an actor “has an obligation to explain [their] conduct” (Schoebel, 2014, p. 145). In the case of Canada, research has shown that some municipalities have attempted to operationalise accountability as a mechanism through the introduction of performance criteria for councillors or by outlining “specific statements of duties” (Schoebel, 2014, p. 145). However, Schoebel (2014) observes that there is “no evidence” to suggest that these measures are successful and concludes that accountability can only be measured in relation to election results (p. 145).
- 8.45 In the Republic of Ireland, councillors’ RP represents one quarter of a senator’s salary, as outlined in Chapter 4. This amount will increase incrementally by two per cent per annum ensuring that it remains competitive. Similarly, the state of Tasmania in Australia uses indexation and economic benchmarks such as CPI and

WPI to determine appropriate levels of councillor remuneration. Similarly, Queensland assesses increases and decreases in CPI, WPI, and the Queensland Weekly Payroll Jobs and Wages in order to determine levels of remuneration. As a result, levels of councillor remuneration in these contexts will rise incrementally with each financial year and remain competitive.

- 8.46 As discussed in Chapter 6, the Remuneration Authority in New Zealand uses council size indices to examine the governance role of each council. Parliamentary remuneration is used as a comparator for the biggest local authorities; remuneration for the smallest councils corresponds to the pro rata proportion of the average annual wage. As a result, there are no blanket determinations when it comes to councillor remuneration in New Zealand; in order to further facilitate locally responsive ways of determining remuneration, a total governance remuneration pool has been implemented for each council (Remuneration Authority, 2020, p. 9). These funds are then allocated according to councils' ranking on the council size index.
- 8.47 Some Canadian municipalities use the CPI or weekly average earnings of a given area to determine councillor remuneration, as touched upon in Chapter 7. Schoebel (2014) reports that by using census income data to determine a percentage calculation based on the time councillors work, some Canadian municipalities can ensure "a fair representation of local wages and of the time spent by councillors" (p. 151). This means that councillor remuneration in Canada remains competitive, and potentially appealing to a broader range of people interested in standing for election to local government.

Concluding comments

- 8.48 The primary aim of this evidence review was to examine the basis upon which levels of councillor remuneration are calculated in Wales and a number of case study countries chosen for their comparability. While the evidence presented in this evidence review cannot be generalised, it has nonetheless attempted to provide a broad overview of the remuneration criteria of local authorities in different contexts as well as identified examples of good practice and discussed whether, they could feasibly be applied in the Welsh context.

- 8.49 As this evidence review has demonstrated, a diverse range of remuneration criteria are used to determine levels of councillor remuneration in the case study countries explored here. These often depend on a number of context-specific factors, including population, council size, or the relevant economic benchmarks such as the CPI or average weekly earnings of a given area. When it comes to Wales, the IRPW's desire to balance issues of affordability, public perceptions, and fairness to elected representatives has meant that their determinations have not kept pace with average Welsh earnings (IRPW, 2021, p. 40). This is often in contrast to countries like the Republic of Ireland (Chapter 4), Australia (Chapter 5), and Canada (Chapter 7) where attempts are made to keep councillors' salaries competitive, and those like New Zealand (Chapter 6) who take something of a more holistic approach.
- 8.50 Some valuable lessons can be learned from the case studies presented here in relation to councillor remuneration and how local authorities around the world respond to local concerns. Additionally, this review provides a brief insight into how local authorities can successfully implement legal provision designed to encourage individuals from disadvantaged and underrepresented groups to put themselves forward to election to local government. Future research could explore this important and timely topic in greater depth and across a great number of international case studies.

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Annex A - MAXQDA Codes

Main Code	Sub Code 1	Sub Code 2	Sub Code 3
Remuneration	Compensation for Financial Loss		
	Retirement Lump Sum		
	General Expenses		
	Pension		
	Travel Time Allowance		
	Equipment Allowances		
	Special Responsibilities		
	Training and Development		
	Electoral Allowances		
	Meeting Allowances		
	Care Allowances		
	Travel and Subsistence Allowances		
	Basic Salary		
Remuneration Criteria	Acceptability and Public Perception		
	Social Deprivation		
	Competency		
	Fairness		
	Council Income/Size		
	Population		
	Location		
	Comparable Salaries		
	Other Economic Benchmarks		
	Wales Median Salary		
COVID-19			
Workload	Voluntary		
	Duties		
	Expected Hours		
Role	Community and Town Councillor		
	Principal Councillor		

Examples of Good Practice	Research Undertaken		
	Parental Leave		
	Disabled People		
	LGBTQ+		
	BAME		
	Women		
	Rural Council Areas		
Barriers to Participation	Lack of Young People		
	Rurality		
	Public Perception		
	Lack of Diversity		
	Cost of Living		
	Workload		
	Social Media		
	Low Salary		
	Cost of Care		
Democracy			
Wales	Welsh Government	Independent Remuneration Panel for Wales	
Australia	Victoria	Victoria State Government	Victorian Independent Remuneration Tribunal
	Western Australia	Government of Western Australia	Salaries and Allowances Tribunal
	South Australia	Government of South Australia	Remuneration Tribunal of South Australia
	Queensland	Queensland Government	Local Government Remuneration Commission
	Tasmania	Tasmanian Government	Local Government Association Tasmania
	New South Wales	New South Wales Government	NSW Remuneration Tribunals
	Northern Territory	Northern Territory Government	Northern Territory Remuneration Tribunal

New Zealand	Local Government New Zealand	Remuneration Authority	
Republic of Ireland	Irish Government	Minister for Housing, Planning, and Local Government	
European Union	Council of Europe		
	Network of Associations of Local Authorities of SE Europe		
	Committee of Regions	Ireland	
		Sweden	
		Finland	
		Denmark	
		Germany	
	Council of European Municipalities and Regions	Ireland	
		Denmark	
		Iceland	
		Norway	
		Sweden	
		Finland	
		Germany	
	OECD	Sweden	
		Finland	
		Denmark	
		Ireland	
		Germany	
Commonwealth Local Government Forum	Barbados		
	Sri Lanka		
	Kenya		
	Canada		
Commonwealth Parliamentary Association	SE Asia		
	Pacific		

	India		
	Canada		
	Caribbean, Americas, Atlantic		
	UK and Mediterranean		
	Asia		
	Australia		
	Africa		
Local Government Act	Welsh Language (Wales) Measure 2011		
	Local Government Reform Act 2014 – ROI		
	Local Government Act 2001 – ROI		
	Local Government (Wales) Act 2015		
	Local Government (Democracy) (Wales) Act 2013		
	Local Govt Act 1995 – W. Australia		
	Local Govt (Gen.) Regulations 1995 – Tasmania		
	Local Govt Act 1999 – S. Australia		
	Local Govt Act 1993 – Australia		
	Local Govt Act 2009 – Queensland		
	Local Govt Act 2002 – NZ		
Additional Legislation	Local Govt (Rep. Payment for Members) Regs 2001 - ROI		
	Local Government (Wales) Measure 2011		

	Salaries and Allowances Act 1975 – W. Australia		
	Remuneration Authority Act 1977 - NZ		
Relationship between Councillors			
Academic Literature			

Annex B – Annual minimum allowances of councillors in Tasmania.

Council Area	Minimum
Hobart City	\$38,099
Launceston City	\$38,099
Clarence City	\$30,844
Glenorchy City	\$30,844
Kingborough	\$30,844
Burnie City	\$23,358
Central Coast	\$23,358
Devonport Coast	\$23,358
West Tamar	\$23,358
Brighton	\$23,358
Huon Valley	\$15,876
Meander Valley	\$15,876
N. Midlands	\$15,876
Sorell	\$15,876
Warateh-Wynyard	\$15,876
Break O'Day	\$13,268
Circular Head	\$13,268
Derwent Valley	\$13,268
Dorset	\$13,268
George Town	\$13,268
Latrobe	\$13,268
Glamorgan-Spring Bay	\$11,174
Kentish	\$11,174
S. Midlands	\$11,174
West Coast	\$11,174
Central Highlands	\$9,777
Flinders	\$9,777
King Island	\$9,777
Tasman	\$9,777

Source: Local Government Association Tasmania, 2020, p. 3.

Annex C – Annual basic allowances of councillors in New Zealand.

Regional Council	Councillor Remuneration (pa) (NZD \$)
Bay of Plenty	\$54,525
Canterbury	\$63,570
Hawke's Bay	\$50,378
Manawatu-Wanganui	\$45,373
Northland	\$53,710
Otago	\$48,670
Southland	\$37,788
Taranaki	\$36,939
Waikato	\$58,640
Wellington	\$61,517
West Coast	\$35,733
Average:	\$49,713

Territorial/Unitary Authorities	Councillor Remuneration (pa)
Ashburton	\$25,047
Auckland	\$106,306
Buller	\$19,273
Central Hawke's Bay	\$23,940
Central Otago	\$20,748
Chatham Islands	\$13,374
Christchurch	\$97,280
Clutha	\$19,675
Dunedin	\$59,555
Far North	\$51,370
Gisborne	\$37,540
Gore	\$18,477
Grey	\$22,219
Hamilton	\$74,552

Hastings	\$43,332
Hauraki	\$21,389
Horowhenua	\$28,156
Hurunui	\$20,231
Hutt	\$53,097
Invercargill	\$34,155
Kaikōura	\$19,024
Kaipara	\$30,046
Kāpiti	\$35,517
Kawarau	\$17,680
Mackenzie	\$18,676
Manawatu	\$28,326
Marlborough	\$36,680
Masterson	\$28,073
Matamata-Piako	\$27,066
Napier	\$43,142
Nelson	\$39,686
New Plymouth	\$43,463
Ōpōtiki	\$21,393
Otorohanga	\$18,626
Palmerston	\$43,067
Porirua	\$38,621
Queenstown-Lakes	\$32,428
Rangitikei	\$20,268
Rotorua	\$49,426
Ruapehu	\$19,637
Selwyn	\$34,613
South Taranaki	\$25,410
South Waikato	\$25,289
South Wairarapa	\$18,576
Southland	\$25,874
Stratford	\$18,626

Tararua	\$26,718
Tasman	\$37,417
Taupō	\$34,747
Tauranga	\$78,050
Thames-Coromandel	\$35,226
Timaru	\$35,543
Upper Hutt	\$31,883
Waikato	\$42,010
Waimakariri	\$37,073
Waimate	\$19,024
Waipa	\$31,534
Wairoa	\$23,961
Waitaki	\$24,125
Waitomo	\$23,731
Wellington	\$86,874
W. Bay of Plenty	\$32,959
Westland	\$18,725
Whakatāne	\$31,853
Whanganui	\$32,910
Whangarei	\$48,871
Average	\$34,579

Source: Legislation.govt.nz, 2020, pp. 11-44.

Annex D – Council and population distribution in Kenya.

County Government	City	Town	Population (2009 Census)	% Rural (2009)
Mombasa	0	0	938,500	0.0
Kwale	0	3	649,588	81.9
Kilifi	0	2	1,108,770	74.3
Tana River	0	0	240,008	85.0
Lamu	0	0	101,483	80.1
Taita-Taveta	0	2	284,516	77.4
Garissa	0	1	375,968	76.5
Wajir	0	4	399,432	85.4
Mandera	0	1	618,966	81.9
Marsabit	0	0	291,075	78.0
Isiolo	0	0	143,211	56.5
Meru	0	2	1,355,359	88.0
Tharaka-Nithi	0	2	365,142	93.4
Embu	0	2	515,959	83.9
Kitui	0	2	1,012,236	86.2
Machakos	0	4	1,097,816	48.0
Makueni	0	2	884,258	88.2
Nyandarua	0	1	596,053	81.5
Nyeri	0	3	693,354	75.5
Kirinyaga	0	2	527,880	84.2
Murang'a	0	5	942,101	83.7
Kiambu	0	6	1,622,363	39.2
Turkana	0	1	854,991	85.8
West Pokot	0	2	512,572	91.7
Samburu	0	1	223,897	82.7
Trans Nzoia	0	1	818,539	79.6
Uasin Gishu	0	2	893,609	61.4
Elgeyo-Marakwet	0	1	369,902	85.6

Nandi	0	2	752,665	86.4
Baringo	0	2	555,441	89.0
Laikipia	0	3	398,992	75.2
Nakuru	0	3	1,602,636	54.2
Narok	0	1	850,292	93.1
Kaijado	0	1	686,992	58.6
Kericho	0	3	590,371	71.7
Bomet	0	3	891,390	81.7
Kakamega	0	3	1,698,576	84.8
Vihiga	0	2	567,387	68.6
Bungoma	0	5	1,374,477	78.3
Busia	0	5	743,592	83.6
Siaya	0	6	841,746	89.2
Kisumu	1	0	968,451	47.6
Horna Bay	0	1	963,441	85.7
Migori	0	6	916,665	66.0
Kisii	0	4	1,151,898	78.5
Nyamira	0	2	598,029	86.0
Nairobi	0	0	3,314,261	0.0
TOTAL 47	1	103	37,724,850	67.8

Source: CLGF, 2018c, p. 102.