

Labour Party
**Democracy
Review**

September 2018

CONTENTS

| SECTION | PAGE |
|--|------|
| 1. Summary of Recommendations | 3 |
| 2. Building a Mass Movement | 10 |
| 3. Leadership Elections | 12 |
| 4. NEC | 15 |
| 5. Regional Structures | 22 |
| 6. Equality | 25 |
| 7. Equalities Data Collection and Monitoring | 30 |
| 8. Building Local Parties | 31 |
| 9. Members Rights | 39 |
| 10. Women's Conference and Structures | 43 |
| 11. A Strong Voice for BAME Members | 49 |
| 12. LGBT+ Members | 54 |
| 13. Disabled Members | 58 |
| 14. Transforming Young Labour | 67 |
| 15. Labour Students | 75 |
| 16. A People Powered Policy Making Process | 78 |
| 17. A Members Led Conference | 84 |
| 18. Developing Digital Democracy | 87 |
| 19. Local Government | 90 |
| 20. Developing Our Socialist Societies | 97 |
| 21. NCC | 101 |
| 22. International | |
| 23. Westminster Selections | 102 |

1. SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

Set out below are a summary of the recommendations that are in each of the sections of the Democracy Review Report.

ELECTION OF LEADER AND DEPUTY LEADER

Nomination rights for CLPs, trade unions and PLP/EPLP in Leader and Deputy Leader elections

Registered supporter and affiliated supporter categories should remain

Rule Book to set out rights relating to entitlement to vote in Leadership elections

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Pathway to a “members’ led” NEC to be developed

Scottish Conference and Welsh Conference to decide how Scottish Labour Party and Welsh Labour Party NEC places are elected

Creation of a Disabled Members place on NEC

Reform of Socialist Society representation

By-elections for NEC vacancies

Reform of electoral system for BAME seat

Young Labour seat electoral system reviewed and codified

REGIONS

Creation of new Regional Executive Committees

Annual policy making Regional Conferences with motions on national and regional matters

EQUALITY

Improve political education and training opportunities for under-represented groups building on best practice

50% of Cabinet and Committee Chair posts in Labour run local authorities to be held by women

Campaign to allow all women shortlists for Metro-Mayor and Police and Crime Commissioner selections and in Government look to introduce the relevant legislation

Equality training available for all CLP and Branch Officers

Equality audit of Annual Conference, Regional Conferences and all national, regional, CLP and branch structures

All Labour Groups expected to adopt formal maternity, paternity and adoption leave policy

All equality officers to have access to networks, training and resources

Develop systems to allow BAME and disabled members to self-define to build BAME and disabled members networks

Job shares to be allowed at CLP and branch level

Campaign for a change to the law to allow candidate shortlists which cover all protected characteristics and in Government look to introduce the relevant legislation

Strategy to end all white multi-member wards in areas with high BAME population and under-representation

BUILDING LOCAL PARTIES

Creation of CLP Policy Officer to have lead role in new people powered policy making process

All equality and TULO Officers to have voting rights on CLP Executives and branch Committees

Reduce quorums for All Member CLP meetings

“Default” branch and CLP rules set out in Rule Book

CLPs allowed to have staggered meetings to maximise involvement

Review of CLP funding and membership rates

Use of technology to allow e-attendance and virtual meetings

Special Measures procedures codified and set out in Rule Book

Amend rules to allow CLPs to move from All Member CLP structure to General Committee structure and vice versa

Rules for existing multi-constituency CLPs

MEMBERS RIGHTS

A new set of rights for members should be enshrined in Rule Book

Rules will be written in clear and unambiguous language

Members will have minimum rights to attend meetings and policy consultations each year – either on-line or off-line

Members will have more rights to information in the Party

Standardisation of rights to take part in internal democracy including local government selections

Review of current system of trade union and socialist society affiliation to CLPs

More political education opportunities for all

Enforcement of requirement to be a trade union member for candidates

Role and responsibilities of the NEC, NEC Officers, NEC Committees, General Secretary and the Acting Leader to be further codified and set out in Rule Book

All Members will be entitled to attend their CLP and LGC unless it is clearly impracticable to allow that to happen

WOMEN

Women's Conference entitled to send two motions and a constitutional amendment to Annual Conference

New National Women's Committee elected

Annual Regional Women's Conferences and Regional Women's Committee set out in Rule Book

Voting entitlement at Annual Women's Conference to reflect Annual Conference

More support for Women's Officers including a range of campaigning materials

Regional, Scottish and Welsh Labour Party Women's Conferences able to send a motion and potential constitutional amendment to Annual Women's Conference

Regional Women's Conferences entitled to send a motion to Regional Conference

Women's Officer on every new Regional Executive Committee

Standing orders for Regional Women's Conferences and Committees

LGBT+

LGBT+ Officer on every new Regional Executive Committee

Rule book provision for CLP LGBT+ Forums with the same rights as Women's Forums and Ethnic Minority Forums

Establish a training course for LGBT+ members considering standing as a candidate

DISABLED MEMBERS

A radically reformed Disabled Members structure with all who self-define as disabled automatically members

Annual Disabled Members Conference with voting entitlement to mirror Annual Conference

Working with disabled members to develop a strategy for inclusion with more resources dedicated to disabled people being able to participate and access to advice on disabled access

Make available resources for all CLPs, branches, disabled members and the wider Party with advice on disability access and the requirements of the Equality Act

Adopt the social model of disability for how we organise as a Party

Disabled Members Conference entitled to send two motions and a constitutional amendment to Annual Conference

National Disabled Members Committee (members places elected by OMOV election of disabled members if this can be justified under the Equality Act)

Regional disabled members networks developed

Rule book provision for Disabled Members Forum with the same rights as Women's Forum and Ethnic Minority Forum

A Disability Officer elected onto the new Regional Executive Committees

Regional networks and more support for Disability Officers

Establish a training course for disabled members considering standing as a candidate

Evidence compiled to have reserved disabled members seats on bodies such as CLPs and LGCs

BLACK ASIAN AND MINORITY ETHNIC MEMBERS

A radically reformed BAME structure with all who self-define as BAME automatically members

Annual national BAME Conference with voting entitlement to mirror Annual Conference

Each Region asked to organise a Regional BAME Conference

Newly elected national and regional BAME Committees

A BAME Officer on every Regional Executive Committee and regional networks

Undertake a mapping exercise of BAME communities

Evidence compiled to have reserved BAME seats on bodies such as CLP Executives and LGC with a higher percentage of reserved BAME seats in areas with high BAME population and under-representation

YOUNG LABOUR

Resources dedicated to build a national network of Young Labour groups

New Youth and Student Unit established

Develop systems to allow Young Labour Groups and Youth officers to communicate with Young Labour members

Establish an NEC fund for poorer CLPs to fund delegates to Young Labour Conference

Annual Young Labour Conference able to send two motions and one potential constitutional amendment to Annual Conference and to Annual Women's Conference

An event for under 18s with safeguarding provisions will be organised

A point of contact in each Regional Office for Young Labour and Labour Students

Regional Young Labour Committee elected by OMOV

Each Region will organise an Annual Youth Conference

STUDENTS

OMOV elections for Labour Students

POLICY

A new people powered policy process to maximise involvement of members and CLPs in the policy process

Trade Unions and socialist societies heavily involved in the policy process

New NEC Policy Committee which can establish sub-committees and use wide range of methods to develop policy

Policy sub-committees to include one half of places directly elected by CLPs at annual conference and one half by affiliates with gender parity, BAME and disability representation

Newly elected NPF members to be asked to serve on policy sub-committees for next two years with proportion of seats allocated as above

Motions from CLPs, Regional Conferences, Scottish and Welsh Conferences sent to the new Policy Committee who may allocate to a relevant sub-committee

Pilots to develop regional and local economic policy and local plans involving both members and affiliates

Direct democracy and digital democracy pilots involving both members and affiliates will feed into the process

Strengthened role for Regional Conferences and the new LGC in policy making

A detailed policy making process to be approved by Conference 2019

ANNUAL CONFERENCE

Members led Annual Conference with enhanced policy role as the sovereign body of the Party

Open-up Annual Conference with no “contemporary criteria” or “three-year” rule

Large Affiliates entitled to additional motion to Annual Conference

Constitutional amendments to be debated the year they are submitted

Timetable and paperwork available for delegates in advance to discuss with CLPs and affiliates

Reference back process formalised and set out in Rule Book

Electronic voting at Conference

Reform of CAC

Additional representation for Disabled, BAME and LGBT+ members

DIGITAL DEMOCRACY

An advanced social media event

Every CLP supported to have a website

Secure on-line voting systems for CLPs developed for policy and other matters

Procedures for CLPs social media accounts

Regional social media networks facilitated

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

LGCs re-established with CLP, branch and affiliate representation

ALC will be involved in implementation of new structure

All Member LGCs allowed where they currently already function as All Member LCFs

Each LGC required to have an annual meeting for all members to discuss local government matters

Action plan to ensure that there are a wide range of potential candidates including mentoring, shadowing, political education and training building on best practice

Similar process to Clause V where the manifesto will be agreed by the LGC and the Labour Group

Councillor contract and criteria for selection reviewed to ensure compliance with equalities policy and legislation

Affiliated trade unions and Co-operative Party able to add to local government panel using same criteria as LGC

Pilots considered for election of Council Leaders by wider Party

Open selections for council candidates

Wider review of local government structures

REGIONAL GOVERNMENT

Regional Executive Committee should ensure that a LGC structure is in place for Regional Government structures

Members and affiliates involved in manifesto making process

Rule Book amended to provide for manifesto sign off in a similar way to the Clause V process

SOCIALIST SOCIETIES

Opening-up and promotion of the work of socialist societies with development plans

INTERNATIONAL

After Brexit the Labour Party would maintain the closest relationship with the Party of European Socialists

PARLIAMENTARY SELECTIONS

Given the early selection of candidates in some winnable seats should boundary changes proceed the procedures relating to Parliamentary Selections will be reviewed

NCC

Additional NCC places created

2. BUILDING A MASS MOVEMENT

In 2017 we were asked to work on one of the most comprehensive projects into Labour Party Democracy ever undertaken. The work took us the length and breadth of the country meeting members of the Party from CLPs, affiliates, women's organisations, BAME groups, disabled members and LGBT+ activists at branch level and through regional and national structures to the NEC, Leader's Office and Westminster MPs. We met with MEPs in Brussels, attended the Scottish and Welsh Labour Party Conferences as well as English Regional Conferences and events. Thousands of miles were travelled, and hundreds of meetings attended. We have listened to what members have said and this Report is based on what they say we need to do to build a mass movement.

"Thousands have joined with hope for political change. We need to build better structures to allow more accountable representation and for our grassroots movement to influence national policy in a way that ordinary members can understand." - Cllr Taiba Yasseen, Rotherham Borough Council

The opening-up of Labour's leadership elections led thousands of people to join the Labour Party. Throughout this Review we have spoken with many who have joined through this process. The Labour Party Democracy Review was tasked with looking at how our hugely expanded membership becomes a mass movement which can transform our society. We want to reach into communities and to remove the barriers to getting involved to become a people powered movement for change. At Democracy Review events we have asked members what further changes we should make to reconnect people with politics - how we can develop a people powered policy making process, how we ensure that all sections of our diverse society are involved in our structures and how we can build local Young Labour groups in every community to build a mass youth movement.

We want our more than half-million members fully involved. The General Election showed what we can achieve when more members participate. But we need to do so much more to transform ourselves to become a social movement, a mass movement for the many not the few.

"The North West Regional Board held a number of Democracy Review events which were an ideal opportunity for all members to share their views on how we encourage greater participation from our huge membership in policy making and campaigning. The quality of the debate was amazing and an invaluable engagement." - Alison Spencer-Scragg, Chair North West Regional Board

CLPs and other parts of the Party held their own events to feed into the Review. At the closing date, we had received 11,425 submissions from local Labour Parties, trade unions, socialist societies, Labour Party organisations and individual Labour Party members. Many of the submissions reflected hours of discussion at meetings held by local parties about how we change to bring people to us and how we go to them to persuade them to join us. Some CLPs said these events themselves were an exercise in good democratic practice.

The Review team attended events in every part of the UK and asked Labour Party members what they want their Party to look like.

“We need to open up the Labour Party to campaigns happening in our communities. We must change to build a mass movement for transformational change.” – Fiona Menzies, Edinburgh East CLP

To become a mass movement Labour needs to really listen to local people and communities in all parts of the country, to involve all the members we have whether they have just joined or been with us for decades and get many more to join as we build a transformational movement. We believe the proposals in this report are the start of that transformational process to reach out into communities to build that movement.

3. LEADERSHIP ELECTIONS

“My journey into the Labour Party started as a £3 supporter in 2015. Since then I have become a full member, chaired my local branch, stood in borough and county council elections, became a member of the Regional Board and been selected as the Parliamentary candidate for Scarborough and Whitby. Having affordable registered supporters can be the start of an incredible journey and money should never be a barrier to involvement in politics.” - Hugo Fearnley, Scarborough and Whitby Prospective Parliamentary Candidate

The Review received a range of submissions with different perspectives about how we should elect our Leadership. We have heard from many members who described the registered supporters scheme as a pathway for them to involvement in the Party. We have therefore accepted the argument made by many that to build a mass movement we must continue to have a wide electorate of Labour members and supporters in Leadership contests. Recent leadership campaigns, registered supporters and late “freeze dates” have encouraged huge numbers of people to become Labour members.

REGISTERED SUPPORTERS

The current system of electing the Leader and Deputy Leader allows Labour Party members, registered supporters and affiliated supporters an equal vote to elect our Leadership. Most submissions have supported a continuation of this system. However, other submissions have argued against registered supporters saying “the time for registered supporters is over” or that it is wrong for non-Party members to get a vote - but this has been a minority position. At the meetings we have attended, newer members presume that registered supporters’ status will continue.

“I became a registered supporter in 2015. Once you get involved and feel you can make a difference, it draws you in and I joined in September that year. Now I am very actively involved, am helping to run the Local Campaign Forum and have been elected as a delegate to Conference. It’s the same story for a lot of people in my area.” - Jody Atkinson, Bristol West CLP

The registered supporters’ scheme has recruited many thousands of people into the Labour Party and can be used again in the future to bring our supporters nearer to Labour. The Review has met hundreds of former registered supporters who are now running local Labour Parties. Given so many have joined and got active in Labour so recently the Review recommends the scheme must stay.

CODIFICATION OF RIGHTS

Members are however asking for certainty as to their rights in Leadership elections. The events of 2016 have resulted in members wishing the Rule Book to set out their rights and the rights of registered supporters in unambiguous terms. We have not had similar submissions in relation to affiliated supporters as there seem to be no issues relating to their entitlements in 2016. It would however be appropriate to also set the rights of affiliated supporters clearly in rule. There would however need to be consultation and agreement with the trade unions before any proposals were brought forward on affiliated supporters.

There are some arguing for a return to all levy payers voting in leadership elections. If this was to be considered again there would need to be consultation and agreement with the trade unions.

ELIGIBILITY TO VOTE

The term “freeze date” is a confusing one. It has been pointed out it is used in different ways at different times. In the 2010 Leadership election there was a “freeze date” two weeks before the close of the election which meant it was possible to join and vote until that point. In 2015 the freeze date was one month before the close of the election. In 2016 the freeze date was set eight months before the close of election so that it was necessary to be a member in January 2016 to vote in that category. There will of course be variation in the timetables for elections and some will be longer than others.

It is now established legally that the freeze date to take part in a leadership election must be the date the timetable is fixed or a subsequent date. Given there will be provision for registered supporters, it is recommended that there should normally be a period of at least two weeks when people can join the Party, become a registered supporter or become an affiliated supporter and be able to vote. The NEC should have the discretion to fix a longer period. This should be incorporated into the Rule Book. It has also been suggested that the period in which people can join in these categories and still be able to vote should not be less than three weeks prior to the close of the ballot. The Review recommends this approach.

There should be a significant window for people to register as supporters and it must be affordable. Whilst it is perfectly reasonable for the fee for registered supporters to more than cover the administrative costs it must be a rate that allows those who have traditionally supported Labour to easily take part. The fee should be incorporated in the Rule Book. It could be set at a level to encourage full Party membership. The cost for an individual to become a registered supporter should not be more than it would be to join as a full member nor set at a rate to encourage individuals to join on a monthly rate and then cancel their membership after the Leadership election.

NOMINATION OF LEADER AND DEPUTY LEADER CANDIDATES

Current rule –

“Election of leader and deputy leader

2 B i. in the case of a vacancy for leader or deputy leader, each nomination must be supported by 10% of the combined Commons members of the PLP and members of the EPLP. Nominations not obtaining this threshold shall be null and void.”

There have been numerous changes to the threshold required to enable a Leadership or Deputy Leadership candidate to be nominated since 1981, when as part of the electoral college which was introduced at that time, the requirement where there was a vacancy was set at 5% of the PLP. Since then, it has changed to 20%, 12.5%, 15% and now 10% (latterly of both PLP and EPLP).

“The FBU believes that all parts of the movement should have a role in electing the Leader of the Labour Party.” - FBU Submission

An overwhelming majority of submissions call for a nomination process which allows a candidate who obtains a substantial number of CLP nominations or trade union nominations

or PLP and EPLP nominations to automatically appear on the ballot paper. Numerically the most submissions received argued for a candidate to appear on the ballot paper automatically if they received 10% of the combined PLP and EPLP nominations or 10% of CLPs nominations or 10% of trade unions nominations. Other submissions argue for the status quo. A range of other methods of election were also suggested. The Democracy Review has looked at the models proposed and recommends that:

All candidates are required a minimum number of nominations from one of the sections and that where those nominations come from either the CLPs or trade unions additional nominations are required from the PLP and EPLP.

The Review proposes that the minimum number of nominations required would be:

10% of the PLP and EPLP

Or

10% of CLPs plus 5% of the PLP and EPLP

Or

10% of trade unions which comprise at least 10% of the affiliated membership from at least three trade unions plus 5% of the PLP and EPLP

This is not the model which the largest number of submissions have argued for. However, it does take into account the various representations made.

There are not submissions arguing that there should be a change of the rules relating to the situation where there is no vacancy. The Review believes it is perfectly reasonable to have a different method for a nomination in the event of a vacancy to maximise choice for the membership.

The Review recommends that the role and responsibility of an Acting Leader should be codified and set out in the rule book.

4. NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The Labour Party was created in 1918 with a Constitution that allowed individual membership nationally for the first time and an Executive of twenty-three. Thirteen places were elected by affiliates (both trade unions and socialist societies), five to represent CLPs, four seats for women and a Treasurer.

The National Executive Committee (NEC) is the “administrative authority” of the Party and deals with many issues relating to organisation, resources, campaigning and management. It appoints the General Secretary who is responsible for all staff and acts as the non-voting secretary of the NEC.

Most of Labour’s membership have little knowledge of who is currently on Labour’s NEC or what it does.

The role of the NEC recently rose to prominence with decisions made during the Leadership contest of 2016. Overwhelmingly the submissions to the Review from CLPs, other Party units, some unions and individual members say that the NEC should be a responsive body which is regularly elected, accountable and reflects the views of the membership; and call for transparency about the NEC’s role with easy access to information about its membership, how it is elected, what it does, who makes which decisions and what rules it operates by.

The current composition of the NEC is: the Leader; Deputy Leader; EPLP Leader; Treasurer (elected by an electoral college of Labour Party members and affiliates); three frontbench PLP places nominated by the Cabinet or Shadow Cabinet; three backbench PLP or EPLP places selected by all MPs and MEPs; nine CLP places elected by OMOV ballot of all members; thirteen trade union places; Scottish Labour Leader or Scottish Leader frontbench nominee; Welsh Labour Leader or Welsh Leader frontbench nominee; Socialist Societies representative; BAME Labour representative; two Local and Regional Government representatives and one youth representative.

The size of the NEC has grown considerably over many years and now comprises thirty-nine people. There have also been changes to how it is composed and how those places are elected over many decades.

The importance of how much of the NEC is elected by the membership partly depends on its role. The more political the role of the NEC the more vital that it is responsive to the membership.

CLP PLACES

“9 CLP members of the NEC is an improvement on the previous 6 but still too low.” - Ealing Southgate CLP Submission

An overwhelming number of submissions received about NEC composition focus on the CLP seats asking for a “members led” NEC saying that there is inadequate representation for members. These responses are from both CLPs and individual members. Organisations like Momentum and Labour First have also argued for an increase in the proportion of seats directly elected by the membership along with some trade unions. Most submissions ask for

at least 50% of the NEC to be directly elected every two years by the membership. At members' events, attended by the Democracy Review, there was little support for the status quo.

Given the huge expansion in the Labour Party's membership, CLP representatives on the NEC describe how overwhelmed they are with the volume of issues being brought to them by members and CLPs. Quite understandably members see the NEC members they vote for as their representatives and so contact them for assistance rather than the other thirty members of the NEC.

Some trade union submissions argue for no change and point out that there was an increase in the CLP section from six to nine places last year.

Some other parts of the Party also strongly oppose members electing a greater proportion of the NEC.

Given the massively increased membership of the Labour Party, the election of Jeremy Corbyn with a commitment to deliver a "members led" Party and the overwhelming request in submissions from CLPs and members to increase the proportion of the NEC which are directly elected, it is recommended this issue be addressed. The Review recommends that there is a plan developed to increase the direct representation of members on the NEC in a series of steps.

There have been some who have suggested that the Young Labour, BAME and new Disabled members NEC places should be elected by OMOV. There is also support from others for those seats to be elected 50% members (ideally by OMOV) and 50% by the trade unions.

TRADE UNION PLACES

"The Labour Party exists as an instrument of its members and affiliated trade unions who seek to transform society in favour of the many, not the few. All representatives on national committees should either have a direct mandate from either members or affiliated trade unions." - TSSA Submission

Many submissions either call for an increase in seats or for the number of trade union seats to stay the same. Considerable numbers of the submissions which argue for a greater proportion of the CLP places to be elected by the membership also call for a greater proportion to be from the unions. Overall there has been less of a focus on these seats in the Democracy Review and overwhelming support for the trade union link from members.

REGIONAL AND NATIONAL SEATS

There are campaigns for regional and national representation of members on the NEC rather than the current nine seats elected in a block. There have been few submissions asking for this. Whilst the Review is sympathetic, there are significant problems with this approach based on our current regional structure with the biggest English region having almost five times as many members as the smallest. The Democracy Review is looking at how to increase members' power, not reduce it. It would require a significant restructuring of regions to enable this to be done fairly. There would also be issues with gender balance. The current geographical breakdown of seats in the CLP section is good with NEC members

from Scotland, Wales and the north and south of England. It is not currently possible to move to regional seats in a democratic way without a significant increase in CLP seats. It could however be considered as part of a plan to develop a members' led NEC as this would require an increase in the number of places directly elected by the membership.

LOCAL AND REGIONAL GOVERNMENT

Most submissions relating to the local and regional government places argue that they should be directly elected by the full membership. The ALC and LGA Labour Group submissions call for an increase in the number of places they hold on the NEC and have raised this consistently. There are however no restrictions on councillors or representatives from regional government standing for election in other sections such as there are for Parliamentarians in the CLP section and councillors regularly get elected in that section. The ALC argues that councillors make substantial payments to the Labour Party and their financial contribution could be addressed in a wider review of local and regional government structures. The NEC is not necessarily the vehicle best placed to address any legitimate issues about having more influence over issues which have a direct impact on them.

EPLP LEADER SEAT

We have not received submissions on the EPLP Leader seat as after Brexit the EPLP would no longer exist.

FRONT BENCH SHADOW CABINET BACKBENCH AND PLP/EPLP PLACES

The submissions do not tend to discriminate between the Shadow Cabinet and backbench NEC places which are often called "MP places". Large numbers of submissions argue they should be elected by the full membership. These submissions come both from most CLPs and members who have made submissions and some trade unions.

Some submissions argue for a reduction to four seats (two Shadow Cabinet and two back bench) or two seats (one Shadow Cabinet and one back bench).

SCOTTISH AND WELSH SEATS

The current rule book provides that the NEC will include -

One front bench member of the Scottish Parliament nominated by the Leader of Scottish Labour Party

One front bench member of the National Assembly of Wales nominated by the Leader of the Welsh Labour Party

These seats were only created in 2016. Four rule amendments were submitted last year from Welsh CLPs which say that the seats for the Welsh Labour Party and Scottish Labour Party should be elected by OMOV ballot of members of the Welsh Labour and Scottish Labour Party respectively.

The Welsh Labour Party Conference 2018 agreed to commence a Welsh Democracy Review looking at a wide range of issues affecting the Welsh Party including the election of their Leader. A Special Conference considered the Leadership issue on 15 September. Discussions

have taken place with the Welsh Labour Democracy Review. The method by which the NEC seat is elected is not within the terms of reference of the Welsh Democracy Review and was not on the agenda of the Special Conference.

Submissions have also been received from members and CLPs asking that the Scottish Labour and Welsh Labour seat be elected by OMOV. The Welsh Executive Committee has made a submission saying that the current rule book provision should stand. No submission has been received from the Scottish Executive Committee.

There is an argument that the Welsh and Scottish Leader should have a place on the NEC as they are directly elected and accountable to their Parties. However, we do not accept that this means that they should be able to choose someone else to attend in their place. No other NEC member can appoint another person to attend in their place no matter how onerous their responsibilities. Given Scotland and Wales are nations, and that it is necessary to have the specific perspective of the Scottish and Welsh Party, there is a strong case in having specific representation for the Scottish and Welsh Party. There is however also a strong case that it should be up to members of Scottish Labour and Welsh Labour who their representative should be.

Many members in Scotland and Wales are asking to be able to elect their representative every two years.

Highly political decisions are made by the NEC and the membership quite rightly wish certainty, transparency and accountability.

The options are that:

1. The rule book is amended to allow the Scottish Leader and Welsh Leader only to be NEC members.
2. There are OMOV elections every two years of Scottish and Welsh Labour Party members for a Scottish Labour and Welsh Labour NEC member in line with the rule changes submitted by Welsh CLPs.
3. That the rule book is amended to allow the Scottish Labour Party seat to be elected by a method to be determined by the Scottish Labour Party Conference and the Welsh Labour Party seat to be elected by a method to be determined by the Welsh Labour Party Conference. It would therefore be for Scottish Labour Party and Welsh Labour Party members to determine whether their representative is the Leader, an appointed representative of the Leader, a representative elected at their Conference, elected by OMOV election or by an electoral college. It is perfectly possible that the Scottish Labour Party and the Welsh Labour Party might decide on different methods which is perfectly acceptable.

The Review recommends the third option and for the rule book to be amended to devolve the decision to the Scottish Labour Party Conference and the Welsh Labour Party Conference and their respective rule book/standing orders.

DISABLED MEMBERS REPRESENTATION

Disabled activists within the Labour Party are campaigning for a seat to be created so there is a Disability Champion on the NEC to ensure both that disabled members have representation and a voice.

There are a range of ways which this place could be elected – at a Disabled Members Conference, by those Labour Party members who self-define as disabled or by an electoral college of disabled Labour Party members and trade unions in a similar way to elections outlined elsewhere. If this place were to be elected by disabled members only a case would have to be made under the Equality Act which in general allows for positive discrimination in favour of disabled people.

Given the under-representation of disabled members within the Labour Party, and in society more generally, the Review believes a case could successfully be made under the Equality Act for an OMOV election by disabled members only. We accept the argument for there to be provision for this to be undertaken as a job share as this would be a reasonable adjustment. A strict job share protocol should be in place.

In submissions and representations to the Review there was strong support both for the 50% OMOV and 50% trade union and the 100% OMOV electoral methods. During the Review the 50% OMOV and 50% trade union option seemed to be the preferred option being advanced by many disabled members, but they now seem to be saying they would prefer 100% OMOV. Another option would be for the seat to be elected at the Disabled Members Conference. If the decision is taken to create this seat there should be further consultation on the preferred method of election.

YOUNG LABOUR SEAT

There is currently one Young Labour seat on the NEC. There have been submissions arguing there should be two, one representing Young Labour members and one the trade unions. The current rule book says that the Young Labour place is elected at National Young Labour Conference.

There is no consensus that there should be an increase in Youth representation and the trade unions are not asking for an additional trade union youth place, so we do not recommend this. There is a strong support for the Young Labour seat to be elected by 50% OMOV of Young Labour members and 50% trade unions similar to the last election where there was an electoral college of 50% OMOV of Young Labour members and 50% affiliates. There is however also strong support for it to be a 100% OMOV seat given the overall wish to increase the number of seats directly elected by the membership on the NEC.

The rule book requires amendment to accurately reflect the electoral system for the Young Labour place.

BAME SEAT

The Rule Book currently states that there will be an NEC place *“elected by BAME Labour at its conference as laid down in the rules of the socialist society. This member to be elected*

once the individual membership of the socialist society has reached 2,500 and at least one third of eligible trade unions have also affiliated to the socialist society.”

Many of the submissions focus on the concern after the last NEC election about the small numbers of members who were eligible to participate in the BAME Labour elections. This may have been the result of the application of a “freeze date” requiring six months membership as well as other barriers which restricted membership. It is believed that if the radical recommendations made elsewhere in the Review are implemented these concerns will be addressed. There have also been submissions that there should be an additional BAME Labour seat to ensure gender balance. The current BAME Labour socialist society membership does not justify this although our BAME membership does.

There has been a significant increase in the number of NEC members from BAME backgrounds in recent years. This must be maintained and improved. The NEC should receive regular equality monitoring reports on its own composition as well as on other parts of the Party. Sections of the NEC where there is still under-representation should be asked to address this.

A case would require to be made to justify the introduction of reserved seats under the Equality Act with evidence of Labour’s membership, the membership of the NEC and census information on the ethnic composition of the general community.

Should there be a substantial increase in the membership of Labour’s BAME structure then an extra NEC place could be considered.

It is recommended that the BAME seat is elected by 50% members who have self-defined as BAME and 50% trade unions. There is also strong support that this should be a 100% OMOV seat given the overall wish to increase the number of seats directly elected by members on the NEC.

SOCIALIST SOCIETY SEAT

There is currently one seat on the NEC elected every two years by the delegates from socialist societies attending Annual Conference. We have received many submissions saying that this place is not justified given the small numbers of members in many socialist societies, the barriers to members joining and that it is “double voting” by people who are already members of the Party. There are others who see the socialist societies as part of our tradition. We are considering the links between the Party and socialist societies elsewhere in this Report and the election of the NEC place by OMOV.

BY-ELECTIONS FOR NEC PLACES

There have been a number of submissions stating that it should be possible to have a by-election for any vacancy which arises in the trade union section between Annual Conferences.

We have also had submissions that the current practice where runners up take up a vacancy in the CLP section is undemocratic.

The recommendation is that there should be provision for a by-election in each of the sections of the NEC should there be a vacancy.

More generally there should be attempts to reduce costs by having OMOV elections at the same time each year. Steps should be taken to harmonise the elections for the NEC, Young Labour representation, the new Regional Executive Committees and any other elections so they take place at the same time.

OTHER RECOMMENDATIONS

The terms of reference which are the rules by which the NEC operates should be made available to members via the Labour Party website.

The minutes of NEC meetings and NEC Committees should also be available to members via the Labour Party website.

Some members appreciate reports from the NEC members they elect. Given some CLP NEC members have spent considerable time building up a database to report to members, and this is very popular, it is clear there is interest. It is recommended that CLPs and members be advised where to find reports from NEC members in the CLP section.

5. REGIONAL STRUCTURES

“There is a good case for default standing orders and standardisation of affiliation fees for regional structures.” - Co-operative Party Submission

Labour’s English Regional structures were created with boundaries co-terminus with the European constituency boundaries. Every member is allocated to a Region which has its own lay member structure, Regional Board, Regional Director and staffing structure. The Regional Director as a member of staff reports to the General Secretary who is appointed by the NEC and is responsible for all staff.

There are currently nine English regions. The Scottish Labour Party and Welsh Labour Party operate to their own rules and these have not been considered as part of this Review.

There are almost five times as many members in our largest Region than our smallest Region. The huge explosion in membership over recent years has intensified the pressures on many regions. The geographical size of Regions also varies hugely. It has been suggested that the size and composition of our Regions should be reviewed, and we have received specific representations from certain parts of the country that it would make more sense to organise in a different way. The Review has not taken submissions on this and considers it outside our terms of reference. We have however considered how we can make Regional Boards more effective, more transparent and more accountable to the membership.

We have also received submissions that each Regional Director should be elected and be accountable to their relevant Regional Board. Again, this is not something which we have called for submissions on and was not included in the original terms of reference.

Labour’s Regional Boards and structures operate differently in different parts of the country. Many active members in some Regions have little knowledge of the role or composition of the current Regional Boards, how they are elected or how they operate as this information is not always available to them. It has been suggested that Regional Boards are re-named Regional Executive Committees as this would better reflect their function and we agree with that suggestion. It has also been suggested that there should be default Standing Orders for the Regions. Again, we agree with this. There should also be standardisation of affiliation fees to Regions.

There needs to be a far greater level of transparency about how our Regions work with CLPs with members having direct access to the Standing Orders of the Regional Board (to be Regional Executive Committee), details of the composition of the new Regional Executive Committee, contact details for the members of the Regional Executive Committee and minutes of meetings. The dates of Regional Executive Committees meetings should be available to CLPs on the Labour Party website. The Standing Orders of Regional Executive Committees should be agreed at Annual Conference and attached to the Rule Book as an Appendix.

There also needs to be a standardisation of the procedures and practice in relation to Regional Executive Committees. There should be an attempt to synchronise timetables of

events such as Regional Conferences. CLPs and others often made the point during the Review that it would be useful to have a schedule of events well in advance.

“Members’ voices need to be heard through responsive accountable regional structures – we need this for authenticity, connection and direction.” - Debbie Porteous, Filton and Bradley Stoke CLP

Most submissions argue the Regional Board (to be Regional Executive Committee) should be predominately elected by the membership and “members led”. Strong submissions have been submitted by the representatives of councillors that they should have representation.

We recommend that there should be no restrictions on councillors standing for election to the Regional Executive Committee in any section. We have considered whether Parliamentarians should be allowed to stand for the Regional Executive Committee and given they already have an important leadership role in the Party do not believe it is appropriate that they be allowed to stand other than for a designated Parliamentary seat.

We therefore recommend Regional Executive Committee should comprise:

- At least one half of the seats elected by OMOV ballot of all members every two years
- One third of the seats should be trade union seats
- There should be a Women’s Officer, BAME Officer, Disability Officer and LGBT+ Officer on every Regional Executive Committee
- Where there is a Regional Women’s Committee, BAME Committee or Disability Committee the relevant Officer will normally be a representative of and report to that respective Committee/Conference
- A LGBT+ Officer elected at Regional Conference
- A Regional Young Labour Committee representative who will be elected by all Young Labour members by OMOV ballot and report to the Regional Young Labour Committee/Conference
- A Co-operative Party representative
- Two representatives of Local and Regional Government who will be elected by OMOV ballot of ALC members. In London, there will be two Local Government representatives (again elected by OMOV Ballot of ALC members) and an LGA representative.
- There will be one representative of Parliamentarians (MPs and MEPs)

The Chair and Vice Chair of the Regional Executive Committee should be elected at Regional Conference and will be existing members of the Regional Executive Committee.

Regional Parties should be charged with overseeing and coordinating the development of policy at a regional and sub-regional level.

“There is no substitute to a participatory policy making process where delegates attending a Regional Conference can feel they have some input into making party policy for their region.” - Solihull and Meriden CLP Submission

There should be an annual Regional Conference with a voting composition which mirrors Annual Conference.

There will be default Standing Orders for Regional Conference which will be available to all members and affiliates.

Policy should be debated at the delegate based annual Regional Conference. Sub-regional policy for example in relation to City-Mayor structures would normally be debated at the relevant Regional/Local Government Committee but there may be circumstances where there are strategic issues which should be debated in a wider body. Regional and national policy should also be able to be debated at the annual Regional Conference. It will be the responsibility of the Regional Executive Committee to oversee arrangements to ensure there is appropriate democratic forum to debate sub-regional policy.

The size of sub-regional CLP based places elected by OMOV should be based on membership levels.

Policy passed at Regional Conferences should feed into the NEC Policy Committee.

6. EQUALITY

“Positive action and reserved seats are key instruments to close the deficit in democracy and decision making; and address under-representation in the Party’s structures. It is designed to redress discrimination and exclusion from decision making structures; close the democratic deficit and ensure participation and representation of under-represented groups.” - Gloria Mills, BAME Labour

The Review has taken substantial evidence and received large numbers of submissions about how we improve the representation of under-represented groups both within the Party and as candidates for public office. Women, BAME, disabled members and LGBT+ members have spoken to us about their personal experiences and what action they believe is required.

The case has also been made repeatedly of the need for the Party to reflect working class communities we represent, both in terms of who are members of the Party and the candidates we stand.

We have had many requests for various types of positive action for those who hold “protected characteristics.” So, we have looked at what is possible in law as any action we take must comply with Equalities legislation.

We have had repeated requests that we recommend BAME only shortlists, disabled member only shortlists and LGBT+ only shortlists for Parliamentary, local government and other selections. This is currently not possible in law as the Equality Act specifically only allows provision for all women shortlists and not for other “protected characteristics”.

ALL WOMEN SHORTLISTS

Women are of course more than half the population and not a minority, although remain under-represented. The Sex Discrimination Act 2002 (Election Candidates) Act passed by a Labour Government allowed political parties to draw up All Women Shortlists for elections to the House of Commons, the European Parliament, Scottish Parliament, National Assembly of Wales and most local elections. The Act included a “sunset clause” which would have expired at the end of 2015 but was extended by the Equality Act 2010, again by a Labour Government until 2030. All Women Shortlists have been the most effective method to increase the number of women elected where they have been used.

There has been a significant improvement in the number of women Labour MPs with 118 elected in the 2017 General Election. Women now comprise over 45% of the PLP. We also have gender balance in the Shadow Cabinet. There is still some way to go but this would not have happened without All Women Shortlists. These must continue to be used. Even once we have more than 50% women in the PLP, the concern will be that there will be slippage if this positive action measure were to stop. More than 60% of the candidates selected by Labour in Parliamentary Selection since the 2017 General Election have been women, many of those selected by All Women Shortlists.

GENDER BALANCE

Labour has had gender balance in the Scottish Parliament since its creation with the policy of “pairing” of seats and has had women Leaders of the Scottish Labour Party drawn from this “pool” of woman MSPs. There is also gender balance in Labour representation at both the National Assembly of Wales and in the London Assembly.

In local government there has been improvement in recent years and Labour now has 2,522 women councillors and 3,679 male councillors. However, despite the policy of having no “male only wards” the improvement has not been as dramatic as other areas. We have been shown the list of councils which have continued with all male multi-member wards in some places and are concerned that some of these authorities are the same places where women have told us they have been excluded from the panel to be considered as a local authority candidate. We believe that the measures recommended elsewhere in this Report will address this issue. Labour has, and has had, some very strong and effective women Council Leaders. However, we now have 217 male Labour Group leaders and only 57 women which means that just over one fifth of Labour Council Leaders are women.

“Our record on getting women into Parliament and devolved bodies is very good, but it’s largely down to the use of positive action and all women shortlists. If we’re serious about seeing more Labour women in public office across the board we have to up our game and do the same for mayoral, PPC and local elections, including making sure we have no more all-male wards in local government. We know what works, but we need to make it happen.” - Nan Sloan, Leeds North East CLP

None of the Metro-Mayors are women. According to research by the Fabian Society only 12% of Cabinet members in the devolved administrations are women. It can be no coincidence that it is the areas where no quotas or positive action have been implemented, largely because it would not be lawful to do so, there are fewer women.

EQUALITY LEGISLATION

Our members are clear that Labour must therefore call urgently for the legislation required to have shortlists for groups with “protected characteristics” such as BAME, disabled people and LGBT+. All the evidence is that positive action is the most effective way of increasing the representation of under-represented groups.

WORKING CLASS CANDIDATES

“BFAWU believes the party should do all in its power to ensure that working class candidates are supported and empowered.” - BFAWU Submission

“Class” is of course not a protected characteristic. It was raised many times during the Review that we need to represent working class communities with candidates who are embedded in their communities. Labour was of course created to represent working class opinion and the need for working class candidates was raised repeatedly.

ENCOURAGING CANDIDATES

We have many role models who should be asked to assist in mentoring, allowing their work to be shadowed and by leading at training, political education and Leadership courses.

We know that when women are encouraged to come forward as candidates they do. We have had many anecdotal accounts of women saying that they would not have stood if there had not been an All Woman Shortlist or the requirement that at least one seat in a multi-member ward had to be a woman. The recent Lewisham East by-election shows that a public call by the Labour Party to encourage BAME women to come forward did indeed lead to BAME women doing so.

Therefore, it is quite appropriate for Labour to make it clear that we are looking for women candidates for any Metro-Mayor or other Mayoral selections and to publicly campaign for women members to put themselves forward. Events should be arranged now in areas where we know that there will be selections to encourage women to consider whether they are a potential candidate, give training and explain the process. There are considerable costs in standing to be selected and this will be a factor for many women.

The continuation of all male multi-member wards must come to an end until we have achieved gender parity in local government representation.

During the Review, some Muslim women have spoken to us about the considerable pressure they face not to get involved in politics and the threats and intimidation they have experienced. The Party needs to look at what specific support we can give to women from any community facing these unacceptable pressures.

IMPROVING BAME REPRESENTATION

We also need a concerted attempt to get more BAME councillors and Leaders in Local Government.

“For too long we have been a silent and invisible minority. No longer. It has led to being under-served and under-represented and held us back from our true potential. We can and want to play a fully engaged and active role in British public life.” - Sonny Leong, Chinese for Labour

We need to improve the pipeline of women, BAME, disabled candidates and candidates from other under-represented groups particularly from communities where we have fewer representatives such as the Chinese and East Asian community and amongst Black African and Afro-Caribbean men. The Bernie Grant Initiative which is currently being developed is an opportunity to encourage many of these groups to come forward.

“It will take radical and profound change in how we involve BAME members within the Party to enable us to have more representation at local and national level from our ethnic minority communities.” - Mark McDonald, Stoke-on-Trent Prospective Parliamentary Candidate

A strategy must be developed to end all white multi-member wards in areas with high BAME populations until there is improved BAME representation.

INTERNAL PARTY STRUCTURES

“We have been meeting for years to discuss what Labour needs to do. The Democracy Review will hopefully understand the concern and ensure we are able to have active BAME representation. In the Party we need to find ways to increase BAME representation on CLP Executives, LCFs and other levels of the Party.” - Cllr Anna Rothery, Mayoral Lead Equality and Race Equality Liverpool

We have had strong representations from both BAME members and disabled members throughout the Review of the need for reserved places where there is under-representation. Evidence would need to be gathered to provide justification under the Equality Act for reserved places for BAME and disabled members.

We recommend that we should:

- Build on the Jo Cox Programme and the Bernie Grant Initiative with similar leadership courses targeted at LGBT+ and disabled members
- Coordinate and develop more mentoring, shadowing, political education and training for working class candidates, women, BAME, disabled people, LGBT+ and other under-represented groups
- Ask LGCs to undertake work to develop the pool of potential candidates to maximise choice for members
- Adopt a requirement that at least 50% of Labour Cabinet and/or Committee Chair posts in local government be held by women
- Campaign to permit All Women Shortlists for Metro-Mayors and Police and Crime Commissioners Selections
- Campaign now within the Party to encourage women to consider putting themselves forward for Metro-Mayor and Police and Crime Commissioner Selections
- Work with the Women’s PLP, LGA Labour Group, ALC and others to develop more support for women who already hold elected office
- Compile the evidence to justify positive action in favour of under-represented groups including reserved seats where lawful both within the Party and as candidates
- Develop a strategy to end all white multi-member wards in areas with high BAME populations and under-representation until there is improved representation

EQUALITY TRAINING

Equality training should be made available for all CLP and Branch Officers and widely available in the Party. This should include training to ensure an understanding of discrimination based on social class and socio-economic disadvantage, gender, ethnicity, religion, identity, sexuality, disability and of intersectionality.

EQUALITY AUDITS

The Party nationally should undertake an equality audit of all Regional Executive Committees, CLP Executives and branches Committees to find out how many positions are held by women, disabled members, BAME members and LGBT+ members and the results should be reported to the NEC Equalities Committee.

There should also be equality audits of Annual Conference, our Regional Conferences and all other Conferences and relevant events.

EQUALITIES POSITIONS

The composition of the electorate for equalities positions is a matter on which the Party is currently taking advice. However, where lawful, equalities positions should be elected by the group they represent. Further guidance must be issued.

ORGANISING

Subject to data protection legislation it is expected that groups like BAME Labour and Disability Labour will have access to the relevant sections of the membership.

In the absence of the Government collecting data, Labour needs to collate details of how many BAME and disabled councillors we have and provide a report to the NEC Equalities Committee.

“More resources are required to help local parties connect with our eastern European, Chinese and other under-represented minority communities.” - Slough CLP Submission

BAME communities are some of Labour’s most loyal supporters. A mapping exercise needs to be undertaken to identify where BAME communities are so that action plans can be developed.

It has been suggested that Labour should consider setting up a fund to enable individuals and organisations to donate to help Labour give additional support to candidates from under-represented groups such as disabled candidates and BAME candidates.

MATERNITY, PATERNITY AND ADOPTION LEAVE

All Labour Groups should be expected to adopt a formal maternity, paternity and adoption policy for Councillors.

NETWORKS FOR EQUALITY OFFICERS

All equality officers should have access to formal and informal networks and resources relating to their specific role.

JOB SHARES

Many members, particularly women and disabled members, have explained that it is often easier for them to take on roles on a job share basis. The Review has been given many examples of job shares working well in the Labour Party where individuals have decided to stand together and put effort into making the relationship work. They share their vote and abstain if they can’t agree. They are not allowed in some parts of the country.

It is recommended that the Rule Book is amended to allow formal job shares for CLP and Branch officer positions. Strict protocols should be put in place as to how job shares would work in practice.

7. EQUALITIES DATA COLLECTION AND MONITORING

The Labour Party needs comprehensive equality monitoring. There should be anonymous equality monitoring at all national and regional events on an ongoing basis. Currently we do not have good enough data on the participation of BAME, disabled and LGBT+ members although we believe there has been a significant increase in the number of BAME and disabled members in recent years.

Both BAME and disabled members say they expect the Labour Party to know who they are and for this information to be held on our central membership system so that the Party can have a dialogue with them, contact them about events, training and policy discussion and facilitate networks.

Labour currently asks members when they join whether they are BAME, disabled and/or LGBT+ and holds that information on the membership system. Work has very recently been completed to ensure that it will be possible for this information to be put on the membership system at any time. This enables the Labour Party to ask all BAME and disabled members to self-define. All of this of course must be done in a way which is compliant with data protection legislation and the right to privacy.

Now that the technology is in place, there should be an ongoing plan of communications to encourage BAME members and disabled members to self-define. There needs to be further consultation about how self-identification will work in practice with BAME members and disabled members.

Within LGBT Labour and others in the LGBT+ community there are different views as to whether LGBT+ data should be held on the membership system. Work was undertaken to enable this data to be held on the membership system should we wish but the Review recommends that currently LGBT+ data is not held on the membership system. This does not stop anonymous equality monitoring which should be carried out routinely at Labour events.

More comprehensive equality monitoring will enable the Party to identify potential barriers to participation and look at potential positive action.

8. BUILDING LOCAL PARTIES

“Branches and CLPs should seek to reflect the constituents they serve specifically encouraging the participation and membership of disabled, young, LGBT, BAME, women and working class communities through their recruitment, campaigns, organisation and structures.” – Jane Aitchison, Pudsey Parliamentary Candidate

There has been huge enthusiasm about building our Party into a people powered movement during the Democracy Review. Many of submissions focus on how we change the Party locally to build a mass movement based on the politics of hope. Members want to transform our Party to become a social movement, a movement for change. Most submissions argue for a members’ led Party at every level and call for a far higher level of transparency at all levels of the Party. These points were made at almost every meeting we have attended with members. Our members say that Labour needs to change locally to open-up our structures to engage directly with local communities. As one trade union submission put it “we have to remove the bureaucratic barriers” to becoming involved in the Labour Party.

Much of what people argue for is the best of what Labour has done in our history. It draws from our traditions as a movement. We were “community organising” in working class communities 100 years ago. We have transformed our country over the last century. But we have much more we want to do for the many, not the few.

EVENTS FOR NON-MEMBERS

In submissions and at Democracy Review events, many members have argued we need far more events which are open to non-members, that we must always be visible in communities and there when people need us. And they have given us lots of examples of how they are already doing that.

EXPLAINING OUR STRUCTURES

We have been repeatedly asked that we “demystify” the Party with simple booklets on-line, off-line and in other formats about how the Party works. There are lots of examples of publications which did this in the Museum of Labour History but not from the national Party recently although many CLPs have produced their own manuals for members which will usually have been adapted from materials the Labour Party provides through campaign creator. The Labour Party will shortly be launching Achieve a new eLearning platform. It is designed to work on computers, tablets and phones. More information about how the Party works need to be developed. Materials need to be available in different formats.

REGISTERED SUPPORTERS AND AFFILIATED SUPPORTERS

The submissions argue that we need more work done to recruit and engage with those who became registered supporters and affiliated supporters in previous leadership elections at CLP level; and that we need more engagement with unions locally and regionally. We recommend events to be held in all regions for affiliated supporters and for registered supporters and at CLP level where appropriate.

TRADE UNION MEMBERSHIP

“There should be encouragement and active promotion that Labour Party members should be members of trade unions (already in rule) and measures taken to increase participation from trade union activists in Labour Party structures.” - Unite Submission

Both members and trade unions in submissions argued for the importance of Labour Party members to be trade union members. The enforcement of existing rules on trade union membership needs reviewed and we need to look at what more can be done to encourage trade unionists to get involved with Labour.

ENGAGING OUR MEMBERS

At Democracy Review events members have said that we need far more events regionally for members who have not yet got involved in the Party. They have argued that there should be regular events targeted at all members who have not yet got involved and specific events organised regionally for new women members who often find the local meeting culture off-putting.

We recommend more events targeted at specific groups and more national campaigning materials to be available on a range of issues for CLPs to campaign on. This could work as part of our new people powered policy process. Better notice of national campaign days is asked for wherever possible.

INDUCTION

“We phone and email new members and welcome them to meetings. We try to avoid jargon and invite discussions and contributions from new members.” – Glasgow Shettleston CLP Submission

Many CLPs have put a huge amount of effort into welcoming new members with introductory events and repeated attempts to approach members in different ways. We have examples of this working in getting new members involved with new members packs, buddies and mentors. Some CLPs and branches were however not equipped to deal with the huge explosion of membership in 2015 and 2016. The submissions call for more focus on political education and training events available to all members but particularly for new members. They ask for more policy debates at local level and direct input into the policy process which the new policy making process is designed to deliver.

We recommend a high-quality national induction pack for all members explaining how the Party works, giving contacts and policy information as many members say this is essential.

BETTER SUPPORT FOR CLP AND BRANCH OFFICERS

There is consensus that more support needs to be available for all new officers – with resources and training available to new officers about their specific responsibilities when they take on the role. The CLP Secretaries Forum asked for a comprehensive pack including guidance and contacts to be available for CLP Secretaries when they are elected. This should be available for all CLP and branch officers with specific information relating to their role.

LOTS OF WAYS TO PARTICIPATE

At Democracy Review events there was often a view that knocking on doors is the end of a journey – and that there are a range of ways for members to engage. It was repeatedly pointed out that many members can't knock on doors – because they are disabled or for other reasons and it is only one way to contribute. Campaigning for the Labour Party can take many forms, and all should be celebrated. Our members should be embedded in our communities, active as trade unionists in workplaces both bringing their experiences into the Labour Party and taking the Labour Party into the community, workplace and college.

DIFFERENT STRUCTURES

The Labour Party organises in different ways in different parts of the country. The Review carried out a survey which asked CLP Secretaries for information about their local Party. Out of the 208 CLP Survey returns, 67 had delegate based General Committee structures and 141 All Member meeting structures. In general, in cities most CLPs have delegate-based General Committee structures and outside cities most CLPs had an All Member structure. In our survey of the CLPs who had delegate-based structures 25 of them held All Member meetings from time to time or invite all members to their meetings even although only delegates could vote. We have spoken to CLPs who feel their structure is no longer right for them. It should be straightforward to move from one system to the other. The Rule Book needs to set out a process to do this at CLP level which involves the full membership and all affiliates being able to move from one system to another by a simple majority.

In some areas where there are All Member structures there are also branches, in others not. More support needs to be given to help create branches where they don't currently exist. We have had requests to change the quorum for All Member CLP meetings. It is recommended that this should be amended to 5% of the total membership or 75 whichever is the lowest or a figure agreed with the Regional Executive Committee.

THE EXPERIENCE OF MEMBERS

There has been an explosion in Labour's membership. We have spoken to thousands of new members during the Review. In some areas the branch is the first place the new member will experience the Party. In other areas it will be an All Member meeting.

Many new members who have got involved said that they have faced many barriers, and that if we try to remove those barriers, many more would get more actively involved. This Review wants to see everything done to remove those barriers to build the mass Party, the social movement which our hugely expanded membership gives us the potential to create. We need to learn from our experiences over the last three years and reach out into our communities to get more to join.

Many members have spoken about the kind of social movement they want to build. Discussions have taken place up and down the country about how we open ourselves up. There is a real wish to change the way we work and go to those who have not already joined us to listen and encourage them to get involved.

Newer members are asking for training and political education. Where there is a branch structure it is the role of the branch to mentor and help new members. Where there is an All Member CLP structure, and no branches, the CLP needs to perform this function.

Branches and CLPs are run by volunteers and so need to be equipped and resourced to do this.

Many branches and CLPs have risen to the challenge and have done a huge amount of work organising a range of political, social and other activities, undertaken fundraising, running social media campaigns and have successfully welcomed and incorporated new members. They have fought election campaigns and won seats for Labour. They are however asking for more help and support from the Party nationally. It is politics which drives recruitment and it will be politics which will allow us to build a mass movement for social change which is strong enough to win power. Our membership wants to discuss how we deliver our vision of a society run for the many not the few. Repeatedly they have said they want to take our message into their communities and win people to Labour. They want to explain our policies and campaign to show what kind of society is possible.

BRANCHES AND CLPS

Ensuring there is a vibrant and enjoyable experience at local level should be a priority for all of us. The Labour Party draws its membership from the general community and at a local level there is a very clear view that we need more political education and discussion. We are there to reflect the views of the local community but also to politically educate and provide leadership including changing attitudes where necessary through dialogue.

We want to grow our membership even more including as many of our current membership as possible in activity in local parties but also bring many more people to us. During the Review members have been shown lots of ways that this is already happening. We need to spread best practice and find new ways to engage with communities.

We were given lots of examples of good practice. For example, in some places local parties will meet on a local café on a Saturday morning with members dropping in for a coffee and a chat. Some have got a lot more involved and some who dropped in for a coffee are now holding a key post i.e. CLP Secretary. Local parties often hold social activities – quiz nights, film nights, fundraisers, picnics. Many of our members are passionate campaigners and have given lots of examples of successful campaigns they have run.

Parties say they want to be visible in the community with stalls and public activity.

Some in large CLPs are asking to hold staggered meetings to maximise involvement for example in meetings on important topics or AGMs. This already happens sometimes in selections in large rural seats. There should be provision in rule to allow this for other types of meetings where local Parties want it.

Other CLPs say they have held meetings at different times and attract a different attendance. Women's forums have held afternoon meetings as well as the more conventional evening meetings with great success.

In large rural areas the use of technology to allow e-attendance and virtual meetings enables local parties to function. Tools need to be put in place to facilitate this. And the Rule Book needs updated to enable that to happen.

Different formats for meetings should be considered - for example discussion in small groups, debates with speakers for and against a position etc.

There is a lot of support for having far more open meetings about issues encouraging members who don't normally get involved and people who have not yet joined the Party to come along.

The use of digital democracy, on-line platforms, live streaming and video-conferencing should be explored and encouraged.

ON YOUR SIDE

"The local Party can raise its profile by engaging in community work – advocating for tenants, and people in receipt of benefits and supporting local foodbanks." - Sheffield Central CLP Submission

Repeatedly we have been told how important it is for local Labour Parties to be visible on the side of local communities. We have been given examples of local Parties organising gardening for those who are "socially excluded" and can't do their own garden, collecting for food banks and organising "litter-picking" events.

The Review has also heard lots of examples of vibrant Labour Parties taking up local campaigns, attending picket lines when trade unionists are in dispute and publicly campaigning on national issues. This needs to happen in many more places and resources need to be given to provide training and tools to local members to do this. We need to share best practice and give members ideas of what they can do in their local communities.

LOCAL PARTIES

"While our Party was created to form secure working class representation in Parliament, electoral activity is not the only way we can have an important impact. Local parties should be encouraged and supported to campaign on key local issues and party members should be supported to participate in this." - Hexham CLP Submission

Many submissions have stressed that where branches exist they should be the heart of the party. They say councillors' reports and business are important but should not dominate agendas but that campaigning, community organising, debate, political education, fundraising and recruitment should be the focus of branch work. There is also support for the branch to have a strong role in policy making and discussion.

The work of our volunteer army should be celebrated and respected. Members and local Parties know their local communities and are a huge resource for the Party. We need to find more ways to acknowledge and share good practice.

Many networks have been developed outside of the official Party structures. The Review took part in an on-line meeting with the CLP Secretaries forum. We know of other unofficial networks of other CLP Officers such as Women's Officers. These networks exist to share information and ideas, to provide support to each other. The Party itself needs to take on responsibility to facilitate such networks.

OPPORTUNITIES TO PARTICIPATE

"At the moment in some areas of the country there are few opportunities for members to attend Labour Party meetings. A rule book requirement to require eight meetings would open up the Party for many members, re-energise the Party and help us win seats." - Ann Wackett, Birmingham Perry Barr CLP

The Review has had requests that there should be a rule book provision for a minimum number of meetings each year which the member needs to be informed of at least annually. This has been raised particularly where CLPs are in or have recently come out of special measures or in regions where there has been significant use of special measures. It has been suggested that all CLPs should ensure that members get invited to eight meetings each year and this should be incorporated in rule. We recommend this, but provisions should be in place to get agreement to vary this or for members to get the opportunity to participate in a different way for example in on-line meetings. In large rural areas, on-line meetings or conference calls may be the norm to cut down on hours of travelling. Where a CLP isn't meeting for example in a large rural area there should be opportunities for members to get involved in other ways for example on-line meetings or regional events.

In future, where there is a General Committee structure, there should be a rule book right for every member to attend and speak at General Committee meetings even if they have no right to vote. Members need to be notified of these meetings. It is appreciated that the hugely expanded membership has made it difficult to find venues which are big enough for all members to attend but members fund our Party and have the right to be informed and attend both their local branch where they exist and their local CLP.

We have been repeatedly asked for detailed guidance on data protection and this should be provided.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE CLP

The Review has received concerns that given the hugely increased membership more decisions are being taken by Executive Committees rather than at the CLP meeting. The Executive Committee of the CLP must be accountable to the CLP. It is the servant of the General Committee or All Member meeting. It must provide a written report to the CLP meeting and the CLP must have the opportunity to discuss and agree or disagree with decisions taken. Important decisions must be made by the full CLP meeting. The Rule Book must set out the relationship between the Executive Committee and General Committee or All Member meeting. Procedures need to be agreed by the NEC.

The current posts are currently mandatory – Chair, Vice- Chair, Vice Chair Membership, Secretary, Treasurer and Women's Officer. We are recommending that the new Policy Officer who will lead on the new policy process should also be a mandatory role and have voting rights.

We are not making any recommendations that any other positions should be mandatory as the Party varies so tremendously in different parts of the country, but we are making other recommendations in relation to some other posts. All Branch Secretaries should be entitled to attend Executive Committee meetings.

There needs to be clear Guidance provided on handover of information and resources where there is a change of office holder. Failure to handover information could be a disciplinary offence given the impact it can have on effective working. CLP Secretaries currently often use personal email accounts and it is suggested that every CLP should use a Labour account for members to communicate with and for the national Party to send information to so there is no loss of information when there is a change of role holder.

It is also recommended there should be a Political Education Officer although this should not be a mandatory role and it may be that the Policy Officer would perform this function in

some CLPs. Political Education officers are asking for a national political education point of contact, suggestions of speakers, networks with other political education officers built into the structures of the Party, resources with information about their role and ideas of political education (everything from good political films, contacts for socialist societies etc). As with other Officer roles this should be provided. Where there is a Political Education Officer role it should be a voting member of the CLP Executive or branch committee.

It is recommended there should be a Communications and Social Media Officer although this should not be a mandatory role. There is more detail about the kind of support which needs to be available to social media officers elsewhere in the Report.

Where there are Political Education/Training Officers or Communications/Social Media Officers they should have voting rights.

“We must do everything we can as a movement to strengthen the links between unions and CLP’s. The first step in this is to make CLP TULO Officers voting members on CLP Executives.”
- ASLEF Submission

It is recommended there should be a Trade Union Liaison Officer, a Disability Officer, BAME Officer, Youth Officer, LGBT+ Officer (or Equality Officer) and Campaigns Officer. These posts will have voting rights where they exist. We are making further recommendations in relation to some of these posts elsewhere in this report.

Many CLPs find the voting method set out in the Rule Book confusing. Guidance and on-line tools should be provided.

Where there is more than one Vice-Chair it should be clear who takes the Chair role when the Chair is not able to.

When the Review attended meetings in areas where CLPs have been in Special Measures, it was clear additional support is needed, including more political education opportunities, for members have not had the opportunity to meet for extended periods of time.

There are already rule book provisions relating to Special Measures. The circumstances where CLPs can be placed in Special Measures and the process should be codified and set out in rule.

TRADE UNION DELEGATIONS

There must be a process to welcome trade union delegates to CLPs. The rules relating to trade union affiliations were changed recently but need to be looked at again to enable (except for selections and trigger ballots) trade union delegates to begin participating in local Parties as soon as possible. There is a need to streamline and centralise trade union affiliations to cut down on administration as an option for some trade unions however trade unions should still be able to affiliate directly to CLPs with the Party facilitating this.

The current system of trade union and socialist society affiliations in relation to both delegate-based General Committee and All Member structures needs to be reviewed.

CLP FUNDING

Before 2011 CLPs received one third of the membership subscriptions which members paid. This was changed to £1.50 per member which has now been increased to £2.50 per member. At the meetings we have had CLPs have repeatedly raised the need for more funding and that they do not think the current settlement is reasonable.

Many CLPs are unable to fund delegates to Annual Conference. We know of many examples of individuals being unable to attend Annual Conference as delegates as they can't afford it. Often CLPs will undertake specific fundraising to send delegates to Conference or individuals will crowdfund. Delegates to Conference should be funded. We have had many submissions saying that one delegate from every CLP should be funded to Annual Conference by the Party centrally.

The Democracy Review has not called for submissions on the funding of CLPs or the current formula. It is recommended there is a full review of CLP funding, that there is a call for submissions from all CLPs and affiliates and that a report is compiled on how more support can be given to CLPs.

MEMBERSHIP FEES

The Democracy Review has received submissions asking for changes to membership fees. Some have suggested that members who could afford it may wish to pay a "solidarity rate" and pay the membership of a member who can't afford it. Others have suggested that there should not be a standard rate but a suggested amount and that members make a regular payment that they can afford. Labour First have argued a £20 standard membership fee with a £10 unwaged rate.

Current membership rates are -

£3 per year for those aged 14 to 19 years, students and armed forces

£2.09 per month reduced rate for those aged 20 to 26 years, retired members, unwaged, retired, part-time workers and affiliated trade unions

£4.17 per month standard rate

It is essential that Labour has a regular income and any changes must not reduce the Party's income. The £3 per year rate is less than the administration costs for the Party. Currently those on benefits or with very low income pay more than students. Membership fees were not specifically referred to in the terms of reference of the Review. We recommend that the current bands and rates should be reviewed

MULTI-CONSTITUENCY CLPS

There should be rules for multi-constituency CLPs as this has been requested where they currently exist.

9. MEMBERS RIGHTS

“Members have been taken for granted for too long: wheeled out at election times to knock doors and deliver leaflets, without being given any influence or responsibility. Yet we are the party and a clear and comprehensive set of rights is a vital first step to recognising that.” - Sophie Williams, Cardiff West

Democratic rights should be consistently applied across the country. This means rights need to be set out in the Rule Book so there is absolute clarity about the individual members’ entitlement. We have had many examples of members having different rights in different places particularly in relation to selection of council candidates.

The Labour Party in the country is run by volunteers. Members join the Party nationally. There are minimum rights which must apply wherever you live. This may look different in a remote island community than in a city, but every member must have access to our democracy.

An individual’s right to take part in internal democracy is a fundamental right of membership. Currently often if you join during a Leadership election you can vote in the Leadership election even although you joined after the selection process has started. However, you are not entitled to a vote at your branch or CLP for eight weeks (to allow the CLP the opportunity to object to the application to join which does not seem to be consistently applied). Six months membership is required to vote in Westminster selections, but far longer membership can be required to take part in local government selections where “freeze dates” are agreed between the LCF and Regional Director acting under delegated powers from the NEC.

You are only entitled to stand to be selected as a Parliamentary candidate, as a council candidate or to attend as a delegate for Annual Conference at one year.

There needs to be a simplification and clarification of rights.

We have considered the risks that are associated with small groups of people joining to influence selection processes and the potential for corruption against the advantages of a more open transparent system. These risks are obviously greater the smaller the numbers involved in the selection. We in no way underestimate the importance of these risks however do not see how a lengthy period of membership of for example 12 months significantly reduces those risks.

Huge numbers of people have joined the Labour Party in recent years to take part in our internal democracy, many of whom have become very active members. Some existing members also became registered supporters because their membership was not sufficient to enable them to have a vote in a leadership election.

The Review is looking at how we build a mass movement and looks at all these issues in that context so that our Party can empower communities as we have done historically.

It is completely acceptable for Labour to use democracy to build our movement. Our politics is about democracy in action. We therefore are actively looking at how we can encourage people to use their democratic rights to get involved in politics. If people feel that they will have power in the Labour Party if they join, they are more likely to get involved. We want to be their voice.

The Democracy Review believes that there are some roles which do require Party experience such as are standing as a candidate. We therefore recommend that to stand as a Labour candidate including for Parliament, council or other elected position, the National Executive Committee(NEC), Conference Arrangements Committee(CAC), Regional Executive Committee(REC) and the National Constitutional Committee(NCC), one year's membership of the Party and current trade union membership should be essential. This should only be waived by a decision of the NEC or in the absence of a meeting a NEC Officers decision which should not be delegated to Party staff. Membership of a trade union is already a Rule Book requirement for Labour candidates and needs enforced consistently.

The Review is not convinced that it should be necessary to be a Party member for one year to be a delegate to Annual Conference, our Regional and other Conferences. In the past many CLPs would send younger members to Conference for the experience.

We believe there are strong arguments to allow the CLP to object to an application for membership given their local knowledge. Time is also needed to process applications outside the Leadership election periods when extra staff are employed. We therefore recommend that there is an eight weeks period of membership required to take part in votes within local Parties, NEC and other national and regional OMOV elections, to attend Regional and National Youth Conferences as a delegate; and a six months period of membership for all other matters including attending Annual Conference and other Conferences as a delegate, council selections including shortlisting and selection meetings and Parliamentary selections including by-elections.

Where members move from one constituency to another, again they will be able to vote immediately that there is confirmation from the Party nationally that the transfer has been processed in all matters apart from candidate selections, where they will require to have been a member in the constituency where they wish to vote for eight weeks.

Normally a person applying would, however, be able to attend branch and CLP meetings as soon as their application is processed. Local Parties should encourage non-members to attend Party meetings to learn about the Party and should also reach out to current and former registered supporters and affiliated supporters. Whether a meeting is suitable for non-members or a person whose application is being processed to attend is a matter for the branch or CLP itself as they have the best understanding of the sensitivity of matters being discussed. There may be parts of meetings which are suitable for non-members and parts which are not. Local parties are of course entitled to decide who should be allowed to attend their events, but public and open meetings should be encouraged to win people over to Labour.

“As a democratic socialist party, the Labour Party’s ability to deliver depends on its ability to harness the talent, ideas and commitment of its members. This depends on guaranteeing those members rights to transparency, accountability, participation, training and disciplinary justice. We would suggest creating a Charter of Member’s rights which sets out the above.” - Colne Valley CLP Submission

We have received submissions for a charter of members’ rights, code of ethics and the appointment of an Ombudsman. We have also received many representations for a clear complaints process.

Every member should have the right to take part in the Party wherever they live in the country. With new technology this should be more possible than it has ever been before. Our new people powered policy making process should enable members to be involved in policy making events at least twice per year. In rural areas this could be by way of digital democracy. In many places of course many more opportunities exist but Labour should commit to this minimum standard. These rights should be enshrined in a set of Rights of Members which should include members' rights to information. These Rights of Members should be enshrined in the Rule Book which should be available to all members and outlined in simple language in the member's induction pack and via the Labour Party website.

There have been many members particularly young members who have asked that we no longer organise on such strict geographical boundaries. They argue that this does not fit into people's lives and that they want to go to meetings with their friends or near where they work. Students say they would like to attend their local Party both at their home address and where they attend college or university and we have made recommendations on this elsewhere. This should all be perfectly possible to administer particularly for non-business meetings so long as there is a clear protocol in place which ensures for example that the member only votes at their primary residence. We make specific proposals in relation to students elsewhere but generally a more flexible approach should be encouraged particularly for non-business meetings and campaigning.

There, of course, will be a view that lengthy membership earns rights within the Party. Experience will of course sometimes give more influence and should be respected but we do not take the view that it should give enhanced democratic rights.

"We recognise that Labour Party processes and rules are complex and with a large new membership it is important for party democracy to increase transparency, accessibility and simplicity of these rules." - Bedminster and Southville Branch Labour Party Submission

Every member should be entitled to information about their Party. Again, with modern technology, this should be easier than ever. As one member put it at one of the Democracy Review events in Newcastle information should be available to members "at two clicks" via the Labour Party website. Members should be entitled to the information which is relevant to them – the standing orders of their branch, their CLP, the minutes of their branch, their CLP, their CLP Executive, the Standing Orders and minutes of their Regional Executive Committee, Standing Orders and minutes of their Local Government Committee, the decisions of their NEC etc. Work should commence on making this information available.

"Information about the democratic operation of the Party needs to be open and available to all members. The Party's rules should be collated in a single place, so they are accessible to Party members and procedures, guidance notes, codes of conduct and appendices should be moved into the Party rule book." - Jim Mackechnie, Glasgow Kelvin CLP Submission

The NEC is the governing body of the Party. The General Secretary is elected by the Party on the recommendation of the NEC and acts as secretary of the NEC. The role and responsibilities of the NEC needs to be more clearly defined and should be codified and set out in the Rule Book. Better oversight is needed of NEC functions given many functions are devolved to staff at national and regional level, to Regional Boards (to be Regional Executive Committees) or NEC Representatives. These appointed NEC representatives are currently often given little guidance or direction.

Many decisions are taken by NEC Officers. The role and responsibilities of NEC Officers also should be codified and set out in the rule book.

The role and responsibilities of the various NEC sub-Committees should also be codified and set out in the rule book.

We have considered the request for an Ombudsman. This was not something which was referred to us for consideration in the terms of reference of the Review and was therefore not something we asked for submissions on. Whilst it may be a potential way forward we believe that empowerment of the CLP representatives on the NEC would be a more significant and democratic way of addressing the issues which are being presented.

The Review has received submissions that the General Secretary should be elected. This is outside the scope of this Review. It would create a different model for the Party and potentially an alternative power base. The role and responsibilities of the General Secretary and staff should be more clearly codified and set out in the Rule Book.

10. WOMENS' CONFERENCE AND STRUCTURES

"The proposal for a national women's committee will make sure that campaigning on women's issues is not an add on. It will give democratic political leadership to the content, tone and shape of Annual Women's Conference." - Teresa Clark, Lewisham West and Penge CLP

There was a consultation event in Leeds on the Review's proposals in relation to Women's Conference and organisation. The proposals outlined here were discussed at this event and feedback provided has been incorporated. They build on previous work which has been undertaken.

The submissions show that Labour members and affiliates believe we must set ourselves high expectations, have women's conferences and structures which are inclusive, where we attempt to remove barriers to participation and which are respectful of difference and support women.

There is already provision for an annual policy making Women's Conference which was incorporated into the Rule Book in 2016.

"Chapter 3 Clause IV

NATIONAL ANNUAL WOMEN'S CONFERENCE

The NEC will issue procedures for holding a National Annual Women's Conference which has a formal role in the policy making process."

Procedures and Standing Orders for National Annual Women's Conference (AWC) should now be drafted and presented to Annual Women's Conference 2019 in Telford. Once agreed, these procedures and Standing Orders should form part of the Rule Book as an Appendix, so they are widely accessible to the membership.

In recent years there has been a move towards a more structured AWC with both formal policy debate and less formal sessions.

The Review recommends -

That the Annual Women's Conference should normally be held in the spring.

That the Rule Book should state that every CLP based Women's Forum or CLP and all affiliates will be entitled to send at least one delegate to Annual Women's Conference and voting rights should mirror that at Party Conference with 50% allocated to CLP based delegations and 50% to affiliates.

Wherever possible Annual Women's Conference should be a stand-alone event with a venue which enables as many women as possible to attend.

There should be provision to ensure diversity and steps taken to ensure under-represented groups are able to attend.

Labour should set ourselves high standards on disability access and all sessions should be accessible for disabled delegates, visitors and others in attendance.

Young Labour, the Disabled Members section and BAME structure will be entitled to attend to ensure those perspectives are represented. LGBT Labour will be entitled to representation.

A pooled fare will operate and there will be childcare provision. Supporting delegates with the cost of other caring responsibilities should be investigated.

MPs and other Parliamentarians, councillors and other elected representatives will be entitled to attend on an ex-officio basis.

Each CLP Women's Forum/CLP and all affiliates will be entitled to submit one motion or a potential constitutional amendment to Annual Women's Conference. Larger affiliates will be entitled to submit an additional motion. Young Labour will also be entitled to submit two motions or one motion and one potential constitutional amendment.

A timetable will be circulated in advance which enables whenever possible all motions and potential constitutional amendments to be circulated to delegates at least 40 days in advance of the conference to enable delegates to discuss their content with those they represent.

There should be the opportunity to composite motions in advance of the conference. A timetable could also be set to enable amendments to motions. All delegates should, when it is possible, receive the composited motions at least seven days before the commencement of the conference to enable them to discuss them with those they represent. There should also be the ability to submit emergency motions and the criteria and procedures for that will be set out in the Standing Orders.

Annual Women's Conference will have the right to submit two motions to Party Conference – one prioritised by CLPs and one by affiliates. There will be a prioritisation ballot at Annual Women's Conference to decide what motions are submitted. Annual Women's Conference will also be able to submit one constitutional amendment to Party Conference and again there would be a prioritisation ballot to decide which would be submitted. These motions and/or constitutional amendments will be moved at Party Conference by the National Women's Committee. Other motions passed will feed into the policy making process.

The Women's Conference Arrangements Committee (WCAC) will continue to be elected at the Annual Women's Conference with representation from both CLP women and affiliates. There will be rule book provision for the election of the WCAC.

“Women's Conference represents one of the most significant opportunities during the year for Labour women across the country to meet, share experiences, debate key issues and be inspired. At its best, Women's Conference creates new networks, spreads knowledge and best practice, tackles difficult issues without ceremony, shapes national debate, listens to the voices and experiences of women at all levels of the party, and inspires members to become activists and activists to become candidates.” – Labour Women's Network Submission

CLP AND BRANCH LEVEL ORGANISATION

Chapter 10 of the Rule Book currently sets our rules on Women's Forums. Every CLP should be encouraged to establish a Women's Forum and where there is a delegate based General

Committee structure the Women's Forum will continue to be entitled to send delegates to the General Committee. The Women's Officer will continue to have responsibility for coordinating a Women's Forum.

In many places city, town or borough wide Women's Forums exist or operate with other geographical boundaries which make sense locally and these are to be encouraged. There will be a process to enable such Women's Forums to send delegates to General Committees and Conferences and procedures will be drafted to outline how this can occur.

Branch Labour Parties will be encouraged to have a Women's Officer. Where one exists, that Officer will have full voting rights on the Branch Executive Committee.

REGIONAL STRUCTURES

Again, there was consultation on the proposals for regional women's structure at the national Democracy Review consultation in Leeds and feedback has been incorporated. We recommend the following -

Each Region will be required to facilitate women's networks (formal and informal) and organise an annual delegate based Regional Women's Conference.

Every CLP based Women's Forum/CLP and all affiliates will be entitled to representation at this Conference.

There will continue to be a staff member in each region as a point of contact for women's organisations within the party. Details of who that is should be circulated to all CLPs and Women's Officers.

Each Regional Women's Conference, the Scottish and the Welsh Women's Conference will be able to send one motion and a potential constitutional amendment to the Annual Women's Conference.

The Regional Women's Conference will also be able to send a motion to Regional Conference.

The voting entitlement of Regional Women's Conference will be made up of 50% CLP based delegations and 50% affiliates. Wherever possible voting entitlement should be based on the number of women members. All CLPs will be allowed to send at least one delegate and all affiliates will be entitled to representation. Attempts will be made to ensure as many as possible are able to attend and to allow as many women as possible to attend as delegates. MPs, other Parliamentarians, Councillors and other elected representatives will be entitled to attend on an ex-officio basis. Where possible CLPs and affiliates should be allowed additional representation from under-represented groups.

There will be default standing orders for the running of the Regional Women's Conference.

Each Regional Women's Conference will elect a Regional Women's Committee which will amongst other tasks as required have responsibility:

- To feed into the Regional Board (to be Regional Executive Committee) and the National Women's Committee on issues of concern to women in the region

- To drive women's campaigns on a range of issues and engage in work to encourage women to support Labour
- To encourage women to get involved in all aspects of the party and arrange events and initiatives to enable them to do so
- To support the work of Women's Officers at branch and CLP level and support the development of Women's Forums
- To develop relationships with the regional TUC, regional women's trade union organisations and other regional women's and community organisations
- To provide mentoring and support for women in the party and work closely with women politicians
- To work closely with the National Women's Committee to ensure that a wide range of training and political education is available for women
- To oversee work to ensure there are a wide range of women available to hold posts and stand as candidates for Labour particularly women from working class backgrounds and other disadvantaged and under-represented groups such as BAME women, disabled women, carers and LGBT+ women
- To look at how to remove the barriers to women's involvement in Labour politics
- To work with the Regional Board (to be Regional Executive Committee) and others to ensure there is high quality equality training, a good understanding of gender issues within the party, of intersectionality and discrimination based on socio-economic disadvantage
- To provide political oversight of the arrangements relating to and the agenda of the Regional Women's conference

There will be a Young Women's Officer, Trade Union Liaison Officer, BAME Officer, Disability Officer and LGBT+ Officer on each Regional Women's Committee who will have specific responsibility for work in those areas and liaising with those groups.

There will be provision for expenses for CLP based women for their work on the Regional Women's Committee.

NATIONAL WOMEN'S COMMITTEE

Again, there has already been consultation on these proposals-

There will be a National Women's Committee who will be responsible for and have political oversight of the Annual Women's Conference and drive Women's campaigns within the party. Their work will be serviced by head office staff. They will work closely with the NEC, make proposals and feed into the NEC via the Equalities Committee.

They will have specific responsibility for recruitment campaigns aimed at women and providing support to Women's Officers and Equality Officers ensuring that they have a range of training and campaigning materials available to support them.

They will liaise, campaign and coordinate with national trade unions, national trade union women's organisations and other national women's and campaigning organisations.

To help coordinate work in the Regions and with Scotland and Wales, a representative of each Regional Women's Committee will be entitled to attend the national Women's Committee along with a representative of the Scottish and Welsh Women's Committees. In addition, a Young Labour Women's Officer, BAME Women's Officer, LGBT+ Officer and Disabled Members Women's Officer will sit on the National Women's committee.

The Committee will be elected at Annual Women's Conference. At least half the seats must be directly elected by the CLP section and a third by trade unions. The Co-operative Party have asked that their women members be allowed to elect a representative onto this National Women's Committee which we recommend.

This Committee will make proposals and feed into the NEC Equalities Committee. It will ensure that women can fully participate in the Party, monitor the development and political empowerment of women in the Party, ensure that there is a high level of awareness of gender issues and campaign on issues which affect different groups of women. It will work closely with the Minister for Women and Equalities in Government and the Shadow Minister for Women and Equalities in Opposition and work within Labour's policy making process.

There will be provision for CLP based women to get expenses for attending the Committee.

The National Women's Committee will provide a written report to the Annual Women's Conference.

REMIT OF NATIONAL WOMEN'S COMMITTEE

Again, these recommendations were discussed at the national Democracy Review consultation event. We recommend the remit of the National Women's committee will be:

- To feed into the NEC on issues being raised through the national and regional women's structures
- To oversee and drive a range of women's campaigns and engage in work to encourage women to support Labour
- To encourage women to get involved in all aspects of the Party and to arrange events to encourage them to do so
- To support the work of Regional Women's Conferences, Regional Women's Committees, Women's Forums, CLP and branch Women's Officers and other women campaigning in the party by ensuring that they have a range of campaigning materials and other support available to them
- To develop relationships with the TUC, trade unions and trade union women's organisations and other campaigning and women's organisations, the Party of European Socialists Women's Organisation and other international organisations
- To provide political oversight for the provision of mentoring and support for women in the Party and work closely with women politicians
- To provide political oversight for the provision of training and political education for women in the party
- To work with the NEC to ensure that there is a large pool of women to hold posts and stand as candidates for Labour particularly women from working class

backgrounds and other disadvantaged and under-represented groups such as BAME women, disabled women, women carers and LGBT+ women

- To work to remove the barriers to women's involvement in Labour politics
- To work with the NEC and others to ensure there is high quality equality training, a good understanding of gender issues within the party, of intersectionality and discrimination based on socio-economic disadvantage
- To provide political oversight of the arrangements relating to and the agenda of Annual Women's conference

11. A STRONG VOICE FOR BAME MEMBERS

“Becoming one of the first four black MPs selected was an uphill battle. In the 1980’s Black Sections were met with threats of expulsions and accusations of a takeover of the Labour Party. More than 30 years later we have come a long way but we need to ensure that the legacy continues and extends BAME representation through the Democracy Review. Our success relies on consolidating our representation and ensuring the path is accessible to others.” - Diane Abbott MP Shadow Home Secretary

There has been a huge growth in the number of Black Asian and Minority Ethnic (BAME) members in our Party. Labour is now entering a period of transformational change and as part of this we must ensure our BAME members have a stronger voice within our structures and improve representation at all levels of our Party. The Review held a national consultation event in Leeds with BAME members on the proposals outlined here for our BAME structure.

Labour supports black self-organisation. We need to on build on what has already been achieved. BAME Labour came out of the radical Labour Party Black Sections which campaigned in the 1980’s on a wide range issues affecting the black community, for black representation and for official recognition by the Labour Party as a section of the Party. Black Sections had a large network of unofficial local groups and ran vibrant, energetic campaigns on a wide range of issues including for increased black representation and official recognition of Black Sections. This campaigning resulted in a significant increase in the number of black Labour candidates standing both for Parliament and for council seats. Diane Abbott, Paul Boateng, Bernie Grant and Keith Vaz were elected as MPs in 1987.

In 1990, a historic settlement resulted in the creation of the Black Socialist Society and the recognition by the Party of black self-organisation. The Black Socialist Society became the Black and Asian Socialist Society and then BAME Labour in 2007. BAME Labour is a socialist society and an affiliate of the Labour Party with an elected committee and a representative on the NEC. Labour also has Ethnic Minority Forums at local level and BAME, ethnic minority or equality officers at branch or CLP level. There are no formal links between Ethnic Minority Forums, any other local BAME Labour groups or equality officers and BAME Labour.

In recent years significant advances have been made in the number of BAME candidates which Labour stands, in the number of BAME MPs and the number of BAME members on Labour’s governing National Executive Committee. In the local government elections in 2018, 11% of all Labour candidates self-defined as BAME (468 out of 4,363).

There is an electoral college within BAME Labour to elect positions with 70% of the vote allocated to individual members and 30% to five unions who affiliate. A six months freeze date operates for individual members of BAME Labour to take part in these elections. Given the Labour Party does not hold accurate records of how many BAME members there are in the Party we do not know what percentage of BAME members have joined BAME Labour. Despite a lack of comprehensive equality monitoring, it is reasonable to say that most Labour Party BAME members are not members of BAME Labour and/or able to participate

in its internal democracy. As well as the membership fee, a lack of knowledge of BAME Labour may well be a barrier contributing to this low level of participation.

“Proper data should be collected and maintained on ethnicity of Labour Party members (self-identify). Automatic membership of BAME organisation for members with no extra joining fee, allowing for increased participation for ethnic communities who are some of the most marginalised.” - Streatham Ethnic Minorities Forum Submission

Now technological changes are in place to start collecting data on who our BAME members are, consistent and repeated work needs to be undertaken to ensure we capture that data and have a dialogue with BAME members on issues of concern, about training and political education, events and other matters.

The Review recognises the need for BAME representation to continue to include gender parity and both CLP based members and trade union representation. We also need to ensure that any proposals are compliant with Equalities Legislation.

BAME Labour held a series of consultation events throughout the country and made a submission to the Democracy Review based on these consultations. We are grateful to BAME Labour for the events they held and their assistance with the Democracy Review.

The Democracy Review held meetings with the BAME Labour Committee, with BAME and ethnic minority Officers and BAME members during the Review and had regional BAME meetings as well as the national Democracy Review BAME consultation event.

“Every BAME member of the Labour Party needs to be a member of our BAME organisation so it needs to be free. OMOV elections are essential so that every BAME member is able to participate.” - Cllr Majid Mahmood, Birmingham Hodge Hill CLP

There is a consensus that radical reform is needed to our BAME organisation. There are, however, different views as to whether BAME Labour should be a socialist society or a section with strong lobbies for both. There are also different views on the term “BAME” and what a “BAME” structure should be called. Amongst BAME members however there is a consistent view that whatever model they support the BAME structure must have organisational and political autonomy as well as access to adequate resource.

“African, Caribbean and Asian members have been some of the most loyal members of the Labour Party. Labour is where they find their home and it is timely for the Party to recognise that a national structure similar to Labour Women needs created. This will enhance engagement in the course of building a mass movement.” - Amin Mawani, Ealing North CLP

We make the following recommendations:

- That there should be rule book provision for an Annual BAME Conference which should be organised by the Party to which Ethnic Minority Forums, CLPs and all affiliated unions could send representatives to debate and discuss issues of relevance to BAME members. The voting entitlement at this Conference would mirror that at Annual Conference with 50% to CLP based delegates and 50% to affiliates. There would be rule book requirements to ensure there was sufficient notice of this Conference and that documents are available in advance.

- That there should be new elections for a National BAME Committee in 2019 which will comprise a Chair, Vice-Chair, Treasurer, Women's Officer, Disability Officer, LGBT+ Officer, Youth Officer, places elected by OMOV ballot of all BAME members and with one third of places elected by the trade unions. A member of the Scottish and Welsh BAME Committees and each Regional BAME Committee will be entitled to attend the National Committee on an ex-officio basis.
- Where Labour Party Members self-define as BAME this data should be held on the national Labour Party membership system and they should automatically be members of the BAME structure.
- That it should be no charge to be a member of the BAME structure.
- That any member of the BAME structure can vote in internal elections after eight weeks Labour Party membership with a freeze date (qualifying date) for elections being the date the timetable is set or a subsequent date.
- That any BAME Officer at branch, CLP Executive, Regional level or on any other Committee should have full voting rights.
- That support and induction should be available to BAME Officers from the Party and each Region should facilitate a BAME Officers network.
- That any BAME member should be able to self-nominate to stand for one of the CLP based places on a BAME Committee (this could be reviewed as structures develop). Both members and trade unions should be able to make supporting nominations for officer positions.
- That given the BAME structure would get funding and support from the Labour Party members of the BAME structure must be Labour Party members.
- That all trade unions affiliated to the Labour Party will automatically be entitled to representation at BAME Conferences.
- That BAME Conference will be able to send two motions and a constitutional amendment to Annual Conference.
- That the Regional BAME Committees will be delegates to the respective Regional Conference.
- That the National BAME Committee will be delegates to the Annual Conference.
- That there will be a formal link between Ethnic Minority or BAME Forum and Regional BAME Committees and the National BAME Committee.
- There will be mandatory positions of Chair, Vice- Chair, Secretary and Treasurer in Ethnic Minority Forum. The Ethnic Minority Forum can create other posts.
- That there will a BAME Officer on every Regional Executive Committee who will sit on the Regional BAME Committee.
- That Regions will be asked to organise an annual Regional BAME Conference and facilitate formal and informal networks and forum for BAME members.
- That there will be an elected Regional BAME Committee in each Region.
- That there will be trade union representation on each Regional BAME committee.
- There will be a Chair, Vice-Chair, Secretary, Treasurer, Women's Officer, Disability Officer, Youth Officer and LGBT+ Officer on each Regional BAME Committee.

- The Regional BAME Women’s Officer will also sit on the Regional Women’s Committee.
- The Regional BAME Disability Officer will also sit on any Regional Disabled Members Committee.
- The Regional BAME Youth Officer will sit on the Regional Youth Committee.
- The National BAME Women’s Officer will also sit on the National Women’s Committee.
- The National BAME Disability Officer should also sit on the National Disability Committee.
- The National BAME Youth Officer will sit on the National Young Labour Committee.
- That additional political education and training opportunities should be made available to BAME members such as the Bernie Grant Initiative both at regional and national level.
- Evidence should be compiled to provide justification for reserved BAME places on LGC where there is current under-representation. In more ethnically diverse areas there should be a higher percentage of reserved places. Reserved places would be in both the CLP and branch section and the affiliates section. Where places are not filled they should lie vacant.
- Evidence should be compiled to provide justification for reserved BAME seats on CLPs in more ethnically diverse areas where there is under-representation. Where places are not filled they should lie vacant.
- There must be gender parity in any reserved BAME places.

NATIONAL BAME COMMITTEE

It is recommended that the remit of the newly elected National BAME Committee should be:

- To feed into the NEC on issues on issues being raised through the national and regional BAME structures
- To oversee and drive a range of campaigns relevant to BAME communities and engage in work to encourage BAME communities to support Labour
- To encourage BAME members to get involved in all aspects of the Party and to arrange events to encourage them to do so
- To support the work of Regional BAME Conferences, Regional BAME Committees, Ethnic Minority Forum, CLP and branch BAME Officers and other BAME members in the Party ensuring they have a range of campaigning materials and other support available to them
- To develop relationships with the TUC and trade union black workers structures, and other black campaigning organisations and international organisations
- To provide political oversight for the provision of mentoring and support for BAME members and work closely with BAME politicians
- To work with the NEC to provide political oversight for the provision of training and political education for BAME members of the Party

- To work with the NEC to ensure that there is a large pool of BAME members to hold posts and stand as candidates for Labour particularly working-class candidates, women, disabled members, carers, LGBT+ candidates and candidates from under-represented communities
- To work to remove the barriers to the involvement of BAME communities in politics
- To provide political oversight of the arrangements relating to and the agenda of BAME Conference
- This remit should be consulted on and agreed (if necessary in amended form) at the 2019 BAME Conference. The BAME structure should have its own Constitution.

12. REPRESENTATION AND SUPPORT FOR LGBT+ MEMBERS

“The Labour Party needs to be welcoming of LGBT++ members, it also needs to make them visible within our Party, empower them and support them to be active.” - Cllr Anwen Muston, Wolverhampton South East CLP Submission

The Review has looked at the representation and involvement of LGBT+ members in the Labour Party and how we improve on the number of LGBT+ candidates.

We have consulted with the socialist society LGBT Labour and held a national LGBT+ consultation event. The Labour Party does not hold records of who our LGBT+ members are so we were unable to hold a specific consultation with LGBT+ members although all Labour Party members who receive emails from the Party were contacted at least twice about the Review.

Some CLPs have a LGBT Officer, and some do not. Others have equality officers who take responsibility for LGBT+ issues along with other equality issues, some do not. London Region has a LGBT Officer on its Regional Board which is elected at its Regional Conference, most Regions do not.

Labour has been at the forefront of campaigning for LGBT+ rights and against prejudice in the UK. Chris Smith MP was the first “out” MP and we now have a LGBT Parliamentary Labour Party Group. Labour has stood trans candidates but whilst there have been trans councillors, no trans MPs have been elected.

Labour prides itself as being a Party of equality and this Review is looking at what more needs to be done to ensure that Labour represents the LGBT+ community.

The following have come through as issues in the Review:

ORGANISATION AT CLP LEVEL

The Labour Party Rule Book allows for the creation of Women’s and Ethnic Minority forum. No such provision exists for LGBT+ forum. Submissions have been received asking for LGBT+ Forums as a way of bringing LGBT+ communities into the Labour Party, ensuring that there is a safe place to discuss LGBT+ issues, to build links with the LGBT+ community and ensure that LGBT+ voices are heard. We recommend that rule book provision is made for LGBT+ Forums. Elsewhere in the Review we will be making recommendations in relation to other equality forum organising at CLP level as well as town, city, borough, county or other sub-regional level and this approach should be adopted in relation to LGBT+ Forum.

“At grassroots level we believe that LGBT Officers should be executive members of the CLP.” - LGBT Labour Submission

In many branches and CLPs, a LGBT Officer is currently elected to sit on the branch Committee or CLP Executive often without voting rights. Where there is a LGBT Officer or other equality officer who undertakes this role the Rule Book should provide they have full voting rights. The creation of LGBT+ Officers should be encouraged, and where they exist, should have voting rights.

We will be making recommendations elsewhere in the Report about the kind of support and training which should be available to all branch and CLP officers. LGBT+ Officers, like others, require access to information about their role, contacts, resources, guidance, political education and training. The Party should facilitate networks of LGBT+ Officers both on-line and off-line to share information about best practice and successful initiatives.

ORGANISATION AT A REGIONAL LEVEL

“Our regional boards (executives) should be as representative as the party and regions they serve. Officers can help make sure LGBT members get a fair chance of becoming councillors or MP’s. They can also ensure that regional campaigns address the concerns of the LGBT community. This is more important in regions with a less visible LGBT community. We’re not going back in the closet anywhere in Britain. Glitter is optional.” - Lucio Buffone, London Regional Board LGBT Officer

Much of the responsibility for providing support for LGBT+ on the ground will lie at Regional level and it is reasonable for elected LGBT+ Officers to have a named contact and networks at Regional level. We recommend that there be a LGBT+ Officer elected onto each Regional Board (to be Regional Executive Committee) who will have specific responsibility as a political lead for LGBT+ work in the Region. The LGBT+ Officer should be elected at Regional Conference. The responsibility and remit of the Regional LGBT+ Officer should be put to and agreed by the NEC. Each Region should be asked to arrange an annual LGBT+ event to enable LGBT+ members to network and the LGBT+ Officer on the Regional Executive Committee should provide a report to this event. Both formal and informal networks of both LGBT+ members and LGBT+ Officers should be facilitated by each Region.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE AND NATIONAL COMMITTEE

There was discussion at the national LGBT+ consultation event as to whether there should be rule book provision for an annual LGBT+ Conference and an elected Committee. There were different views at the event and in the submissions received. The socialist society LGBT Labour do not support an annual Conference and Committee to oversee Labour’s work on these issues.

We do not recommend an annual national Conference and Committee at this time although we are aware that there will be LGBT+ members who want this particularly given the Review’s recommendations in relation to Women, BAME and Disabled Members. The Review did not however receive submissions supporting this proposal in numbers and there were different views at the LGBT+ consultation event where no consensus was reached.

LGBT LABOUR – THE SOCIALIST SOCIETY

LGBT Labour, and their predecessor organisations the Gay Labour Caucus and the Labour Campaign for Gay Rights, has been in existence since 1975. They say they were the first party political LGBT+ group in the UK and believe only the second in the world. In 2002 they affiliated to the Labour Party as a socialist society. Like many socialist societies, their membership has grown considerably over the last two years and they say they now have a membership of just over 2,500 although affiliate a lower number to the Party. They see themselves as an autonomous arms-length volunteer organisation. They have undertaken

campaigning work over many decades on LGBT+ issues such as Clause 28, the age of consent, Equal Marriage, the provision of PrEP in the NHS, the reversal of the ban on “poppers” and a range of international LGBT+ issues. They also undertake considerable fundraising directing money and resources to LGBT+ candidates.

LGBT Labour attend more than 30 Pride events in the UK each year as well as European Pride events and World Pride. They say that this is the largest part of their engagement with the wider community. They sign up new members, sell their “Never Kissed A Tory” merchandise and often gather names on petitions. They attend and arrange other demonstrations and events on LGBT issues and have hosted Trans “drop-ins” for Labour MPs to meet trans-activists who could relay their stories and priorities. They work with the LGBT PLP Group which was formed after the 2017 General Election. It costs £15 per year to join LGBT Labour with an unwaged/concessions rate of £8.

LGBT Labour have undertaken important work over many decades. Most LGBT+ members within the Labour Party will of course not be members of LGBT Labour. LGBT Labour will be the first to appreciate that. We have received submissions arguing that the fee to join LGBT Labour is prohibitive and that a LGBT section should be created.

LGBT SURVEY

LGBT Labour carried out a survey of their members to feed into the Democracy Review. They shared the following responses:

When asked if they would be comfortable with the Labour Party centrally holding data on their LGBT+ identity, 54.2% said no and 41.9% said yes, with 3.9% saying don’t know.

When asked if they would be comfortable with the Labour Party sharing the data on their LGBT+ identity with local Labour Parties, 67.2% said no and 25.7% said yes, with 7.1% saying don’t know.

When asked if they would like to see LGBT Labour remain autonomous or become a section of the party, 72.3% favoured autonomy and 27.7% favoured us becoming a formal section.

When asked how important it was for their CLP to elect an LGBT+ Officer, 73% said very important.

When asked if there should be a formal link between LGBT Labour and CLP LGBT+ Officers, 79.4% said yes and 7.7% said no, with the rest saying don’t know.

In their submission LGBT Labour say that they should remain an autonomous organisation as affiliate to the Labour Party.

They also ask that the Labour Party commit to providing financial and administrative support to grow the work of LGBT Labour. We are looking at socialist societies more generally elsewhere in the report. We need to look at how LGBT Labour relates to the new CLP based LGBT+ Forum, LGBT+ Officer on the new Regional Executive Committees and other work being done on LGBT+ within the Party. We recognise that different equality groups are starting in different places. The membership fees to join LGBT Labour will of course be a barrier to many of our members joining LGBT Labour and getting involved.

DEVELOPING CANDIDATES

The Labour Party currently runs the highly successful Jo Cox Leadership course designed for women considering standing as candidates and is currently developing the Bernie Grant Initiative for BAME candidates. We have received submissions asking for a similar course for LGBT+ candidates and it is recommended that Labour develop a leadership course designed to encourage and support the LGBT+ community within Labour to put themselves forward as leaders.

13. DISABLED MEMBERS

“A core principle of disabled people’s organising is “nothing about us without us” and as the party of equality Labour must lead the way on this. The recommendations set out here mark an important step forward: From a disabled members conference to disabled people represented on regional boards, a disabled members committee to better support for disabled candidates. It is by empowering disabled members that Labour will break down the barriers that prevent disabled people from participating equally.” - Marsha de Cordova MP, Shadow Minister for Disabled People

Issues relating to disabled members have been raised at practically every Democracy Review meeting. The submissions we have received show our members and affiliates believe Labour should be inclusive, promote equality and set ourselves high standards.

The Review has looked at what we need to do to remove the barriers which exist for disabled people getting involved in our Party, how we ensure that events including local meetings, fundraisers and more informal gatherings are accessible and that documents are available in all formats.

The Review has had meetings focusing on disability in different parts of the country and a national consultation event where all CLPs and affiliates were asked to send representatives to consider specific proposals. We recognise the difficulties that disabled people face in getting involved in politics and have engaged with disability activists within the Party to try to learn from their experiences.

We have worked with Disability Labour, the socialist society affiliated to the Party, and other disabled members organisations which campaign within Labour who engaged with the Review. These campaigns include Disability Equality Act Labour (DEAL) who have undertaken considerable work to provide guidance for disabled members and CLPs and a campaigning document “It’s Our Party – Let Us In”, and Project 125 who campaign for better representation (125 MPs). All these organisations have made a substantial contribution to the Review. We thank them for their input.

DEAL’s handbook outlines the duty to make reasonable adjustments and the legal obligations required by equalities legislation. They are campaigning for this to become an official Labour publication and to be circulated to all Party units. We very much welcome the considerable work that has been undertaken and have looked at this document. We recommend that the Party work with the disabled members who have been involved with the production of this handbook so that the Party can issue its own guidance to be distributed widely to party units, disabled members and others to give advice on what needs to be done to comply with equalities legislation. This guidance should include contacts and details of how disabled members can obtain support to get involved in the Party.

We recognise that discrimination against disabled people exists in society. The Labour Party should be a welcoming place for disabled people. We need to find ways to enable more disabled members to get involved in the Party, to stand as candidates and encourage more disabled people to join us.

The Review wants disabled people to have a strong voice within the Labour Party and has listened to what they were saying. Many disabled members are already actively involved in our Party, in campaigning and attending local events. There has been a massive increase in the number of disabled members participating in the Party, but barriers remain.

We need to look at what disabled members can offer in every CLP. For many on-line methods are the only way to participate yet they are rarely available.

Labour is already a mass Party with well over half a million members. In many constituencies Labour has thousands of members. There are over 11 million disabled people in the UK, almost one in five of the population. We do not know how many disabled Labour Party members there are. It is believed that the data the Party currently holds is an underestimate of the numbers of disabled members in the Party.

Labour is transforming to be a campaigning mass Party. Many disabled people, their families and carers are already heavily involved in local communities and have already joined. Labour is their natural home. We need to ensure we open ourselves up so more can get involved.

“In Oxford we established a Disability Network supported by a grant from the NEC Democracy and Diversity Fund. This led to three disabled candidates being selected for the 2018 Oxford City elections. One was elected and has contributed enormously to our access audit of Oxford City Council with his experience as the first blind councillor. The Disability Network has also run a high profile and successful campaign to stop the Conservative Council cuts to post-16 home to school transport for young people with special educational needs and disabilities.” - Councillor Marie Tidball, Oxford City Council

We need to look at initiatives such as the one in Oxford to see what can be done elsewhere.

SOCIAL MODEL OF DISABILITY

Disabled members have told the Review that they expect the Labour Party to adopt the social model of disability. The 2017 manifesto with and for disabled people *Nothing About You, Without You* said –

“Labour supports a social model of disability. People may have a condition or impairment but are disabled by society. We need to remove the barriers in society that restrict opportunities and choices for disabled people.”

The social model of disability emphasises the need to remove the barriers which prevent disabled people from realising their potential whether that be from economic constraints or prejudicial attitudes, inaccessible transport or exclusionary education.

The Review recommends that the Labour Party adopts the social model in relation to how we organise as a Party.

The Review have focused on what we need to do to listen to disabled members; what we need to do to ensure disabled members are able to participate by removing the barriers which make it more difficult to get involved in our Party and what we need to do to ensure we deliver on our legal obligations under the equalities legislation.

There is considerable work which demonstrates that disabled people are under-represented in public life and politics generally. The evidence we have heard persuades us that there is under-representation of disabled people in our structures and that there is a strong case for an autonomous organisation within the Labour Party which elects its own officers.

At the national consultation event with disabled members proposals were considered which had been drafted based on the submissions and representations received. All CLPs and affiliates were asked to send representatives to this event. The following recommendations were discussed and agreed at this consultation event -

A DISABLED MEMBERS CONFERENCE

The Review recommends that there should be Rule Book provision for an annual delegate based Disabled Members Conference with representation from both CLPs and affiliates. The Conference would feed into the policy making process. Voting entitlement should mirror that of Annual Conference with 50% being allocated to CLP based delegates and 50% to affiliates.

Whilst it would be a delegate-based conference and it is important that as many of those who attend are delegates to get that experience, the choice of venue should enable as many as possible to attend. Many disabled members have said that CLPs should be allowed to send more than one delegate given many disabled people may need rest and so may not be able to attend every session. There also needs to be recognition of the costs of attending this event both for disabled members and for carers/assistants.

The NEC should issue procedures for the Conference which should form part of the Rule Book as an appendix, so they are widely available to the membership. As with other Labour documents this should be available in different formats.

It is accepted throughout the Review that changes can be incremental, so it is envisaged that the role and format of this Conference would develop.

More information needs to be given to disabled members in advance to enable them to plan. There should be nine months period of notice of the Conference to all CLPs and affiliates.

The Disabled Members Conference should be able to submit two motions or a motion and a constitutional amendment to Annual Conference in the same way as Annual Women's Conference, BAME Conference and Young Labour Conference.

The Conference would have its own Conference Arrangements Committee.

REASONABLE ADJUSTMENTS

"All UNISON Conferences allow disabled members to request the reasonable adjustments they require using an online system which focuses on the barriers members face and the social model of disability. This system means that disabled members can fully participate in our conferences, whether they need speech to text, sign language interpretation, a personal assistant or additional space for an assistance dog. We believe that introducing a similar system for Labour members would increase participation from disabled members in local, regional and national meetings and conferences." - UNISON Submission

During the Review disabled members have spoken to us about the most cost-effective ways to ensure that we can increase participation and have offered their expertise. The Party already asks about reasonable adjustments for certain events. We need to look in more detail at the systems other organisations such as trade unions adopt and how our disabled members can share their knowledge to assist the Party. Disabled members at events have recommended that we adopt a similar scheme to that used by UNISON.

DISABLED MEMBERS COMMITTEE

A National Disabled Members committee should be elected which would have the following remit:

- To give oversight to the arrangements and agenda for the Disabled Members Conference
- To work with the CAC, WCAC and other similar bodies to ensure that the requirements relating to the Equality Act are delivered for disabled members and other disabled people
- To work with others to provide support and training for CLP and branch Disability Officers and CLPs working on disability issues
- To work to develop Regional disability structures and networks within the Labour Party
- To feed into the NEC and the NEC Equality Committee on issues of concern to disabled members
- To work with Labour spokespeople on disability issues
- To encourage disabled members to get involved in the Party and oversee work on initiatives and events to enable that to happen
- To oversee work to ensure that specialist advice is available to the Labour Party nationally, the regions and CLPs on disability access issues
- To oversee political education, training and other events for disabled members
- To oversee work to provide better support for disabled members to get involved in Party activity
- To work with others to ensure that there is a good understanding of disadvantage based on class, of socio-economic disadvantage, and of intersectionality including discrimination based on gender, sexuality, identity and ethnicity
- To oversee work to ensure that there is a pool of disabled members available to hold posts and stand as candidates
- To input into disability awareness and equality training within the Party both for staff and members and to work with the NEC on the provision of disability equality training

A BAME Officer, Young Members Disability Officer, Student Disability Officer, Women's Officer and LGBT+ Officer should sit on the Committee.

There will be places for both CLP based members and affiliates. CLP based members will be entitled to expenses.

The Committee could either be elected at the National Disabled Members Conference or by OMOV ballot of those who had self-defined as disabled.

It may be, as structures develop, that there could be Regional representation on the Committee. Both the Scottish Labour Party and Welsh Labour Party should be asked to send a representative to this Committee.

All positions should be available for job share and a strict protocol should be developed to enable that to happen.

Disability Labour had the opportunity to have a meeting with those who have attended each of the Review's Disability events. They say that they recommend the creation of a Disabled Members Section, that qualification for the National Disabled Members Section should be based on self-identification and that there should be consultation on the proposed system of self-identification. It has also been suggested there should be consultation on the name of the Disabled Members Section.

Most of the submissions/representations we have received from disabled members ask that the Committee be elected by OMOV of disabled members. We believe that a legal case can be made to justify this however the Party will require to present the evidence base to provide justification under the Equality Act. If lawful, we recommend OMOV election for national positions. We also recommend that the Women's Officer of the Disabled Members Committee should sit on the National Women's Committee, the BAME Officer of the Disabled Members Committee should sit on the BAME Labour Committee and the Disabled Members Youth Officer sit on the Young Labour Committee. There should be a LGBT+ Officer. One third of the places on the Committee should be trade union places.

Disability Labour may wish to remain as an independent socialist society. Should it do so, as an affiliate with a membership of disabled people, Disability Labour should be given the space and support to have an event at each Disabled Members Conference. The existence of Disability Labour as an independent socialist society affiliated to the Labour Party should also be more widely advertised by the national Party to members who might be interested in joining in line with proposals elsewhere in the report.

BUILDING NETWORKS IN THE REGIONS AND IN CLPs

We recommend that every Region should be asked to facilitate disabled members networks/forum and networks for Disability Officers. Some disabled members find it easier to get involved on-line so social media platforms can work well.

Some Disabled Members Forums already exist at local level. Unlike existing Women's and Ethnic Minority Forums, there is currently no rule book provision for Disabled Members Forums. Disabled Members Forum should be recognised in the Rule Book with the same rights as Women's Forum and Ethnic Minority Forum. Guidance should be drafted to allow delegates to CLPs where Disabled Members Forums are established on geographical boundaries different from the CLP.

There should be disability representation on Local Government Committees.

A DISABILITY OFFICER ON EVERY REGIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

London Region has a Disability Officer on its Regional Board to ensure that there is disabled members representation and that the perspective of disabled members is always considered. The Review recommends the new Regional Executive Committees have a Disability Officer. This role should be able to be carried out as a job share subject to a strict protocol.

EXPERT ADVICE WITHIN THE PARTY

It is vital that the Labour Party comply with the Equality Act when we organise events. This comes into focus at Annual Conference where many disabled people wish to participate fully in both the main Conference and fringes. The Party nationally needs access to the best possible advice to ensure that events are as accessible as possible. Many CLPs, branches and other Party units also want advice about how to comply with legislation and how to ensure that they can organise in a way which is accessible to disabled people. The Party needs a central resource to provide both staff and members organising meetings and events with advice. This can be done in a range of ways. Expertise can be brought into the Party by employing an in-house expert, a panel of experts could be appointed or there could be an external stakeholder panel in each region.

“Too often discussions about disabled people’s involvement in Labour, especially at a local level stop at asking “can a wheelchair user get in the door?” As a party we need to move beyond this to really ensure disabled people can be fully engaged at all levels of the party. From ensuring CLP’s use physically accessible venues and role holders are understanding about the wide range of access issues which exist, to using and recognising a diverse range of campaigning methods, to encouraging disabled people’s representation.” - Rebecca Boot, Aldridge-Brownhills CLP

Given that so few venues have good disabled access, there are specific problems with access at events. There are many different types of both visible and non-visible disability so detailed guidance needs to be drafted about what needs to be considered when organising an event to ensure disabled people can attend. This guidance needs to be provided to all Regions and Nations, CLPs, Disability Officers, available to members on the Party website and circulated widely in the Party. Many CLPs already try to ensure there is step-free access, a microphone and an induction loop. It may be less clear what they need to do in relation to mental health issues and other types of disability.

It has been suggested that Labour should adopt an “Inclusion Charter” that sets out the values and behaviours to assist CLPs in making local Parties welcoming. It is recommended that this work should commence and could be included with the guidance on disabled access.

SUPPORT FOR DISABILITY OFFICERS

Many people who take on this role have not done it before and need to learn the role. There are many ways to be a successful Disability Officer but as in other roles at branch and CLP level guidance needs to be compiled to give better support. Training and political education is required particularly when people are newly elected post holders. Resources

should be made available with such guidance and other helpful information including contacts and details of networks shortly after someone takes on this role.

Disabled members have argued at the events we have held that the Disability Officer role should be normally be a stand-alone post. Some CLPs have Equality Officers which deal with a wide range of equality issues. However disabled members have argued that it is very difficult for an Equality Officer to do justice to all aspects of equality and the demands of the role mean a stand-alone Disability Officer works better. There is no one size fits all approach. However, in areas where the Party is large and strong, we recommend a stand-alone Disability Officer to enable the Party to proactively engage on the wide range of disability issues, organise a Disability Forum and encourage disabled people to get involved with the Party. There should be provision in the default standing orders for a Disability Officer and where the CLP can't fill the place it should lie vacant. Where there is a Disability Officer they should have full voting rights on CLP Executives and branch committees. There may of course be circumstances where the Regional Executive Committee or NEC take the view this is not a reasonable provision in a CLP and so the default rules can be amended.

FUNDING

We have received numerous requests that disabled members have ways of obtaining additional support such as help with the costs of assistants and for the costs of attending events.

It is recognised that disabled members face additional costs to enable them to be involved in politics. Many of the steps required to make reasonable adjustments also carry additional costs. Disabled people themselves often have less money and the Party needs to give serious consideration as to how funding can be provided to ensure we both meet our legal requirements and provide the support we would wish to put in place. The main fund which potentially might be able to be used is the Diversity and Participation fund. However disabled members and CLPs say that awareness of this fund is poor, and it is rarely utilised for the benefit of disabled members.

The costs involved in addressing every access need are huge. Labour needs to allocate extra resources and deliver on our vision. However, Government needs to do more to ensure that more is done to enable disabled people to engage politically.

Following Judicial Review by three former disabled Parliamentary candidates including Labour's Emily Brothers, the Government was forced to publish its evaluation of the suspended Access to Elected Office Fund and allocated £250,000 to disabled local government candidates in 2019 as an interim measure. Labour must continue to campaign for the Government to do more to enable disabled people to be involved in politics.

To support disabled Parliamentary candidates, once selected, the Party has introduced a Bursary Scheme. The Labour Party Bursary scheme is intended to help members with the additional costs associated with standing as a parliamentary candidate. For example: technology (phone, laptop etc.); travel costs; accommodation; clothing (suits etc.); phone calls; time off work; costs of childcare or other caring responsibilities as well as costs related to a disability. The success of this scheme needs to be kept under review and Labour needs

to ensure that funding is made available to improve accessibility. The Party is also being asked for help with support for those going through selection and in other involvement in the Party and consideration also needs to be given to what further support can be given.

NEC, NCC, AND CAC

Based on the information before us, the Review is concerned that disabled people are not being represented adequately in our Party. As we have no accurate comprehensive data on who is disabled in the Party this is based on our knowledge of national data such as the census and what has been able to be provided to us by the Party. We need the perspective of disabled members in the rooms where decisions are taken to ensure that experience and those voices are heard. As indicated elsewhere we recommend rule changes are brought forward to ensure there is a Disabled representative on the NEC. Evidence and justification needs to be compiled to enable this to be done, and now the membership system changes have been made to gather data, systematic steps need to be taken to gather this data.

“We need disabled members at the table when we make decisions about big events such as our conferences.” - Jean Crocker, Gateshead CLP

Given the importance of disability access at Conference and the amount of time which the CAC spends considering these issues we have considered whether a disabled representative should be elected to the CAC as this has been proposed in many of the submissions. In recent years the CAC (and now the WCAC) have appointed their own Disability Champion to work with disabled members. We recommend there should be a disabled representative on CAC and the case for this is made under the Equality Act.

There needs to be an equality audit of the composition of the National Constitutional Committee(NCC). Anecdotally, we are told that a disproportionate number of cases involve disabled members. The NCC is not clearly within the terms of reference of this Review although we are making a recommendation relating to it elsewhere in this report. We would recommend that work is done to examine whether disabled members are disproportionately being referred to the NCC and whether reform is required.

DISABLED CANDIDATES

Evidence shows that disabled people are under-represented in politics. We need to increase the number of disabled candidates that Labour stands and ensure that there is more support.

The current high expectations on candidates to take part in certain types of campaigning can place impossible demands on disabled candidates and indeed other candidates. Disabled candidates and others may be exceptional candidates even though they can't take part in for example door to door campaigning. As indicated elsewhere the candidate contract and the requirements on candidates needs to be clarified to ensure we can select more disabled candidates and other candidates from under-represented groups. There are a range of ways which potential candidates can demonstrate their suitability to stand as a Labour candidate and this should be reflected in the requirements to stand as a candidate.

A training programme for potential disabled candidates should be developed.

Labour needs to develop many strategies to ensure that we are an inclusive party. The Democracy Review is very aware we cannot develop a comprehensive action plan to address all access and inclusion issues but believe that the steps outlined in this section, and elsewhere, will lead to further work to ensure that we deliver the vision of an inclusive mass Party.

14. TRANSFORMING YOUNG LABOUR

“We must encourage and develop the young so that they can both understand and change the world.” - National Young Labour Committee Submission

Labour’s youth wing is more than 100,000 strong and is already the biggest political youth organisation in Europe. Many of those young people are already heavily involved in our structures. There is massive potential to get many more involved. Only Labour can deliver a politics which creates and shares wealth in every part of this country, where historic prejudices can be challenged, and which can create a very different world where we eradicate poverty and working-class communities are empowered.

We want a vibrant Young Labour organisation which reaches into every community and which gives our young members the tools to create a movement which offers a vision of very different way of organising the world; a movement to reach into working class communities and create an unstoppable force for change.

Building that youth wing must be our Party’s priority. We call on young people to join us in our journey for transformative change.

Young Labour was created in 1993. Both last year and this year’s National Young Labour Committee have made submissions to the Democracy Review and met with the Review. They have the vision and the enthusiasm to carry out the work needed to transform our youth wing. To do so, however, they need empowered. They are asking for more financial control and political autonomy, and the resources to train up young people to get involved in community organising and create *“hubs of on-going discussion, education and culture”* in local communities. They want to set up an on-line digital democracy platform. They wish for their own Constitution and Standing Orders. They argue for *“political education, political education, political education”* and want to run national and regional political education and training up and down the country.

It is recommended that Young Labour agree their Constitution at the next National Young Labour Conference and it is then incorporated into the Rule Book. Standing Orders also need to be agreed by the National Young Labour Committee to be presented and endorsed at this Conference. Young Labour are asking that the next National Young Labour Conference be held in February 2019 and we support that suggestion. They also propose that once the Constitution is agreed that a two-thirds majority would be required to amend it and we recommend this.

We need to develop a nationwide network of Young Labour groups organised at CLP level. Only by doing that can we reach into every community. We need to give those Young Labour groups the tools to organise, to speak with local young people and bring them into Labour, with a range of campaign toolkits, campaigning initiatives and political education opportunities.

Organising at CLP level never precludes Young Labour members working in larger branches i.e. town or city wide or at regional and national level. But, we will maximise the recruitment

of young people, organising in working class communities, arranging activities and political education at a more local level, with more local organisation. This approach would further help focus Young Labour groups on the CLP as a unit of Labour Party organisation and help build relationships rather than the multi-CLP structure which is currently promoted.

The National Young Labour Committee wish delegations to National Youth Conference elected 50% by regional OMOV ballot and 50% affiliates with no direct representation from Young Labour Groups. We have discussed with them some representation from Young Labour groups to support the development of groups. They are opposed to this although some unions, and others, are arguing for this and made submissions to this effect.

However, as outlined below, we propose that where there are Young Labour Groups, they should be entitled to send delegates to CLPs and to National Youth Conference. A protocol should be drafted to enable Young Labour Groups who do not organise on CLP boundaries to send delegates. This protocol should be incorporated in the Rule Book. All delegates to Young Labour Conferences must be elected by young members only and all young members in the CLP should be entitled to a vote in their election.

There has been an explosion in the number of young members of the Party. All members aged between 14 and 26 years old are automatically members of Young Labour. Some young people will want to get involved in a youth section, some won't. Many young people do find youth organisations the easiest way to get involved. Local Groups must be provided with a range of materials and support to use locally. They must be encouraged to campaign publicly and recruit into the Party. The National Young Labour Committee should be asked to prioritise national campaigns which can be used locally and developed into materials which can easily be used in working class communities. We need to have materials which deal with the concerns of school students, FE students, young workers, unemployed young people, benefit claimants and other groups.

“Young Labour has to become more democratic, active, well-resourced and embedded in every region and constituency. This is how we will politicise and educate an entire generation of activists, members and voters.” - Artin Giles, Chair London Young Labour

The inability to communicate with Young Labour members has been a major barrier to the development of Young Labour groups and needs addressed. Therefore, Youth Officers and Young Labour Groups must be given the ability to communicate with all young members in a CLP. Young Labour groups must exist through a process where all Young Labour members are able to participate and engage. To have democratic legitimacy the officers of Young Labour groups must be elected by all young members having the opportunity to participate and should not be allowed to organise without that. The registration and verification process should be carried out by the National Young Labour Committee.

The National Young Labour Committee, Regional Young Labour Committees and Young Labour groups must be allowed to communicate with Young Labour members at least five times a year. Members should be able to opt-out of getting Young Labour information without opting-out of getting all Labour emails and vice versa.

The Review recommends that resources are committed to establish Young Labour groups and that a fund is established for the next two years which is available to support the establishment of local groups. Details of how to apply to the fund should be circulated to all CLPs, registered Young Labour groups, Regional Young Labour Committees, the Scottish Young Labour Committee, the Welsh Young Labour Committee and all Youth Officers. A review of the operation of the fund should be undertaken and reported to both the National Young Labour Committee and NEC after two years.

As well as organising their own programme of activities Young Labour groups should be encouraged to get involved with their local CLPs by sending delegates where there is a GC structure and in other ways. Young Labour groups could be a key avenue for young people to get involved in the Labour Party and learn about the Labour movement. They should have a specific focus on supporting and developing very young members. There is currently organisation for under-19s and for example an under-19s Officer on the Young Labour Committee. Safeguarding requirements relate to under-18s and specific support should be targeted at that group. We have large numbers of members under 18 years and their issues and concerns may be different from older members. We recommend we should have under-18s places rather than under-19s to be consistent with safeguarding requirements.

A range of campaigning materials should be available for Young Labour groups and CLPs.

Resources should be provided to all CLPs and Youth Officers with ideas and suggestions on how to set up a group, contacts, advice on safeguarding and an annual programme of Young Labour events.

Youth Officers on CLP Executives should be elected by young members only and should have voting rights on the Executive. Part of their remit should be as a link person to the Young Labour group.

Where there is a properly constituted Young Labour group this should elect the Youth Officer.

There will be OMOV elections to elect Scottish, Welsh and Regional delegations to national Youth Conference. In addition, it is recommended that all properly constituted Young Labour groups which are affiliated to their local CLP will be entitled to send at least one delegate to National Youth Conferences. There must be women's representation in delegations and there will be provision to send extra under 18's, BAME, LGBT+ and disabled members to be delegates. There must be equality monitoring at all Conferences. The venue must have high standards of disability access and all sessions should be accessible for disabled delegates, visitors and others in attendance. A pooled fare will operate and there will be provision for childcare.

The National Young Labour Committee have asked that every Young Labour member will be entitled to attend the Regional Young Labour Conference and we recommend this.

Once a national network of Young Labour groups is established then these Scottish, Welsh and Regional OMOV elected delegates may no longer be required and delegates could come from Young Labour groups. Until then the National Young Labour Committee will determine

the proportions in each region of delegates elected by OMOV and from Young Labour groups based on membership.

It is recommended that there should be a NEC fund for Young Labour groups in poorer CLPs to send delegates who cannot afford Conference and that this fund should be administered by a Committee with representatives of the National Young Labour Committee. At Conference, there should be a focus on developing Young Labour groups. The expectation is that CLPs should fund a delegate to Young Labour Conference whenever they can.

Only Young Labour groups, Young Labour Regional Conferences and Committees (and the Scottish Young Labour Conference/ Committee and Welsh Young Labour Conference/Committee) and affiliates should be allowed to send motions and a potential constitutional amendment to Young Labour Conference.

The Young Labour Conference will be entitled to send two motions and one proposed constitutional amendment to Annual Women's Conference where timetables allow that to happen. The prioritisation process will be at Young Labour Conference.

The Young Labour Conference will be entitled to send two motions and one constitutional amendment to Annual Conference.

Each Region will be required to organise a Young Labour Conference each year and these Conferences should normally take place between October and December to enable them to feed into Young Labour Conference. As much as possible Young Labour Conference should mirror the workings of Annual Conference to provide training as to how Conferences work but there should be a far greater emphasis on political education and training.

Motions should be circulated at least two weeks in advance of the Conference to enable delegates to discuss them with their Young Labour group or affiliate. It should be possible for amendments to be submitted up to 72 hours before the Conference. Conference must be inclusive with individuals given support.

The Regional Young Labour Committees will be elected annually by OMOV. They will be delegates to National Young Labour Conference. One third of the places will be for trade unions. The voting entitlement of the Youth Conference will comprise 50% Young Labour delegates and 50% affiliates to mirror Annual Conference. There will be gender balance at Young Labour Conference and specific additional representation of young disabled members and young BAME members given there is clear under-representation. There will be specific LGBT+ representation. This additional representation could be elected by OMOV when the Regional Youth Committee is elected.

There should be a Youth and Student Unit at head office which will provide secretarial and administrative support to the Young Labour Committee, strategic support to Young Labour groups and Labour Clubs, produce campaigning and recruitment materials, ensure that there is a range of training and political education available to all Young Labour members and provide a secretariat service to the Young Labour national committee as well as liaise with Labour Students.

We need a specific strategy for under-18s and a culture that the role of Young Labour is to help develop and support the youngest members of our Party as well as being a Youth voice. We have thousands of members between 14 years and 18 years in the Party and they will understandably and disproportionately need support. Given safeguarding provisions the Review recommends should treat under-18s as a specific group. The Democracy Review welcomes the Party's responsibility to plan and deliver events with effective safeguarding provision in accordance with the Labour Party Safeguarding and Member Welfare Policy. We recommend a specific political education and training course each year for under-18's with an effective event safeguarding plan. National Youth Conference will be delivered with safeguarding provision which recognises the specific needs of attendees aged 14 to 18 and the Party's responsibility to protect them and promote their welfare through the delivery of safeguarding measures which effectively mitigate risk. As in previous years the National Young Labour Committee should be consulted on the safeguarding plan for the event.

The National Young Labour committee should give political oversight of this under-18s course.

There should be a specific point of contact in each Regional Office for both Young Labour and Labour Students in that Region. Their role will be to provide support for regional campaigning and recruitment activities and to make the work of the Labour Party accessible to Young Labour members and students. They will not provide the secretariat service to the Regional Young Labour Committee but will ensure that the Committee has access to Party premises for meetings and carry out administrative requests and provide reasonable support if requested by the Regional Young Labour committee.

It is recommended that any Young Labour ballots should take place at the same time as other elections wherever possible.

Regions will be asked to give Regional Young Labour Committees political support. The Committees should be asked to drive the development of Young Labour in their Region.

There must be at least 50% women in both the members and affiliates section of the Committee. There must also be a Women's Officer, BAME Officer, Disabled Members Officer and LGBT+ Officer and Under 18s representation. There must be one third trade union representation. The elected Chair and Secretary should be elected by all Young Labour members. One of the Committee will sit on the Regional Executive Committee and the Chair will be a full member of the National Young Labour Committee. There will be rules to ensure these positions are held by women at least half the time. To stand for the Regional Committee it will be necessary to get a nomination from one Young Labour group where they exist (in reasonable numbers) which does not need to be their own CLP group. A representative of any Young Labour group in that Region can attend the Young Labour Regional Committee meeting but will not have voting rights.

The Minutes of Regional Young Labour meetings must be available to all Young Labour members in that Region.

There will be default Standing Orders for Regional Young Labour Conferences and the Regional Young Labour Committee.

The Regional Young Labour Committee should be delegates to the Regional Conference and the relationship between the Regional Young Labour Committee and Conference should be clearly defined.

The Regional Young Labour must have a clear remit. The following is recommended:

- To provide representation within Labour for young members
- To encourage the involvement of young members at all levels of the Party
- To provide support for existing Young Labour groups and encourage the creation of further groups
- To coordinate political education and training for Young Labour members
- To oversee and set the agenda for the Regional Young Labour conference
- To coordinate and encourage campaigning by Young Labour members
- To drive campaigns aimed at young voters, young workers and school students
- To drive recruitment of young people from working class communities, disadvantaged and under-represented groups
- To input into policy at a regional level
- To build links with regional young workers trade union committees, regional TUC, youth organisations and campaigns; to oversee a regional programme of training for Youth Officers
- To ensure that there is a high level of understanding of equalities by young members
- To promote trade union membership amongst Young Labour members and young people more generally

The Review recommends that the Young Labour committee will have a National Chair, International Officer, Vice-Chair (policy), Vice-Chair (campaigns), Vice-Chair (Political Education), Secretary/Organiser and Treasurer elected by OMOV ballot of all YL members every two years. The Chair of Scottish Young Labour, the Chair of Welsh Young Labour and the Chair of each Regional Young Labour Committee will sit on the Committee along with representatives of affiliates. There will no longer be Rule Book provision for a permanent secretary, but the National Youth and Student Officer will service the Committee with an expanded team at head office. All CLP based members of the Committee will get expenses to attend national Young Labour events.

There will be Women's Officer elected on the Young Labour committee who will also be a member of the National Women's Committee. The Women's Officer will drive a programme to develop our young women members.

There will be a BAME officer elected onto the Young Labour Committee who will also be a member of the BAME Committee and will drive a programme of work to develop our young BAME members.

There will be a Disabled Members Officer of the Young Labour Committee who will also be a member of the National Disabled Members Committee.

The Women's officer, BAME Officer, Disabled Members Officer and LGBT+ Officer will be elected at National Young Labour Conference.

One third of seats on the National Young Labour committee should be reserved for trade unions.

The Co-operative Party and Young Fabians will each be entitled to one member of the National Young Labour Committee and Labour Students will be entitled to three members on the National Young Labour Committee.

The NEC Youth Representative's relationship with the Young Labour Committee needs to be more clearly defined. The NEC Youth Representative is currently elected by an electoral college between affiliates and OMOV of Young Labour members. Between elections, they should be accountable to the Annual Youth Conference and the National Committee.

The National Young Labour Committee will have the following remit:

- To provide representation within Labour for young members
- To encourage the involvement of young members at all levels of the Party
- To provide support for existing Young Labour groups and encourage the creation of further groups
- To coordinate political education and training for Young Labour members
- To oversee and set the agenda for the National Young Labour conference
- To coordinate and encourage campaigning by Young Labour members
- To drive campaigns aimed at young voters, young workers and school students
- To drive recruitment of young people from working class communities, disadvantaged and under-represented groups
- To input into policy at a national level
- To build links with national young workers trade union committees, the TUC youth structures, youth organisations and campaigns; to oversee a national programme of training for Youth Officers
- To ensure that there is a high level of understanding of equalities by young members
- To promote trade union membership amongst Young Labour members and young people more generally

The minutes of National Young Labour meetings will be available to all Young Labour members on the Labour Party website.

The date and agenda of Young Labour Conference will be decided by the elected Young Labour Committee but should normally be in January or February to allow Regional Youth Conferences to send motions. The National Young Labour Committee should elect the first Conference Arrangements Committee of three members out of their number who will arrange business for this first Conference to ensure that policy motions or composites are debated, and that there is political education and training. Thereafter, the Young Labour CAC should be elected at National Young Labour Conference.

The National Young Labour Committee needs a clear remit to drive youth campaigns and maximise support for Labour amongst young people and that remit should be discussed with the Young Labour Committee. The Committee should put a report on campaigns to the next Young Labour Conference and a debate should take place on priority campaigns and the materials which local groups require. A report and work plan should be submitted to the NEC by the Young Labour Committee.

The National Young Labour Committee should automatically be delegates and CLP based members have expenses paid for them to attend Young Labour Committee meetings and National Young Labour Conference. The relationship between the Conference and the Committee should be more clearly defined. The Committee is accountable to National Young Labour Conference between elections.

The National Young Labour Committee should form the Young Labour delegation to Annual Conference and CLP based delegates should receive expenses to attend.

The Royall Report recommended that we “give consideration” to the age bracket for Young Labour and that the maximum age for Young Labour should be reduced. This review has considered this issue. There have of course been numerous changes to the age limits of Labour’s various youth sections over the decades since the Labour League of Youth. We are determined to build a mass movement and to increase the number of local Young Labour groups undertaking work in communities. We therefore cannot recommend that we should change the current age range of Young Labour.

Under-19s currently have reduced membership fees of £3 per year. We will look at membership fees elsewhere in this Report. Young Labour groups should encourage under-18s getting involved in the Labour Party. We expect Young Labour groups to provide a programme of activities to encourage their involvement and mentoring/safeguarding.

The NEC Youth Representative currently must be under 23 years but is elected by all Young Labour members under 27 years. For consistency we recommend that the NEC representative can stand until they are 25 years so that they are able to represent the whole of Young Labour until they reach their 27th birthday. Given it is a two-year term the candidate must be able to serve a full two-year term without a by-election.

15. LABOUR STUDENTS

“Labour Students aims to inspire students across the country to deliver Labour values on campuses and Labour gains on the doorstep.” - Labour Students

Labour wants a mass vibrant student wing reaching into Further and Higher Education colleges and Universities, representing the diversity of students up and down the country, organising in campuses and in working class communities, campaigning for our vision of a very different world, for the many not the few. We want students to help us build a mass movement, a social movement to transform society.

Labour Students are Labour’s student wing and active on campuses, in universities and colleges up and down the country. They are an affiliate of the Labour Party with their own Constitution and have political autonomy. They are an active campaigning organisation who have brought thousands of people into the Labour Party, working with trade unions and are active campaigners, particularly in marginal seats and in by-elections.

Unlike other affiliates, Labour Students does not affiliate a specific number of members to the Labour Party and does not pay an affiliation fee. The democratic entitlements of Labour Students have been calculated based on the number of members who pay the student rate of £3. We know that often members who join as students remain on our membership system for many years after they have ceased being students. Sometimes these members will be making regular additional financial payments to the Party, so it is not the case that individuals are attempting to pay less but that they simply have continued with their membership on the same terms.

There is currently work being undertaken to create a new “verified student status”. All current student members are being contacted to ask for evidence of their student status i.e. copy of a matriculation card. All members who supply this evidence are given verified student status. Where members do not supply evidence to demonstrate they are a student they are moved onto the appropriate membership rate at the next renewal date. Through this process many members will be moved onto other rates. It is clear that affiliation figures which have been used in the past for Labour Students are inflated by many who are no longer students but still Labour Party members. The steps now being taken will make it possible to get accurate figures.

Labour Students advise that they have 64 Labour Clubs affiliated nationally and estimate that the membership of each varies between 15 and 400. They are unable to give precise figures of the numbers of members in each of these clubs as Labour Clubs organise independently and register to take part in national Labour Students events. Delegate entitlements within Labour Students are not based on membership figures so precise membership figures are not asked for. Labour Students operate as a federation of clubs and most of these clubs are in traditional Higher Education establishments. These Labour Clubs follow student union rules so therefore will include both Labour Party members and non-members. Three of the Labour Students Committee are sabbatical positions paid for by the Labour Party. They work in head office and, in the past, have had access to the membership system as staff members of the Labour Party. We understand there are many Labour Clubs who do not affiliate to Labour Students.

The Young Labour submission asks that there should be integration of Labour Students and Young Labour, and that Young Labour should be able to organise on campuses. During the Democracy Review and in their submissions, Labour Students have said they believe they should be the sole organisers on campuses and in the National Union of Students. It is clear from subsequent discussions there is a range of views on these issues.

More needs to be done to ensure that Young Labour and Labour Students work together campaigning for Labour policies. The Labour Party should produce campaigning materials aimed at students and young people to be used on campuses and in colleges as well as in social media and other platforms. These materials could be used by both Young Labour and Labour Students.

Unlike other socialist societies and affiliates Labour Students have received substantial support from the Labour Party over many years with funding for their work including providing accommodation and the salaries of the three elected sabbatical positions. The sabbaticals work in head office with other staff, produce “freshers’ packs” and other materials used by Labour Clubs and visit Clubs. A further National Officer is employed at Head Office to work on both Youth and Student issues. This National Officer is the only staffing support which is given to Young Labour which is significantly larger than Labour Students, a section of the Party, and who do not have a full-time staff resource. Other Socialist Societies such as BAME Labour and Disability Labour also do not receive the level of support which has been given to Labour Students.

The discussions which the Democracy Review have had with the Labour Students elected sabbaticals indicate that they wish to remain a socialist society and have political independence. They should be supported to do this and should have the same entitlements within Labour’s democratic structures as other socialist societies based on membership affiliated.

A national Youth and Student Unit should be established at head office which should work with both Young Labour and Labour Students. The Labour Party should no longer pay for Labour Students sabbatical positions once the current tenures expire.

The Labour Students Constitution says that their Committee should be elected by OMOV. This has never happened. The intention has been for all who pay the student rate to take part in these elections. The current Labour Students Committee were however elected by delegates at Labour Students Conference where every delegate must be a Labour Party member.

OMOV elections will be able to proceed once the work to verify students is completed and so we recommend that there are OMOV elections for the next Labour Students Committee in line with their Constitution. Substantial resources have already been allocated to ensure that the student membership data is verified which will enable OMOV elections to proceed including all students in both Further and Higher Education institutions.

We have recommended a review of membership rates elsewhere and this may wish to consider a standardisation of rates so that the verified student rate is the same as for young people on low income.

Labour wants a vibrant healthy mass youth and student movement; and strong student organisation campaigning on the ground in Higher Education and Further Education colleges up and down the country. We need to make sure that our student movement represents

and involves working class students, disabled students and students from BAME communities and has political education at its heart. Any changes to our student organisation should not involve fewer resources being put into student work. Labour Students is currently heavily weighted towards the Higher Education Sector. Labour needs to organise in both Further and Higher Education. The new Youth and Students Unit must work with the National Young Labour Committee, affiliated trade unions and young workers, and Labour Students to develop a strategy for developing Labour Clubs and engaging other students where there is currently little organisation. Many students will not be eligible for Young Labour membership. We need to invest heavily in our Youth and Student structure developing a range of campaigning materials to bring students to Labour and allow them to get involved in the way which works for them. For some this will be Labour Students, for some that will be Young Labour, for some it will be in their branch or CLP or in another way. As part of its work the new Youth and Student Unit needs to work with Young Labour and Labour Students to develop an action plan to build in colleges and universities up and down the country.

Labour Students are asking that students should be able to have membership in two CLPs. We believe this should be explored and a protocol developed to enable this to happen. We would recommend that this is attempted as a pilot in the first instance and then reviewed to see how it has worked and what if any problems had been experienced. One primary membership would be in either their home or education location, which would be the place of full membership. This place of primary membership would be where the member was able to vote and take part as any other member of the CLP. They would then be entitled to a secondary CLP membership if they are studying in a different location. This secondary membership would allow for the increased participation of students in campaigning and other CLP activities. The secondary membership would allow students to receive emails about campaigning and attend CLP meetings, as observers, unable to vote. This model should also be explored for others who require to work away from home for extended periods. Students under the age of 27 years should also be encouraged to get involved in Young Labour where they study as many students will enjoy getting involved with the local community and making relationships with the local labour movement.

All students should be encouraged to be a member of a trade union.

“We welcome the proposal that all students should be encouraged to join a trade union. As many students work in retail whilst studying, we look forward to working with the Labour Party to make sure that all workers are signposted to their relevant trade union.” - USDAW

Labour Students say they often have difficulty navigating regional structures and offices. The high turnover of elected officers in Labour Clubs and within Labour Students will make this more difficult. There should be a delegated point of contact in all the Regional Offices for both Young Labour and Labour Students.

16. A PEOPLE POWERED POLICY MAKING PROCESS

“Shadow ministers and policy advisers do not have a monopoly on wisdom, so they must interact with party members and supporters. By making policy together we make better policy.” - Jeremy Corbyn MP, June 2015

WHAT MEMBERS AND LOCAL PARTIES SAID

The engagement we have had with Labour Party members during the Review has shown that members want a meaningful involvement in policy making at all levels of the Party. CLPs are asking for clear ways into policy making. Members are also asking for more dedicated discussion of policy at branch and CLP level which feeds directly into the policy making process. In meetings and submissions, they asked either for a completely new responsive policy making process with the abolition of the National Policy Forum or for radical reform. There was strong support for the sovereignty of Annual Conference in the policy making process.

Many affiliates and others had less concern with the current structures.

“Members are concerned about the lack of clarity regarding how the detail of Labour Party policy is formulated and the shortage of opportunities to share views on policy between CLPs and between individual members.” - Witney CLP Submission

Many members and CLPs say they feel excluded from the current process and the Review was repeatedly told by them that it was a priority to have more transparency and accountability. Members and CLPs had a strong interest and wish to have more involvement in how our Party makes policy.

“Constituency Labour parties should have an active role in policy making. Members should also be engaged in an active and participatory role which would assist with the political education development of members.” - Sutton Coldfield CLP Submission

We have therefore focused on making recommendations which address the concerns being given at a CLP and membership level, and which will:

- Increase members and popular engagement in the policy making process
- Enhance the Party’s political education work
- Help engage and mobilise members to encourage people to join the Party
- Feed into the development of policy
- Strengthen the trade union link
- Ensure the sovereignty of our Annual Conference

In November 2015 Jeremy Corbyn called for a *“democratic revolution”* in party policy making *“opening up decision-making to the hundreds of thousands of new members and supporters that have joined us.”*

We must open-up the policy making process to CLPs and members creating a policy making process which helps build a mass movement for social change. We also need a very clear process where people can chart how their input has made a difference. And a process where the Leadership, the membership, the trade unions, the Co-operative Party and the socialist societies have a way to instigate policy.

THE CURRENT SYSTEM

We know that the opportunity to participate in making policy has always been one of the top reasons members give as to why they join the Party. Currently policy is made through the National Policy Forum which is intended to work on the next manifesto. We have looked carefully at the current process and how it works. On paper it looks like a participatory policy making process which allows a deliberative development of policy and access to experts. But it has never really worked for members. And the control of the process from the centre has led to a high level of cynicism. Some CLPs organise their own policy forum, but this seems relatively uncommon. This should be encouraged, and CLPs given a clear way to make input.

“We have two policy forums who meet up, one on health and one on the economy.” - Sheffield Heeley CLP Submission

CONCERNS WITH CURRENT SYSTEM

The main concerns given to the Review about the current system were -

- Accountability – most members do not know who their National Policy Forum representatives are and there is lack of reporting structures.
- Transparency – CLPs and members repeatedly said that they get no feedback and that they did not know what happened to submissions they make.
- Democracy - members get to vote for only a third of representatives on the National Policy Forum.
- Expense - it is a costly structure. There have been repeated attempts to reform it and any further reform would add greater expense but still exclude most members from the process.
- Effectiveness – the National Policy Forum documents are mostly generic with the Shadow Cabinet making policy decisions.

RECOMMENDATIONS

We recommend that:

A new NEC Policy Committee will replace the Joint Policy Committee and National Policy Forum to have political oversight of the policy making process and can establish policy sub-committees where required.

Any sub-committee established should compose 50% CLP representatives and 50% affiliates with Ministers or Shadow Ministers and others attending ex-officio.

There should be gender balance, BAME and disabled members representation on any sub-committee.

The priority of the new policy making structure is that it is a bottom up and to maximise member and affiliate involvement.

Resources released by this new structure should be directed to CLP focused policy initiatives.

Policy documents on specific issues should be prepared nationally and signed off by the new NEC Policy Committee to commence consultations; the Policy Committee can delegate this responsibility to a sub-committee.

Consultations can include on-line engagement, CLPs organising local engagement and giving feedback, the frontbench organising national engagement, affiliates working with CLPs, undertaking their own consultations or submitting or commissioning their own work and policy.

Socialist societies and trade unions should be heavily involved in the process.

Third party stakeholders could make submissions and evidence will be taken at both local and national level. However, the policy making process should primarily be for Party units and affiliates.

That there must be close co-operation between members, our community organising strategy and the policy making process.

Any direct democracy or other policy making initiatives should involve both members and affiliates.

Policy documents resulting from all this work will be put to Annual Conference with the ability to reference back sections if they do not reflect the will of Conference.

It is suggested that CLPs and affiliates should also have the ability to submit amendments to policy documents, for minority positions to be put to Conference and for provision to vote on policy documents in parts. There will need to be consultation on the detail of how that would work.

Members, CLPs, affiliates and communities would already however have had the opportunity to engage with and influence any proposals before they got to Annual Conference.

TIME FOR CLPS AND AFFILIATES TO ENGAGE

There should also be consultation to agree how long CLPs and affiliates need to consider consultation documents as the feedback during the Democracy Review is that longer consultation periods are needed. This will be even more so if CLPs wish to arrange events and approach local people to get involved.

BUILDING ON BEST PRACTICE

“Themed consultation events like the one that took place in Shipley on education are a good way to involve people in making policy.” - Shipley CLP Submission

We have considered how this year’s consultation on the National Education Service worked. The Democracy Review received positive feedback from members who had attended the consultations at various events we held. At the beginning of the process all members received a set of key principles relating to the National Education Service. Members of the Shadow Education team toured the country meeting with educational professionals and others to get feed-back. CLPs and others were asked to organise their own events and give feedback. This is all now being collated with a policy document drafted to be presented to Annual Conference. Local members, local educational professionals, parents and students are all helping to develop our policies. We need to look at what worked well in such processes and build on this experience and others.

THE NATIONAL POLICY FORUM

Given the feedback from members during the Review, we have concluded that radical reform is required as the National Policy Forum has failed to engage members. This Review gives the opportunity to enthuse thousands of members with a real opportunity to get involved with policy and to deliver on the commitments which led to Jeremy Corbyn being elected as Leader of the Labour Party. There have been National Policy Forum elections this summer and those elected could have a role in policy making though any new sub-committee structures, however, going forward any representatives on sub-committees should be elected at Annual Conference.

NEW POLICY MAKING STRUCTURE – MORE DETAILED PROPOSALS

We recommend that the new NEC Policy Committee will have strategic political oversight however a series of policy sub-committees could be established to oversee detailed policy work in each area of policy. As detailed above these policy sub-committees must include at least 50% women, have BAME and disability representation; one half of the elected representatives on any sub-committees must be elected by CLP's and one half by affiliates. Both the Policy Committee and sub-committees must ensure that there is gender and other equality proofing of policy.

In the interim, the newly elected 2018 regional, Scottish and Welsh NPF representatives could be asked to sit on a policy sub-committee however within two years representatives should be elected at Annual Conference. There should also always be representation from the Scottish Labour Party and Welsh Labour Party on sub-committees however this should be on an ex-officio basis if it is a clearly devolved matter. Where a policy area directly affects Scotland or Wales there should always be representation from that nation with voting rights.

At least one month's notice of meetings should be provided to sub-committee members.

There must be strengthened reporting back to CLPs.

The Policy Committee and sub-committees would have the responsibility to ensure that members and affiliates had a meaningful engagement in the policy making process. The opening-up of Annual Conference would also provide sufficient ability to ensure that members and affiliates are able to scrutinise and influence the policy making process.

Sub-committees should work with the Cabinet or Shadow Cabinet, be able to proactively engage members and affiliates on relevant policy areas, take evidence where necessary, call for submissions and most importantly assess the submissions made by CLPs, affiliates and other party units to present reports to Conference based on these submissions and other work undertaken. There should be further consultation on the role of sub-committees and terms of reference drafted.

The Cabinet or Shadow Cabinet will be able to ask that specific work is commissioned or authorised which is intended to feed into the policy making process.

The Policy Committee will be responsible for ensuring that all members, CLPs and affiliates are able to feed into the policy making process. They should ensure the Co-operative Party and socialist societies are involved where appropriate. Relevant stakeholders such as Police and Crime Commissioners or the Association of Labour Councillors should be involved where they have an interest. The Co-operative Party have asked that they be allowed to

attend the NEC Policy Committee on an ex-officio basis and the Review recommends that this should be agreed. Like other NEC Committees, the role of the Policy Committee should be set out in the Rule Book. The Chair of the Policy Committee should make a written report to Annual Conference.

It is recognised that there needs to be the flexibility for fast footed rebuttal and announcement of new policy particularly in Opposition. It is also recognised that processes in Opposition can be very different than in Government. The new NEC Policy Committee must have dialogue with Shadow Cabinet or Cabinet representatives to ensure effective working.

The Policy Committee and sub-committees would have the responsibility of ensuring there is adequate consideration of all motions submitted by CLPs on national policy, all policy passed at Regional Conferences, Annual Women's Conference, Young Labour Conference, BAME Conference and the Disabled Members Conference. Often this might be done by an appropriate sub-committee. However, only policy passed at Annual Conference would be policy incorporated in the Party Programme.

The Policy Committee and sub-committees would work with the Cabinet or Shadow Cabinet to instigate consultations when more detailed work was required on policy passed at Annual Conference and be able to agree to commission work.

The Review recommends that there should be pilots in direct democracy and encourages the use of digital democracy in the policy making process. Pilots should also be run to develop regional and local economic plans and local policy maximising the involvement of the local community. A wide range of social media and digital democracy platforms can be used to develop policy. There needs to be further consultation on how this would work. These pilots and all work will, however, feed into the Policy Committee who will have strategic political oversight and be responsible for ensuring that proposals are presented to Annual Conference.

OPENING UP OUR STRUCTURES

We will open-up Annual Conference for our members and affiliates so that all CLPs and affiliates can submit policy motions. The current "contemporary" test for motions will be removed. All CLPs will be entitled to submit a policy motion. Larger affiliates will be entitled to submit a second motion. The criteria for motions should be set out in the rule book.

There will be an enhanced role for Regional Conference in the policy making process and all policy passed at Regional Conferences will be feed into the policy making process.

MANIFESTO MAKING PROCESS

There should continue to be a meeting ahead of the final Conference before a General Election to agree the full set of documents which go to this Conference to form the Party Programme. It is recommended that CLP delegates and trade union delegates at Annual Conference will elect representatives to attend this meeting along with the NEC, Shadow Cabinet or Cabinet, the Leader of the Scottish Labour Party, the Leader of the Welsh Labour party and the TULO Contact Group. As well as gender balance there must be BAME and disability representation. These representatives may also hold roles on policy sub-committees.

The rules relating to the “Clause V” meeting which meets before a General Election also need amended so that the NEC, Shadow Cabinet or Cabinet, TULO Contact Group, Scottish Labour Party Leader, Welsh Labour Party Leader, and representatives elected at Annual Conference meet to decide which items from the Party Programme are included in the manifesto. Again, representatives elected at Annual Conference may also have role in any sub-committees which are established by the NEC Policy Committee.

CONFERENCE 2019

Whilst there are some changes which should come into effect over the next year, it is recommended there is further consultation on the policy making process with more detailed proposals presented to Annual Conference 2019. Throughout the Review, there has been strong feedback that there should be greater codification of procedure and given the importance of the policy making process to members and affiliates the policy making process should be clearly set out in rule.

17. A MEMBER LED CONFERENCE

“Conference should continue to be the sovereign body in the regular policy and decision making process in the party. It is the one time all affiliates and CLPs come together to discuss and take decisions and, as a body, has the broadest engagement from across the party.” - CWU Submission

Members have said we need to build on the highly successful Annual Conference 2017. Most submissions welcomed the changes which have been made at Conference and that there were greater opportunities for delegates to speak and debate policy, to reference back sections of documents and fewer platform speakers. They supported a move away from the highly stage-managed Annual Conference of the past and for Conference to have a strengthened policy making role. There are obviously risks with openness and transparency, but last year’s Conference shows the potential benefits. The benefits outweigh the risks.

Members say they want most of the Conference timetable focused on policy debate and ask that there should be a reaffirmation that Conference is the sovereign policy making body.

“Conference should be re-instated as the supreme policy and decision-making body of the Party so members can truly and meaningfully participate.” - Mike Bird, Aberconwy CLP

The Democracy Review recommends that policy documents from the policy making process should be debated at Annual Conference and the Conference Arrangements Committee should attempt to ensure that all motions submitted by CLPs, affiliates, Women’s Conference, BAME Conference, the National Disabled Members Conference and from Young Labour Conference are also debated. Historically, when Conference was a motions-based Conference this was possible so there is no reason why this should not be possible particularly with the assistance of new technology.

TULO have indicated that they support a real broadening of debate but would want to ensure that affiliates continue to choose 50% of debates and the CLPs the other 50%. Consideration could be given to allowing the full membership to choose policy priorities for debate in an OMOV ballot at the same time as the NEC elections when they are taking place if there was such a prioritisation process. Any prioritisation must however take place prior to Conference to enable the timetable to be provided to delegates and business to take place from the beginning of Conference. It has also been suggested that if a specified minimum number of motions (the suggestion was five) are submitted on the same issue then it should be debated and that this could be set in rule.

“The current system of bundling debates on different motions and policy documents together with them all moved and then calling speakers at random produces unbalanced and confusing debates.” - Inverness and Nairn CLP Submission

Members wish for a more structured Conference with the timetable available well in advance. They also say they wish transparent speakers’ lists. Some suggest a speaker for and against each position so that is also something which could be considered.

The procedure to reference back policy documents should be formalised and written into rule so that notice is given in advance of Conference of the reference back. This of course requires delegates to get the policy document in advance to enable CLPs and affiliates to consider them. The timetable should be written in rule and it is suggested wherever possible documents are provided to delegates at least 40 days in advance of Conference. There are

requests for a formal amendment process for both policy documents and motions, for the ability to present minority reports as well as the continuation of the reference back process for policy documents. The detail of this needs to be considered in further consultation on the policy making process.

As each CLP, affiliate, Women's Conference, BAME Conference, Disabled Members' Conference and Young Labour can submit motions and the "contemporary" criteria will no longer exist it is envisaged that there will be more motions, so an improved compositing process is needed. In Democracy Review meetings members argued that wherever possible compositing should be undertaken well in advance of Conference and electronic methods should be encouraged if possible to assist with this compositing process.

"Delegates to Conference should present the draft policy initiatives proposed to Conference at a discussion meeting with the CLP before they go to Conference to elicit the CLP mood." - Macclesfield CLP Submission

CLPs are asking for documents and motions or composites in advance so that delegates can discuss them with the wider membership. Ideally composites of motions on the same topic can be provided to delegates in advance and debated at the same time as policy documents on the same topic.

Some affiliates have argued that electronic compositing in advance gives too much power to Party staff. Face to face compositing should always be available to delegates and where compositing is not possible in advance there should be provision for compositing immediately prior to Conference. This would mean that CLP delegates would not have copies of the composites to discuss with members and affiliates delegations with their organisations prior to Conference although they should at least have a document with motions submitted to consider.

"Each CLP and affiliate may submit a motion on a freely chosen topic of either policy or organisation." - Brecon and Radnorshire CLP Submission

Many CLP and some trade union submissions have asked that motions should be on either a policy or an organisational matter. It is recommended that there should be provision for both policy making motions and motions on organisational matters.

There will still be provision for emergency motions. The Leader's Report will still be a central part of Conference, but the NEC and Leader's Office should ensure that there is a limit on the number of platform speakers. As many speakers as possible should speak from the floor and there should be an attempt to ensure good gender balance, speakers from both CLP's and affiliates and from different parts of the country.

The role of the Conference Arrangements Committee is to timetable the Conference in such a way that the policy documents and motions from affiliates, CLPs, the Women's Conference, BAME Conference, Disabled Members Conference, Young Labour Conference and the business which has been decided by the NEC are scheduled.

Women's Conference, BAME Conference, the Disabled Members' Conference and Young Labour Conference will be entitled to submit a constitutional amendment to Conference. This constitutional amendment must relate to women, BAME, disabled members or young members as appropriate. It is suggested that CLPs and affiliates can submit a constitutional

amendment instead of a motion. Constitutional amendments should be debated the year they are submitted.

There are requests that CLPs and affiliates should be allowed to submit a constitutional amendment as well as their motion entitlement and this should be considered. We recommend that the current three-year rule should no longer operate.

A timetable should be outlined in the Rule Book with the deadline when motions and constitutional amendments need to be submitted, the date when motions will be circulated to CLPs and affiliates, the date that composites should be provided, the deadline for intimating that a section of a policy document will be referenced back, the procedure relating to reference back along with any other processes agreed.

Labour's Conference belongs to our members and affiliates, so copies of policy documents, motions, composites and emergency motions should be available to all members via the Labour Party website.

Electronic voting should be used at Conference and the various ways this could be done should be investigated. This will mean that there is no advantage to CLPs in sending larger delegations however we should encourage maximum participation at Conference. There should be as many opportunities as possible for political education, debate and training at Conference. The fringe should be promoted.

The Review on CLP funding should also look at what can be done to assist with the cost of CLPs sending delegates to Conference.

We have received representations about disability access at Conference and deal with that in the section of this report on Disabled Members. CAC composition should reflect the composition of Conference with 50% drawn from the CLP section and 50% from affiliates.

There shall be no changes to delegate or voting entitlement at Conference, but it should be possible to get additional delegates where they are from under-represented groups. There should be rule book provision to enable this to happen.

The Chair of the NEC Policy Committee should be asked to make a written report to Conference outlining work which has been done relating to motions and submissions made to the Policy Committee and other work commissioned or undertaken in relation to policy development.

18. DEVELOPING DIGITAL DEMOCRACY

So how do we transform more than half a million members into an active movement of campaigners? And how do we persuade many more who are not yet Labour members to become involved?

The General Election of 2017 showed how social media can transform the political debate. The Labour Party has an increasingly impressive social media operation. It is no longer a bolt on to our campaigning work but incorporated from the beginning. How we use social media and technology to open-up politics has been raised repeatedly in the Democracy Review. Many of our members who can't make it along to get involved in a traditional meeting culture are enthusiastic to contribute through digital methods.

"We would like to be able to access meetings, voting and events via the use of IT and Digital Democracy, such as Skype and similar software." - Sam Sharman-Dunn and Mo Peberdy, Joint Disability Officers Leicester West CLP Submission

Carers, disabled members, shift workers, women and young members have argued it is the poor, disadvantaged and already under-represented who are least likely to have the time and resources to attend meetings. These points have been made particularly at the disability events we have had.

The Review looked how we can creatively use social media to build a mass movement and how we use digital technology as part of our internal lay member democracy to transform our Party.

We have already proposed that our new policy making process should use digital democracy to help develop our policy and our strengthened Annual Conference should use the latest technology.

Labour activists are asking for more training, support, materials and guidance from the Party nationally on social media. Already many local Parties have a range of social media platforms. Others provide regular digital community newsletters. Many are asking for training in moderation for Facebook pages, video, live streaming, how we enable on line meetings, how best to run Facebook Live Question and Answer events, group administration and the opportunity to skill share and network.

Labour provides social media training events at our Annual and Regional Conferences. Demand always outstrips supply. Those already involved in social media say they would like more opportunities to network and skills share.

We recommend that every CLP should be supported to have a website and a social media event should be arranged for "advanced" users.

Some people we spoke to were tired of being asked to "share" and want to get more creatively involved. This represents an important cultural shift.

A range of requests have been made to the Democracy Review relating to Labour Party online engagement tools. The proposed social media event would enable a dialogue about what work needs undertaken.

Labour nationally needs to know who all the elected Social Media Officers are to provide them with more support and both formal and informal networks should be encouraged at regional level.

The experience of recent years is that allowing more members to participate in decisions empowers and builds the Party. The Labour Party should develop secure online voting systems to make it easy and cheap to hold online ballots. There should be rule book provision to allow local Parties to use them.

Organisations such as Momentum already use this technology for a range of democratic purposes and say that it is cheap and easy to use. Indeed, they argue that it will be less work for those organising votes to use the current technology that is available than the work undertaken by local CLP and branch Officers regularly to inform members of key events.

These proposals would not affect those who do not have access to the internet or would prefer not to use it as current methods of voting would always be available. It is recommended that this technology should be acquired by the Labour Party and available to CLPs, LGCs, branches and other Party units via the Labour Party website. This type of democratic activity would not be instead of current structures but as a supplement to them. Guidance should be drafted as to how the technology should be used.

Many CLPs are asking that it should be a disciplinary offence if someone purports to represent a local Party online without authority as there is a widespread problem that social media and other websites who purport to represent local Labour Parties are not actually controlled by them. It is not acceptable for any member to purport to speak for the local Labour Party when they do not have the authority to do so. Many CLPs have Social Media Officers whilst in other CLPs this work is undertaken by the CLP Secretary or other Officer. Default procedures should be drafted for CLPs setting out the processes by which social media accounts should function.

“In Milton Keynes we have used online video content consistently since the snap General Election campaign of 2017. It’s helped our local party reach close to 5,000 local followers on Facebook and content reaches many more on campaigns and community issues. We’ve trialled Facebook live which opens up further on accountability with our local volunteers and representatives able to discuss and comment directly on issues. Through education, skills sharing and access to resources the Party can develop this area further.” - James Barrett, Milton Keynes CLP

Labour members run a range of both public facing and private digital platforms. Many local Parties have their own private digital platforms for members only where information is shared. The default procedure/guidance should cover both.

The Review had an extremely useful online Facebook Question and Answer event with the CLP Secretaries Forum.

“CLP Secretaries from across the UK were able to input into the Democracy Review via the CLP Secretaries Forum on Facebook. A live Q&A session was held in the meeting room where

Katy was able to probe further to fully gage points and CLP Secretaries were able to press their points. In total 114 CLP Secretaries were present in the meeting room.” - Seema Chandwani, Tottenham CLP Secretary

This is an online ongoing discussion forum where CLP Secretaries share information, experiences and provide support to each other. It is strictly not a forum for political debate but to give practical support to each other. We are aware of other online forums for other roles such as Women’s Officers. These are informal unofficial forums which have been created by Labour Party members who have met each other or have been told by others about the initiatives. By their nature the most isolated CLP or branch officers who are most in need of this kind of support will not know of their existence. The Party at regional and national level must enable and facilitate these types of both formal and informal networks.

Social Media Officers or those who undertake that work in local Parties, must have a named digital lead in regional or national office to provide support, have access to training both at regional and national level, and clear social media policies and procedures must be drafted and circulated to CLPs.

19. LOCAL GOVERNMENT

“Across the UK councillors are the face of the Party locally, often the sole elected representative attending a range of local community groups and events and also being a key part in the party’s campaigning efforts. This is as true when Labour is in opposition locally as where we are in a position of control.” - Association of Labour Councillors Submission

There are around 6,500 Labour councillors in England, Scotland and Wales who are often at the heart of the communities they represent and can be hugely influential. Labour councillors have a leadership role in our Party as a link to members, leading local campaigning and as a public face of the Labour Party. They perform a demanding role, engaging with local community groups, attending local events, taking up casework, working long and sometimes unsocial hours and often making a real difference to the lives of the people they represent. In some parts of the country the local Labour councillor will be the only Labour elected representative.

“Councillors are not only on the frontline of public service delivery but also a link with communities and party members. Despite Tory and SNP austerity, Labour Councillors across the UK are making a difference to their communities with bold, radical and innovative initiatives.” - Cllr Joe Cullinane, Leader North Ayrshire Council

Local councils are responsible for spending £1 out of every £4 of public expenditure in the UK and run many of our front-line public services. Most council funding comes from central government. Since 2010, there have been unprecedented cuts with an almost 60% reduction in real terms funding whilst councils and councillors face demands for services increases with an ageing population and due to the impact of the Government’s other austerity measures. The legislative framework around local government has also become more restrictive so in many situations councillors have fewer options available to them. Councillors and the communities they serve have been at the sharp end of these year on year cuts. Labour members understand these huge pressures on councillors, on council leaderships and the massive challenge the Labour Party faces to defend public services.

THE LINK BETWEEN LABOUR MEMBERS AND COUNCILLORS

In the submissions we have received from CLPs, members, councillors and the organisations which represent councillors there is an expectation that councillors both regularly report and be accountable to local members. Many Labour councillors and council leaderships already report and communicate regularly with members. We have received and seen many examples of best practice. That best practice needs to become the reality everywhere. It has been suggested that all Labour Groups and local councillors should provide a regular written report by email to all members who wish it and that the Labour Group should provide an annual written report to an annual conference of members and affiliates.

All councillors are already subject to an interview to be accepted onto the panel at each selection as well as a selection process at branch meeting. Most councillors have agreed to “councillor contracts” setting out commitments such as attending branch meetings, LCF and regular campaigning.

The recent surge in membership presents huge opportunities for local parties. Members are looking for a meaningful way of engaging with local councillors on local issues and to feed into local policy.

A substantial number of submissions have been made calling for reform of the Local Campaign Forum (LCF) structure which was created in 2011 and for the return of a Local Government Committee (LGC) type structure. Members ask for the “City Party”, “District Party”, “County Party”, “Borough Party” or LGCs which historically existed in the Labour Party. They say that the current structure needs opened-up to include more members. CLPs say that the new structures often mean they often have little contact with neighbouring CLPs which is identified as a real problem. Many backbench councillors and council leaders have also called for the return of a LGC structure as they believe a political forum co-terminus with council boundaries is necessary to have meaningful engagement with the wider Party.

The experience of the Review is that the way that LCFs operate vary tremendously in different parts of the country. In some places it continues to operate in a similar way to how the Local Government Committees did previously. However, in other parts of the country the LCF only meets in the lead up to local elections to make decisions relating to the selection of candidates and to organise the “short campaign”. Elsewhere it is an all member structure which meets regularly. The LCF meetings the Review attended tended to be where the all member structure had been adopted and the LCF therefore had regular meetings.

“We need democratic and inclusive member-led Local Government Committees, with a clear role in writing local manifestos and monitoring the work of elected Labour Councillors.” - Jon Rogers, Brighton Pavilion CLP

A constitutional amendment from Leyton CLP was remitted into the Review and a substantial number of submissions have been made in support of the proposal outlined in this constitutional amendment which proposed that the composition of a new local government structure should comprise 75% delegates from branches and CLPs and 25% from affiliates. Councillors would be expected to attend but would not be delegates for conflict of interest reasons. MPs and other representatives would be entitled to attend with speaking but not have voting rights.

There seems to be a consensus in the submissions that councillors should not have a role in selection or Party disciplinary processes for potential conflict of interest purposes. There is less consensus as to whether councillors should be allowed to be delegates to a local government structure and the councillor’s representative bodies argue that they should be allowed to stand for positions. Most submissions argue that councillors should not be allowed to be delegates but should attend the LGC to report as their role is to be accountable and report to the LGC.

We have received many submissions from councillors highlighting that they contribute £1.8 million annually to the Party nationally via the councillor levy. The councillor allowances which councillors receive vary tremendously in different local authority areas. The lowest seem to be in the range of £3,000 per annum. As well as councillors losing wages, they can

also lose benefit payments and the level of councillor allowances they receive may not compensate for the reduction in income from other sources. There is real concern that these financial pressures are restricting the pool of those able to become councillors and the difficulties for people of working age taking on this role.

The principle the Review has adopted is that in local and regional government decision making should be devolved down as far as possible. The legislative changes to the structure of local government have often led to a centralisation of power and increased opportunities for patronage. The Review is interested in how we increase the influence of backbench councillors as well as how we give more power to members and affiliates.

The LGA Labour Group have supported a new LGC structure and argue they should comprise 40% councillors, 40% CLPs and 20% trade unions.

The Review is persuaded that LGCs should be member led local bodies and that the role of councillors is to report and be accountable to that forum so therefore this hybrid structure would not be appropriate.

The Review recommends that LGC should be reinstated to replace the LCF with 75% of delegates being elected by CLPs and branches and 25% by affiliates. In areas with a large BAME communities there should be dedicated BAME seats in both sections. There should be gender parity in both sections and representation from disabled members again in both sections. Seats should lie empty if they can't be filled.

Where there are currently all member structures this should be allowed to continue.

Whilst it should have the powers of the LCF and be formed with boundaries co-terminus with local government, the LGC could have a clear wider political remit to include for example city wide non-local government campaigns i.e. NHS, anti-fascist activity etc.

The LGC and Labour Group should work together on campaigns and may establish a joint campaign committee.

The LGC would oversee all issues relating to local government including policy development, the panel of candidates and candidate selection. It would have a role in working with the Labour Group to ensure the manifesto is delivered if Labour is in control and in ongoing policy if Labour is in opposition. Any coalition agreements would have to be agreed both by the Labour Group and the LGC before seeking final approval from the NEC.

All members should be welcome and have the right to attend the LGC except in circumstances where this is clearly impracticable because of the numbers of members involved. A sitting MP, MSP, AM, MEP, PPC, all councillors along with any other elected Labour representatives such as Mayor and PCC should be entitled to attend ex-officio. Where there are Labour and Co-operative candidates the Co-operative Party should be entitled to elect a representative to the LGC.

Each LGC should be required to hold an annual meeting open to all members. Where Labour is in power the Labour Leader should provide a written report outlining what work has been done to implement the manifesto. Branches, CLPs and affiliates should be entitled to send motions. There should be opportunities for members to learn about local government

structures, the role of the councillor, have access to information, a dialogue with councillors, and engagement to encourage members to be active both in local government issues and their local community.

We need to ensure we have a pipeline of good candidates for local government selections. This work often needs to be done well in advance of the selection cycle. In some areas political education schools for women have led to an increase in the number of women candidates. The LGC should oversee work to ensure there is a wide range of candidates available for selections particularly working-class candidates, candidates who are embedded in their communities, women, BAME, disabled candidates, LGBT+ and candidates from disadvantaged groups. The annual meeting is an opportunity to focus on this work over a longer period well in advance of the selection timetable. Where Labour has not yet obtained gender parity in the Labour Group an action plan of engagement with women members to encourage them to consider standing for office including political education schools, shadowing and mentoring should be put in place well before selection processes commence. In areas with high BAME communities where there is under-representation there must be a programme of mentoring and shadowing opportunities, political education and other events which are likely to encourage BAME candidates to come forward.

The LGA Labour Group have set up a Women's Taskforce, to look at the barriers that women in local government face. The outcomes of this taskforce need careful consideration.

All Labour Groups should have parental leave, maternity, paternity and adoption leave policy in place. Detail of the policy should be provided to the Regional Executive Committee or model policy provided to be adopted. There are however other caring responsibilities which also need consideration and Labour Groups also need to have clear policy in relation to this also. What is possible will of course depend on the circumstances on the ground and where for example a Labour administration has a majority of one then less might be possible than where Labour has a healthy majority.

We have had very different views presented about how local government and other local policy should be developed for local councils. It has been put to us that councillors are elected by the wider community, are representatives and not delegates. This is of course true. They are also Labour candidates and would usually not get elected if they were not standing as Labour candidates. In a members' led Party, members and affiliates have every right to develop policy for their local council and community. The implementation of that policy is a matter for elected representatives. At a national level the manifesto is agreed through Clause V which brings together the various component parts of the Party. A similar process needs to be in place in relation to local and regional government. The manifesto should be agreed between the LGC and the Labour Group.

Wherever possible every member should have the opportunity to feed into the manifesto and the final manifesto could be voted on by every member. Many Labour Groups already have extensive consultation and engagement with local members to formulate manifestos.

We have had concerns raised that the application of councillor contracts in some places is reducing the diversity of candidates. Some excellent candidates may not be able to comply

with contracts due to being disabled, having caring responsibilities, work responsibilities or other reasons. Whilst it is reasonable to have a robust application of criteria such as campaigning criteria to select candidates and once someone is a candidate, a more lenient approach is often appropriate to ensure that we can select candidates particularly from under-represented groups. In many areas this is already happening. Members need the widest choice available to them when selecting a candidate. Some of the strongest candidates who are deeply embedded in their communities may not have a track record of taking part in regular door to door canvassing. They may however be heavily involved in community organisations, as trade union activists or have a range of other valuable life experience which would make them exceptional candidates. The current criteria should be reviewed to ensure that members receive the maximum possible choice. For existing councillors, it is reasonable to expect a proven record of door to door canvassing where councillors are reasonably able to do this.

“In some areas there are good candidates who are not making it onto local government panels. Giving members and trade unionists a greater say in who is on the local government panel will increase the choice of candidates for members when it comes to a selection. Women, disabled people, BAME communities and under-represented groups must be strongly represented on panels.” - Helen Watson, Chingford and Woodford Green CLP

In some areas of the country the Local Government panel works very well in that it allows a choice to members. We have however been given many examples of women, BAME candidates and disabled members disproportionately being unable to make it onto the panel. More training such as that currently provided by the ALC would no doubt help address this problem. We have also received concerns raised by both CLPs and affiliates that candidates are being excluded from the panel for political reasons which must not happen. A panel needs to operate on the basis that the role of those interviewing is to maximise the choice available to members so that there is a genuine choice. It has been suggested that trade unions should be able to place candidates onto panels adopting the same standards as the LGC. This would potentially help ensure a wider range of candidates. This, of course, happened previously for Parliamentary selections. The Co-operative Party have also asked to be able to do this. We recommend that all affiliated trade unions and the Co-operative Party should be able to add candidates to the panel. Guidance needs to be drafted on how this should be done.

The selection process for council candidates should be an open process and if the sitting councillor is successful at their panel interview they should be automatically shortlisted. The trigger ballot process which was introduced in 2016 is not necessary. There are equalities reasons to remove it.

We have had a small number of representations around the rules relating to declaration of interests. The rules around the declaration of financial interests of candidates need to be reviewed.

It is recommended that each Region establish a Diversity panel made up of the Regional BAME Officer, Regional Women’s Officer, Regional LGBT+ Officer, Regional Disability Officer, Young Labour representative and the Regional Local and Regional Government

representatives to oversee an equality action plan. This panel should work closely with Labour Groups, receive regular reports on progress of candidate selection and report to the full Regional Executive Committee.

ELECTION OF COUNCIL LEADERS

“It is time that trade union and Labour members have a say in who leads in local councils.” - GMB Submission

We have also received some submissions from CLPs and trade unions arguing for the election of Council Leaders by the wider membership. Currently only councillors elect the Leader. The proposal is that the Labour candidate for Council Leader should be elected by the wider Party. There are three main models proposed:

1. That there is an electoral college to elect the Council Leader candidate with one third of votes for councillors, one third of votes for trade union members and one third of votes for Labour Party members.
2. That there is an election by Labour Party members and affiliated supporters by OMOV ballot.
3. That there is an OMOV ballot by Labour Party members.

Strong objections have been received to these suggestions from the LGA Labour Group, some Council Leaders and some councillors.

Wider elections for the Council Leader candidate would only be relevant in areas where there was significant number of Labour councillors in the Labour Group with a threshold of at least 10 councillors suggested. It could be that the NEC would wish to allow pilots to be run to elect Council Leaders. If so, it is strongly recommended that restrictions are put in place on candidate selection spending.

It has also been suggested that when there are not Council Leader elections by the wider Party Labour Group Leaders should always be elected by the Labour Groups annually to the extent that is possible within the legislative framework.

A range of other issues relating to the wider functioning of Labour Groups, the LGA Labour Group, the ALC, the councillor levy and the application of the Nolan Principles have been raised which go beyond the terms of reference of this Review which was to look at the relationship between Labour representatives and the Party at local level. It is recommended that a wider piece of work on Local Government structures is undertaken with the opportunity for all parts of the Party to make submissions as to what changes, if any, are required.

MAYORAL STRUCTURES AND REGIONAL GOVERNMENT

There have been far fewer submissions on the Mayoral structures and regional government than were received for Local Government.

The submissions received say that there needs to be a standardisation of the selection and other processes for all Mayoral and Metro-Mayoral candidates. It is noted that a trigger ballot process has already been agreed in relation to the Mayor of London. The submissions

we have received, which have come mainly from those heavily involved in CLP and Regional structures, say that there should be an open selection process for both Mayoral and Metro-Mayoral candidates. They ask that this process should commence with nominations being submitted by CLPs and affiliates and that the current system of OMOV system of selection should be maintained with the Selection Panel being the relevant Local Government Committee/Regional Government Committee. They say it should be the Regional Board (to be Regional Executive Committee) who ensure a democratically elected Selection Panel is in place and a timetable, set of guidelines and guidance are agreed which should be submitted to the NEC for approval. They also argue that there should be a policy Conference to instigate the process of consultation about the Mayoral/Metro-Mayoral manifesto process and the equivalent of a Clause V meeting to sign off the Mayoral/Metro-Mayoral process.

There needs to be clear accountability structures for Regional Government and Metro-Mayors. London is unique in that the Mayoral boundaries and those of the London Labour Party Region are co-terminus. The London Regional Conference is therefore clearly the body where London wide Mayoral responsibilities sit. In relation to other parts of the country structures need developed. Each Regional Board/Regional Executive Committee who has a Metro-Mayor should be required to report to the NEC on work undertaken to establish such structure.

The London Regional Conference should be involved in work towards the Manifesto and the equivalent of a Clause V meetings is required to sign off the manifesto. There should be similar provision in relation to the other Metro-Mayors.

Processes similar to the Clause V procedure set out in the rule book should be established where they do not exist. The process to agree the manifestos of Mayors and Metro-Mayors should be codified and set out in the rule book.

20. DEVELOPING OUR SOCIALIST SOCIETIES

“The Fabian Society is a large, growing affiliated socialist society with over 7,000 members. The society is one of the original founders of the Labour Party, alongside the trade union movement. We develop policy proposals which feed directly into frontbench thinking. Our affiliation to the Labour Party is a historic bond which continues to play a vital role.” - Fabian Society Submission

Socialist societies have been at the heart of the Labour Party since its creation, but only one of the socialist societies who were involved in founding the Labour Party survives – the Fabian Society. They are a diverse range of organisations and very different in size and interests including the National Union of Labour Clubs, BAME Labour, Chinese for Labour, Christians on the Left, Disability Labour, the Fabian Society, the Jewish Labour Movement, the Labour Animal Welfare Society, Labour Business, Labour Campaign for International Development, LGBT Labour, Labour Housing Group, Labour Movement for Europe, Labour Party Irish Society, Labour Students, Labour Women’s Network, Scientists for Labour, Socialist Environment and Resources Association (SERA), Socialist Education Association (SEA), Socialist Health Association (SHA) and the Society of Labour Lawyers.

To become an affiliated socialist society an organisation needs to provide its constitution, audited accounts for the last three years and accept the programmes, policy and principles of the Labour Party. They must have been in existence for at least three years and normally for five years. It must be a national membership organisation and its work should cover a broad area of policy or activity of substantial interest to the Party. They will normally have at least 500 members or a plan to build to 500 members or an appropriate proportion of eligible members.

Socialist societies who affiliate to Labour and are involved in our structures report a significant increase in their membership over recent years.

“We have also been instrumental in increasing support for and membership of the Party by reaching out to the legal community and acting as a bridge to the Party for that community. As the party has grown so have we and this has been helpful in ensuring that our campaigning work continues to grow.” - Society of Labour Lawyers Submission

Socialist societies can also provide a path into the wider Party for members.

With the exceptions of Labour Students and BAME Labour who are discussed elsewhere in this report, there are ten socialist societies who currently affiliate 500 or more members and nine socialist societies who affiliate fewer than 500 members. They collectively affiliate just over 20,000 members. The socialist society which affiliates the most members is the National Union of Labour and Socialist Clubs with the Fabian Society not far behind. Some socialist societies who affiliate to the Labour Party such as the Fabians report that they do not affiliate their full membership to the Labour Party.

Most socialist societies allow non-Labour Party members to join. Non-Labour Party members who are member of socialist societies can vote in Leadership elections as affiliated supporters in the same way that members of affiliated trade unions can.

We have not discussed with each socialist society who has less than 500 affiliated members whether they have a plan to grow their membership or how big the eligible group is that

they would be drawing their membership from. Some socialist societies pay affiliation fees to the Labour Party and some do not.

Many socialist societies report that they feel under-utilised by the Party either because they have skills they wish to offer (e.g. Labour Lawyers) or because they would like to be more involved in the policy making process (i.e. SHA, SEA etc). Often their influence on policy depends of the strength of their relationship with the relevant front bench spokesperson at a given time.

They often bring together members with professional expertise, interest and enthusiasm or members of the same community. They are also often outward looking campaigning organisations contributing to Labour's internal democracy. They are part of the tradition of the Labour Party and have made contributions in many ways. Therefore, there is a huge amount of support for them within the Party, but also a great deal of concern raised about their accessibility and how they operate. Some more established socialist societies employ staff, but most do not. Governance issues are raised with Labour Party Head Office staff who are asked to adjudicate on internal issues between different members of an independent socialist society. Affiliated trade unions are heavily regulated by law. Affiliated socialist societies are not and to a large extent run by volunteers.

The huge increase in the membership of the Labour Party has increased the focus and expectations on socialist societies. This happens particularly where a socialist society is seen to represent a whole group within the Party. The Labour's Women's Network are clear that they do not represent all women in the Party and focus on specific objectives. Where socialist societies are believed to represent a group, frustrations arise when that socialist society is not seen as not being accessible to all in that community.

The cost of joining socialist societies varies tremendously. For many working-class Labour Party members, the cost of joining in addition to the cost of Labour Party membership is prohibitive. Many members explained to us that they simply can't afford to join the organisations which they think they should be a member of given their interests or identity. So, for example if you are a disabled lesbian you would have to pay both be a member of LGBT Labour and Disability Labour to get a voice in those structures.

As well as socialist societies there are a significant number of "Friends" Groups which operate in the Labour Party which have not registered as socialist societies. Many of these groups have decided not to affiliate so they can operate to a different model and focus on campaigning. Often, they don't have membership fees as they do not wish to deal with the administration relating to that but operate through fundraising and donations. Many "Friends" groups campaign on single issues such as mental health or with a specific community such as the Somali community and make a positive contribution to the Labour Party.

The Review has met with the Socialist Society Executive, individual socialist societies and "Friends" Groups. We have grappled with the role and responsibilities of socialist societies as affiliates and the very different types of organisation which fit into this category. We have also considered whether there should be more formal links between the Party and "Friends" Groups and whether there should be formal structures to get their input particularly relating to campaigning. As most "Friends" Groups do not want to have to undertake the administration in being involved as a socialist society, a more informal arrangement probably works.

Some socialist societies are very independent. Others are asking for “support”. Many Socialist Societies only operate in some parts of the country and most Labour Party members will not be aware of their existence. Some are not national organisations in the sense that they do not operate and have members in every nation and every region. There is massive potential for many socialist societies to be substantially larger in the Labour Party if members were given the opportunity to join.

Socialist societies elect representatives in the Party both on the NEC and on other bodies. The NEC place is elected at Annual Conference by delegates of socialist societies. Many of the submissions received by the Democracy Review from CLPs, members and from some trade unions argue that given the huge expansion in Labour Party membership, it is not appropriate for organisations with such small memberships to be entitled to such positions.

Socialist societies already receive support nationally from the Party from a paid Stakeholder Manager and a stall and other support provided at Annual Conference. The support provided to socialist societies at regional level varies considerably. For many socialist societies the main “pool” they recruit in is Labour Party membership, so the help provided helps them grow, and to promote their work and ideas.

The Democracy Review has had discussions with the Socialist Society Executive who are keen to address any concerns which have been raised. As they do not have access to the membership lists, to all Labour events and are often run by volunteers, help to extend their regional and national reach is something that many socialist societies would be very interested in exploring. Many members won’t currently be aware of a socialist society they might very much want to get involved with. We believe that a programme of measures can be agreed to make socialist societies more accessible including on-line. Many are also willing to look at issues of internal democracy.

Recommendations which we make:

We need to look to remove the barriers to joining socialist societies and open them up for more members.

That the National Union of Labour and Socialist Clubs which is a federation of clubs should be treated differently.

That where socialist societies have policy expertise they should be directly involved in any consultation involving their specialism in our new policy process.

That we should explore a development package with the Socialist Society Executive.

That OMOV ballots of all members in relation to any positions which socialist societies hold on the NEC or other bodies within the Party should be explored where the socialist society agrees and could form part of criteria for a development package.

That the Labour Party should facilitate OMOV ballots for socialist societies for elections to internal Labour Party Committees.

That in consultation with the Socialist Society Executive we should review the criteria that socialist societies are expected to meet on joining and thereafter.

That we should widely promote socialist societies who have agreed to the criteria to help them extend their reach.

Once agreed the criteria should be attached to the Rule Book as an Appendix and available to members via the Labour Party website.

Where a socialist society does not meet these criteria that society should no longer be promoted.

That all socialist societies should be asked to review their membership fees so that they are not prohibitive. If the NEC believe that a socialist society is too expensive it will not be promoted although their affiliation would not be affected.

That an action plan is presented to the NEC of steps which will be taken to promote membership of socialist societies where they have agreed to criteria which would be discussed with the Socialist Societies Executive.

21. NATIONAL CONSTITUTIONAL COMMITTEE

We have had submissions made to us about the handling of disciplinary cases. This is beyond the scope of this Review. It is clear however that there are inadequate numbers of members of the National Constitutional Committee available to hear cases, particularly given there are strict rules about the composition of panels. We therefore recommend that rule changes are brought to this year's Conference to increase the number of NCC members available to hear cases.

22. INTERNATIONAL

The Labour Party is proud of its internationalist values. Labour International, which our members abroad are members of, have engaged with the Democracy Review.

The EPLP have also engaged with the Review and made representations. The Review team met with them and with the Party of European Socialists (PES). After Brexit, the Labour Party should seek to maintain the closest possible relationship with the Party of European Socialists (PES) if possible as a full member as it is important that we maintain and strengthen our work at European level. If we continue as PES members, the EPLP has helpfully suggested that we may wish to look more closely at the election of delegations and our involvement in PES democratic structures.

23. WESTMINSTER SELECTIONS

Given the early selection of candidates in some winnable seats, should boundary changes take place there will be a need to review the selection procedures relating to Parliamentary candidates.

GLOSSARY

| | |
|-------|--|
| AGM | Annual General Meeting |
| ALC | Association of Labour Councillors |
| AWS | Annual Women's Conference |
| BAME | Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic |
| CAC | Conference Arrangements Committee |
| CLP | Constituency Labour Party |
| EC | Executive Committee |
| EPLP | European Parliamentary Labour Party |
| GC | General Committee |
| Group | Labour group of councillors on principal local authority |
| GS | General Secretary |
| JPC | Joint Policy Committee |
| LCF | Local Campaign Forum |
| LGA | Local Government Association |
| LGBT | Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender |
| LGC | Labour Government Committee |
| MEP | Member of the European Parliament |
| MP | Member of Parliament |
| NCC | National Constitutional Committee |
| NEC | National Executive Committee |
| NPF | National Policy Forum |
| OMOV | One member one vote |
| PANEL | Panel of prospective candidates for local elections |
| PLP | Parliamentary Labour Party |
| PPC | Prospective Parliamentary Candidate |
| SEC | Scottish Executive Committee |
| TULO | Trade Union Liaison Organisation |
| WCAC | Women's Conference Arrangements Committee |
| WEC | Welsh Executive Committee |
| YL | Young Labour |

