



TRANSFORMING LABOUR

A Charter For Party Renewal

Gavin Hayes

Foreword by Tony Robinson


Transforming
Labour

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THE CHARTER FOR PARTY REFORM TO **TRANSFORM LABOUR**

- 1 The chair of the Labour Party should be elected by a one-member one-vote ballot.
- 2 Before a general election there should be a process by which all Labour Party stakeholders are given the opportunity to submit their ideas for the manifesto, followed by a one-member one-vote ballot of Labour members on their top ideas for inclusion in the manifesto.
- 3 Immediately after a general election a formal process should be initiated involving all Labour Party stakeholders to debate and restate Labour's traditional aims and values.
- 4 The Labour Party conference should be given a formal policy-making role; any resolution receiving the support of at least 2% of all Labour Party members should be guaranteed to be debated and voted on at annual conference.
- 5 There should be a mechanism for holding a party referendum as part of the formal policy-making and constitutional renewal process; any referendum question receiving the support of at least 5% of all Labour Party members should be put to a one-member one-vote ballot.
- 6 The chair of Young Labour should be made a full-time sabbatical support office, in paid employment and elected annually.
- 7 There should be an annual youth conference.
- 8 Incumbent MPs should face an automatic formal mandatory reselection process before every general election.
- 9 Local parties should be granted more flexibility in their organisation, adopting a structure that best suits their circumstances, while meeting minimum standards nationally.
- 10 Primaries should not be imposed on the Party from the top or rushed to be implemented, not least before first adopting other reforms to re-empower the membership first and only then after an extensive consultation linked to a final democratic vote of the wider membership.

I hereby sign up to the charter for party reform to transform Labour and call on the new leadership to implement these changes as a package of reforms to give power back to the grassroots:

NAME: _____ CLP: _____

RELEVANT POSITIONS HELD: _____

EMAIL ADDRESS: _____

SIGNATURE: _____

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Foreword

by Tony Robinson

Whenever I say that being a member of Labour's NEC had been one of the most radicalising experiences of my adult life it gets a big laugh – and I quite understand why. But I mean it.

As a member of the NEC between 2000 and 2004 I was proud of many of the policies our leadership was pursuing. The National Minimum Wage, our endorsement of the Human Rights Act, lifting tens of thousands of families out of the poverty trap – these were achievements worth celebrating.

But the longer I was involved in the organisation of our party, the more dismayed I became. Where there should have been openness there was spin, where we needed democratic engagement there was top-down control. Members whose opinions coincided with those of Number 10 were parachuted in to parliamentary seats; the National Policy Forum was packed with 'trusties'; conference was re-fashioned as a public relations exercise. Soon there was no forum left in which rank and file members could engage in meaningful debate.

Consequently our membership began to shrink – but we didn't know by how much as the figures were denied us. And our finances grew more desperate, although it was impossible to discover how much debt we were actually in because no one would tell us.

What was worse was that our leadership's blind determination to ignore the opinions of everyone except a tiny coterie meant huge political mistakes were made.

We suffered terribly from the cash for honours revelations. Would that situation have occurred if we had conducted our internal affairs in the open and proper manner we require of other organisations?

Our participation in the Iraq war was more than a blunder; it was a lasting stain on the reputation of our party. Our politicians now admit they supported the war without full knowledge of the facts. And yet in the months leading up to it no internal discussion was possible which might have shed light on the issues involved,

because any attempt at such debate was thwarted by our politicians and party officials. I'll never forget the highly orchestrated National Policy Forum meeting in which we embarked on an empty ritual of discussion, while outside hundreds of thousands of anti-war demonstrators chanted their frustration and disapproval.

And as for the new Labour Party orthodoxy that 'no one saw the sub-prime mortgage disaster coming, and no one knew the banks were going to go bust', it's simply not true. Both here and in the US articulate and respected commentators had been ringing alarm bells for months; but were the issues they raised debated inside the Labour Party? Of course not. Any attempt would have been deemed 'disloyal', and such disloyalty was not to be tolerated.

Like so many members, I've grown tired of this counter-productive manipulation by the Party. I believe it's vital that we should be allowed a more mature relationship with our professional politicians and administrators than has been the case over the last 15 years.

Like so many members, I've grown tired of this counter-productive manipulation by the Party. I believe it's vital that we should be allowed a more mature relationship with our professional politicians and administrators than has been the case over the last 15 years. None of us wants to go back to the fractious in-fighting of the 1980s, but the Party has grown up since those days and there is little danger of that. What is required is a series of robust practices, which will allow the voices of ordinary members to be integrated into party policy, and will keep our politicians in check if they begin to pursue policies alien to our values.

A reformed party won't solve the problems of the UK's economy, or of global warming or inner city decay! But what it will do is provide democratic spaces in which ideas on all the issues close to the hearts of our members can flourish and blossom, and this will be the beginning of a renewed and electable party of which we can all be proud.



Transforming
Labour

I. Where we are at, where it all went wrong and the direction we need to go in the future

If you're reading this document the chances are you're already a Labour member. So before continuing we want you to ask yourself one simple question:

Why did you join the Labour Party?

Here's what some Labour members have said who we have canvassed:

Eric Matthews: 'Because I saw it as the only available means to achieve a more socially democratic, equal, just and humane society.'

David Dawson: 'A belief in the achievement of a more equal and socially just society.'

Jane Cloke: 'Because I was looking for more social justice.'

I joined the Party to speak for those who could not speak for themselves, to stand up for those who could not stand up for themselves and to try in my own small way to make the world a fairer and better place.

Robert Dimmick: 'Commitment to equality, peace and social progress, together with the influence of my parents, and desire to participate in decision-making.'

Neil Murray: 'Because I am pro-peace, anti-racist, pro-diversity – a Socialist in short. I thought it was a force for doing good things.'

Lesley Holditch: 'I believe in fairness, and that the government should concern itself with the needs of the total population, not allowing a minority of the population to prosper in such ways that cause others to struggle unnecessarily.'

Danny Daly: 'A belief in social justice, a desire to help those who are marginalised and in poverty.'

Jon Lansman: 'To make radical changes in the world – end poverty and injustice; move towards equality of wealth and power.'

Sue Phillips: 'I joined the Party because I want to see a just world for everyone, where all not only have access to opportunities but are also enabled to take them.'

Neil Griffin: 'I joined the Party to speak for those who could not speak for themselves, to stand up for those who could not stand up for themselves and to try in my own small way to make the world a fairer and better place.'

Chris Marshall: 'Because I believe Labour offers the best chance for everyone to have a fair and equal chance in life.'

Gus Baker: 'I believe in social justice, equality and the benefits of common endeavour.'

Sarah Hayward: 'To make a difference through society to improve all our lives.'

Eleanor Tunnicliffe: 'Because Labour is the only party that I think truly recognises and will right the inequality that we see in our society.'

The answer for most of us is that we became a Labour member, not simply because we wanted to win power, but ultimately because we wanted to change the world, because we want to help create a good society – one that is more cooperative, democratic, equal, socially and environmentally just than the grossly unequal and individualistic one we currently reside in. Equally we accept that the fundamental goal of the Labour Party must be to win elected office in order to use the power of an active state to help deliver this vision of a better society.

So, if that is our goal, the second question must be:

Is the current Labour Party fit for purpose in order to help deliver that aim of a good society? If not, how can we rebuild and revitalise it so that it can win for a purpose and deliver our vision of a better world?

We would argue that sadly Labour in its current form is not fit for purpose. The facts and figures speak volumes. Labour's defeat in May was the biggest since 1929. Since 1997 the Party has lost over half its members, from over 400,000 when Labour was swept to power in 1997 to a recent low of little over 150,000. At the same time the Party's councillor base has been hollowed out. Too many local parties are dormant.

Yet things don't have to be like this and we believe there is a better way for the Party, its members and supporters. Labour now has a once in a generation chance to renew and it should grab it! We can transform Labour into a vibrant and engaging democratic organisation again, a living breathing party that involves its members and supporters and becomes a genuine movement for radical change once more. Let's be clear that the Party is not over, Labour can be saved, but the patient needs to change urgently the way it operates if it is to survive.

For too long the Party has been weakened and ignored; this must change. The fact is in the 21st century people expect more autonomy, more of a say and greater involvement. We can't run the Labour Party like we're still in the 1950s, or indeed the 1990s.

In 1997 there was much hope for a new party politics and some good things did happen. There was the goal of a mass-membership party, there was talk of 'Partnership in Power' and there was at least a commitment to a new collegiate and cooperative style of formulating policy through an embryonic National Policy Forum.

Despite this, once in power New Labour fell short. Probably its greatest failure was that notwithstanding the energy and excitement, it did not transform the Party into a grassroots movement. Instead of this over the years it

became a centralising machine, a tight bureaucracy that stifled debate, dismantled democratic structures without replacing them and concentrated power in the leader's office. It picked needless and sometimes endless fights with the Party's membership, supporters and voters, when instead it should have seen and treated members as a valuable resource, not just for fighting elections and delivering leaflets, but for reinventing and renewing policy, as well as providing crucial balance and holding the leadership to account for its actions while in government. In moving on we should have the humility and maturity to recognise and acknowledge our past mistakes openly and honestly, and be prepared to air them.

If Labour is to rebuild and revive, crucially it must become the change it wishes to see in the world. It must become democratic again.

In its clause IV the Party states clearly: 'The Labour Party is a *democratic* socialist party. It believes that by the strength of our common endeavour we achieve more than we achieve alone.' If Labour is to rebuild and revive, crucially it must become the change it wishes to see in the world. It must become democratic again.

It must embrace and include its members and supporters in ways that will enable it truly to become the party that achieves more than it can achieve alone by the strength of the common endeavour of its members. It must hand power back to every Labour Party member and give them far more say over the Party's future, so that power is in the hands of a movement of the many, not just a machine of a few leaders at the top.

To become a real movement for change once again, the Party must become a moral crusade for its values, principles and the good society. Harold Wilson once said 'The Labour Party is a moral crusade or it is nothing.' When Labour transforms itself into a moral crusade for its values it will win back the hearts and minds of not just hundreds of thousands of party

members, but also millions of progressive people across Britain.

In the future the Labour Party and the way that it is run should be a precursor to the way we want to run the country. Labour should look and feel like the good society it seeks to create: it should be a party that promotes tolerance, rights, respect, openness, democracy and inclusion, and treats its people – Labour members – on equal terms. A party that cannot trust its own members cannot expect to win the trust of the British people.

So if it is to become a crusade and movement for its values, for the good society, if it is to reinvent itself as a democratic socialist party afresh, then its structures and the way it organises itself must reflect those values and that vision for a better society.

Its structures should be a space for creative insight, which underpins its values. So its structures must become democratic again; they must promote social solidarity; they must encourage co-operation, not confrontation; and they must encourage a new politics of pluralism and inclusion. Labour must be renewed once again to become a more federal and pluralist party. It is time the Party opened up, included its members

at every opportunity, listened to people's concerns and gave its grassroots more of a democratic say.

The leadership election of 2010 has held out great hope of a transformed Labour Party. Candidates have talked positively and enthusiastically about the urgent need to build 'a movement not a machine', to give members more of a say, to rebuild the grassroots, and to embed local Labour parties into their communities through community organising; all have expressed the need to make the Party more democratic. This is a breath of fresh air and is to be welcomed.

However, in the coming months we must be willing to hold the new Labour leader to their word and make sure they deliver on their promise of reform. Change has got to be real, meaningful and enduring change. We must demand not just rhetoric from our leaders but real reform, and as members we have a responsibility to demand power back and ask for greater party democracy. Ultimately, leaders who cannot trust their own members who elected them cannot possibly expect to win the trust of the British electorate.

2. A charter for party renewal

This is why on the eve of an historic Labour Party conference, building on the ideas we first set out in *Fit For Purpose*, we set out a charter for the Party's organisational renewal, with a ten-point plan of reforms we believe must urgently be implemented in the next three years if Labour is to transform itself sufficiently as an organisation. We believe if implemented it could represent a new covenant between the party leadership and the wider membership and rebuild the basis for mutual respect and greater trust.

Yet we acknowledge that it is by no means an exhaustive list of changes and it is not meant as a panacea to all of the problems, but if these reforms were implemented we believe they would act as a sea-change for a process of implementing the deeper cultural and institutional changes the Party urgently needs.

We believe the fundamental basis for reform must be greater democracy. Most important, however, we would argue that you can't cut corners with democracy – because ultimately the way you do things as a party shapes outputs and the manner in which a new Labour administration will govern the country in the future.

So crucially, in the spirit of democracy, in order for any plan for party renewal to be successful, we would argue strongly that it must come about through a process of involving, debating and consulting with the Party's activists, members, supporters and other stakeholders. No single leader can create the good society or transform the Party by themselves – ultimately the Party is a collective entity that is owned by its members and it is they who must choose its future.

That is why many of the ideas contained in the following charter for organisational renewal have

come about through directly consulting Labour Party members, supporters and other stakeholders and all the reforms contained in our plan have the backing of a majority of Labour members.

In April 2010 we carried out the Transforming Labour Survey, an extensive investigation in which over 1500 party stakeholders, including nearly 700 Labour members, took part. The recommendations we make in this document are therefore based on the empirical data we gathered in that exercise.

No single leader can create the good society or transform the Party by themselves – ultimately the Party is a collective entity that is owned by its members and it is they who must choose its future.

However, we should also recognise that what we need now is not just a printed plan of ideas, but to couple this with a concerted plan of action to bring about the transformation the Labour Party now urgently needs, to bring our hopes and dreams of a better and more democratic party into reality.

That is why we would call on you not just to read the following plan, but also to join us in a 'velvet revolution' to transform Labour. Nothing the Labour movement has achieved has come about without a struggle. We therefore ask you to sign up in support of the charter and help us campaign in the coming months for party reform.

So now is the time for all of us from all sections of the Party and from all sections of our movement worked together to transform Labour.

The charter for party renewal to transform Labour

- 1. The chair of the Labour Party should be elected by a one-member one-vote ballot.**
- 2. Before a general election there should be a process by which all Labour Party stakeholders are given the opportunity to submit their ideas for the manifesto, followed by a one-member one-vote ballot of Labour members on their top ideas for inclusion in the manifesto.**
- 3. Immediately after a general election a formal process should be initiated involving all Labour Party stakeholders to debate and restate Labour's traditional aims and values.**
- 4. The Labour Party conference should be given a formal policy-making role; any resolution receiving the support of at least 2% of all Labour Party members should be guaranteed to be debated and voted on at annual conference.**
- 5. There should be a mechanism for holding a party referendum as part of the formal policy-making and constitutional renewal process; any referendum question receiving the support of at least 5% of all Labour Party members should be put to a one-member one-vote ballot.**
- 6. The chair of Young Labour should be made a full-time sabbatical support office, in paid employment and elected annually.**
- 7. There should be an annual youth conference.**
- 8. Incumbent MPs should face an automatic formal mandatory reselection process before every general election.**
- 9. Local parties should be granted more flexibility in their organisation, adopting a structure that best suits their circumstances, while meeting minimum standards nationally.**
- 10. Primaries should not be imposed on the Party from the top or rushed to be implemented, not least before first adopting other reforms to re-empower the membership first and only then after an extensive consultation linked to a final democratic vote of the wider membership.**

3. Transforming the national party

The Labour Party must become a membership driven party with democracy at every level. Furthermore, members should be viewed as a valuable resource. A resource not just to be used as foot soldiers to deliver leaflets or knock on doors at election times, but far more fundamentally to be treated as equal stakeholders at every level of the Party's structures. Crucially they must be included and consulted on major decisions. After all, what is the point of being a Labour Party member if you have no real power and no real say over the Party's direction?

Reform of the Party must rebuild mutual trust between the members and its leaders. Ultimately this will specifically mean the leadership will have to be prepared to involve the members directly in more decision-making.

Giving members more of a say

Members must be given more of a direct say over the Party's direction and in policy-making. Many members do not believe they have enough say and feel that on too many occasions their concerns are ignored. This must change. Over 86% in the Transforming Labour Survey believed Labour members should have a greater say.

In order to achieve this, the Party should adopt a series of reforms that devolve power to the average Labour member. There are a number of simple mechanisms the Party could adopt in order to achieve this.

Direct membership democracy

In order to give direct power back to the average party member we believe the Party should adopt a bold programme of reforms that enable direct membership democracy.

This would:

- ensure that members are fully consulted and that on major decisions the leadership, whether in government or in opposition, can be held to account

- help to facilitate democratic debate
- ensure that the Party's leaders had to take into consideration more seriously the views of Labour Party stakeholders when making major decisions
- help to bring to an end the unhealthy culture whereby the leadership seeks to define itself against its own members and stakeholders
- mean that members got a direct say and input into policy making and the Party's overall direction
- help rebuild mutual trust.

Transforming Labour Reform:

Before a general election we believe there should be a process by which all Labour Party stakeholders are given the opportunity to submit their ideas for the manifesto, followed by a one-member one-vote ballot of Labour Party members on their top ideas for inclusion in the manifesto.

- Over 78% supported this in our Transforming Labour Survey.

Transforming Labour Reform:

Immediately after a general election we believe there should be a formal process initiated involving all Labour Party stakeholders to debate and restate Labour's aims and values.

- Over 80% supported this in our Transforming Labour Survey.

Holding the leadership to account

Apart from a leadership election, there are virtually no formal mechanisms left for the membership to hold the leadership to account. This means the leader can do whatever they like free from any robust checks and balances. This must change. Members must have mechanisms to hold the leadership to account.

The interests of the membership at large are not formally represented by any single person

within the cabinet or shadow cabinet. No one is charged with single responsibility of being the chief link between the grassroots Labour movement at large and the Labour leadership. The Party therefore urgently needs a democratically elected chair who will act as the go between and vital link between the grassroots and the leadership.

More fundamentally, we need a chair of the Party, so there is someone who is purely focused with the task of reforming the Party, rebuilding the grassroots and creating a movement for real change. This position could be elected every two years at the same time as the NEC elections.

Transforming Labour Reform:

The chair of the Labour Party should be elected by a one-member one-vote ballot.

- Over 80% supported this in our Transforming Labour Survey.

The chair should act as the commander-in-chief of the grassroots. The first task they should be charged with when taking office is a full-scale root and branch review of what works and what doesn't.

Transforming policy-making and the role of conference

Labour Party policy-making is not democratic enough. Many of the formal structures for making and debating policy have been removed and in most cases were not sufficiently replaced with anything in their place.

Really the only direct mechanism left for members' voices to be heard on specific issues was the contemporary resolutions process, whereby in the run-up to the party conference members could prioritise up to eight contemporary resolutions for debate, which were then voted on to decide whether they should become party policy. Indeed it

was thanks to the contemporary resolutions mechanism that leaders were held to account over their policy misjudgement in relation to the 70p pensions rise in pensions debacle. Although the process often got overloaded because of the lack of direct mechanisms to influence policy, this was often reflected in the sheer volume of contemporary resolutions passed by CLPs in years gone by.

Yet even this last final mechanism for party members' voices to be heard was scrapped after the leadership election in 2007, in favour of 'contemporary debates' that no longer set party policy; they simply debated issues on the conference floor with no formal vote; they simply got referred to the National Policy Forum with very little follow-up.

So the question must be posed, what is the point of being a delegate to the Labour Party conference if you have very little power and no vote on policy? Party conference should be the most important Labour Party gathering in the political year. Yet it has been stripped of power and so has no real purpose for the members and activists who attend it.

Furthermore, during the leadership election in 2007 party members were promised a final vote on the Labour manifesto – hardly a significant reform as party members had no direct input on the policies it contained – yet even this promise of a small move towards some form of democracy was never fulfilled. Party members were never given the opportunity to vote in a ballot to sign off the 2010 manifesto.

Meanwhile we believe that the National Policy Forum in its current form is too weak. It was meant to replace conference as the main policy-making body supposedly to promote debate and a more collegiate style of devising policy. Indeed, the original concept for the National Policy Forum was a good one. It was modelled on an approach similar to the one the Swedish Social Democratic Party pioneered in the 1980s. Yet we believe it needs greater autonomy with less control from the centre. In the spirit of greater autonomy and democracy we therefore welcome the move to elect the constituency and youth representatives of the National Policy Forum in a one-member one-vote ballot. However, the party leadership and indeed the newly elected representatives them-

selves must recognise the extra democratic legitimacy this empowers them with, as they take forward members' concerns on policy.

Instead of policy being devised by distant policy advisers in the bunkers of Number 10 or at Labour HQ, miles from the everyday lives of real people, Labour Party members and stakeholders, many of whom are imbedded in their local communities, must urgently be involved again in the process of formulating policy and providing vital checks and balances.

Transforming Labour Reform:

The Labour Party conference should be given a formal policy-making role; any resolution receiving the support of at least 2% of all Labour Party members should be guaranteed to be debated and voted on at the annual conference.

- Over 73% supported this in our Transforming Labour Survey.

Transforming Labour Reform:

There should be a mechanism for holding Party referendums as part of the formal policy-making and constitutional renewal process; any referendum question receiving the support of at least 5% of all Labour Party members should be put to a one-member one-vote ballot.

- Over 68% supported this in our Transforming Labour Survey.

The Labour Party conference must be transformed and empowered once again to give it real meaning and real purpose.

There must also be new mechanisms for members to influence policy-making and the party leadership has to become far more ambitious in the way it engages. This should not be about seeking to tie the hands of our leaders, we recognise there needs to be flexibility and compromise, but about members having ways of demonstrating their strength of

feeling, and being able to express their wishes on issues of fundamental concern.

As citizens of the European Union we all have the right to canvass support to have an issue debated at the European Parliament and voted on if we can get 1 million signatures. So why as Labour members should we not have similar rights?

Of course the nominal percentage figures given above could be higher, but we felt for a party that currently has around 200,000 members, having to get the signatures of 4000 peers to debate policy, or 10,000 signatures to call a referendum, is probably a reasonable provision. We would further point out that the higher the total membership the harder it could become to instigate such a measure. We therefore believe these measures to be well balanced and fair.

Involving, including and respecting the membership

Central to any successful transformation of the Party must be the need to involve, include and respect the membership at every level, not just its structure but also its language. Fundamentally the relationship between those at the top and the grassroots must be based on one of mutual respect and trust.

Taking inspiration from the Obama for America campaign, the Labour Party should therefore apply to its membership and organisational structure the mantra, 'Respect, Empower, Include'. It should keep members better informed through text and email updates and reward members who use initiative in their own campaigns. Over 74% supported this in our Transforming Labour Survey.

In this spirit it should be recognised that party members are longing for the tools to enable them to organise more autonomously without interference from those at the top. Party members should therefore be given the tools they need to become political campaign innovators, to pioneer and decide what works best for them. Members therefore must be provided with more tools and support that will enable them to do this. Over 67% supported this in our Transforming Labour Survey.

In general election campaigning, too, the Party could learn a lot from giving members more control and greater autonomy. All too often election campaigns are highly centralised operations, to the detriment of local campaigns. Instead the Party must learn to decentralise its campaigns. Volunteers should be given the power to make more of the decisions and to distribute

campaign resources as they see fit. Over 66% supported this in our Transforming Labour Survey.

So the transformation that is now needed is for those at the top to understand that the members are not their servants, quite the opposite – those managing the Party should be there to act on behalf of the membership, not the other way round.

4. Transforming Labour's youth and student wings

A vibrant, active and growing youth and student wing is absolutely critical to the future of the Labour Party, because this new generation of members is indeed the Party's very future.

Labour urgently needs well-resourced and autonomous youth and student wings. For too long Young Labour and Labour Students have been too controlled and managed by the national party. Instead Young Labour and Labour Students must be allowed more autonomy over their activities and be given the space to decide their own priorities and choose their own future.

At present the organisations have different structures. Labour Students has an annual conference with three elected full-time sabbatical officers and support from head office, but Young Labour only has a conference every two years and no full-time sabbatical support. This is unfair and must urgently change. Instead we should trust our young members to run their own affairs and give them the resources they need to organise and campaign effectively.

Our youth and student structures should be vibrant spaces in which our young members can test out new and innovative ways of organising, debating and campaigning, enabling them to try out, pilot and develop new ideas and ways or

working, without the fear of top down managerialism or interference in their affairs.

At present Young Labour and Labour Students don't even get given an allocated plenary slot at the Labour Party conference. We believe the Party's youth section should have a guaranteed slot at the conference on topical debates. More importantly, we believe that Young Labour's elected chair should be a full-time sabbatical position for one year, elected annually, and that there should be an annual youth conference. The Party also needs to look at whether the chair of Young Labour sits on the NEC, either in addition to, or in replacement of, the current NEC youth representative.

Transforming Labour Reform:

The chair of Young Labour should be made a full-time sabbatical support officer, in paid employment and elected annually.

- Over 60% supported this in our Transforming Labour Survey.

Transforming Labour Reform:

There should be an annual youth conference.

- Over 70% supported this in our Transforming Labour Survey.

5. Transforming local parties

Local parties too need to radically transform and renew the way they involve members and organise their activities. If Labour is to rebuild its grassroots then this must be enacted principally at the local level.

To empower local parties to transform themselves and to find new and innovative ways of organising, campaigning and democratically debating policy they must be given more power and autonomy.

Building the good society cannot just be brought about at a national level; democratic socialism must be enacted locally to counteract and defeat some of the intrinsic forces of conservatism in society. You only have to look at the way organisations such as Hope Not Hate have campaigned against the BNP to see how this works in practice.

Our Transforming Labour survey found that Labour stakeholders believe that central control over local parties is too stringent – over 63% agreed with this view.

Local parties should therefore be given more control to decide how they transform themselves.

Building the good society cannot just be brought about at a national level; democratic socialism must be enacted locally to counteract and defeat some of the intrinsic forces of conservatism in society.

In building the good society and enacting democratic socialism at the local level local parties also need to become more deeply rooted in their communities; they should not just be seen as political machines for election times, but have a much greater and wider social role in community events and activities. The

idea of local parties becoming like Citizens Advice Bureaux is a good one, as are proposals for local parties to become hubs for local communities, organising around specific issues like organisations such as Citizens UK and London Citizens, which championed grassroots campaigns on the living wage and to introduce caps on interest rates.

Transforming Labour Reform: Local parties should be granted more flexibility in their organisation, adopting a structure that best suits their circumstances, while meeting minimum standards nationally.

■ Over 71% supported this in our Transforming Labour Survey.

Local parties must learn to become local coalition builders around specific local campaigns and must work towards building progressive alliances at the local level. By doing so they would become a far greater radical progressive force in the local communities they seek to represent. So local parties should have a greater local role, taking part in and organising everyday community activities and events, not just electioneering.

All too often, especially to new members and people who are not members at all, local Labour parties can look and feel like alien entities, and seem isolated from the communities they seek to serve. New members going to a local meeting can find them hostile environments, while the language used often excludes many from actively taking part and making a valid contribution. Local Labour parties need to do all they can to reach and engage with Labour supporters who are not Labour members.

The way MPs are selected and reselected also needs urgent reform, so as to make all MPs more accountable to their local parties and therefore their local communities. At present it is all too easy for incumbent MPs to be automatically reselected. This makes it too easy for

some MPs to rest on their laurels. The vast majority of Labour MPs have strong links with their local parties and communities – many have been champions in pioneering new ways of organising at a local level. Nonetheless, just as we must ensure there are strong mechanisms in place that encourage accountability of the national leadership, so we must also ensure there are strong democratic mechanisms in place at the grassroots level to hold local leaders, in particular MPs to account.

Such a reform would make sure that every Labour MP had to ensure they were fully accountable to their local parties and that they consulted and listened to their members more

effectively. There are far too many local Labour Party meetings that take place without the presence of the local MP.

Transforming Labour Reform:

Incumbent MPs should face an automatic formal mandatory reselection process before every general election.

- Over 78% supported this in our Transforming Labour Survey.

6. The issue of primaries

There has been a lot of debate recently about the role and use of primaries at local, regional and national level. Indeed some local parties have experimented using primaries to help decide whom they should support in Labour's Leadership Contest.

We are not convinced that the Party should yet embrace full-scale primaries. Like many party members and activists, we remain unconvinced of the arguments deployed by those in favour of them. We believe instead there are far more imaginative reforms (many of which we have outlined above) that the Party could adopt to devolve real democratic power back to the average party member and in so doing make being a Labour Party member worthwhile again.

We share big concerns that if primaries were adopted as a wholesale reform this could cause a whole series of problems. In particular we worry they could take even more power away from the party membership. We worry that primaries could be a lazy way to revive party politics – a way of bypassing building a truly mass membership party. There are real concerns that adopting primaries could lead to our politics animating some of the worst, not the best, elements of the American political system, where we could see Labour's politics become even more centrist and focused on 'Middle England'. Primaries could create financial barriers to people from disadvantaged backgrounds, which might prevent them from striving for political office and could put them in the pockets of vested interests. We also worry that if adopted wrongly primaries could result in even greater control of local parties by the centre.

Yet despite these massive reservations we accept that a full-scale and formal debate needs to be had. But for all the anxieties we have outlined above we do not believe the Party should rush into adopting primaries any time soon, not before adopting some of the other measures we have outlined to restore power back to party members.

If such a reform were to be pursued it could only be carried out after a full and thorough consultation among the membership at large. The new party leader would be making a grave early mistake if he or she thought that such a change could be imposed from the top without serious and wide discussion.

In our Transforming Labour Survey we found that many Labour members and supporters share our concerns about primaries and many others remain unconvinced either way.

We found that over 58% believed that opening primary voting beyond the local party membership would undermine the value of being a Labour Party member. Over 65% believe that, if adopted, primaries to select parliamentary candidates should only be open to local Labour Party members and registered Labour supporters. If adopted, 47% (more than those supporting any other option) believe only the CLP should select the shortlist of candidates competing in the primary. Only just over 35% believe primaries should become an element of the Labour leadership election. Finally, over 66% believe that primaries would only be a viable method of candidate selection if stringent rules were imposed on spending and conduct.

If primaries were ever to be adopted it is also clear that there would have to be very strong standards and caveats in order to win the approval of Labour members and supporters. So we accept that there needs to be further debate, discussion and discourse on this issue, but we would urge the new Labour leader not to rush into adopting primaries soon.

Transforming Labour Reform:

Primaries should not be imposed on the Party from the top, or rushed to be implemented, not least before first adopting other reforms to re-empower the membership and only then after an extensive consultation linked to a final democratic vote of the wider membership.

7. Conclusion

Labour must urgently reform its party structures so as to restore itself as a truly democratic socialist party. It must devolve power from the centre back to its grassroots members, activists and local parties.

Ultimately the Labour Party must fully reflect the kind of good society it seeks to create in the way it operates. But, crucially, the key test of any reform must be whether it delivers greater democracy?

The Party must urgently transform itself from being simply a political machine into a political movement once more. With the advent of a new Labour leader it is imperative that the current organisation is not simply replaced with a similar one, which has new faces at the top. Instead we need a genuine movement for real change based on Labour's traditional values of greater equality, democracy, solidarity, co-operation and social justice, and in the 21st century we want environmental justice too. The outdated New Labour project was modelled on five people at the top; a new model must be built on the involvement, inclusion and engagement of thousands if not millions of

people across Britain seeking to build a progressive consensus and a movement from the bottom up.

By building a strong, dynamic and inclusive political party, by unleashing the talents and skills of all its members, supporters and activists, by building broad coalitions, by being open in all it does, the Labour Party has every chance of transforming itself and in doing so bringing about a new modern progressive politics that can bring to life the good society it seeks to create.

We need a genuine movement for real change based on Labour's traditional values of greater equality, democracy, solidarity, co-operation and social justice, and in the 21st century we want environmental justice too.

If it achieved this Labour would then truly be fit for purpose and ready once again to govern the country for the many not the few.

8. Appendix

Transforming Labour Survey full results

I would best describe myself as:

A Labour member – 688
A Labour supporter – 215
Sympathetic to Labour’s values – 275
Other – 380

Total respondents: 1558

The Labour Party is a membership-based organisation, however some people are concerned that members don’t have enough say and feel that on occasion members’ concerns are ignored. Which of the following statements would you most agree with?

Overall results

I think Labour members should have a greater say in terms of decision-making – 86.1%
I think Labour members have enough say in terms of decision-making – 9.56%
I think Labour members have too much say in terms of decision-making – 0.9%
Did not respond – 3.4%

Labour members:

I think Labour members should have a greater say in terms of decision-making – 87.9% (605)
I think Labour members have enough say in terms of decision-making – 10.3% (71)
I think Labour members have too much say in terms of decision-making – 1% (7)
Did not respond – 0.72% (5)

Labour supporters

I think Labour members should have a greater say in terms of decision-making – 81.4% (175)
I think Labour members have enough say in terms of decision-making – 11.6% (25)
I think Labour members have too much say in terms of decision-making – 2.79% (6)
Did not respond – 4.19% (9)

Sympathetic with Labour’s values

I think Labour members should have a greater say in terms of decision-making – 85.1% (234)
I think Labour members have enough say in terms of decision-making – 8.36% (23)
I think Labour members have too much say in terms of decision-making – 0.36% (1)
Did not respond – 6.18% (17)

Other

I think Labour members should have a greater say in terms of decision-making – 86.3% (328)
I think Labour members have enough say in terms of decision-making – 7.89% (30)
I think Labour members have too much say in terms of decision-making – 0% (0)
Did not respond – 5.79% (22)

Below are a list of possible ideas that have been proposed in order to democratically reform and renew the Labour Party and make it more accountable to its members, supporters and key stakeholders. Using the scale provided, please indicate your support for each of these suggestions:

Before a general election there should be a process by which all Labour Party stakeholders are given the opportunity to submit their ideas for the manifesto, followed by a one-member one-vote ballot of Labour Party members on their top ideas for inclusion in the manifesto.

Overall results

Strongly agree – 46.5%
Agree – 32%
Neither agree nor disagree – 9.24%
Disagree – 9.05%
Strongly disagree – 2.95%
Did not respond – 1.28%

Labour members

Strongly agree – 42.3% (291)
Agree – 32.8% (226)
Neither agree nor disagree – 7% (48)
Disagree – 12.4% (85)
Strongly disagree – 4.22% (29)
Did not respond – 1.3% (9)

Labour supporters

Strongly agree – 50.7% (109)
Agree – 31% (66)
Neither agree nor disagree – 9.3% (20)
Disagree – 7% (15)
Strongly disagree – 1.86% (4)
Did not respond – 0.47% (1)

Sympathetic with Labour’s values

Strongly agree – 47.2% (130)
Agree – 38.5% (106)
Neither agree nor disagree – 9.09% (25)
Disagree – 3.27% (9)
Strongly disagree – 0.73% (2)
Did not respond – 1.09% (3)

Other

Strongly agree – 51.1% (194)
Agree – 26.3% (100)
Neither agree nor disagree – 13.4% (51)
Disagree – 4.47% (17)
Strongly disagree – 2.89% (11)
Did not respond – 1.82% (7)

Immediately after a general election there should be a formal process initiated involving all Labour Party stakeholders to both debate and restate Labour's aims and values.

Overall results

Strongly agree – 54%
 Agree – 27.3%
 Neither agree nor disagree – 9.88%
 Disagree – 5.46%
 Strongly disagree – 1.99%
 Did not respond – 1.35

Labour members

Strongly agree – 52.5% (361)
 Agree – 28.1% (193)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 8.87% (61)
 Disagree – 7% (48)
 Strongly disagree – 1.9% (13)
 Did not respond – 1.74% (12)

Labour supporters

Strongly agree – 56.3% (121)
 Agree – 25.6% (55)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 8.84% (19)
 Disagree – 7.44% (16)
 Strongly disagree – 1.4% (3)
 Did not respond – 0.47% (1)

Sympathetic with Labour's values

Strongly agree – 50.9% (140)
 Agree – 33.5% (92)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 8.73% (24)
 Disagree – 4% (11)
 Strongly disagree – 1.45% (4)
 Did not respond – 1.45% (4)

Other

Strongly agree – 57.6% (219)
 Agree – 22.6% (86)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 13.2% (50)
 Disagree – 2.63% (10)
 Strongly disagree – 2.89% (11)
 Did not respond – 1.05% (4)

Once elected by one-member one-vote, any incumbent Leader of the Labour Party should face formal re-election each year by a vote held at Labour Party conference, until he/she resigns.

Overall results

Strongly agree – 23.4%
 Agree – 19.7%
 Neither agree nor disagree – 15.8%
 Disagree – 26.6%
 Strongly disagree – 12.8%
 Did not respond – 1.6%

Labour members

Strongly agree – 18.2% (125)
 Agree – 18.5% (127)

Neither agree nor disagree – 13.5% (93)
 Disagree – 31.7% (218)
 Strongly disagree – 17.2% (118)
 Did not respond – 1.01% (7)

Labour supporters

Strongly agree – 17.7% (38)
 Agree – 19.1% (41)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 18.6% (40)
 Disagree – 26.5% (57)
 Strongly disagree – 15.8% (34)
 Did not respond – 2.33% (5)

Sympathetic with Labour's values

Strongly agree – 24% (66)
 Agree – 23.3% (64)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 16% (44)
 Disagree – 25.1% (69)
 Strongly disagree – 8.73% (24)
 Did not respond – 2.9% (8)

Other

Strongly agree – 35.8% (136)
 Agree – 19.7% (75)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 18.2% (69)
 Disagree – 18.7% (71)
 Strongly disagree – 6.32% (24)
 Did not respond – 1.32% (5)

The Chair of the Labour Party should be elected by one-member one-vote.

Overall results

Strongly agree – 50.1%
 Agree – 33.2%
 Neither agree nor disagree – 11.1%
 Disagree – 2.63%
 Strongly disagree – 1.28%
 Did not respond – 1.6%

Labour members

Strongly agree – 49.1% (338)
 Agree – 35% (241)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 1.06 (65)
 Disagree – 3.92% (27)
 Strongly disagree – 1.5% (10)
 Did not respond – 1.02% (7)

Labour supporters

Strongly agree – 47.9% (103)
 Agree – 33.5% (72)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 12.6% (27)
 Disagree – 2.32% (5)
 Strongly disagree – 1.4% (3)
 Did not respond – 2.32% (5)

Sympathetic with Labour's values

Strongly agree – 46.2% (127)
 Agree – 40% (109)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 10.2% (28)
 Disagree – 1.45% (4)

Strongly disagree – 1.09% (3)
Did not respond – 1.45% (4)

Other

Strongly agree – 56.15% (213)
Agree – 25.3% (96)
Neither agree nor disagree – 13.9% (53)
Disagree – 1.32% (5)
Strongly disagree – 1.05% (4)
Did not respond – 2.37% (9)

The Labour Party conference should be given a formal policy-making role; any resolution receiving the support of at least 2% of all Labour Party members should be guaranteed to be both debated and voted on at the annual conference.

Overall results

Strongly agree – 40.1%
Agree – 33.1%
Neither agree nor disagree – 13.7%
Disagree – 9.5%
Strongly disagree – 1.8%
Did not respond – 1.8%

Labour members

Strongly agree – 40.8% (281)
Agree – 33.4% (230)
Neither agree nor disagree – 10.6 (73)
Disagree – 11.6 % (80)
Strongly disagree – 2.54% (12)
Did not respond – 2.54% (12)

Labour supporters

Strongly agree – 32.1% (69)
Agree – 37.2% (80)
Neither agree nor disagree – 16.7% (36)
Disagree – 11.6% (25)
Strongly disagree – 1.4% (3)
Did not respond – 0.93% (2)

Sympathetic with Labour's values

Strongly agree – 36.4% (100)
Agree – 36.7% (101)
Neither agree nor disagree – 15.6% (43)
Disagree – 8% (22)
Strongly disagree – 1.09% (3)
Did not respond – 2.18% (6)

Other

Strongly agree – 46.1% (175)
Agree – 27.4% (104)
Neither agree nor disagree – 16.3% (62)
Disagree – 5.53% (21)
Strongly disagree – 2.63% (10)
Did not respond – 2.11% (8)

There should be a mechanism for holding Party referendums as part of the formal policy-making and constitutional renewal process; any referendum question receiving the support of at least 5% of all

Labour Party members should be put to a one-member one-vote ballot.

Overall results

Strongly agree – 29.8%
Agree – 38.9%
Neither agree nor disagree – 15.9%
Disagree – 10.7%
Strongly disagree – 2.37%
Did not respond – 1.67%

Labour members

Strongly agree – 27.3% (189)
Agree – 38.7% (266)
Neither agree nor disagree – 15% (103)
Disagree – 14.2% (98)
Strongly disagree – 3.2% (22)
Did not respond – 1.45% (10)

Labour supporters

Strongly agree – 26% (56)
Agree – 36.7% (79)
Neither agree nor disagree – 17.2% (37)
Disagree – 16.7% (36)
Strongly disagree – 1.86% (4)
Did not respond – 1.4% (3)

Sympathetic with Labour's values

Strongly agree – 25.8% (71)
Agree – 49.5% (126)
Neither agree nor disagree – 17.1% (47)
Disagree – 8% (22)
Strongly disagree – 1.45% (4)
Did not respond – 1.82% (5)

Other

Strongly agree – 38.9% (148)
Agree – 35.5% (135)
Neither agree nor disagree – 16.1% (61)
Disagree – 5.53% (21)
Strongly disagree – 1.84% (7)
Did not respond – 2.11% (8)

The Labour Party, like many political parties, has an ageing membership. Thinking about the way the Labour Party involves, engages with and includes its young and student members, please indicate your support for each of these solutions, using the scale below:

The Chair of Young Labour should be made a full-time sabbatical Support Officer, in paid employment and elected on an annual basis.

Overall results

Strongly agree – 25.9%
Agree – 36.8%
Neither agree nor disagree – 24.6%
Disagree – 6.93%
Strongly disagree – 3.08%
Did not respond – 2.63%

Labour members

Strongly agree – 30.4% (209)
 Agree – 33.9% (233)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 21.4% (147)
 Disagree – 8.28% (57)
 Strongly disagree – 3.78% (26)
 Did not respond – 2.33% (16)

Labour supporters

Strongly agree – 24.7% (53)
 Agree – 41% (88)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 23.7% (51)
 Disagree – 6.51% (14)
 Strongly disagree – 1.4% (3)
 Did not respond – 2.8% (6)

Sympathetic with Labour's values

Strongly agree – 22.5% (62)
 Agree – 43.6% (120)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 26.5% (73)
 Disagree – 4% (11)
 Strongly disagree – 1.09% (3)
 Did not respond – 2.18% (6)

Other

Strongly agree – 20/8% (79)
 Agree – 35% (133)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 29.7% (113)
 Disagree – 6.84% (26)
 Strongly disagree – 4.21% (16)
 Did not respond – 3.42% (13)

The Chair of Young Labour should fulfil the role of NEC Youth Rep (at present there are two separately elected positions).

Overall results

Strongly agree – 18.7%
 Agree – 29%
 Neither agree nor disagree – 38.4%
 Disagree – 7.45%
 Strongly disagree – 3.34%
 Did not respond – 3.02%

Labour members:

Strongly agree – 24.6% (169)
 Agree – 30% (203)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 30.5% (210)
 Disagree – 8.87% (61)
 Strongly disagree – 3.92% (27)
 Did not respond – 2.62% (18)

Labour supporters

Strongly agree – 14.4% (31)
 Agree – 34.9% (75)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 36.3% (78)
 Disagree – 9.77% (21)
 Strongly disagree – 2.8% (6)
 Did not respond – 1.86% (4)

Sympathetic with Labour's values

Strongly agree – 13.8% (38)

Agree – 28.7% (79)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 50.2% (138)
 Disagree – 4% (11)
 Strongly disagree – 1.45% (4)
 Did not respond – 1.81% (5)

Other

Strongly agree – 14.2% (54)
 Agree – 25% (95)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 45.5% (173)
 Disagree – 6.05% (23)
 Strongly disagree – 3.95% (15)
 Did not respond – 5.26% (20)

The Party's youth section should have a guaranteed slot at Party conference on topical debates.

Overall results

Strongly agree – 41%
 Agree – 40.5%
 Neither agree nor disagree – 11.7%
 Disagree – 3.34%
 Strongly disagree – 1.28%
 Did not respond – 2.12%

Labour members

Strongly agree – 42.7% (294)
 Agree – 38.1% (262)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 11.6% (80)
 Disagree – 4.51% (31)
 Strongly disagree – 1.31% (9)
 Did not respond – 1.74% (12)

Labour supporters

Strongly agree – 43.7% (94)
 Agree – 42.3% (91)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 8.37% (18)
 Disagree – 3.72% (8)
 Strongly disagree – 0.93% (2)
 Did not respond – 0.93% (2)

Sympathetic with Labour's values

Strongly agree – 40% (110)
 Agree – 46.9% (129)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 9.82% (27)
 Disagree – 1.45% (4)
 Strongly disagree – 0.36% (1)
 Did not respond – 1.45% (4)

Other

Strongly agree – 37.1% (141)
 Agree – 39.2% (149)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 15.3% (58)
 Disagree – 2.37% (9)
 Strongly disagree – 2.11% (8)
 Did not respond – 3.95% (15)

There should be an annual youth conference.

Overall results

Strongly agree – 34%
 Agree – 38.2%

Neither agree nor disagree – 19%
 Disagree – 4.75%
 Strongly disagree – 1.54%
 Did not respond – 2.5%

Labour members

Strongly agree – 39.5% (272)
 Agree – 35.8% (246)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 17.2% (118)
 Disagree – 4.07% (28)
 Strongly disagree – 1.45% (10)
 Did not respond – 2.03% (14)

Labour supporters

Strongly agree – 33.5% (72)
 Agree – 41.9% (90)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 14.9% (32)
 Disagree – 6.51% (14)
 Strongly disagree – 1.4% (3)
 Did not respond – 1.86% (4)

Sympathetic with Labour's values

Strongly agree – 28.7% (79)
 Agree – 42.5% (117)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 24% (66)
 Disagree – 2.91% (8)
 Strongly disagree – 0% (0)
 Did not respond – 1.82% (5)

Other

Strongly agree – 28.2% (107)
 Agree – 37.4% (142)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 21.1% (80)
 Disagree – 6.32% (24)
 Strongly disagree – 2.89% (11)
 Did not respond – 4.21% (16)

Local Party organisations have been the heart of Labour since its inception, although recently there have been claims that this element has been weakened. Please indicate your opinion on the following statements:

Central control of local parties is too stringent.

Overall results

Strongly agree – 33.4%
 Agree – 30%
 Neither agree nor disagree – 26.1%
 Disagree – 6.55%
 Strongly disagree – 1.35%
 Did not respond – 2.5%

Labour members

Strongly agree – 32.6% (224)
 Agree – 28.8% (196)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 23.4% (161)
 Disagree – 11.2% (77)
 Strongly disagree – 2.03% (14)
 Did not respond – 2.03% (14)

Labour supporters

Strongly agree – 22.8% (49)
 Agree – 36.3% (78)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 33% (71)
 Disagree – 4.65% (10)
 Strongly disagree – 1.4% (3)
 Did not respond – 1.86% (4)

Sympathetic with Labour's values

Strongly agree – 33.5% (92)
 Agree – 32% (88)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 29.8% (82)
 Disagree – 2.91% (8)
 Strongly disagree – 0% (0)
 Did not respond – 1.82% (5)

Other

Strongly agree – 40.9% (155)
 Agree – 27.9% (106)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 24.2% (92)
 Disagree – 1.84% (7)
 Strongly disagree – 1.05% (4)
 Did not respond – 4.21% (16)

Local parties should be granted more flexibility in their organisation, adopting a structure that best suits their circumstances, whilst meeting minimum requirements set nationally.

Overall results

Strongly agree – 30.6%
 Agree – 47.5%
 Neither agree nor disagree – 13%
 Disagree – 5.39%
 Strongly disagree – 0.64%
 Did not respond – 2.89%

Labour members

Strongly agree – 32.4% (223)
 Agree – 46.5% (320)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 11.3% (78)
 Disagree – 7.56% (52)
 Strongly disagree – 0.44% (3)
 Did not respond – 1.74% (12)

Labour supporters

Strongly agree – 24.2% (52)
 Agree – 54% (116)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 13.5% (29)
 Disagree – 4.19% (9)
 Strongly disagree – 1.4% (3)
 Did not respond – 2.8% (6)

Sympathetic with Labour's values

Strongly agree – 27.6% (76)
 Agree – 53.5% (147)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 10.5% (29)
 Disagree – 5.09% (14)
 Strongly disagree – 0% (0)
 Did not respond – 3.27% (9)

Other

Strongly agree – 32.9% (125)
 Agree – 41.3% (157)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 17.6% (67)
 Disagree – 2.37% (9)
 Strongly disagree – 1.05% (4)
 Did not respond – 4.74% (18)

Local parties should have a greater local role, taking part in everyday community activities and events, not just electioneering.

Overall results

Strongly agree – 54.4%
 Agree – 34.5%
 Neither agree nor disagree – 6.8%
 Disagree – 1.03%
 Strongly disagree – 0.58%
 Did not respond – 2.63%

Labour members

Strongly agree – 56.8% (391)
 Agree – 34% (234)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 5.09% (35)
 Disagree – 0.87% (6)
 Strongly disagree – 0.44% (3)
 Did not respond – 2.76% (19)

Labour supporters

Strongly agree – 49.3% (106)
 Agree – 43.5% (93)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 4.65% (10)
 Disagree – 0% (0)
 Strongly disagree – 0.47% (1)
 Did not respond – 2.33% (5)

Sympathetic with Labour's values

Strongly agree – 51.9% (148)
 Agree – 38.9% (107)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 4% (11)
 Disagree – 1.09% (3)
 Strongly disagree – 0% (0)
 Did not respond – 2.18% (6)

Other

Strongly agree – 53.4% (203)
 Agree – 27.4% (104)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 13.2% (50)
 Disagree – 1.84% (7)
 Strongly disagree – 1.32% (5)
 Did not respond – 2.89% (11)

Local parties should attempt to engage and include local Labour supporters who are not party members.

Overall results

Strongly agree – 51.8%
 Agree – 37.5%
 Neither agree nor disagree – 6.42%
 Disagree – 1.39%

Strongly disagree – 0.26%

Did not respond – 2.57%

Labour members

Strongly agree – 57.1% (393)
 Agree – 35% (238)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 3.63% (25)
 Disagree – 1.6% (11)
 Strongly disagree – 0.15% (1)
 Did not respond – 2.91% (20)

Labour supporters

Strongly agree – 53% (114)
 Agree – 38.6% (83)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 6.51% (14)
 Disagree – 0.47% (1)
 Strongly disagree – 0.47% (1)
 Did not respond – 0.93% (2)

Sympathetic with Labour's values

Strongly agree – 47.3% (130)
 Agree – 44% (121)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 4.73% (13)
 Disagree – 1.82% (5)
 Strongly disagree – 0% (0)
 Did not respond – 2.18% (6)

Other

Strongly agree – 44.7% (170)
 Agree – 37.6% (143)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 12.6% (48)
 Disagree – 1.32% (5)
 Strongly disagree – 0.53% (2)
 Did not respond – 3.16% (12)

Incumbent MPs should face an automatic formal mandatory reselection process before every general election.

Overall results

Strongly agree – 43.3%
 Agree – 34.9%
 Neither agree nor disagree – 10.1%
 Disagree – 7.19%
 Strongly disagree – 2.95%
 Did not respond – 1.6%

Labour members

Strongly agree – 43% (296)
 Agree – 35% (241)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 8.28% (57)
 Disagree – 8.28% (57)
 Strongly disagree – 3.63% (25)
 Did not respond – 1.74% (12)

Labour supporters

Strongly agree – 40.5% (87)
 Agree – 31.2% (67)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 13.5% (29)
 Disagree – 7.9% (17)

Strongly disagree – 5.12% (11)
Did not respond – 1.86% (4)

Sympathetic with Labour's values

Strongly agree – 40% (110)
Agree – 40% (110)
Neither agree nor disagree – 10.5% (29)
Disagree – 8.36% (23)
Strongly disagree – 1.09% (3)
Did not respond – 0% (0)

Other

Strongly agree – 47.9% (182)
Agree – 32.9% (125)
Neither agree nor disagree – 11.5% (42)
Disagree – 3.95% (15)
Strongly disagree – 1.84% (7)
Did not respond – 2.37% (9)

Local Labour Party Groups have too much say – they should be much more accountable to the central Party.

Overall results

Strongly agree – 2.89%
Agree – 5.91%
Neither agree nor disagree – 25.2%
Disagree – 42.4%
Strongly disagree – 21.1%
Did not respond – 2.5%

Labour members

Strongly agree – 2.33% (16)
Agree – 6.25% (43)
Neither agree nor disagree – 19.6% (135)
Disagree – 46.4% (319)
Strongly disagree – 22.2% (153)
Did not respond – 3.2% (22)

Labour supporters

Strongly agree – 4.19% (9)
Agree – 10.2% (22)
Neither agree nor disagree – 35.8% (77)
Disagree – 35.8% (77)
Strongly disagree – 12.6% (27)
Did not respond – 1.4% (3)

Sympathetic with Labour's values

Strongly agree – 3.27% (9)
Agree – 4% (11)
Neither agree nor disagree – 31.6% (87)
Disagree – 45.8% (126)
Strongly disagree – 14.2% (39)
Did not respond – 1.09% (3)

Other

Strongly agree – 2.89% (11)
Agree – 4.21% (16)
Neither agree nor disagree – 24.5% (93)
Disagree – 36.6% (139)
Strongly disagree – 28.9% (110)
Did not respond – 2.89% (11)

In looking at the successes other political campaigns have had overseas, especially that of President Obama in the US election, there are some practices which could be adapted to fit British politics and the Labour Party. Please indicate your support for the following statements:

The standard party membership fee should be abolished and instead party members should set the level of their own subscriptions.

Overall results

Strongly agree – 9.24%
Agree – 22.7%
Neither agree nor disagree – 27.9%
Disagree – 30.5%
Strongly disagree – 7.51%
Did not respond – 2.25%

Labour members

Strongly agree – 7.27% (50)
Agree – 16.4% (113)
Neither agree nor disagree – 20.6% (142)
Disagree – 42% (289)
Strongly disagree – 12.2% (84)
Did not respond – 1.45% (10)

Labour supporters

Strongly agree – 11.2% (24)
Agree – 30.7% (66)
Neither agree nor disagree – 27.9% (60)
Disagree – 21.9% (47)
Strongly disagree – 5.12% (11)
Did not respond – 3.26% (7)

Sympathetic with Labour's values

Strongly agree – 8.36% (23)
Agree – 33.8% (93)
Neither agree nor disagree – 34.2% (94)
Disagree – 21.8% (60)
Strongly disagree – 1.09% (3)
Did not respond – 0.73% (2)

Other

Strongly agree – 12.4% (47)
Agree – 21.3% (81)
Neither agree nor disagree – 36.3% (138)
Disagree – 20.8% (79)
Strongly disagree – 5% (19)
Did not respond – 4.12% (16)

Party members should be provided with more tools and support to enable self-organised, autonomous campaigning.

Overall results

Strongly agree – 21.2%
Agree – 45.8%
Neither agree nor disagree – 21.1%
Disagree – 3.66%
Strongly disagree – 0.51%
Did not respond – 2.57%

Labour members

Strongly agree – 28.9% (199)
 Agree – 46.9% (323)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 17.6% (121)
 Disagree – 4.51% (31)
 Strongly disagree – 0% (0)
 Did not respond – 2.03% (14)

Labour supporters

Strongly agree – 28.4% (61)
 Agree – 50.7% (109)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 14.9% (32)
 Disagree – 4.18% (9)
 Strongly disagree – 0.93% (2)
 Did not respond – 0.93% (2)

Sympathetic with Labour's values

Strongly agree – 21.1% (58)
 Agree – 51.3% (141)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 22.5% (62)
 Disagree – 3.64% (10)
 Strongly disagree – 0% (0)
 Did not respond – 1.45% (4)

Other

Strongly agree – 24.2% (92)
 Agree – 37.1% (141)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 30% (114)
 Disagree – 1.84% (7)
 Strongly disagree – 1.58% (6)
 Did not respond – 5.26% (20)

The mantra of 'Respect, Empower, Include' as adopted by the Obama for America campaign is one which the Labour Party should apply to their membership and organisational structure, keeping members better informed through text and email updates, and rewarding members who use initiative in their own campaigns.

Overall results

Strongly agree – 29.2%
 Agree – 45.7%
 Neither agree nor disagree – 17.5%
 Disagree – 3.34%
 Strongly disagree – 1.99%
 Did not respond – 2.25%

Labour members

Strongly agree – 37.1% (225)
 Agree – 45.8% (316)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 15.6% (107)
 Disagree – 2.62% (18)
 Strongly disagree – 1.45% (10)
 Did not respond – 1.74% (12)

Labour supporters

Strongly agree – 31.2% (67)
 Agree – 48.4% (104)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 12.1% (26)
 Disagree – 4.19% (9)
 Strongly disagree – 2.8% (6)
 Did not respond – 1.4% (3)

Sympathetic with Labour's values

Strongly agree – 24.7% (68)
 Agree – 49.1% (135)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 18.9% (52)
 Disagree – 4.36% (12)
 Strongly disagree – 0.73% (2)
 Did not respond – 2.18% (6)

Other

Strongly agree – 25% (95)
 Agree – 41.3% (157)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 23.2% (88)
 Disagree – 3.42% (13)
 Strongly disagree – 3.42% (13)
 Did not respond – 3.68% (14)

The change needed in British politics is for those managing the Party to act on behalf of the membership, not the other way around.

Overall results

Strongly agree – 50.3%
 Agree – 31.4%
 Neither agree nor disagree – 10.5%
 Disagree – 3.72%
 Strongly disagree – 1.86%
 Did not respond – 2.25%

Labour members

Strongly agree – 50.1% (346)
 Agree – 30.2% (208)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 11.8% (81)
 Disagree – 3.92% (27)
 Strongly disagree – 1.6% (11)
 Did not respond – 2.18% (15)

Labour supporters

Strongly agree – 47% (101)
 Agree – 34.9% (75)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 9.3% (20)
 Disagree – 3.26% (7)
 Strongly disagree – 3.26% (7)
 Did not respond – 2.33% (5)

Sympathetic with Labour's values

Strongly agree – 45.8% (126)
 Agree – 37.8% (104)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 9.82% (27)
 Disagree – 5.09% (14)
 Strongly disagree – 0.73% (2)
 Did not respond – 0.73% (2)

Other

Strongly agree – 55.5% (211)
 Agree – 26.8% (102)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 9.21% (35)
 Disagree – 2.63% (10)
 Strongly disagree – 2.37% (9)
 Did not respond – 3.42% (13)

General election campaigns should not be vertical, but decentralised, allowing volunteers to make decisions on the most effective allocation of resources and time locally.

Overall results

Strongly agree – 22%
 Agree – 44.6%
 Neither agree nor disagree – 20.2%
 Disagree – 9.05%
 Strongly disagree – 2.18%
 Did not respond – 2.05%

Labour members

Strongly agree – 21.9% (151)
 Agree – 40.56% (279)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 18.8% (129)
 Disagree – 13.4% (92)
 Strongly disagree – 3.39% (24)
 Did not respond – 1.89% (13)

Labour supporters

Strongly agree – 18.2% (39)
 Agree – 47.9% (103)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 21.4% (46)
 Disagree – 7.44% (16)
 Strongly disagree – 3.26% (7)
 Did not respond – 1.86% (4)

Sympathetic with Labour's values

Strongly agree – 19.6% (54)
 Agree – 53% (143)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 22.2% (61)
 Disagree – 4.36% (12)
 Strongly disagree – 0.36% (1)
 Did not respond – 1.45% (4)

Other

Strongly agree – 25.8% (98)
 Agree – 44.7% (170)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 20.5% (78)
 Disagree – 5.53% (21)
 Strongly disagree – 0.53% (2)
 Did not respond – 2.89% (11)

The idea of holding primaries to select parliamentary candidates is a controversial one. A competition held in a local area and fought between prospective general election candidates, a primary would mean any candidate representing the local Party would in one form or another be directly elected by a greater number of the people in that constituency, rather than being elected solely by the CLP. However, the potential effectiveness of primaries is fiercely debated. Please indicate your support for the following statements:

Primaries would result in greater control over local parties by the centre and would therefore not be an attractive alternative to the current system.

Overall results

Strongly agree – 14.9%
 Agree – 22.8%
 Neither agree nor disagree – 37.1%
 Disagree – 16.7%
 Strongly disagree – 5.84%
 Did not respond – 2.7%

Labour members

Strongly agree – 19.8% (136)
 Agree – 25.7% (177)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 30.2% (208)
 Disagree – 15.7% (108)
 Strongly disagree – 6.69% (46)
 Did not respond – 1.89% (13)

Labour supporters

Strongly agree – 12.6% (27)
 Agree – 23.3% (50)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 39.1% (84)
 Disagree – 17.2% (37)
 Strongly disagree – 5.12% (11)
 Did not respond – 2.8% (6)

Sympathetic with Labour's values

Strongly agree – 9.09% (25)
 Agree – 21.5% (59)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 42.2% (116)
 Disagree – 18.5% (51)
 Strongly disagree – 5.45% (15)
 Did not respond – 3.27% (9)

Other

Strongly agree – 11.6% (44)
 Agree – 18.2% (69)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 44.7% (170)
 Disagree – 16.8% (64)
 Strongly disagree – 5% (19)
 Did not respond – 3.68% (14)

Opening primary voting beyond the local party membership would undermine the value of being a Labour Party member.

Overall results

Strongly agree – 25%
 Agree – 33.5%
 Neither agree nor disagree – 20.7%
 Disagree – 12.7%
 Strongly disagree – 4.56%
 Did not respond – 3.59%

Labour members

Strongly agree – 38.8% (267)
 Agree – 31.7% (218)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 12.4% (85)
 Disagree – 11% (76)
 Strongly disagree – 3.63% (25)
 Did not respond – 2.47% (17)

Labour supporters

Strongly agree – 15.8% (34)
 Agree – 38.6% (83)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 24.2% (52)
 Disagree – 14% (30)
 Strongly disagree – 3.72% (8)
 Did not respond – 3.72% (8)

Sympathetic with Labour's values

Strongly agree – 12.7% (35)
 Agree – 35.6% (98)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 27.6% (76)
 Disagree – 16.7% (46)
 Strongly disagree – 4% (11)
 Did not respond – 3.27% (9)

Other

Strongly agree – 13.9% (53)
 Agree – 32.4% (123)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 28.7% (109)
 Disagree – 12.1% (46)
 Strongly disagree – 7.11% (27)
 Did not respond – 5.79% (22)

If adopted, primaries to select parliamentary candidates should only be open to local Labour Party members and registered Labour supporters.

Overall results

Strongly agree – 27.9%
 Agree – 37.7%
 Neither agree nor disagree – 16.6%
 Disagree – 9.63%
 Strongly disagree – 3.92%
 Did not respond – 3.92%

Labour members

Strongly agree – 39.7% (273)
 Agree – 38.1% (262)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 9.45% (65)
 Disagree – 8.14% (56)
 Strongly disagree – 2.18% (15)
 Did not respond – 2.47% (17)

Labour supporters

Strongly agree – 20.5% (44)
 Agree – 42.8% (92)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 16.3% (35)
 Disagree – 11.2% (24)
 Strongly disagree – 5.12% (11)
 Did not respond – 4.19% (9)

Sympathetic with Labour's values

Strongly agree – 16.7% (46)
 Agree – 36.7% (101)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 27.6% (76)
 Disagree – 10.9% (30)
 Strongly disagree – 2.55% (7)
 Did not respond – 5.47% (15)

Other

Strongly agree – 18.9% (72)
 Agree – 35% (133)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 22.9% (87)
 Disagree – 10.5% (40)
 Strongly disagree – 7.37% (28)
 Did not respond – 5.26% (20)

If adopted only the CLP should select the shortlist of candidates competing in the primary.

Overall results

Strongly agree – 19.4%
 Agree – 28.2%
 Neither agree nor disagree – 21.2%
 Disagree – 18.9%
 Strongly disagree – 8.34%
 Did not respond – 3.85%

Labour members

Strongly agree – 41.9% (228)
 Agree – 35.8% (246)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 12.6% (87)
 Disagree – 11.6% (80)
 Strongly disagree – 4.51% (31)
 Did not respond – 2.33% (16)

Labour supporters

Strongly agree – 6.51% (14)
 Agree – 25.6% (55)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 28.4% (61)
 Disagree – 25.6% (55)
 Strongly disagree – 9.77% (21)
 Did not respond – 4.19% (9)

Sympathetic with Labour's values

Strongly agree – 7.64% (21)
 Agree – 20.4% (56)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 29.8% (82)
 Disagree – 27.3% (75)
 Strongly disagree – 9.82% (27)
 Did not respond – 5.09% (14)

Other

Strongly agree – 10.5% (40)
 Agree – 21.8% (83)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 26.6% (101)
 Disagree – 22.1% (84)
 Strongly disagree – 13.4% (51)
 Did not respond – 5.53% (21)

Primaries should become an element of the Labour leadership election.

Overall results

Strongly agree – 10.3%
 Agree – 25.5%
 Neither agree nor disagree – 30.1%
 Disagree – 18.5%

Strongly disagree – 11.2%
Did not respond – 4.36%

Labour members

Strongly agree – 8.14% (56)
 Agree – 23.8% (164)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 25% (172)
 Disagree – 23.7% (163)
 Strongly disagree – 17% (117)
 Did not respond – 2.33% (16)

Labour supporters

Strongly agree – 13% (28)
 Agree – 27.9% (60)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 28.4% (61)
 Disagree – 20% (43)
 Strongly disagree – 5.12% (11)
 Did not respond – 5.58% (12)

Sympathetic with Labour's values

Strongly agree – 12.4% (34)
 Agree – 26.9% (74)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 36% (99)
 Disagree – 13.5% (37)
 Strongly disagree – 6.55% (18)
 Did not respond – 4.73% (13)

Other

Strongly agree – 11.3% (43)
 Agree – 26.1% (99)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 36.1% (137)
 Disagree – 12.1% (46)
 Strongly disagree – 7.37% (28)
 Did not respond – 7.11% (27)

Primaries would only be a viable method of candidate selection if stringent rules were imposed on spending and conduct.

Overall results

Strongly agree – 32.3%
 Agree – 34.6%
 Neither agree nor disagree – 23%
 Disagree – 3.59%
 Strongly disagree – 2.25%
 Did not respond – 4.3%

Labour members

Strongly agree – 39.5% (272)
 Agree – 33.1% (228)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 18.5% (127)
 Disagree – 3.49% (24)
 Strongly disagree – 2.62% (18)
 Did not respond – 2.76% (19)

Labour supporters

Strongly agree – 27.9% (60)
 Agree – 36.7% (79)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 25.1% (54)
 Disagree – 5.12% (11)

Strongly disagree – 0.93% (2)
 Did not respond – 8.37% (9)

Sympathetic with Labour's values

Strongly agree – 24% (66)
 Agree – 38.5% (106)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 29.5% (81)
 Disagree – 2.55% (7)
 Strongly disagree – 0.36% (1)
 Did not respond – 5.09% (14)

Other

Strongly agree – 27.6% (105)
 Agree – 33.7% (128)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 25.5% (97)
 Disagree – 3.68% (14)
 Strongly disagree – 2.89% (11)
 Did not respond – 6.59% (25)

Primaries could make the Party more democratic

Overall results

Strongly agree – 11.7%
 Agree – 30.6%
 Neither agree nor disagree – 30.2%
 Disagree – 14.2%
 Strongly disagree – 8.92%
 Did not respond – 4.24%

Labour members

Strongly agree – 8.87% (61)
 Agree – 27.9% (192)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 26.6% (183)
 Disagree – 18.9% (130)
 Strongly disagree – 14.4% (99)
 Did not respond – 3.34% (23)

Labour supporters

Strongly agree – 16.3% (35)
 Agree – 33.5% (72)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 32.1% (69)
 Disagree – 12.1% (26)
 Strongly disagree – 3.26% (7)
 Did not respond – 2.8% (6)

Sympathetic with Labour's values

Strongly agree – 14.9% (41)
 Agree – 33.8% (93)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 33.1% (91)
 Disagree – 10.2% (28)
 Strongly disagree – 3.64% (10)
 Did not respond – 4.36% (12)

Other

Strongly agree – 12.1% (46)
 Agree – 31.6% (120)
 Neither agree nor disagree – 33.7% (128)
 Disagree – 10% (38)
 Strongly disagree – 6.05% (23)
 Did not respond – 6.58% (25)

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