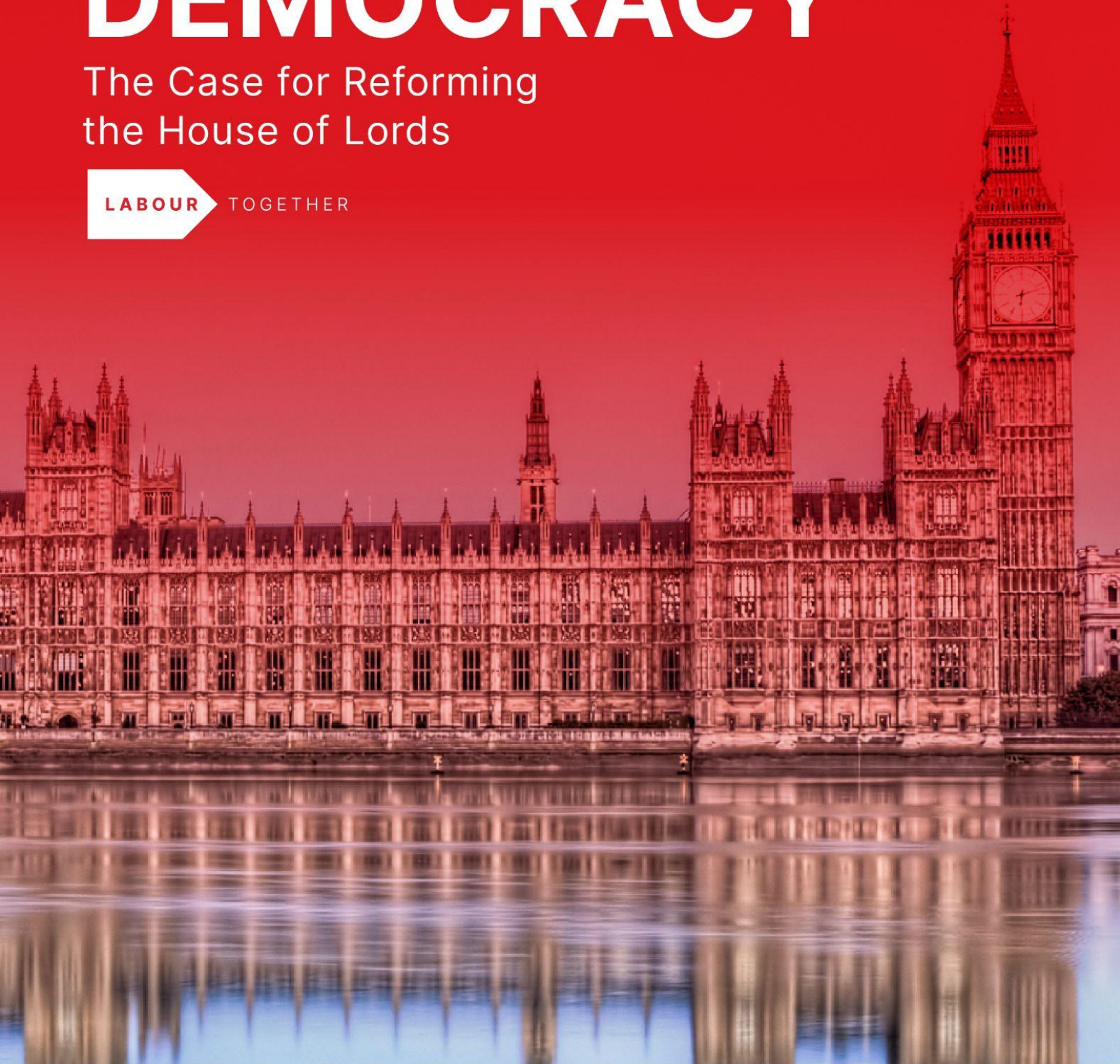July 2023

A PEERLESS DEMOCRACY

The Case for Reforming the House of Lords

LABOUR TOGETHER

By Christabel Cooper & Joshua Williams

01

INTRODUCTION

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Indefensible Institution or Unnecessary Distraction?

In December 2022, Keir Starmer committed a future Labour government to replacing the House of Lords. In its place he promised "a new, smaller, democratically elected second chamber," that will "[represent] the regions and nations of the United Kingdom."[1] Making the case for reform, he argued that no-one could "defend" the institution as it currently stands.

In truth, few defend the House of Lords as it is constituted today. Its swollen membership is second only to China's National People's Congress in number. With its grab bag of political appointees, bishops and hereditary peers, the Lords is little more democratic than China's puppet chamber. With an average age of 71 - the oldest in the world[2] - the United Kingdom's upper house makes China's representatives look positively sprightly at 52.[3]

Instead, the criticism directed at those who embark on House of Lords reform tends to be practical in nature. It is often argued that reforming Britain's second chamber is simply too great a task and one in which the British people have too little interest. Much of the political commentariat and many former politicians – sometimes opining from their own perch on the Lords' red benches – argue that the challenge is too great and the political reward too small.

In this paper, we show that this view is misguided. Based on new public opinion research, conducted by Opinium for Labour Together, we discovered widespread dissatisfaction with Britain's political system and acute opposition towards the Lords. When asked to describe the Lords in a single word or phrase, many voters simply reached for four choice letters.

When it comes to alternatives to the Lords, however, the public are unclear about the changes they would like. Our polling found no overwhelming support for any single option for reform. While there is a clear desire to replace the Lords, with what - or whether with anything at all - is a murkier picture. In this paper, we begin to explore some directions that reform might take, while being clear-sighted in our view that reform is necessary.

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[1]https://labourlist.org/2022/12/together-we-will-forge-something-bold-keir-starmers-speech/
[2]https://data.ipu.org/age-brackets?sort=desc&order=Average%20age
[3]https://npcobserver.com/2018/03/10/demographics-of-the-13th-npc/

02

WHAT VOTERS THINK

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Dissatisfied With Our Democracy

When asked whether Britain's political system is faring well or badly, voters are unequivocal. Three quarters (75%) believe that our democracy is either working "very badly" or "fairly badly". From whichever angle you view the nation, dissatisfaction prevails. Both men and women feel Britain's democracy isn't working for them. So too the young and the old, Remainers and Leavers, and Conservative and Labour voters.

Do you think Britain's political system is working well or badly?

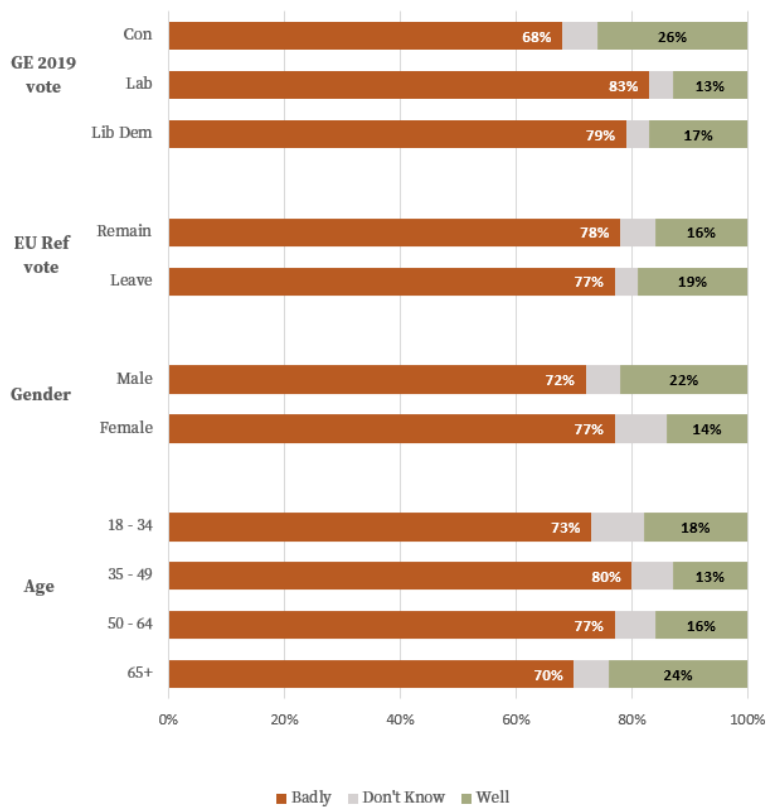|		Badly	Don't Know	Well
GE 2019 vote	Con	68%		26%
	Lab	83%		13%
	Lib Dem	79%		17%
EU Ref vote	Remain	78%		16%
	Leave	77%		19%
Gender	Male	72%		22%
	Female	77%		14%
Age	18 - 34	73%		18%
	35 - 49	80%		13%
	50 - 64	77%		16%
	65+	70%		24%

■ Badly   ■ Don't Know   ■ Well

Figure A - Democratic dissatisfaction by demographic

A Winning Coalition

In April 2023, Labour Together published a segmentation of the electorate in England and Wales. It identified two groups of voters who will be vital to Labour's attempts to secure a majority at the next election: the **Patriotic Left** (also known as "**Workington Man**") and **Disillusioned Suburbans** (also known as "**Stevenage Woman**").[4]

THE KEY SWING VOTERS	
The Patriotic Left (aka '**Workington Man**')	Older than average, the Patriotic Left are socially conservative but economically left wing. These voters often live in what has been called Labour's "Red Wall", a series of seats spread across the Midlands, North West and North East.
Disillusioned Suburbans (aka '**Stevenage Woman**')	Younger than average, but economically insecure, Disillusioned Suburbans disproportionately live in small cities and towns. They are balancers in their world-view, sticking close to the median voter: a little to the left on economics, a touch to the right on social and cultural issues.
LABOUR'S CORE VOTE	
The Activist Left	Younger than average, highly educated, the Activist Left are the most progressive voters. They disproportionately live in cities and university towns. Out to the left in their economics, they are very liberal on cultural issues.
Centrist Liberals	The most affluent voters, they are often university educated, and live disproportionately in cities and the South. They are to the left of centre on economics and the same on culture.
THE CONSERVATIVES' CORE VOTE	
English Traditionalists	The oldest segment in our group, English Traditionalists are also relatively financially secure. They are socially conservative on cultural issues, and lean a little towards the right on economics.
The Rural Right	Also an older group of voters, the Rural Right are the most financially secure group in our segmentation. They live in rural areas across the country, are firmly socially conservative on culture, and stridently right-wing on economic issues.

[4] https://labourtogether.uk/report/red-shift

Unhappiness with our political system is prevalent across the full coalition of voters Labour needs in order to win a majority, which includes the Activist Left and Centrist Liberal segments, as well as the Patriotic Left and Disillusioned Suburbans.

The Patriotic Left are the most likely segment to believe that Britain's democracy is failing, with 88% stating that it is "working badly". Disillusioned Suburbans, while characteristically less strident in their views, are little more impressed. Just 17% believe that our democracy is working well.
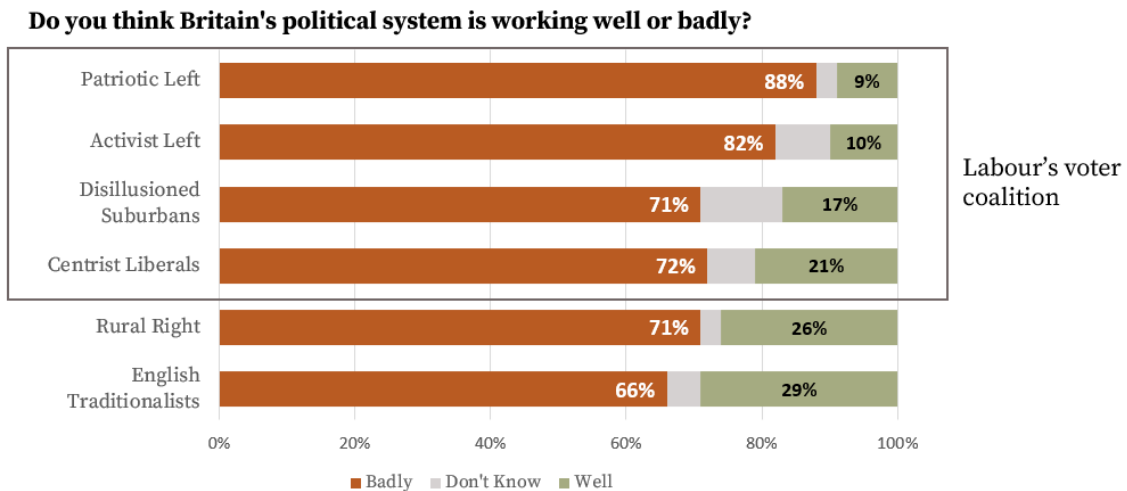
Do you think Britain's political system is working well or badly?

Segment	Badly	Don't Know	Well
Patriotic Left	88%		9%
Activist Left	82%		10%
Disillusioned Suburbans	71%		17%
Centrist Liberals	72%		21%
Rural Right	71%		26%
English Traditionalists	66%		29%

Labour's voter coalition (Patriotic Left, Activist Left, Disillusioned Suburbans, Centrist Liberals)

■ Badly ■ Don't Know ■ Well

Figure B - Democratic dissatisfaction by voter segment

The Patriotic Left and Disillusioned Suburbans are the most economically insecure voters in the electorate and this tells its own story. Across all our voter segments, we found a strong link between disillusion towards our democracy and economic hardship. The relationship is unsurprising: the less your democracy does for you, the less you are likely to believe that your democracy is working well.

Do you think Britain's political system is working well or badly?

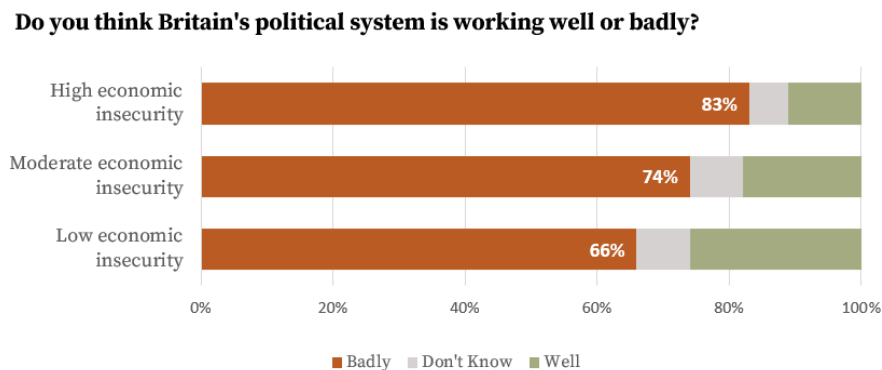| Level	Badly	Don't Know	Well
High economic insecurity	83%		
Moderate economic insecurity	74%		
Low economic insecurity	66%		

■ Badly ■ Don't Know ■ Well

Figure C - Democratic dissatisfaction by economic insecurity

(Dis)Trust in the Lords

The House of Lords is the least trusted institution in our democracy. We should little wonder at this fact. Under our current government, the House of Lords has become the source of scandal upon scandal. First, Russian oligarch Evgeny Lebedev, son of a former KGB official, was elevated to the Lords in 2020. Then, Conservative life-peer Michelle Mone was accused of profiteering from her PPE contracts. More recently, Boris Johnson's resignation honours have turned to farce, with some blocked and others – including the ennoblement of a largely unknown 29 year-old staffer – the subject of widespread derision.

Just a fifth (21%) of Britons trust the Lords, according to our recent polling. That makes them even less trusted than the House of Commons, beating journalists to the wooden spoon by a single percentage point.

To what extent do you trust each of the following to act in the best interests of the people?

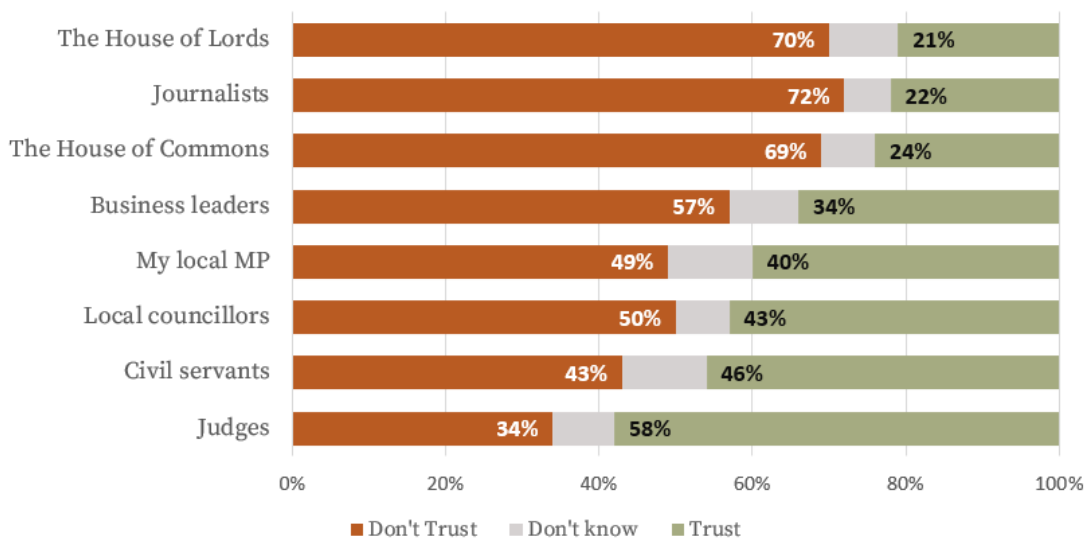|	Don't Trust	Don't know	Trust
The House of Lords	70%		21%
Journalists	72%		22%
The House of Commons	69%		24%
Business leaders	57%		34%
My local MP	49%		40%
Local councillors	50%		43%
Civil servants	43%		46%
Judges	34%		58%

Figure D - (Dis)Trust in public figures

When presented with a list of possible reforms to Britain's democracy – including a more proportional voting system and greater devolution – reforming the House of Lords gained the most support.

Would you support or oppose the following measures?
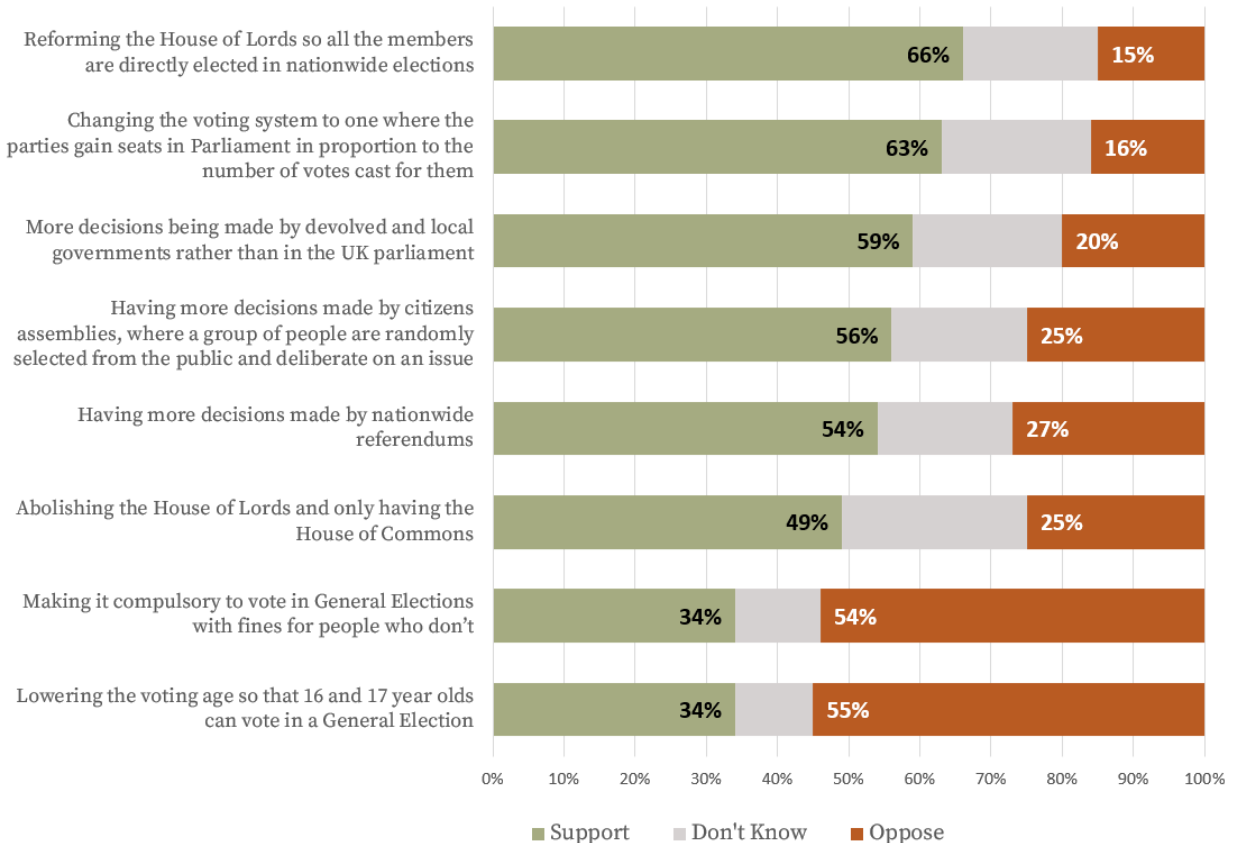
Figure E - Support for possible democratic reforms

We asked voters to describe the House of Lords in a single word. "Outdated", "old", "corrupt", "privileged" and "waste" topped the list of adjectives. Some responses were vitriolic. When asked to describe a Lord, a not insignificant number reached for a different four-letter word.

Their unhappiness, and sometimes fury, is clearly evident below:

Figure F - The Lords in a word

03

TIME FOR CHANGE

TIME FOR CHANGE

Frustrated Reformers

Attempts to reform the House of Lords are long in the tooth. In 1911, Herbert Asquith (as Prime Minister) and David Lloyd George (as Chancellor of the Exchequer) stripped peers of their power to block legislation after a two-year standoff. The last Labour government ejected most of the hereditary peers in 1999 (though still left the 92 who sit today) and removed the Lords' judicial role (passing it to the new Supreme Court in 2009).

But while recommendations to replace the Lords with an alternative have long been widespread, attempts to do so have always foundered. As early as 1910, a radical young President of the Board of Trade declared that "the time has come for the total abolition of the House of Lords" in a note he circulated to his Cabinet colleagues. In its place, he proposed a 150 member-strong second chamber. One hundred would be elected by "fifty great two-member constituencies", while the remaining fifty would be appointed by the elected group.[5] That radical would gain great fame, power and glory in the years to come. But though he would subsequently lead his country on two separate occasions, Winston Churchill never did succeed in overhauling the Lords, and neither did any of those who followed him.

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[5]Roy Jenkins, *Churchill*, p.167

What We Think About When We Think About Lords

In this report, we begin to explore what an alternative upper house might look like in order to command the support of the British people. To do so, we ground our investigation in what Britons dislike most about the House of Lords today.

Our polling shows the major problems with the House of Lords as it is currently structured:

Below are some complaints people have about the House of Lords. Which do you think are the three biggest issues?
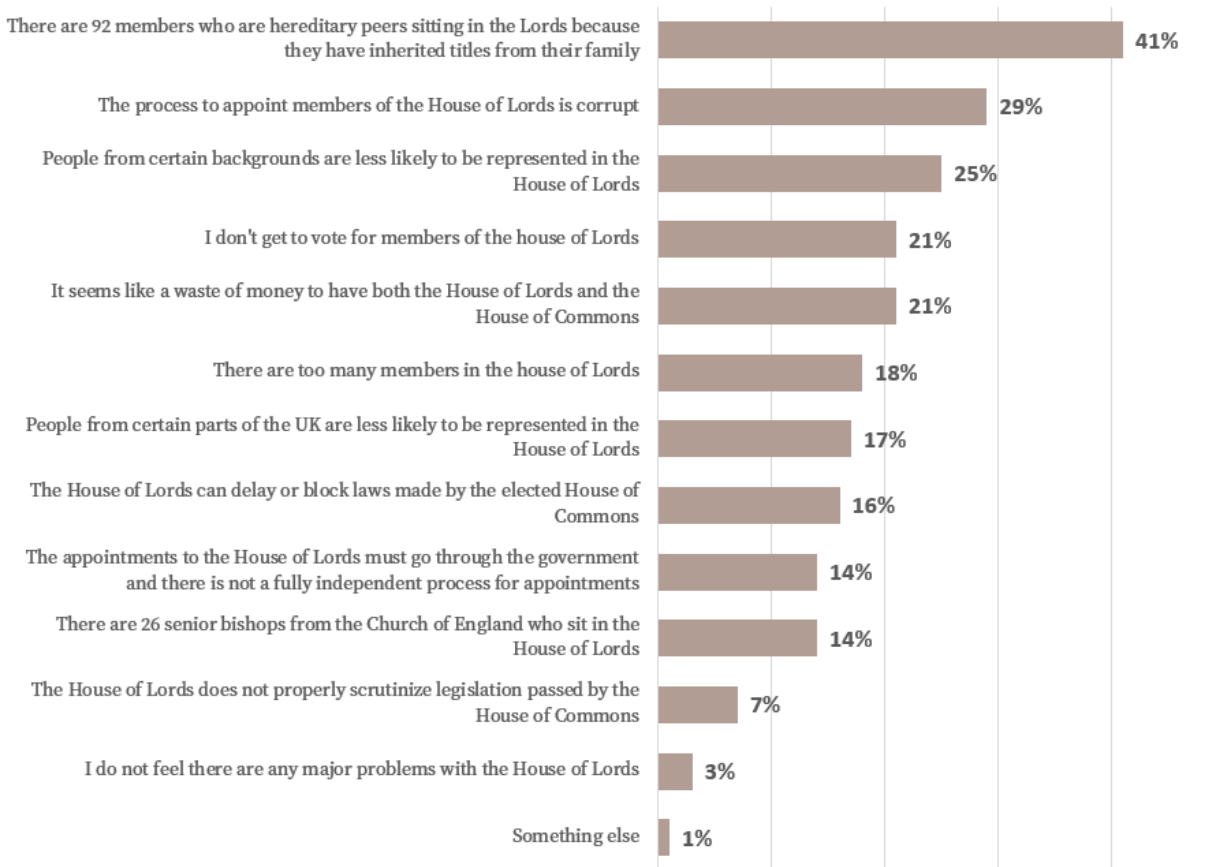
There are 92 members who are hereditary peers sitting in the Lords because they have inherited titles from their family	41%
The process to appoint members of the House of Lords is corrupt	29%
People from certain backgrounds are less likely to be represented in the House of Lords	25%
I don't get to vote for members of the house of Lords	21%
It seems like a waste of money to have both the House of Lords and the House of Commons	21%
There are too many members in the house of Lords	18%
People from certain parts of the UK are less likely to be represented in the House of Lords	17%
The House of Lords can delay or block laws made by the elected House of Commons	16%
The appointments to the House of Lords must go through the government and there is not a fully independent process for appointments	14%
There are 26 senior bishops from the Church of England who sit in the House of Lords	14%
The House of Lords does not properly scrutinize legislation passed by the House of Commons	7%
I do not feel there are any major problems with the House of Lords	3%
Something else	1%

Figure G - Issues with the Lords

An embarrassing inheritance

The most common public complaint relates to the existence of hereditary peers. These peers – who inherit their title and position – are perhaps the most egregious illustration of elitism in British politics. All of Britain's hereditary peers had the right to sit in the Lords until 1999 when elections were introduced to reduce their number to 92. But the right to stand and to vote in these elections derives purely through inheritance - almost always from father to son (currently none of the 92 hereditaries are women). In having a chamber that still assigns positions based on inheritance, Britain is almost alone in the world. The only other two nations who do the same are Lesotho and Zimbabwe.

Cronyism and corruption

The second most common complaint about the House of Lords is that the process to appoint its members is corrupt. Bar the hereditary peers and the Anglican bishops, the appointment of every other peer, who sits for life, has to be approved by the government. This means that even a Prime Minister like Liz Truss, despite occupying 10 Downing Street for only a fleeting few weeks, can appoint Lords who then sit in the upper chamber until they die. These positions are often handed out to personal favourites and reliable donors with no public oversight. Twenty-two of the Conservative Party's biggest donors, for instance, have been enobled in the last 13 years.[6]

Unrepresentative and undemocratic

The third most common complaint about the House of Lords is that it fails to represent those from certain backgrounds. The fifth most common addresses the unelected nature of the House of Lords. Taken together, they speak to a representative and democratic deficit in the Lords as it exists today. The current system for appointing peers does indeed make them particularly unrepresentative of Britain as a whole, even more so than the House of Commons. As already noted, the average age of a peer is 71, 30 years older than the average Briton. Less than a third of peers are women[7] and just 7% come from ethnic minorities.[8] A majority (57%) were privately educated, compared to just 7% of the UK population.[9] Nearly a quarter of peers are based in London compared to 13% of the general population.[10]

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[6]https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/dark-money-investigations/want-a-seat-in-the-house-of-lords-be-tory-treasurer-and-donate-3m

[7]https://lordslibrary.parliament.uk/research-briefings/lln-2018-0014/

[8]https://commonslibrary.parliament.uk/research-briefings/sn01156/

[9]https://www.suttontrust.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/Elitist-Britain-2019-Summary-Report.pdf

[10]https://www.electoral-reform.org.uk/latest-news-and-research/media-centre/press-releases/new-research-reveals-london-dominance-of-house-of-lords-amid-fresh-batch-of-unelected-peers/

Wasteful, want not

Just 21% of those we polled believe that the House of Lords acts in the best interests of the people. As we have already seen, when describing the Lords in a single word, the electorate reached for terms like "useless", "unnecessary", "pointless" and "waste". Little surprise then that the fourth most common complaint directed towards the Lords is that they are a "waste of money". While the Lords is given a significant role in Britain's constitution - scrutinising, amending and ideally improving legislation – much of the public does not see it serving that role effectively enough to warrant its existence.

A Growing Weight of Evidence

These findings demonstrate a significant weight of dissatisfaction and they come on the heels of similar studies by other organisations. In June 2023, the Institute for Public Policy Research (IPPR) published a report, *Talking Politics,* which came to similar conclusions.[11] Its authors showed that Britons see four major failings in Britain's democracy. First, "*elite capture",* a belief that political processes have been captured by the interests of a small group. Second, an absence of "*integrity":* the belief that politicians do not act with decency and are able to get away with it. Third, the lack of "*representation"*: the belief that politicians are not representative in their views and experiences of society at large. And fourth, a failure of "*delivery"*: the inability of our political process to produce policy outcomes in the interests of most citizens.

Our findings show that the House of Lords is seen as elitist, corrupt, undemocratic and unrepresentative, echoing the wider failings in democracy demonstrated by IPPR. Reform of the House of Lords therefore represents an important opportunity for democratic renewal.

Research carried out by UCL's Constitution Unit has also shown that there is considerable public disquiet with the House of Lords appointments system.[12] Only 6% supported the current process where the Prime Minister appoints new members to the Lords. Just 3% supported the current absence of a size limit, with 65% believing that the number of members in the Lords should be no greater than the 650 MPs in the House of Commons.

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[11]https://www.ippr.org/research/publications/talking-politics-building-support-for-democratic-reform
[12]https://www.ucl.ac.uk/constitution-unit/news/2022/oct/majority-public-support-house-lords-appointments-reform

United for Change

In our polling for this report, we set out a series of possible reforms for the House of Lords. The results clearly show an appetite for reform. Just 4% of voters believe that the Lords should be left as it is.

Below are some options people have put forward which they argue would improve the House of Lords. Which do you think are the best ways to set up the House of Lords?
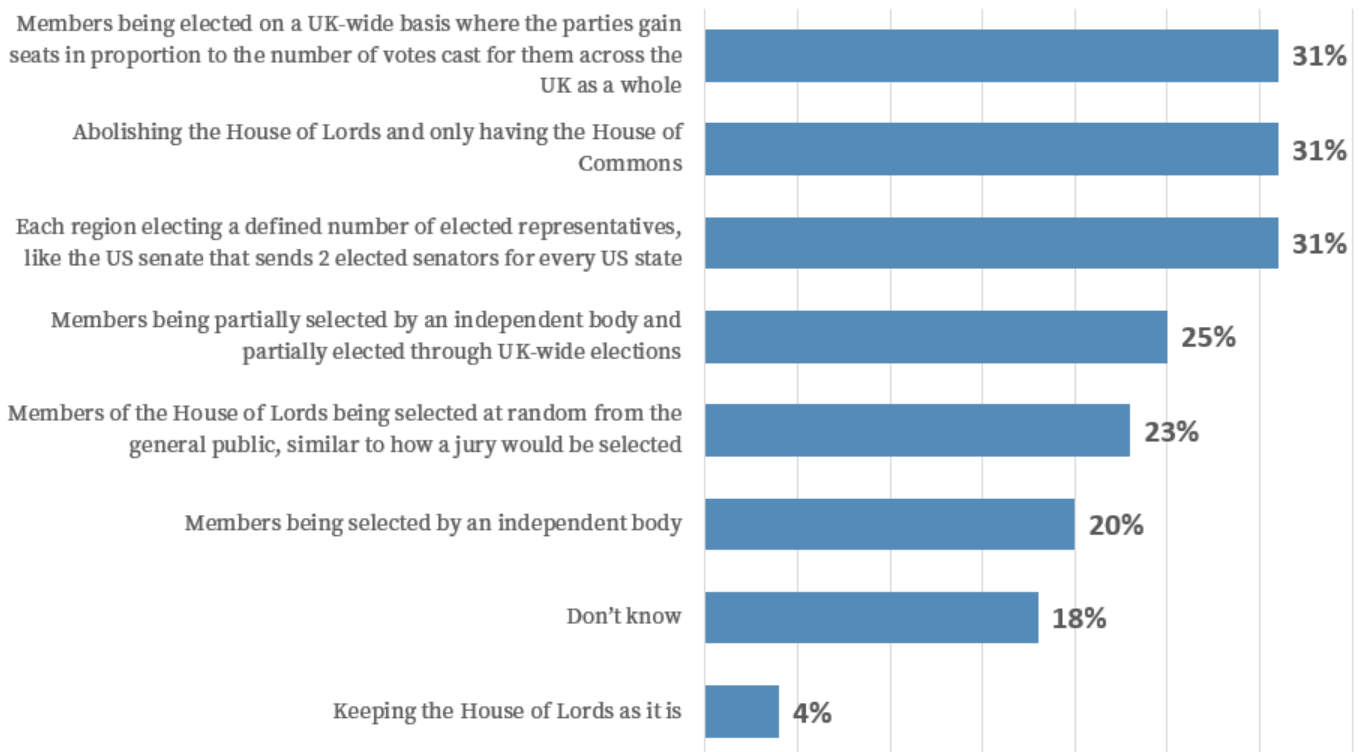

Figure H - The public appeal of possible reforms

Unclear on How

As with most constitutional problems it can be difficult to get a definitive answer on what an alternative to the House of Lords should look like given the complexity of the issues, the range of potential options, and the likelihood that most members of the public have not spent much time thinking through different reforms.

Two of the three most popular options in our polling involved replacing the House of Lords with a fully elected upper chamber, either on a UK-wide basis or where each region elects a defined number of representatives.

Our research found there was limited support for an expert but unelected chamber selected by an independent body, however responses to this kind of reform have been known to vary depending on how the question is asked. Recent polling for the UCL Constitution Unit, for instance, found that a roughly equal number believe that the Lords 'should include elected members' and that it "should include appointed members to ensure that it contains experts and people independent of political parties.'[13]

The third most popular option, it should be noted, was outright abolition – a course of action last pursued by Oliver Cromwell. While many democratic nations across the world exist with just one chamber, any would-be abolitionist should note that there is a baby in this bathwater. The abolition of the House of Lords would leave Britain without a body scrutinising legislation, which would necessitate huge constitutional upheaval, risk poor-quality legislation being passed and potentially give more unchecked power to any government with a large majority in the Commons. The lack of trust expressed in the House of Commons - just one percentage point higher than the level of trust expressed in the Lords - suggests the public would have little faith in a single chamber with no institutional oversight.

Defining the Problem

Our polling shows the desire to reform the Lords is strong, but that the public is unclear about which reforms should take place. This should be no surprise. It is the job of political leaders to articulate solutions to the problems the public faces. The Labour Party must therefore determine the precise problems that their Lords reforms seek to solve, as defining the problem precisely will guide the solution that follows.

If the main issue with the Lords is that it is ineffective or corrupt, for instance, Labour might favour targeted reforms that guarantee the selection of peers who are experts but not elected. Removing hereditary peers and ensuring the upper chamber is genuinely composed of experts in a wide variety of subjects would improve its ability to scrutinise legislation and to deliver

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[13]https://www.ucl.ac.uk/constitution-unit/news/2022/oct/majority-public-support-house-lords-appointments-reform

better outcomes. A move to strengthen the independence of the process of appointing members, and strengthen the powers of the House of Lords Appointments Commission, would address public concerns about corruption.

By contrast, Labour's principal concern may be the lack of any institution in Westminster that represents the nations and regions of the United Kingdom. Addressing this problem would require more radical reform, such as a new upper chamber populated by officials from across the country, including elected officials (like Mayors) and unelected officials (like the Chief Executives of local authorities). This would echo the shape of Germany's second chamber, where members are ministers in state-level governments who also represent their locality within this national institution. Doing this would address a lack of regional representation, but has its own drawbacks: its membership would have less time and capacity to scrutinise legislation than a chamber whose members were devoted to that alone.

If the Lords' democratic deficit is paramount, meanwhile, we would be led towards a chamber that is directly elected, whether nationally or regionally. The House of Councillors in Japan is one example of a second chamber where members are partially elected from a nationwide list using proportional representation and partially elected from districts using a single transferable vote. A chamber purely designed to represent regional identity might look more like the US Senate, where each state – regardless of its size – sends two senators to Washington. This means that California, a state with a population of nearly 40 million, sends the same number of senators as Wyoming, home to around half a million people. Another approach might see the number of representatives for each region determined by the population of that region.

Replacing the Lords with a wholly elected House might be popular but would raise issues of its own. An elected House of Lords, split down the same party lines as the Commons, would have less independence from political parties and less expertise. Meanwhile, a newly elected upper chamber could find itself in competition with the House of Commons. Currently, the Lords' lack of democratic legitimacy justifies the limitations on their power. A new upper house might need to be given different powers or specific areas of responsibility to ensure that the two chambers were complementary rather than permanently in conflict.

Before the shape of reform is settled upon, there is more work to do. The Labour Party must separate the problems that democratic reform seeks to address and be clear about what problems each institutional reform would solve.

It is worth noting, however, that one reform already unites the British public. It is absolutely clear that there is no place for hereditary peers in a modern legislature. Whatever path towards reform that a future Labour government decides to take, the removal of powers that are conferred by inheritance must be a first step.

04
CONCLUSION

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A Centuries Old Promise Realised?

This paper is a reminder of Britons' profound dissatisfaction, and often anger, at the state of our democracy. Three quarters of the country believes that our system of government is performing badly. When reviewing the problems with our democracy, dissatisfaction with our unelected and unrepresentative House of Lords tops voters' list of woes. The contours of a new House of Lords set out by Keir Starmer in December 2022 – elected and representing all Britain's regions and nations – command considerable appeal amongst the electorate.

While this paper does not make the case for a particular reform to the House of Lords, it does argue that the public would support a Labour government that pursued Keir Starmer's promise of reform to our upper house.

In the depths of an economic crisis, when millions are struggling to make ends meet, constitutional reform is often dismissed as an unnecessary distraction. That is to miss the profound distrust that haunts our democracy today. Many Britons do not believe that their government adequately represents them and their interests. They believe that our flawed democratic institutions are making poor decisions on their behalf. Meanwhile, those who most need their government to support them – the most economically insecure in the nation – are those most likely to feel like the system is failing them.

Fixing our economy and fixing our democracy are often presented as alternative choices. This is entirely wrong. Each supports the other. A sacred bond has been broken, between those who govern and those who are governed. To fix Britain, we must fix our democracy as well as our economy and our society. That can and must begin with reform to our ancient and antiquated House of Lords.

04

APPENDIX

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Labour Together's analysis was based on polling conducted by Opinium, with a sample of 4,001 in England, Scotland and Wales, with fieldwork conducted between 12th and 16th June, 2023. Where not sourced in the text, the findings above are based on the following results. Where voter segments are named below, the following key applies: AL = Activist Left; CL = Centrist Liberals; DS = Disillusioned Suburbans; ET = English Traditionalists; PL = Patriotic Left; RR = Rural Right.

1. **Do you think Britain's political system is currently working well or badly?**

		Segment					
	Total	**AL**	**CL**	**DS**	**ET**	**PL**	**RR**
Very well	**2%**	0%	1%	2%	3%	1%	2%
Fairly well	**16%**	10%	19%	15%	26%	8%	23%
Fairly badly	**42%**	39%	45%	46%	43%	34%	38%
Very badly	**33%**	43%	27%	25%	23%	54%	32%
Don't know	**7%**	8%	7%	12%	5%	3%	4%
NET: Well	**18%**	10%	21%	17%	29%	9%	26%
NET: Badly	**75%**	82%	72%	71%	66%	88%	71%

2. **To what extent do you trust each of the following to act in the best interests of the people?**

	The House of Lords	**The House of Commons**	**Local councillors**	**My local MP**	**Civil servants**	**Journalists**	**Judges**	**Business leaders**
Trust a lot	4%	3%	5%	8%	8%	2%	17%	4%
Trust a little	17%	21%	38%	32%	37%	19%	42%	30%
Don't trust much	31%	36%	32%	27%	27%	34%	22%	37%
Don't trust at all	38%	33%	18%	22%	16%	38%	11%	20%
Don't know	9%	7%	7%	11%	12%	6%	8%	9%
NET: Trust	21%	24%	43%	40%	46%	22%	58%	34%
NET: Don't trust	70%	69%	50%	49%	43%	72%	34%	57%

3. To what extent do you trust members of the House of Lords to act in the best interests of the people?

		Segment					
	Total	**AL**	**CL**	**DS**	**ET**	**PL**	**RR**
Trust a lot	**4%**	4%	4%	3%	5%	1%	2%
Trust a little	**17%**	19%	20%	18%	25%	10%	13%
Don't trust much	**31%**	27%	34%	34%	32%	25%	29%
Don't trust at all	**38%**	38%	33%	33%	30%	58%	50%
Don't know	**9%**	11%	9%	12%	8%	6%	6%
NET: Trust	**21%**	23%	24%	21%	30%	11%	15%
NET: Don't trust	**70%**	65%	67%	67%	62%	83%	79%

4. Would you support or oppose the following measures?

	NET: Support	NET: Oppose	Strongly support	Tend to support	Tend to oppose	Strongly oppose	Don't know
Lowering the voting age so that 16 and 17 year olds can vote in a General Election	34%	55%	13%	20%	26%	29%	12%
Making it compulsory to vote in General Elections with fines for people who don't	34%	54%	13%	21%	28%	27%	11%
Changing the voting system to one where the parties gain seats in Parliament in proportion to the number of votes cast for them	63%	16%	24%	39%	10%	5%	21%
More decisions being made by devolved and local governments rather than in the UK parliament	59%	20%	16%	43%	15%	6%	21%
Abolishing the House of Lords and only having the House of Commons	49%	25%	23%	26%	16%	9%	26%
Reforming the House of Lords so all the members are directly elected in nationwide elections	66%	15%	28%	38%	10%	5%	19%
Having more decisions made by nationwide referendums	54%	27%	17%	37%	18%	9%	19%
Having more decisions made by citizens assemblies, where a group of people are randomly selected from the public and deliberate on an issue	56%	25%	17%	39%	16%	9%	19%

5. Which of the following would have the biggest positive impact on Britain's political system?

		Segment					
	Total	AL	CL	DS	ET	PL	RR
Changing the voting system to one where the parties gain seats in Parliament in proportion to the number of votes cast for them	**34%**	46%	37%	29%	28%	30%	32%
Having more decisions made by citizens assemblies, where a group of people are randomly selected from the public and deliberate on an issue.	**21%**	22%	19%	23%	22%	26%	14%
More decisions being made by devolved and local governments rather than in the UK parliament	**21%**	17%	21%	22%	17%	21%	17%
Abolishing the House of Lords and only having the House of Commons	**19%**	14%	16%	17%	20%	28%	32%
Having more decisions made by nationwide referendums	**19%**	14%	20%	22%	19%	22%	19%
Reforming the House of Lords so all the members are directly elected in nationwide elections	**18%**	19%	18%	16%	21%	16%	19%
Making it compulsory to vote in General Elections with fines for people who don't	**13%**	12%	14%	9%	17%	16%	17%
Lowering the voting age so that 16 and 17 year olds can vote	**11%**	18%	11%	12%	8%	7%	4%
None of these	**5%**	3%	7%	6%	6%	4%	9%
Don't know	**9%**	11%	8%	11%	7%	8%	5%

6. **Below are some complaints people have about the House of Lords. Which, if any, do you think are the three biggest issues?**

		Segment					
	Total	**AL**	**CL**	**DS**	**ET**	**PL**	**RR**
There are 92 members who are hereditary peers sitting in the Lords because they have inherited titles from their family	**41%**	47%	42%	38%	41%	41%	36%
The process to appoint members of the House of Lords is corrupt	**29%**	37%	27%	22%	28%	35%	36%
People from certain backgrounds are less likely to be represented in the House of Lords	**25%**	34%	26%	25%	18%	24%	13%
It seems like a waste of money to have both the House of Lords and the House of Commons	**21%**	12%	23%	24%	20%	31%	21%
I don't get to vote for members of the house of Lords	**21%**	24%	20%	17%	18%	22%	27%
There are too many members in the house of Lords	**18%**	13%	20%	13%	19%	22%	30%
People from certain parts of the UK are less likely to be represented in the House of Lords	**17%**	17%	18%	21%	15%	13%	8%
The House of Lords can delay or block laws made by the elected House of Commons	**16%**	10%	15%	14%	15%	17%	33%
There are 26 senior bishops from the Church of England who sit in the House of Lords	**14%**	15%	15%	11%	19%	11%	19%
The appointments to the House of Lords must go through the government and there is not a fully independent process for appointments	**14%**	14%	18%	13%	18%	10%	12%
The House of Lords does not properly scrutinise legislation passed by the House of Commons	**7%**	4%	5%	8%	8%	9%	8%
Something else	**1%**	1%	1%	2%	1%	1%	1%
I do not feel there are any major problems with the House of Lords	**3%**	1%	2%	3%	5%	1%	4%
Don't know	**11%**	13%	9%	14%	10%	11%	4%

7. Below are some options people have put forward which they argue would improve the House of Lords. Which, if any, do you think are the best ways to set up the House of Lords?

	Total	Segment					
		AL	CL	DS	ET	PL	RR
Each region electing a defined number of elected representatives, like the US senate that sends 2 elected senators for every US state	**31%**	34%	32%	28%	28%	29%	31%
Abolishing the House of Lords and only having the House of Commons	**31%**	25%	30%	28%	29%	44%	38%
Members being elected on a UK-wide basis where the parties gain seats in proportion to the number of votes cast for them across the UK as a whole	**31%**	34%	32%	32%	27%	27%	26%
Members being partially selected by an independent body and partially elected through UK-wide elections	**25%**	30%	27%	23%	26%	24%	23%
Members of the House of Lords being selected at random from the general public, similar to how a jury would be selected	**23%**	23%	23%	26%	20%	24%	21%
Members being selected by an independent body	**20%**	19%	20%	20%	26%	21%	14%
Keeping the House of Lords as it is	**4%**	3%	4%	4%	7%	2%	8%
Don't know	**18%**	21%	16%	22%	15%	18%	11%