

Respondent - Ian Hayes

To assist with our inquiry, the Committee would welcome your views on any or all of the following points:

- Recall
- Triggers for a recall process
- Signing a petition
- Length of the recall process
- A system for Wales
- Disqualification
- Making of False or Deceptive Statements of Fact by Members and Candidates
- Sanction of removal of a Member

Some helpful things to be aware of before you start answering the consultation questions:

- You do not need to answer every question, only those on which you wish to share information or have a view.
- If you provide any information that you feel is not suitable for public disclosure, please indicate which parts should not be published and give your reasons for this.

Recall

Recall mechanisms are the means by which an elected politician can be removed from office by their constituents between elections.

The UK Parliament was the first legislature in the UK to introduce a system of recall for Members of Parliament (MPs) in 2015. If certain conditions are met, voters in the relevant constituency have six weeks to sign a "recall petition" if they wish for their MP to be removed from office. If at least 10 per cent of eligible registered electors sign the petition, there will be a by-election in that constituency via the First Past the Post (FPTP) electoral system. The recalled MP may stand in the by-election.

From 2026, all Members of the Senedd will be elected via a closed list proportional representation system. If a recall mechanism is to be adopted by the Senedd then it must be designed in accordance with the new electoral system. Under the new arrangements, there is no provision for a by-election in the event of a vacancy during a Senedd term; a vacant seat will be filled by the next eligible and willing person on the list instead.

8. Should there be a power to remove a Member of the Senedd during a Senedd term when a complaint of misconduct has been upheld?

- Yes
- No
- Don't have a view

9. Please outline your reasons for your answer.

(We would be grateful if you could keep your answer to around 500 words)

To maintain public respect for the Senedd it is essential to hold the members to a very high standard of personal integrity, performance, and compliance with conflicts of interest

10. The following questions in this section are based on the practical implications of recall, if you do not think that a recall system should be introduced, you do not have to answer these questions.

Would you like to answer questions on the practical implications of recall?

- Yes
- No

Triggers for a recall process

11. In the House of Commons recall system, an MP will be subject to recall if, following a report from the Committee on Standards, the House of Commons orders the suspension of the MP from the House for at least 10 sitting days or 14 calendar days.

What is your view on how long a period a Member of the Senedd should be suspended for in order to trigger a recall process?

- Fewer than 10 sitting days
- 10 sitting days
- More than 10 sitting days
- Suspension should not trigger a recall process
- Don't have a view
- The suspension should be permanent until the person is either cleared or removed

12. Please outline your reasons for your answer.

(We would be grateful if you could keep your answer to around 500 words)

If a Senedd member is found to have breached an ethical or legal expectation then they should be suspended immediately - without pay.

13. In the House of Commons recall system, an MP will be subject to recall if, after becoming an MP, they have been convicted of providing false or misleading information in support of an expenses claim under the Parliamentary Standards Act 2009 (provision of information they know to be false or misleading in a material respect in support of a claim for allowances).

What is your view on whether the upholding of a complaint about misuse of expenses or allowances (i.e. a breach of Rule 9 of the Code of Conduct) should potentially trigger a recall process?

- A breach of Rule 9 should automatically trigger a recall process
- A breach of Rule 9 should not result in a recall process
- Triggering a recall process should be an option available to the Standards of Conduct Committee to recommend if a complaint about a breach of Rule 9 is upheld.
- Don't have a view

14. Please outline your reasons for your answer.

(We would be grateful if you could keep your answer to around 500 words)

Keeping the rules simple and with a very strong penalty/deterrent, are a necessary high bar to ensure that members are in no doubt about the penalties that will be incurred if they misbehave.

15. At the moment there are no sanctions if a Member leaves, joins or changes political group during a Senedd term.

What is your view on whether changing political groups should trigger recall processes (i.e. moving from party group A to party group B within a Senedd term, or moving from party group A to sit as an independent)? Please outline your reasons for your answer.

(We would be grateful if you could keep your answer to around 500 words)

A member should only be sanctioned for a change of political group if they were elected as part of some PR list where the voter was not voting for a particular person.

16. What is your view on whether a lack of attendance and participation in proceedings without good reason for a period of six months or more trigger recall procedures? Please outline your reasons for your answer.

(We would be grateful if you could keep your answer to around 500 words)

The member should only be assessed in terms of duties that they are mandated to attend. My own preference is that MS's need to spend more time in their constituencies and less time in the divorced from reality political bubble that meets in Cardiff

17. At present, Members of the Senedd who are convicted of a criminal offence and sentenced to a period of imprisonment or detention of 12 months or more are disqualified from being Members or candidates. In the House of Commons recall system, an MP will be subject to recall if they have, after becoming an MP, been convicted of an offence and sentenced to be imprisoned or detained for a period of less than 12 months (including suspended sentences).

What is your view on whether a Member of the Senedd convicted of a criminal offence with a sentence of less than 12 months should be subject to a recall petition? Please outline your reasons for your answer.

(We would be grateful if you could keep your answer to around 500 words)

Any criminal offence should trigger an automatic disqualification.

18. Should there be any other triggers for a recall process?

(We would be grateful if you could keep your answer to around 500 words)

A member in a ministerial role should be subject to personal accountability for any material waste of public money.

Signing a petition

19. In the House of Commons system, eligible voters only sign the petition if they are in favour of recalling the MP. This means that there is no option for voters to show support for the MP to remain in post and that, when entering a polling station, their intention to sign the petition is known to others.

Should the recall petition provide an option for showing support for the recalled Member to retain their seat?

- Yes
- No
- Don't have a view

20. Please outline your reasons for your answer.

(We would be grateful if you could keep your answer to around 500 words)

The 'silent majority' have no way of countering nuisance petitions.

21. In the House of Commons system, if 10 per cent of eligible electors sign a recall petition, there will be a by-election in that constituency and the outgoing MP may contest that election if they wish to. The Senedd Commissioner for Standards has highlighted that if the threshold was set at the same level for a Senedd recall process, 10 per cent of the electorate could directly remove a Member, as there is no provision to replace Members of the Senedd through by-elections.

What are your views on the threshold of signatures that should be required in order for a petition to remove a Member?

(We would be grateful if you could keep your answer to around 500 words)

10% seems like a sensible threshold

22. In the House of Commons system, eligible voters may sign a recall petition in person at a designated signing place, by post, or by appointing someone as a proxy to sign the petition on their behalf.

What are your views on how an eligible voter should electors be able to sign a petition?

(please select all options that you think should be available to voters)

- In person
- By post
- By proxy
- Don't have a view
- The use of online voting mechanisms should be considered

23. Please outline your reasons for your answer.

(We would be grateful if you could keep your answer to around 500 words)

The voting system needs to move forward and recognize that most people live a large part of their life through online systems.

Length of the recall process

24. In the House of Commons system, electors have six weeks to sign a recall petition. Evidence suggests that the majority of people who have signed recall petitions do so early in the six-week period. Concerns have been raised about the practicalities of providing designated signing places for a six week period.

Should a recall petition be open on a single day, across a greater number of designated areas, or over a multi-week signing period in fewer areas?

- A single day across a greater number of designated areas
- A multi-week signing period in fewer areas
- Don't have a view
- Two month time period would be more appropriate, as might take several weeks for the situation to be become common knowledge

25. If the petition should be open for a multi-week signing period, how long it should be open for?

(We would be grateful if you could keep your answer to around 500 words)

26. Are there any other issues that you would like to raise regarding how constituents can access or participate in the process?

(We would be grateful if you could keep your answer to around 500 words)

This review needs to consider the implications of how large business or personal donations to a MS can undermine public confidence in the political process. This was all to apparent with the recent demise of Vaughn Gething. The key issue is about removing the possibility of undue influence arising from large donations, and the simplest way to deliver this to to set a low maximum limit on the donations that a MS or political party can receive. I would suggest placing a limit of £500 per annum on donations that are permitted from a individual or business.

A system for Wales

Early work by the Committee has identified two initial options for consideration:

Option 1: A recall petition is run asking only whether the Member should be recalled. In the event a Member is recalled, the next eligible and willing candidate from the party's list on which the removed Member was elected would fill the vacant seat. This approach means that signing the petition would remove the Member, rather than result in a by-election in that constituency.

Option 2: A retain or remove and replace petition is run, asking whether the Member should remain in place, or be removed and replaced (if possible) with the next candidate on the party's list. This would be subject to a campaign period, allowing the Member subject to the 'recall' process an opportunity to defend their position with the electorate.

With either option, vacancies could be filled quickly and the proportionality of the last election result could be maintained. However, Members elected as independents, or those elected to represent political parties that have no remaining candidates on their lists, would not be replaced. This could affect the proportionality of the Senedd.

27. What are your views on these two options?

(We would be grateful if you could keep your answer to around 500 words)

A recall decision should trigger an election, where the public can decide on who best to replace the incumbent.

28. Is there an alternative system which could be explored?

(We would be grateful if you could keep your answer to around 500 words)

I am fully oppose the use of 'lists' from which replacements would be drafted. This would only generate the "party-first" nepotism/corruption that was all too evident in Italy during the latter part of the 20th century.
If a MS is recalled then the most direct and effective route is to hold a bye election. Then the public can hold the parties and individuals to account.

Disqualification

A person must meet certain qualifications to be eligible to be a Member or stand for election to the Senedd. These are set out in section 16 and Schedule 1A to the Government of Wales Act 2006, and include criteria such as age, citizenship, not being registered on an electoral register in Wales, bankruptcy status, certain criminal convictions or sentences, membership of other UK legislatures, and holding of certain offices.

29. A Member is disqualified from being a Member of the Senedd if, after being elected, they are convicted of a criminal offence and sentenced to imprisonment or detention for 12 months or more. We have heard some suggestions that this should be reduced, for example, to six months.

What are your views on the length of prison sentence that should trigger disqualification?

(We would be grateful if you could keep your answer to around 500 words)

Any criminal offence, no matter the sentence length, should disqualify the candidate

30. Other than deception, which is dealt with in the next section, are there any other grounds which should result in disqualification from membership of the Senedd?

(We would be grateful if you could keep your answer to around 500 words)

Bribery through large donations or inducements received from outside parties.

Making of False or Deceptive Statements of Fact by Members and Candidates

The Code of Conduct already requires Members to be truthful and act truthfully. However, the Committee has heard suggestions that Members and candidates should be disqualified if they wilfully make false or deceptive statements with the intent to mislead.

Early work by the Committee has identified three initial options for consideration. More detail on these options is set out in the consultation document:

<https://business.senedd.wales/documents/s152624/Inquiry%20into%20Individual%20Member%20Accountability%20-%20Consultation.pdf>

Option 1: Create a criminal offence of deception, which would be investigated by the police and tried before the criminal courts. People convicted would be disqualified.

Option 2: Create a civil offence of deception, which would be investigated by an existing investigative body such as the Public Services Ombudsman and an independent Welsh Tribunal, such as the Adjudication Board for Wales.

Option 3: Amend the existing Code of Conduct to more explicitly prohibit wilful lying or deception and strengthen the potential sanctions. Alleged breaches would be investigated by the Senedd Commissioner for Standards, and, if upheld, referred to the Standards of Conduct Committee and Senedd. Extending this option to cover candidates as well as Members could give rise to significant practical implications.

31. What are your views on whether making of false or deceptive statements by Members of the Senedd or candidates to become Members should be grounds for disqualification?

- Grounds for disqualification for Members only
- Grounds for disqualification for candidates only
- Grounds for disqualification for Members and candidates
- Not grounds for disqualification
- Don't have a view

32. Please outline your reasons for your answer. If you have indicated that candidates should be included, please indicate at what point you think candidates should be subject to potential liability.

(We would be grateful if you could keep your answer to around 500 words)

Deception is very problematic thing to prove. If a member defames another party then the law courts already provide recourse. I feel that the Senedd could waste huge amounts of time, money and energy trying to metaphorically nail a jelly to a wall. I would prefer that members concentrate on more proactive tasks

33. If making of false or deceptive statements were to be grounds for disqualification, what are your views on any risks that could arise (such as the potential for malicious complaints to be made against Members), the effect of such risks, and how any such risks could be mitigated?

(We would be grateful if you could keep your answer to around 500 words)

The risks are low. I think members have an inflated view of the importance of what they say in the Senedd. Most of the public really don't care about the political rough and tumble of debate. The real litmus is about the effectiveness of the political leadership or political opposition

34. Section 42 of the Government of Wales Act 2006 provides that statements made during Senedd proceedings are 'absolutely privileged' for the purposes of defamation. Section 43 provides that statements made during Senedd proceedings have limited protections from contempt of court.

What are your views on whether any prohibition on the making of false or deceptive statements of fact could have consequences for these 'privileges'?

(We would be grateful if you could keep your answer to around 500 words)

The protections due from 'absolute privilege' are no longer relevant and should be removed. Making political statements should be open to the laws of perjury and slander like any other member of society

35. Would introducing a criminal offence or a civil sanction system give rise to any human rights issues, for example in relation to rights of freedom of expression (Article 10 of the European Convention on Human Rights) and freedom to stand in an election (Article 3 of Protocol No. 1 to the ECHR - Right to free elections)?

(We would be grateful if you could keep your answer to around 500 words)

The ECHR includes many conflicting rights where one right will on occasion override or take precedence over another right. In this case, as the member was fully aware of the sanctions that would be imposed through criminal behaviour then they have voluntarily given up any ECHR right to that freedom.

36. What are your overall views on the three options outlined above (more detailed questions on specific issues are set out below)? Are there any other options that would be more appropriate or effective?

(We would be grateful if you could keep your answer to around 500 words)

We don't need any 'PC' style policing of political discourse. This would end up being a huge waste of public time and money.

37. Should making a false or deceptive statement of fact be made a crime or be made subject to civil sanctions?

- Crime
- Civil sanctions
- Don't have a view

38. Please outline your reasons for your answer.

(We would be grateful if you could keep your answer to around 500 words)

Existing laws on slander, libel and hate crimes are sufficient to impose a standard on member political statements and discourse. There is no need to take this further. I would prefer that the Senedd focus its time on helping Wales rather than wasting time on trying to sanctify political debate in Cardiff.

39. What are your views on the nature of an independent judicial process that should be used if option 2 were pursued (i.e. a civil sanction investigated by an existing investigative body such as the Public Services Ombudsman for Wales or an independent Welsh Tribunal)?

(We would be grateful if you could keep your answer to around 500 words)

A waste of time and money.

40. If the making false or deceptive statements is made subject to a civil sanction, what standard of proof would be most appropriate - the civil standard (i.e. "on the balance of probabilities") or the criminal standard (i.e. "beyond reasonable doubt")? Although not common, there have been instances where professional disciplinary bodies have operated to the criminal standard.

- Civil standard
- Criminal standard
- Don't have a view

41. If option 3 were pursued (i.e. strengthening the existing Code of Conduct and sanctions) what are your views on the measures and mechanisms that could address the issue of deception or false statements? For example, through existing standards procedures or potential recall mechanisms.

(We would be grateful if you could keep your answer to around 500 words)

The member's political party should be the first responsible party, and be urged to rein in any unwarranted behaviour.

42. If a disqualification is introduced, what length of disqualification would be appropriate? For example, should there be a fixed period of disqualification, or a period (within a set range) to be determined on a case-by-case basis so that any mitigating circumstances that could reduce the period of disqualification are taken into consideration?

(We would be grateful if you could keep your answer to around 500 words)

None. Freedom of speech within the bounds of existing legal protections is already sufficient to cover this area

43. What sanctions other than disqualification might be an appropriate penalty for the making of false or deceptive statements of fact?

(We would be grateful if you could keep your answer to around 500 words)

None. Freedom of speech within the bounds of existing legal protections is already sufficient to cover this area

44. What defences should be available to an allegation of deception?

(We would be grateful if you could keep your answer to around 500 words)

None. Freedom of speech within the bounds of existing legal protections is already sufficient to cover this area

45. Please outline any views you have on the interaction between proceedings for making false or deceptive statements (whether it is civil or criminal) with the rules set out in the Senedd Members' Code of Conduct which already require Members to always act truthfully.

(We would be grateful if you could keep your answer to around 500 words)

Codes of conduct are a waste of time.
Freedom of speech within the bounds of existing legal protections is already sufficient to cover this area

46. Please outline any views you have on the resource implications for existing bodies or bodies that might be created to investigate and decide complaints of false or deceptive statements of fact.

(We would be grateful if you could keep your answer to around 500 words)

In a time when all public services in Wales are under enormous financial strain, the idea that the Senedd would commit time and resource to introduce an expensive process to cover the investigation of deceptive statements by politicians is barely credible. It is just another example of how detached the Senedd is from the day to day struggles that businesses, organizations and individuals have to face.
By their very nature most political statements are deceptive, so that idea that this type of behaviour can be regulated and policed is laughable.

Sanction of removal of a Member

If a complaint against a Member of the Senedd is upheld, the Committee may recommend one or more sanctions as set out in Standing Orders. These include exclusion from Senedd proceedings for a specified period and/or the withdrawal of certain rights and privileges. The Committee cannot currently recommend the removal of a Member.

The Senedd must debate any reports published by the Committee, and decide whether to give effect to any recommended sanctions. At present, such decisions are taken by simple majority.

47. Should the Committee have the power to recommend sanctions of disqualification or recall of a Member of the Senedd?

(We would be grateful if you could keep your answer to around 500 words)

No.

48. Are there any other sanctions that should be available to the Committee?

(We would be grateful if you could keep your answer to around 500 words)

No