POLITICAL PARTIES AND DEMOCRACY IN THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL PERSPECTIVES

DEVELOPING PARTY POLICIES

National Democratic Institute

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455 Massachusetts Ave, NW
8th Floor
Washington, DC 20001
Telephone: 202-728-5500
Fax: 202-728-5520

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements . . . viii
Preface . . . ix
Executive Summary . . . 1
Part I: Comparative Section . . . 4
Introduction . . . 5
Party Identity . . . 6
Contextual Factors Influencing Party Identity . . . 6
Diagram 1: Contextual Factors Influencing Political Identity . . . 7
Components of Party Identity . . . 8
Diagram 2: Different Dimensions of Party Identity . . . 9
Textbox 1: Unions and Policy in the UK Labour Party . . . 11
Ideology and Party Policy . . . 13
Ideology in Societal and Economic Context . . . 13
Textbox 2: Economic and Social Influences on the Emergence of Different Ideologies . . . 14
Ideology's Role in Policy Development . . . 15
Table 1: How Ideology Informs Policy . . . 16
Developing and Updating Political Principles and Values . . . 17
Party Cohesion . . . 19
The Policy Cycle, Stakeholders and Party Rules . . . 21
The Policy Cycle and Types of Policy . . . 21
Diagram 3: Basic Policy Development Cycle . . . 21
Diagram 4: The Objectives of Party Policy Development . . . 22
Textbox 3: How Party Structures in the Social Democratic Party of Croatia Affect Policy . . . 23
Stakeholders in Party Policy Development . . . 24
Textbox 4: The Canadian Liberal Party Pink Book . . . 25
Textbox 5: Think Tanks in the United States . . . 27
Party Policy Development Rules . . . 27
Drafting and Adopting Party Policy . . . 30
Mechanisms for Coordinating Policy Drafting . . . 30
Issue Identification and Background Research . . . 31
Diagram 5: Policy Drafting and Approval . . . 31
Diagram 6: Developing a Policy Position . . . 33
Consultation . . . 34
Textbox 6: Public Opinion Research and Party Policy Development . . . 35

Policy Adoption . . . 37
Table 2: Options for Approving Party Policy . . . 38
Diagram 7: Structuring Policy Debates at Party Congresses . . . 40
Implementing and Reporting on Policy . . . 40
Table 3: Communicating Policy Proposals . . . 41
Diagram 8: Party Policy Implementation . . . 42
The Executive Branch . . . 42
Parliamentary Groups . . . 43
Coalitions and Compromise . . . 45
Opposition Efforts to Influence Policy Agendas . . . 47
Textbox 7: Opposition Efforts to Influence Policy in Parliament . . . 48
Conclusion . . . 52
Appendices . . . 59
Appendix I: Party Values and Principles Discussion Guide . . . 60
Table 4: Ideological Perspectives on Selected Political Concepts . . . 62
Appendix II: Advantages and Disadvantages of Different Consultation Methods . . . 63
Endnotes - Part I . . . 66
Part II: Case Studies . . . 72
The African National Congress, South Africa . . . 73
Textbox 8: The Reconstruction and Development Programme . . . 76
The Conservative Party, United Kingdom . . . 77
The Democratic and Republican Parties, the United States of America . . . 80
Diagram 9: The United States' Two-Party System . . . 80
Textbox 9: Lobby Groups . . . 81
Diagram 10: The Democratic Party Platform . . . 82
Diagram 11: The Republican Party Platform . . . 83
The Greens in Belgium and Canada . . . 86
The Flemish Green Party . . . 86
The Canadian Green Party . . . 88
Textbox 10: Vision Green . . . 89
Textbox 11: The Canadian Green Shadow Cabinet's Role in Policy Development . . . 90
Textbox 12: Comparing the Green Party of Canada and the Flemish Green Party . . . 92
The Institutional Revolutionary Party, Mexico . . . 94
Textbox 13: The Colosio Foundation . . . 96
The Labour Party, the United Kingdom . . . 100
Table 5: Members of the National Policy Forum . . . 101
Table 6: Timetable of Activity for the 2015 Manifesto . . . 104

The Liberal Party, Canada . . . 105
Textbox 14: LPC Policy Resolutions . . . 106
Diagram 12: Timeline of the Lead up to the 2009 Convention . . . 108
Textbox 15: Regional Manifestos . . . 112
The Liberal Party, Philippines . . . 113
Diagram 13: Party Bodies as Laid Out in the Party Constitution . . . 114
Textbox 16: Reproductive Health Legislation . . . 116
The New Democratic Party, British Columbia, Canada . . . 119
Textbox 17: The "Review, Renew, Rebuild" Initiative . . . 123
The Social Democratic Party, Bosnia and Herzegovina . . . 124
The Union of Democratic Forces, Bulgaria . . . 129
Textbox 18: UDF Structures Resulting From the Reforms . . . 129
Textbox 19: UDF Policy Development Groups . . . 130
The Union for a Popular Movement, France . . . 133
Diagram 14: Developing the 2012 UMP Manifesto . . . 135
Diagram 15: UMP's Policy Process by the Numbers . . . 136
endnotes - part ii . . . 137
Bibliography . . . 140

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Johan Hamels conducted research on the Canadian and Belgian Green parties. He is a founding member of the Green Party in Belgium and has served as its International Secretary, President of the National Board of Directors, and Secretary General. He is currently an international liaison for the Green Party of Canada.

Zamikhaya Maseti contributed a background paper on the experiences of South Africa's African National Congress (ANC). Maseti's areas of expertise include development studies and political economy analysis. He is frequent columnist for The Sowetan, City Press, The Star, The Sunday Independent, The Cape Times, and The New Age.

Daniel Mitov shared a background paper on the Union of Democratic Forces' experiences in Bulgaria. Mitov is currently the Institute's Resident Representative in Brussels and previously served as the Political Parties Program Manager in Iraq.

Mario Mitre contributed research on policy development in Mexico's Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) and provided comments on draft versions of the paper. Mitre previously served in the Institute's offices in Colombia and Ukraine and has provided assistance to political and civic leaders Latin America, the Caribbean and West Africa.

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PREFACE

Increasingly, governments and the parties that seek to control and influence them face complex public policy issues. Rapidly unfolding events, as well as a 24-hour media cycle, require that political leaders move quickly to address issues as they arise. These pressures limit opportunities for consultation and expose any adjustments in hastily prepared policy positions to even further scrutinyIn addition, transnational forces including the European Central Bank, the European Courts of Human Rights and Justice, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank are becoming increasingly influential in fiscal and other government policy issues. Simultaneously, citizens have turned to social media and other tools as they demand a greater voice in policymaking processes and seek greater control of their own destinies. Against the backdrop of the global economic crisis that has contributed to the rise of populist and extremist groups, citizens have even more reason to question their leaders' ability to address their needs.

For their part, nascent political parties rarely have the capacity to formulate proposals for addressing pressing public policy concerns. In addition, they often face significant disincentives to formulating meaningful policy alternatives. In some cases, mobilizing voters primarily through patronage or around the charisma of a leader seems easier and more effective. Dominant ruling parties and winner-take-all approaches to politics can also leave opposition groups so marginalized that their basic survival is at stake and policy formulation appears a luxury.

While there are often powerful disincentives for the development of well-conceived policies, in democratic societies, policy formulation is a fundamental role of political parties. When functioning effectively political parties aggregate societal interests, placing citizens' local concerns in a national context. They offer alternative public policy proposals, help mobilize citizens behind different visions for society, and provide voters with options for governance. Elections allow citizens the opportunity to choose between these different policy proposals and to hold parties accountable for their performance in government. The presentation of, and debate over, different public policy proposals encourages each party to refine its own ideas and to seek common ground with others, often resulting in better outcomes for the public. Thus, how political parties formulate and seek to advance their policies has broad implications for the quality of democratic governance.

This latest addition to the Institute's *Political Parties and Democracy in Theoretical and Practical Perspectives* series describes some of the approaches that political parties around the world have used to fulfill their policy formulation role. Part I outlines comparative experiences in developing party ideologies, rules, structures and processes that can improve policy processes. In Part II, 12 case studies provide overviews of practical experiences in party policy development around the world. The Institute is grateful to those who assisted with research for this paper and provided comments on initial drafts.

Kenneth Wollack
President

Ivan Doherty
Senior Associate
Director of Political Party Programs

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Citizens have needs and interests that they expect governments to address. In democratic societies, political parties aggregate these demands from diverse groups and articulate public policy options to respond to them. Elections provide voters the opportunity to choose among political parties offering distinct proposals for addressing societal needs. Through their efforts to control and influence public policy, political parties play an intermediary role, linking citizens to their representatives, and serving as the primary channel for holding the government accountable for its performance. Thus, party policy development – the process whereby political parties formulate and seek to implement their proposals for governmental actions – is central to the healthy functioning of a representative democracy.

Political parties face a number of challenges in fulfilling their policy formulation role. Particularly in fledgling democracies, parties may: lack clear ideologies; fail to articulate distinctive and coherent policy proposals; have weak structures that remain dormant outside election campaign periods; have narrow and/or shifting support bases that are defined by personal, regional or ethnic ties; and struggle to conduct cohesive action in Parliament. In traditional democracies, declining membership and a 24-hour media cycle are spurring an evolution in how political parties communicate with, engage and mobilize supporters. Innovations in technology are profoundly affecting social, economic and political processes globally. In addition, transnational entities - such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and European Central Bank – are increasingly influencing fiscal and other policy choices.

Drawing upon published literature as well as practical party experiences, this paper provides comparative information for political parties seeking to improve how they develop policy proposals, translate them into government policies, and communicate their efforts to the public. It highlights common challenges, explores potential options for mitigating them, and provides recommendations for improving party policymaking. The first section of the paper examines various aspects of policy development, drawing upon party experiences in Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Croatia, France, India, Ireland, Mexico, Norway, the Philippines, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, the United Kingdom, the United States and Zambia.

Party Identity

Differences between political parties around the world are, in part, a result of their operating context and each party's internal values and structures. The paper describes how such contextual factors as electoral systems, party regulation, levels of economic development, societal structure, party origins, and level of institutionalization help shape party behavior. It presents party identity as a composite of different party features that usually fall into seven broad categories: party branding, support base, personality focus, patronage, organizational culture, policy orientation, and ideology. Together, these elements indicate the extent to which a party prioritizes policymaking, the principles or beliefs on which it bases its policy content and processes, and the social groups whose interests it seeks to prioritize through public policy.

Ideology and Party Policy

Next, the paper explains how clearly defined political principles can help political parties to: attract, unite, and mobilize support; withstand significant changes in the internal organization and external operating environment; and identify like-minded groups in other countries. More specifically, ideologies provide political parties with frameworks for analyzing societal needs, assessing and prioritizing any problems, establishing a vision for the future, and identifying the policy actions required to achieve that vision. The paper outlines how political parties have reinterpreted their principles both in response to changes in their environment as well as to broaden their appeal. The section on party identity concludes with a discussion on party cohesion, illustrating the trade-off that parties often face between the need for unified action and the impulse to broaden support.

The Policy Cycle, Stakeholders and Party Rules

In practice, party policy processes are often fluid and complex. However, conceptualizing policy development as a cycle involving drafting, adoption, implementation, and evaluation of party policies is a useful framework for identifying the roles of dif-

ferent stakeholders in various aspects of party policy development. As political parties navigate processes for developing party platforms, election manifestos, and interim policies, clear political principles can help provide a coherent and consistent narrative. In addition, parties need structures and rules to organize their policy efforts. The paper discusses how party leaders, elected officials, party branches, members, and affiliated groups – as well as external stakeholders like civil society groups, think tanks and the private sector – can each contribute to party policy development. It also describes how political parties have addressed policy development in their rules, citing illustrative examples of provisions for policy drafting and approval processes, the involvement of affiliated groups, and reporting on efforts to advance party policies.

Drafting and Adopting Party Policy

Policy drafting includes: identifying priority issues for policy attention; conducting research on policy options; overseeing the development of draft policy documents; requesting and reviewing submission from branches and outside experts; organizing consultations; and preparing policy documents for formal adoption. The complexity, size and composition of the party structures charged with these responsibilities vary. The paper outlines how political parties have used various types of policy coordination structures to involve multiple party groups and interests in policy processes.

Successful democratic political parties typically seek to achieve three main objectives in policy development: to serve the national interest, advance their ideologies and promote their political or tactical goals. Although political parties have a responsibility to consult their members and the public, they also have an obligation to: provide leadership in shaping public policy by setting priorities for government action; develop policy options for public consideration; raise awareness about policy issues that may otherwise be ignored; and, on occasion, convince the public that certain unpopular policies are necessary for the public good. At the same time, without sufficient technical research and input, political parties risk campaigning on vague or unrealistic proposals that can undermine their credibility and fuel citizen disenchantment. The paper describes some of the approaches parties have used to establish policy priorities, identify potential solutions, and assess the potential financial costs associated with their policy proposals.

While participatory approaches to party policy development can result in consultation fatigue and disruptive or combative debates, most political parties have found the benefits to outweigh the potential drawbacks. Political parties around the world have embraced more inclusive approaches to policy development as a way to improve the quality and relevance of their proposals, attract greater public support, energize their members, and provide skills building and leadership opportunities for candidates and publicly elected officials. Political parties have used a wide range of methods, including informal surveys, policy forums, delegate policy conferences, and technology platforms, to involve their members and sometimes the broader public in their policy processes. The paper provides examples of each of these approaches.

While delegate congresses remain a common method for approving party policies, concerns exist about whether such events remain an effective and meaningful way of involving party members or delegates in policy processes, especially given the 24-hour media cycle and a communication revolution that has significantly expanded the options for parties to regularly communicate with their members. A number of parties have opened up policy approval processes to full membership votes, including through online voting. In addition, some parties distinguish between processes for approving party platforms and election manifestos. The section on drafting and adoption concludes with some examples of how to prioritize and structure votes on draft policy proposals.

Implementing and Reporting on Policy

Once in Parliament and in the executive, parties need strategies for feeding their policy proposals into governance processes. The balance of power between the legislature and the executive affect the extent to which each branch of government is able to shape policy agendas through legislation, vetoes, oversight functions, and referenda. Executives often have various tools at their disposal, such as executive orders and public agency guidelines, through which they can shape public policy without legislative reform. For policies that require legislative action, presidents may face the possibility of a legislature that is controlled by an opposing party, creating the potential for policy gridlock. At the same time, through the powers vested in their office, executives have been

able to use a combination of persuasion, inducements and public opinion to mobilize legislative support for their proposals.

In Parliament, a number of variables shape parties' options for influencing legislative processes. They include: the criteria for official recognition as a parliamentary group; the respective rights of parliamentary groups, individual legislators and ruling versus opposition groups to table to lead committees, table legislation, motions, and questions; and the ability to hire or access research staff. To maximize their influence within the possibilities afforded by these rules, political parties need strategies for organizing their parliamentary groups. The paper examines how parties and their parliamentary groups have used a combination of rules that are designed to set clear expectations; informal efforts to strengthen interpersonal relationships; incentives; flexibility when the political costs are low; and the threat of sanctions to promote cohesive action in the legislature. Regular meetings and the establishment of a division of labor among parliamentary group members have also contributed to group efficiency and cohesion. However, in some cases, well-resourced parliamentary groups have become primary drivers of party policy, leaving party structures outside Parliament excluded.

Whether in presidential or parliamentary systems, political parties often face choices between compromising on their policy proposals, which reflect their values, and standing firm in their positions and beliefs. In most cases, the choice is not over whether, in principle, to compromise, but over how much ground a party is willing to cede. The paper discusses some of the approaches that political parties have used to structure compromises in coalitions, as well as to gain members' buy-in for these decisions. It also cites examples of how opposition parties have succeeded in influencing policy agendas. Finally, it concludes with an overview of some of the ways in which political parties have sought to communicate their efforts to implement their policy proposals both within their own parties as well as to the broader public. These include reports to party congresses, public tours, major scheduled policy statements, mid-term review and term reports and social media.

Conclusion

The final comparative section outlines best practices in party policy development and incorporates advice and lessons learned from current and former elected officials and political party executives from around the world in addressing some of these issues. They include recommendations on:

- engaging members on, and educating them about party values and principles;
- setting rules that clearly outline decision-making processes for party policy but allowing parties the flexibility to adapt their process to a variety of situations;
- involving various party units in policy development;
- keeping lines of communication open throughout policy processes and making it clear when consultation is possible and when it is not;
- using a range of consultation methods in order to maximize participation in policy processes;
- conducting thorough research on different policy options;
- establishing clear policy priorities for party work in the legislative and executive branches;
- strengthening parliamentary group efficiency through a combination of formal and informal mechanisms to clarify expectations and strengthen relationships among parliamentary group members; and
- keeping party officials and the general public apprised of efforts to advance party policies.

Case Studies

In the second part of the publication, 12 case studies describe party policy development experiences in the African National Congress in South Africa; the Conservative Party in the United Kingdom; the Democratic and Republican Parties in the United States; the Green parties in Belgium and Canada; the Institutional Revolutionary Party in Mexico; the Labour Party in the United Kingdom; the Liberal parties in Canada and the Philippines; the British Columbia New Democratic Party in Canada; the Social Democratic Party in Bosnia-Herzegovina; the Union of Democratic Forces in Bulgaria; and the Union for a Popular Movement in France. These diverse experiences further highlight some of the challenges that political parties face in policy development as well as the different ways in which they have been able to involve members and other stakeholders in policy development processes.

PART I: COMPARATIVE SECTION

INTRODUCTION

Citizens have needs and interests that they expect governments to address. In democratic societies, political parties aggregate these demands from diverse groups and articulate coherent public policy options to address them. Through their efforts to control and influence public policy, political parties play an intermediary role, linking citizens to their representatives, and serving as the primary channel for holding governments accountable for their performance.

Writing in the late 19th century, Woodrow Wilson argued:

> *[P]arties should act in distinct organizations, in accordance with avowed principles, under easily recognized leaders, in order that the voters might declare by their ballots, not only their condemnation of any past policy, by withdrawing all support from the party responsible for it; but also and particularly their will as to future administration of the government, by bringing into power a party pledged to the adoption of an acceptable policy.*[1]

Under this responsible party doctrine, in democracies, elections provide voters the opportunity to choose among political parties offering distinct proposals for addressing societal needs. Once elected, public officials advance the policy proposals upon which they and their parties campaigned, either by implementing them through the executive and legislative institutions or the processes they influence. In opposition, they use their positions to critique and present alternatives to ruling party proposals. In subsequent elections, citizens use their votes to reward or punish parties, holding them accountable for their policy performance. In addition to the opportunity to judge at elections the performance of political parties and publicly elected officials who are re-contesting, citizens in modern democracies expect two-way communication throughout the political cycle. This allows citizens to constantly monitor the actions of government and publicly elected officials and to provide feedback on their concerns. Equally, political parties and publicly elected officials inform the public of their actions in the Parliament and their efforts to respond to constituents' concerns. Thus, party policy development – the process whereby political parties develop and seek to implement their proposals for governmental action – is central to the healthy functioning of a representative democracy.

As one study notes:

> *The strong party ideal…rests on twin pillars. The first is the ability to advance programmatic policy platforms, and their interest and willingness to do so. The second is their ability to act collectively once in government, so that platforms can be converted into policy…The likelihood of governing parties in emerging democracies lacking one of these two pillars of democratic strength is high.*[2]

Especially in fledgling democracies, political parties often lack clear ideologies, fail to articulate distinctive and coherent policy proposals, have weak structures that remain dormant outside election campaign periods, have narrow and/or shifting support bases that are defined by personal, regional or ethnic ties, and struggle to conduct cohesive action in Parliament. In traditional democracies, declining membership and the 24-hour media cycle are spurring an evolution in how political parties communicate with, engage and mobilize supporters. Innovations in technology are profoundly affecting social, economic and political processes globally. The very factors that have changed the relationship between citizens and political parties have also made it easier for populist and extremist movements to mobilize support: with the help of modern communication tools, they can mobilize quickly with relatively small structures. Moreover, the fact that these relatively new groups have no record in government is an advantage: it allows them to distance themselves from current problems by blaming the establishment. Unlike established political parties who must maintain their relationship with their base, these newer parties have no such pre-existing obligations and have been able to capitalize on citizen disenchantment fueled by widespread economic distress.[3]

Drawing upon published literature as well as practical party experiences, this paper provides comparative information for political parties seeking to improve how they develop policy proposals, support their elected officials as they translate party proposals into government policies or draft legislation, and monitor their implementation. It highlights common challenges, discussing potential options for mitigating them and recommendations for improving party policymaking.

PARTY IDENTITY

Differences between political parties around the world are, in part, a result of their operating context and each party's internal values and structures. To illustrate, NDI studies on party systems in Bolivia and Peru identified a wide range of factors that affected political parties' ability and willingness to develop pro-poor policies. In Peru, the Institute found that: citizens were more interested in ideological labels than technical policy options; political parties lacked access to data upon which to base policy discussions; and a focus on legislative quantity, rather than legislative quality, and other congressional behavior created obstacles for reform. Many elected officials perceived the political costs of meaningfully pursuing poverty reduction policies to outweigh the potential benefits.[4] In Bolivia, findings included: top-down communication in political parties; the absence of partisan think tanks; politicians' belief that policy formulation would not translate to electoral benefits; and a combination of electoral and geographic conditions encouraged parties to focus on urban rather than rural development.[5]

Similarly, a recent academic study outlined factors that have made it difficult for political parties in Francophone Africa to formulate policy proposals or credibly establish "ownership" of particular issue areas. They include: political parties' relative inexperience; a largely western-educated elite whose experience is at odds with the majority of the population they seek to represent; and aid dependence, which fosters a climate in which donor governments and institutions frame options for public policy. In addition, the study noted that when faced with low approval ratings, parties found it politically safer to attempt to mobilize around issues around which there is significant agreement, as opposed to taking on controversial issues which may be politically riskier. The result has been a series of attempts to mobilize support based on broad, non-controversial themes, like development, democracy and sovereignty, without seizing the opportunity to outline different approaches to addressing these areas. In some cases, since the parties themselves have limited or no track records upon which to run, the leader's personal experiences are used to demonstrate a particular perspective or expertise on some of these issues. In the meantime, a range of policy issues remain "unclaimed".[6]

These and other studies underscore the interplay between contextual factors and internal party characteristics in shaping whether and how political parties mobilize support around policy proposals that reflect distinct political principles. In an attempt to identify the main contextual factors that influence party behavior and to describe different forms of party organizing, political scientists have proposed a wide range of models and typologies for categorizing different types of political parties and party systems. Studies focusing on party systems have discussed the impact of different forms of government, electoral systems, interparty power relations, economic and social conditions, and other factors on party behavior.[7] Typologies of political parties include efforts to categorize parties based on how they mobilize support, their origins, internal organizing, and power relations and their ideological profile.[8] This section will provide an overview of some of the different contextual factors – also illustrated in Diagram 1 – that influence how political parties organize and discuss different components of party identity.

CONTEXTUAL FACTORS INFLUENCING PARTY IDENTITY

Electoral Systems

Choices in electoral system shape incentives for how political parties draw their support. In legislative elections, majoritarian systems tend to favor parties with a broad geographic base because smaller parties whose supporters are dispersed across multiple electoral areas often find it difficult to secure the plurality required to win seats in single-member districts. Conversely, proportional systems with relatively low thresholds allow more parties a share of the parliamentary representation that is often denied them in majoritarian systems.[9] In addition, since proportional representation systems are less likely to produce clear legislative majorities, smaller parties have a greater chance of influencing government policy agendas through coalition building. Under proportional representation, the Belgian and German Greens have served in coalition governments, while under a majoritarian-plurality system the Canadian Greens only recently secured their first seat in the Federal Parliament. Although the Canadian Greens failed to get into the Federal Parliament with 6.7 percent of the vote in 2008, in Germany's 1998 elections, the Green Party gained 47 out of 669 seats in Parliament with 6.7 percent of the vote and joined the coalition government.

Party Laws

Legal requirements on thresholds for registration, political party decision-making, political financing, and other regulatory issues shape the options that political parties have for contesting public office, mobilizing support, and managing their internal affairs. In some fledgling democracies, concerns have been expressed about political parties that are based on ethnicity, religion, or geography and the potential risks for peace and national integrity. As a result, a number of newer democracies have introduced legal provisions designed to inhibit the emergence of political parties that may exacerbate or heighten societal divisions and to foster parties whose appeal cuts across societal divisions. [10] Such provisions include: bans on political parties based on religion, ethnicity, or region; requirements that parties maintain a presence or draw support from a minimum number of regions or provinces; specifications as to the diversity of party candidates; and vote distribution requirements.[11] Political parties have sometimes been able to circumvent some of these legal requirements by avoiding mono-ethnic labels, downplaying their sectional appeals, setting up temporary structures to meet registration requirements, or otherwise paying lip service to the legislation. As a result, questions have been raised about whether these restrictions achieve the intended purpose. More importantly, critics warn that they violate fundamental human rights to freedoms of association and expression.

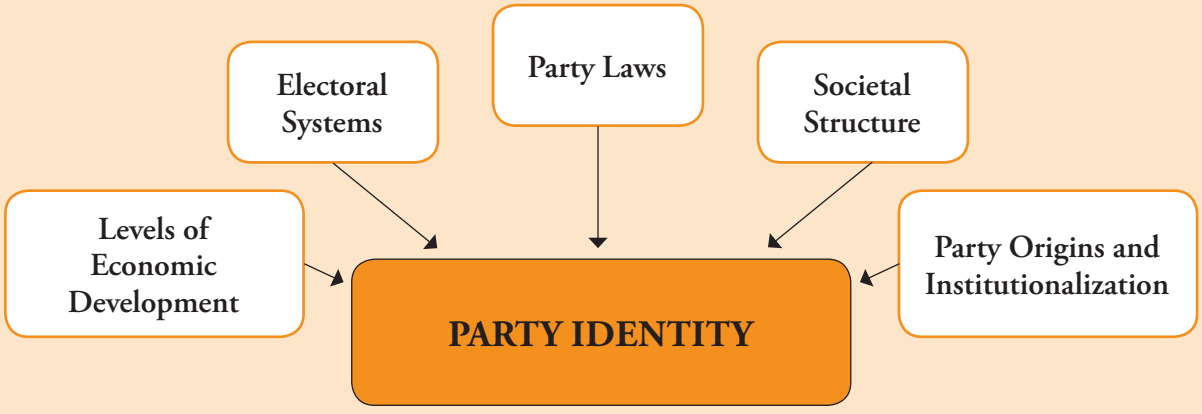
In contrast to the bans outlined above, some countries make explicit legal provisions to protect or facilitate the establishment of political parties dedicated to the interests of minority or marginalized populations and their entry into public office. In such situations, these parties are seen as a means for guaranteeing minorities representation in deliberative institutions. These arrangements can create powerful incentives for political parties to mobilize support based on appeals to these minority or other protected groups.[12]

Levels of Economic Development and Societal Structure

Political scientists have also attributed differences in party behavior to variances in levels of economic development and societal structure in their respective countries. For instance, attempts to explain the prevalence of patronage-based politics in many countries have focused on high levels of poverty, arguing that eventually, rising income should make voters less vulnerable to clientelistic appeals. However, even in relatively poor countries, field experiments have shown that increased access to information and political participation can limit the effects of vote buying. For instance, studies in Benin have shown that candidates who conducted deliberative meetings with voters around public policy issues experienced greater voter turnout and vote shares than those who campaigned using cash handouts or tangible goods alongside standard campaign rallies that did not involve deliberation with voters.[13]

In the established democracies, political scientists attribute declining party membership rates to increased access to information and higher levels of

Diagram 1: Contextual Factors Influencing Party Identity



education that have made citizens less dependent on political parties for assistance in identifying and understanding policy issues and the choices available. At the same time, the 24-hour news cycle has exposed to public view the previously hidden aspects of the political process, including the messy negotiations that are part and parcel of politics, alongside instances of corruption and the personal failings of individual political leaders. With greater access to information and a wider range of tools, many of them technology-based, citizens are also far better placed to identify like-minded individuals with whom they can work to influence the world around them without the involvement of political parties. In the meantime, party leaders are more and more reliant on political professionals who can assist with organization and mobilization of voter support. In some cases, this may result in party leaders who are more powerful in certain areas of party organizing but also increase member participation in selected areas of party life.[14]

Origins and Institutionalization

In the established democracies, political parties emerged over time, gradually changing their organizing practices while also refining and deepening their ideological and programmatic focus to suit emerging needs. In newer democracies, it is more common for political to have emerged or adapted to competitive multiparty politics as the result of relatively sudden breakthroughs or transitions. As political parties are quickly created for the first elections, their members and leaders rarely have the time to extensively debate and reach agreement on political principles that cut across long-existing social cleavages, or to develop effective structures and well-conceived policy proposals. Thus, the fact that so many parties in nascent democracies struggle to define clear ideologies and policy positions may also be a question of their state of development.

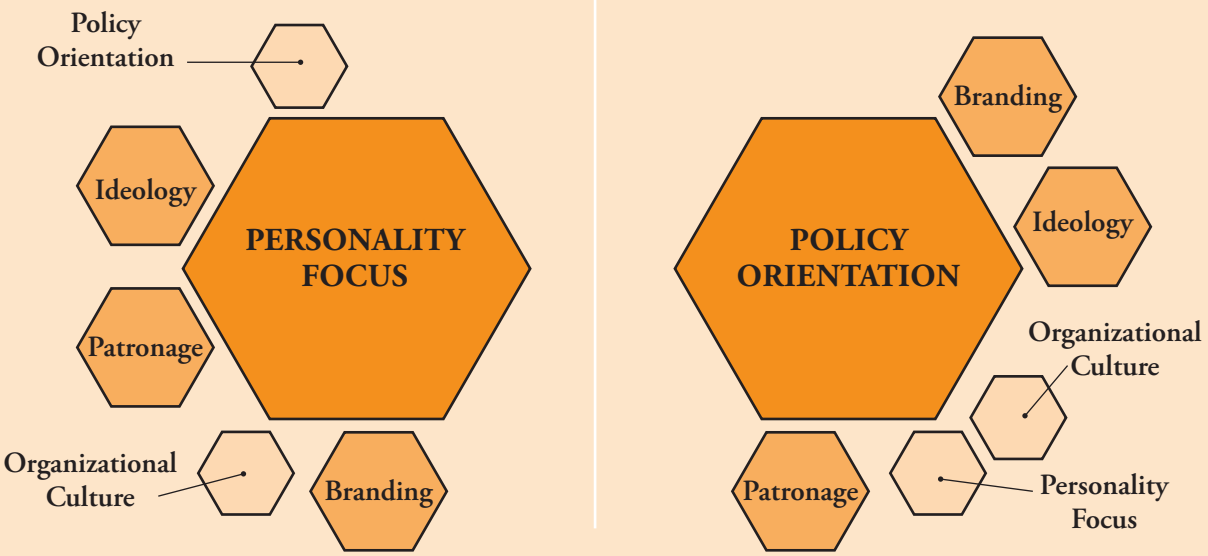
Some studies have argued that since voters continue to expect such behavior, parties that are policy or clientelism-focused are doomed to remain that way. Others recognize parties' capacity for change, noting factors that influence or spur reform.[15] They note instances in which political parties have taken on a programmatic focus in response to changes in their competitors' behavior and/or after a certain degree of institutionalization.

However, there are cases in which political parties have mobilized support around distinctive policy proposals and class cleavages without developing durable structures and processes. For instance, a recent study into political parties in Zambia describes how between 2004-2008 president Michael Sata mobilized support among the urban dispossessed, a group that cut across ethnic divisions, by adapting his strategy over time to articulate the frustrations of the working class and urban poor, tapping into a longstanding history of urban political mobilization and suspicion of international financial institutions. The Patriotic Front (PF) held mass rallies around the country, campaigning in all major provincial and district centers for the first time. Given the country's economic downturn, and the rising cost of food, fuel and fertilizers, PF messaging around popular concerns and needs resonated with many voters. Despite the fact that the ruling party won the 2006 elections with a comfortable margin, Sata's efforts helped push the ruling party to introduce windfall taxes on copper and increase mineral royalty taxes.[16]

COMPONENTS OF PARTY IDENTITY

This paper defines party identity as the distinctive features that are unique to a particular party and help to differentiate it from its competitors. Given the range of ways in which parties identify themselves and draw their support, the paper describes party identity as a composite of different party features. These attributes usually fall into seven broad categories: party branding, support base, personality focus, patronage, organizational culture, policy orientation and ideology. Linkages between the different elements of a party's identity may be weak or strong. For example, in political parties with relatively homogenous support bases, the leader is often a member of the group that constitutes the party's primary base. In addition, in a personality-based party, the leader usually wields significant influence over decision-making processes, affecting organizational culture. Similarly, a party's ideology is likely to be reflected in its policy orientation. The stronger the links among various elements, the more coherent a party's identity will be. However, in some cases the various elements of a political party's identity can seem disconnected or even contradictory. For instance, a political party may claim to be conservative, liberal or social democrat while

Diagram 2: Different Dimensions of Party Identity



consistently advocating policy positions that appear to be at odds with the tradition it claims to belong to.

Regardless of how it is constituted, a party's identity will often reflect its origins, whether these are based on the military, ethnic associations, unions, liberation movements, or pro-democracy efforts. Together, the different elements of a political party's identity indicate: the image it seeks convey to the public through branding; how it interprets the role of political parties in governance; the social interests it prioritizes and seeks to represent; how much emphasis the party places on developing policy solutions and using these as a basis for mobilizing support; the types of structures, capacities and decision-making processes it might apply to policy formulation; and the political principles it applies in developing a vision for society and addressing its problems. For any given party some elements will be more prominent than others in defining the organization's overall identity. In addition, some of these elements have greater significance for policymaking than others. For instance, while some parties are largely personality-based with poorly defined principles and policy positions, others primarily draw their support based on their ideological principles and policy proposals. Diagram 2 portrays two different political parties: one that is primarily personality-driven and a second that is more focused on policy proposals. As the diagram illustrates, these parties' identities also include other elements: branding, ideology, patronage and organizational culture.

Branding

Branding refers to the images, slogans, sounds, or symbols – names, logos, colors, flags, music – commonly used to identify a party formally or informally. Components of this branding are often used to identify party publications, outreach materials, candidates, or supporters or to rally party members. Branding has limited implications for policy development, but can provide voters a shorthand way of identifying particular parties or ideological families. For instance, many social-democrat parties around the world use a red rose as part of their branding, while in the United States politics the donkey and the elephant are associated with the Democratic and Republican parties, respectively.

In addition, in some countries, particular colors are politically significant: in Thailand, the two supporters of the main political movements are known as the red shirts and the yellow shirts. Elsewhere, red is often associated with parties on the left, blue with the center-right and yellow with liberals. As part of renewal processes parties sometimes change or update their branding to convey a message of reform. For example, as part of a renewal process, the United Kingdom's Conservative Party adopted a tree as part of its

new logo in early 2007. The tree, which replaced the handheld torch prominently featured in party graphics since the 1980s, presented a softer image while highlighting a new focus on environmental issues.

Conversely, political parties especially proud of their history may feel that they have more to gain by reminding voters of their past contributions. For instance, political parties that have successfully led independence or liberation movements, for example, may stand to gain more by maintaining longstanding names and symbols. When faced with party splits, different factions have sometimes sought to maintain control over party names and logos, an indication that such symbols are an important element of their branding.

Support Base

In any given country, people have different backgrounds, ideas, priorities, or visions on the role of the state or how the country should be governed. These cleavages may be shaped by tradition, major events, influential thinkers, economic and social conditions, or differences in language, skin color, religion or ethnicity, among other things. Political parties may bridge these schisms or translate them into political cleavages.[17] In the case of aggregation, political parties that mobilize support along lines that cut across these cleavages succeed in drawing support from different communities and thus provide a moderating influence. Where political cleavages reflect socio-cultural differences, political parties may provide a means for ensuring that particular groups – often minorities – are represented in deliberative institutions. For instance, there is a Maori Party in New Zealand and a Bloc of Québec in Canada. In Belgium linguistic differences are reflected in party divisions. Alternatively, there may be concerns that translating such cleavages into political differences could exacerbate tensions and fuel conflict.

Personality Focus

In political parties all over the world, leaders play important roles in defining what their parties stand for and influence how they are perceived by the public. In some cases, however, the strength of an individual leader's personality and his or her personal networks serve as the primary basis for mobilizing party support. In such situations, most officials owe their positions to the leader, and in his or her absence the party may struggle to articulate its mission or even collapse. In some cases, the leaders of such parties have been able to pass the mantle on to family members or other chosen successors, creating dynastic organizations. Political parties that are primarily personality-based often struggle to articulate clear policy proposals and given the collective's dependence on one individual, there may be limited room for intra-party debate over socio-economic issues.

Patronage

Patronage plays a role in politics in every part of the world. In exchange for their support for candidates and their parties, individuals and groups often gain: priority access to decision makers; positions in government; and public resources for their initiatives. However, where patronage serves as the primary basis for engagement between party leaders and their supporters, party leaders and even their supporters may pay lip service to vague proposals designed to improve collective goods and, in practice, focus on providing personal favors and other selective benefits for their "clientele". Patronage has incentivized both parties and voters. While politicians have courted the favor of individuals or groups rather than mobilizing support based on public policy proposals, citizens have relied on patronage to address their individual, immediate concerns in the absence of effective public service delivery. For incumbents, this behavior sometimes proves electorally effective while non-incumbents, lacking similar access to public goods, may resort to vote-buying. Like personality-based based parties, patronage-based parties hamper the development of democratic governance institutions and processes that are accountable to citizens.

Organizational Culture

Organizational culture includes the nature of a party's structures, institutional rules, and practices in outreach and decision-making. This includes: rules for determining party policy; technical capacity or the ability to access it in developing policy proposals; and the extent to which members and outside groups are included in these processes. Some parties are long established, mass-based, have extensive networks of branches, relatively well-resourced, and use a combination of volunteers and paid professional staff or consultants. Others are more elite-fo-

Textbox 1: Unions and Policy in the UK Labour Party

Ties between the UK Labour Party and British trade unions run especially deep. The party was founded in 1900 by trade unions and socialist societies. Early in the party's history, one had to be a union member in order to be a party member and the unions sponsored individual legislators. In addition, the rules and organization of the party ensured that the unions wielded powerful influence on the formation of party policy for decades. Not only did the unions hold between 80 and 90 percent of the seats at the annual Labour Party Conference, where party policy is adopted, but "block voting" procedures at the conference allowed each union to cast all its allotted votes as a single unit, ensuring union dominance of party policy-making.[1] However, the unions' power in matters of policy was far from absolute, and the question of who has ultimate authority over policy—the party conference or the party's leadership in Parliament —has been the subject of ongoing debate.[2]

In the 1960s and 1970s, a long period of economic stagflation in the UK led to conflicts between the unions and Labour Party leadership over wages, culminating in the infamous 1979 Winter of Discontent. In the fall of 1978, Labour leaders were pushing for salary caps to combat inflation. The union-controlled Party Conference passed a policy resolution rejecting the caps, but the party leadership ignored this resolution, imposing sanctions on government contractors who raised wages above the leadership's 5 percent wage growth target. This move incited major public sector union action in which 1.5 million workers went on strike, resulting in shortages and unrest. The impact of the strike on the country, including reports that striking gravediggers left bodies unburied in the streets, earned the period the name "The Winter of Discontent" and the resulting political fallout helped Margaret Thatcher's Conservative Party displace Labour from government in 1979.[3]

In the decades after the Winter of Discontent, the Labour Party leadership moved to dilute union influence within the party in order to appear more electable. Under John Smith's leadership, the party removed the unions' block vote for parliamentary selections in 1993.[4] Under Tony Blair, the party later reduced the share of union votes at the party conference to 50 percent. Further changes to party policy processes in 1997 created a National Policy Forum to oversee party policy development. Unions are included in this body along with representatives from other party structures.[5]

Tensions have continued in more recent years as well. In 2004, the National Union of Rail, Maritime, and Transport Workers became the first union expelled in the history of the party for their support of a Scottish Socialist Party,[6] and the Fire Brigades Union became the first union to formally disaffiliate from the Labour Party after a bitter pay dispute.[7] Additionally, the recent economic slowdown in the UK has not been kind to union-party relations. At the 2011 Labour Party Conference, the chairman of Unite, the largest union in the UK, threatened to withdraw support from Labour legislators who supported new anti-strike laws, and heated public exchanges between Labour leader Ed Miliband and the unions over austerity measures and public sector pay cuts have continued into 2012.[8] Although the institutional connections between the Labour Party and British unions made for arguably the strongest union/party relationship in Europe before the 1980s, unions in the UK now exert much less influence over policymaking than in the past.[9]

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cused, have no experience in government, maintain limited structures and struggle to survive on limited budgets. These characteristics may change over time in response to a party needs or the availability of resources, affecting how they address policy development.

Some ideological families have positions or preferences on organizational management issues. For instance, French sociologist and politician Maurice Duverger distinguished between political parties formed within Parliament, generally representing the bourgeoisie, and those that emerged outside the Parliament, generally the socialists. He argued that the latter have a greater tendency to maintain an element of internal democracy, which makes changing party policy generally more fraught than for the other types of parties. Although some have introduced organizational changes over the years, Green political parties have a strong preference for processes that maximize members' participation in decision-making, share leadership and minimize hierarchy.[18] Additional information on decision-making and party structures in Green parties is available in the case study on the Greens in Belgium and Canada in Part II of this publication. Many political parties on the left of the ideological spectrum have strong relationships with trade unions. These groups often play a powerful role in mobilizing support for their affiliated parties and have a significant role in party decision-making processes. For instance, in the Australian Labor Party, affiliated trade unions have the right to send delegates to party congresses and participate in advisory councils that bring together party and union officials at the state and territorial levels to discuss various issues. In addition, all Labor legislators are required to consult with unon activists in the geographic areas they represent.[19] Textbox 1 describes the evolution of trade unions' roles in the United Kingdom (UK) Labour Party's policy processes. For additional information on policy processes in the UK Labour Party see the case study in Part II of this publication.

Policy Orientation

Policy orientation refers to the extent to which a party focuses on developing and marketing issue-based policies and the degree to which voters can identify its policy preferences. Party manifestos and other policy documents will usually give some indication of a party's policy orientation. However, policy performance, or what the party actually does when given the opportunity to govern or influence the policy agenda, is also important. Here again, there is a wide range of practices around the world. Some parties have very little focus on policy while others primarily compete on the basis of their proposals for resolving societal problems. In addition, while some parties focus on developing policies for a narrow range of issue areas, others seek to compete on broad range of issues. Once in Parliament or part of government "niche" parties often develop a broader range of policy positions. For instance, Green parties initially emerged with a relatively narrow focus on environmental protection and sustainable development policies, but have broadened their policy stances over the years. As further discussed in the section in developing and updating party principles and in the case study in Part II, Bulgaria's Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) originally came together to end communist rule but later faced the challenge of developing policy solutions to a range of governance challenges including privatization.

Ideology

Many political parties around the world have used different ideological labels, including socialist, progressive, Christian democrat, conservative, liberal, Green, to describe themselves and have, to varying degrees, drawn upon these principles to organize themselves and to propose policies. Given the gaps that sometimes exist between self-ascribed ideological labels and party positions, political scientists have conducted various studies comparing the two. While parties adopt their own ideological labels, political observers have also assigned such labels to different political parties, seeking shorthand ways of grouping parties with similar philosophies. Other parties have proven more difficult to classify as reflecting the values of one or more of the established ideological families, raising questions about whether they do indeed embody any discernible political values or principles.

This section began by introducing party identity as a composite of a party's branding, support base, personality focus, patronage, organizational culture, policy orientation and ideology. Together, these elements portray what a party stands for, how it seeks to implement its goals and how it wants to be viewed by the public. They also indicate the extent to which a party prioritizes policymaking, the principles or beliefs on which it bases its policy content and pro-

cesses, and the social groups whose interests its seeks to prioritize through public policy. The next section takes a closer look at ideology and the role that it can play in policy development.

IDEOLOGY AND PARTY POLICY

During the French Revolution, Antoine Destut de Tracy, a French philosopher and aristocrat coined the term ideology to describe what he called the "science of ideas". Since the eighteenth century, the term has taken on a wide range of meanings; while some have attributed negative concepts to the word, others have presented more neutral or even positive interpretations of the term. Marx, for example, used ideology to describe what he saw as ruling class efforts to delude the working class and to keep them oppressed by presenting a false world view. Over the years, ideology has been defined as: a political belief system; an all-embracing political doctrine that claims a monopoly of truth; political ideas that reflect the views and/or interests of a particular class or social group; and a set of ideas that situates an individual in a social context and creates a sense of collective belonging. For purposes of this paper, ideology is defined as a set of coherent, unifying, political principles (ideas and values) that provide a framework for understanding a society, establishing a vision for its improvement and identifying the policy actions required to achieve that vision. Interpreted in this way, ideology can reflect the views of a particular class or community, or provide a cement or glue of sorts that cuts across social cleavages.

IDEOLOGY IN SOCIETAL AND ECONOMIC CONTEXT

> *All political ideas are moulded by the social and historical circumstances in which they develop and by the political ambitions they serve.*[20]

Although the classic ideological families emerged against the backdrop of the industrial revolution, they have evolved in response to social, political and economic changes: ideologies shape their environment and societies but also adapt in response to changing needs. Thus ideology is rooted in context and can evolve as society changes. In addition, new families emerge in response to economic and social conditions. For instance, in Western Europe, recent societal change, combined with the explosion of the internet and other information and communication technologies has contributed to the emergence of the pirate family. The first Pirate Party was founded in 2006, in Sweden, primarily around efforts to reform copyright and patent laws. Since then, pirate parties have emerged in over 30 countries and in April 2010, several came together to create Pirate Party International. Perhaps the most successful pirate party has been in Germany where, after a 2012 election victory, they won a large enough vote share to be represented in four state parliaments. Initially focusing on the preservation of civil rights on the internet, pirates have begun to emerge as a social-liberal party and have worked with other parties to advance their policy priorities including copyright and patent law reform, improved rights to individual privacy, and greater government transparency. Their recent electoral successes and their use of technology to facilitate member participation in party decision-making have received media coverage in Germany and around the world. Textbox 2 describes how economic and social developments have influenced the emergences of different ideologies.

Ideology is also relative: a given political party is Green, left-leaning, centrist, or liberal based on its affinity with others in its ideological family, but also relative to its competitors. For instance, over time, traditional parties have paid greater attention to the environment, international solidarity and gender equity, thereby mainstreaming some of the issues that brought Green parties into existence. At the same time, as Green party members gained elected office and began to influence national and local politics, they adapted by developing positions on a broader range of issues and deepening their conceptual approach to sustainable development. Thus, parties in classical and Green ideological families have evolved in response to competition and societal changes. These renewal processes have occurred at the family level as well as within individual political parties. (The section on developing and updating political principles and values includes additional information on how these processes have unfolded).

Each ideological family encompasses a range of parties and individuals whose fundamental values and beliefs are extensive enough to provide a sense of common purpose, destiny, or a community, while at the same time accommodating some degree of difference in interpreting or achieving that world view.

Textbox 2: Economic and Social Influences on the Emergence of Different Ideologies

In Europe, a combination of political, social and economic changes, including industrialization and the French and American revolutions, helped shape the ideas and principles underpinning conservatism, liberalism and social democracy. John Locke and other political philosophers saw free individuals as the basis for a stable society and argued that governments should exist to protect the inherent rights of individuals.[1] This movement for representative democracy or political liberalism spurred calls for economic freedom, as well, with Adam Smith and others arguing against government intervention in trade and other economic affairs. Similarly, the conservative movement developed as a reaction to the French revolution, an event that Edmund Burke and others considered a perverse destruction of long established ideas based in religion, tradition and aristocracy. In response, they favored efforts to promote and protect established institution, Karl Marx, writing in the late 1800's, predicted that capitalism would eventually lead to a revolution in which the working classes would reel against their exploitation by the wealthy and institute communal ownership of economic production. Reformist socialists, the precursors to modern day social democrats, took a more moderate view in the early 20th century, advocating for reform within the capitalist system rather than revolution.

Over the decades, each of these families has come to encompass a range of political tendencies, each representing different combinations of stances along sliding scales for distinct political principles. For instance, the liberal family includes liberal conservatives and conservative liberals, with the latter placing great emphasis on classical conservative concerns for the preservation of tradition, respect for authority, and the role of religion in society. Today, the spectrum of right-leaning parties includes the radical right, Christian conservatives and the center right; the left encompasses communists, socialists, social democrats and progressives. In many respects, conservative, left and liberal-leaning philosophies reflected different visions for and attempts to shape emergent industrial society and the future. As the 19th century unfolded, each of these ideologies developed further and often became associated with different socio-economic groups. In addition, new families have emerged in response to societal change.

For instance, by the 1960s, post-industrial societies were beginning to emerge and along with them, more fluid societies with a greater focus on the individual, rather than on communities or societal groups. In Australia, Europe and New Zealand, the decade saw an economic boom marked by impressive public infrastructure development and industrial expansion. Given higher levels of affluence and developments in travel and communications, a greater range of basic material needs were being met and people living in some parts of the world were increasingly becoming more connected to other parts of the world. However, new concerns were emerging about the costs of industrialization and issues of racial, gender and global equity gained increasing attention.

By the 1970s a worldwide energy crisis, an economic downturn, high inflation, and a report on "The Limits to Growth"[2] had raised serious questions about the potential environmental and societal costs of economic development and fueled the development of local environmental groups. These local groups mobilized at the national level for the first time around concerns over the development of nuclear power in the 1970s, raising issues that they felt traditional groups like churches and trade unions were ignoring. The emergence of these groups on the national stage coincided with a growing movement in favor of greater international solidarity between the industrialized countries of the "north" and countries in the "south" and the feminist movement's demands for equal rights. By the end of the 1970s elements of each of these movements, especially the Greens, frustrated that traditional political parties – conservatives, social democrats and liberals – had not sufficiently addressed their concerns, began to form their own political parties and seek elected office.

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2. Donella Meadows' 1972 book *The Limits to Growth* examined the potential consequences of unchecked economic and population growth given earth's finite resources. The book's inescapable conclusion was that the growth rates of the 1960s were not sustainable.

Thus, individual ideologies may prove difficult to define with "mathematical precision"[21] but it is often possible to define some of the most common features associated with each. For instance, a recent effort to assess the commonly held views of liberals in Europe found a number of differences from one country to the next. The report noted "strength in the diversity of liberal views. Europe is the proud standard-bearer of several strains of liberalism, all imbued with their own rich philosophical heritages." It concluded that the minimum range of universal liberal values include freedom, equality, and tolerance and identified the individual as the starting point from which liberals can develop positions on different issues.[22]

At different times in history, questions have been raised about the continued relevance of ideology. Ironically, these premature obituaries have been penned just before resurgences in ideological debate. Discussions in the 1950s and 60s about the "end of ideology" due to broad acceptance of the principle of managed capitalism preceded the emergence of the Greens and renewed interest in free market economies. More recently, others have noted a general drift toward the center of the left-right spectrum, given consensus on the welfare state and the desirability of a managed economy. They argue that the religious and class divisions of old are no longer as salient as they used to be and that secondary, more complex cleavages have emerged. In addition, in an increasingly globalized world, individual governments have less control over economic conditions in their respective countries. Given the social and economic contexts in which the classic ideologies emerged, questions have also been raised about their relevance to political parties in nascent democracies. Despite these concerns, each of the established ideological families have been able to identify like-minded political parties in every region of the world, even if party members' understanding of the ideological principles they claim varies and their policy positions do not always reflect them clearly.

Interestingly, others suggest that declining membership numbers are, in part, due to political parties not placing sufficient emphasis on ideology. They argue that as parties have tried to broaden their support by taking more centrist positions, they have become less able to articulate a vision and craft narratives based more on emotional relationships between party and supporter, instead focusing on marketing candidates and policy proposals rather than narratives.[23] The growing role of political Islam, fueled by developments in fledgling democracies and debate over appropriate policy responses to the worldwide economic crisis, suggests that ideology remains relevant to this day. In addition, traditional democracies like Austria and France have seen a resurgence in extreme right parties. These developments have renewed interest in longstanding ideological debates and are fostering the emergence of new movements, including the pirates, even as many parties in the established ideological families seek to identify how best to apply their principles in a changing world. Thus, despite current and past attempts to proclaim its death, ideology has proven to be incredibly resilient over the years.

IDEOLOGY'S ROLE IN POLICY DEVELOPMENT

As political parties work to develop their policies, clearly defined ideologies help serve as a political compass of sorts. The different principles that constitute an ideology point political parties in a general direction as they seek to understand different policy problems and find solutions to them. Faced with exactly the same policy problem, political parties from social democrat, liberal, conservative or Green families may propose different solutions based on their political principles. As an example, political parties in each of these families recognize the need for social safety nets, but to varying degrees. In addition, they favor different approaches to providing these services. Social democrat and other left-leaning parties are more likely to propose policy solutions that involve government provision or guarantees of these services. Conservative or right-leaning parties are more likely to recommend limiting the different types of public social safety nets and generally favor privatization of these services. Similarly, while liberals are more likely than left-leaning parties to propose the removal of trade barriers and government subsidies, they are also more likely to support efforts to promote the rights of individuals relative to the state and their community. In some cases, even concepts that appear to be universal – such as freedom– are actually interpreted somewhat different by each ideological family. (Appendix I includes a table comparing how different ideological families interpret selected concepts.)

Table 1: How Ideology Informs Policy

IDEOLOGY	POLICY
Definition	
A set of coherent, unifying, political principles (ideas and values) that provide a framework for understanding a society, establishing a vision for its improvement and identifying the policy actions required to achieve that vision.	A clear plan laying out how to achieve and implement a government objective.
Characteristics	
• General and somewhat abstract; • heavily focused on values and beliefs; • can be applied to a wide range of policy areas; • guides policy development by prioritizing different societal problems and certain types of interventions (e.g. lower taxes versus government's role in providing certain services); • usually found in preambles to party rules or statements of principles; and • generally not updated very often (e.g. generationally).	• Specific and focused on selected actions and desired outcomes; • usually outlines a solution to a specific problem and draws upon ideology by favoring certain types of policy interventions (e.g. specifics on which taxes will be lowered versus government stimulus packages); • mainly found in platforms, manifestos and statements of party accomplishments; and • updated more frequently (e.g. every election).
Example	**Related Policy Proposal**
"We believe that to achieve sustainability, and in order to provide for the needs of present and future generations within the finite resources of the earth, continuing growth in global consumption, population and material inequity must be halted and reversed…this requires …ensuring that market prices of goods and services fully incorporate the environmental costs of their production and consumption, achieving greater resource and energy efficiency and development and use of environmentally sustainable technologies." (The Charter of the Global Greens, p. 6)	*Related Policy Proposals* • "Introduce a carbon tax to reduce the use of fossil fuels by making them more expensive to produce and burn. The revenues generated will be offset by reduced taxes on personal income, payroll and on green products and technologies." (Vision Green, p. 14) • Work with the solar industry to rapidly install 25 gigawatts (GW) of solar photovoltaic. • Work with renewable energy industries to introduce 12 GW of ocean energy and to set specific goals for production of biomass and micro hydro energy. • Work with the geothermal energy industry and the oil industry (for their drilling expertise) in a well-funded research and development program to develop Enhanced Geothermal Systems, drilling down to 10 km to extract 25 GW of power.
Example	**Related Policy Proposal**
"The socially-oriented economy…is the most effective and beneficial way of providing individual initiative and enterprise, responsible economic development, employment opportunities, low taxation and consumer choice." (Declaration of Principles agreed by IDU founders)	*Related Policy Proposals* • Repeal the carbon tax as the first piece of legislation. • Abolish mining tax to re-energize the entire industry, leading to an increase in mining investing and more mining projects to boost exports, strengthen the economy and create more jobs. • Reduce burden on businesses so that they can streamline and focus on: o Modest company tax paid for by government savings. o Streamlined environmental approvals through a one-stop shop process. o Reduced red tape costs to business by $1 billion each year. (Real Solutions for all Australians, p. 19 & 26)

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3. Global Greens, Charter of the Global Greens (Dakar: Global Greens, 2012), http://www.globalgreens.org/sites/globalgreens.org/files/GG_charter_2012_english.pdf.
4. Liberal Party of Australia, Real Solutions for all Australians (Barton: Liberal Party of Australia, 2013), http://lpa.webcontent.s3.amazonaws.com/realsolutions/LPA%20Policy%20Booklet%20210x210_pages.pdf.

While ideological values may point parties in a general direction, they fall short of providing specific policy solutions. For instance, a Green party, having prioritized the need for environmental sustainability still faces the challenge of applying those principles to management of water, mineral wealth, the economy, healthcare and other issues. As a result, based on their principles, political parties need to conduct further research into specific policy questions, identify options for addressing them and determine their precise proposals for addressing different issues. Table 1 summarizes the differences between ideology and policy and illustrates how ideology informs policy.

When the policies that parties propose are consistent with their principles, it enables them to provide a narrative reflecting a particular understanding of society as it is now and how it can be improved in the future. Through these more emotional appeals, political parties are often better placed to connect with the public and to convey the image of organizations that stand for something greater than themselves. Thus, they are less likely to be perceived as opportunistic leaders who capitalize on citizen concerns to gain political power. As frameworks for analysis, different ideologies have helped hundreds of political parties around the world to: understand and propose solutions to societal problems; attract support; withstand significant changes in their operating environment; and survive turnovers in leadership. Parties with clearly defined political principles can also more easily identify, share experiences and partner with like-minded parties and organizations in other countries as well as their own. Six ideological families – centrist democrats, conservatives, Greens, liberals, social democrats and pirates – have formal international associations through which member parties can share experiences and support each other.

DEVELOPING AND UPDATING POLITICAL PRINCIPLES AND VALUES

How then, do political parties develop and reach agreement on the principles that help define their ideology? Based on the experiences of political parties who have either developed a clearer ideological focus or redefined or reinterpreted existing principles as their needs have changed, it is possible to identify a few key steps. First, there is typically a discussion at the leadership level around the key principles and objectives of the party. (Appendix I outlines some key questions that political parties may want to discuss in determining their political principles.) This usually leads to the development of a draft document that is circulated to a broader party group for further consultations. Based on the input from these discussions, an updated version of the document may be developed before it is presented to a final vote by the appropriate party decision-making body. While this is often done through a party congress, some parties use a full membership vote.

Most political parties include references to their principles in their party rules, often in the preamble and sometimes in sections addressing party policy. However, in addition, some parties have a freestanding document that outlines their political beliefs and priorities. These statements of principles provide relatively few details about specific policy proposals and are designed to stand the test of time. Thus, while political parties can and should update their principles in response to changing needs, overly frequent amendments defeat the purpose of having a defined-set of principles and risk creating the impression that a party takes opportunistic and unprincipled stances. This can damage a party's public image while alienating its traditional base. As a general guideline, while platforms are often developed every four or five years in the lead up to major elections, significant updates or revisions to party principles are perhaps generational. As Anson Morse wrote in the nineteenth century:

> *[W]hile party principles do and should undergo change, the alterations cannot go so far as to destroy or obscure the type: a party with aristocratic principles may find its ideal of the aristocratic state differing widely from that which it held a generation earlier; but so long as the ideal itself remains aristocratic, its principles have not suffered essential change.*[24]

Even when political parties have updated or reviewed their principles from one generation to the next, they have strived to find a balance between consistency and change. The examples below describe processes used to develop or revise party principles in Bulgaria, Spain and the United Kingdom. While some of these experiences cover the development of freestanding documents, others describe processes for amending party rules.

Drafting a Statement of Principles in Bulgaria's Union of Democratic Forces

In Bulgaria, the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) emerged in a context where political parties and movements initially defined themselves relative to communism. Thus, a wide range of anti-communist individuals and movements described themselves as anti-left and pro-right primarily relative to the communist government. The coalition that gave birth to UDF comprised organizations with a range of tendencies, unified more by their mutual rejection of communism than by agreement around a cohesive political identity. For instance, coalition members broadly supported privatization but had different ideas about how much to privatize and how. Given that coalition members found it hard to agree upon policy specifics, they contested the 1991 elections on a broad and vague platform. When electoral success catapulted the party into government, UDF was forced to confront difficult conversations that had been deferred in the past. In the absence of prior agreement on specific policy proposals, many government decisions became contested among coalition members.

Having lost the 1994 elections, the party embarked on reforms including efforts to improve policy development. Under the leadership of the National Executive Council, a series of *ad hoc* working groups were created to develop the party's platform for the 1995 local elections. Reform efforts continued after the elections, including an attempt to articulate a clearer ideological profile. With assistance from like-minded partners in Western Europe, the party's National Executive Committee drafted a charter outlining center-right principles. After the National Council debated the draft, a party convention approved the final version. However, when UDF party platforms focused on explaining political principles rather than the specific policy proposals that those principles informed, the party appeared to be out of touch with voter concerns and more focused on abstract political philosophy. While clearly defined ideologies do help political parties to analyze and develop solutions to societal problems, most citizens are more interested in practical proposals for addressing their needs than in abstract principles and values. (For additional information on UDF's experiences, see the party case study in Part II of this publication.)

Amending Party Principles in Spain's Socialist Workers Party and the UK Labour Party

Political parties have also used extraordinary congresses as a forum for discussing and agreeing upon principles that reflect new realities. In 1977, Spain's Socialist Workers Party (PSOE) secured 29.3 percent of the vote, presenting itself as a Marxist party. Despite having been joined by a smaller socialist party with about 5 percent of the vote, two years later PSOE garnered only 30.5 percent of the ballots cast in the election. In an attempt to broaden his party's appeal, PSOE Secretary General Felipe Gonzalez proposed the renunciation of Marxism at the party's XXVIII Congress in May 1979. The discussions about moving away from Marxism had begun in the year leading up to the Congress. In the debates, some delegates criticized the proposal as a resort to populism, while others favored adapting party views of socialism in order to gain voters' confidence. The reform effort failed with 61 percent of delegates rejecting the proposal. Gonzalez subsequently resigned and a provisional management team was put in place until an extraordinary congress could be organized to select a new secretary general and executive board. However, the XXVIII congress had also approved new procedures for selecting delegates for future congresses. Following this change, different federations within the party, rather than local groupings, began selecting delegates for congresses. Since the federal committees charged with selecting delegates were more moderate, by the time the extraordinary congress took place in September, moderates had the upper hand among delegates and overwhelmingly approved the departure from Marxism that Gonzalez had advocated and he resumed his position in the party's leadership.

Similarly, in 1993, following his party's fourth successive electoral defeat, Tony Blair wrote a pamphlet heavily criticizing the Labour Party's commitment to nationalization, a principle embedded in the party's constitution since 1918. Despite some initial success with nationalization, including the creation of a unified system for London's buses and underground trains in the 1930s and the establishment of the National Health Service in 1948, by the 1980s and early 1990s trade unions had weakened and public support for socialism declined. As a result, Labor's commitment to socialism and trade unions was per-

ceived as out to date. Blair called for a more flexible economic system open to competition and growth rather than a government dominated by trade union interest and a state-owned economy. His initial efforts to amend Clause IV of the British Labour Party Constitution failed and a 1994 party congress voted to maintain existing language. Blair turned to the broader membership for support, balloting consistencies on the new language and winning the support of all but one of the party branches. Thus, by increasing participation in the process, Blair was able to achieve his goal, subsequently winning support for a revised Clause IV at a special party congress in 1995. With these changes, the party rules described the goal of a "dynamic economy, serving the public interest" with a "thriving private sector and high quality public services." The old Clause IV had referred to "common ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange", whereas the new spoke of an economy "where those undertakings essential to the common good are either owned by the public or accountable to them."[25] This change was part of broader message to the public that Labour had moved closer to the center.

Balancing the Need for Continuity and Change in the UK Conservative Party

Both the PSOE and UK Labour examples illustrate one of the challenges that political parties face when updating or reinterpreting their principles: balancing the need to update party views while remaining faithful to longstanding party tenets and finding or creating a critical mass for reform within the party. In the case of the UK Conservatives, updating party principles in 2005-2006 involved developing a statement of party aims and values rather than a specific amendment to party rules. Although the party constitution and other documents included general information about the party's beliefs, this was the first time the party had undertaken such an initiative. Party officials circulated an initial draft of the statement and sought members' feedback through a series of consultations around the country as well as online. Based on input from these discussions, the party submitted an updated draft to a full membership vote: members had the option of voting by mail, phone, online or via short message code (SMS).

Throughout the process the party sought to convey a message of change with continuity. For instance, party officials described the need to respond to such new policy challenges and societal issues as climate change, global shifts in economic power and the growth of social networking. While recognizing the need to convince voters that they had changed, party officials emphasized that their longstanding values remained relevant even as they applied them to new challenges. The process also aimed to help convince voters that the party had changed. In his introduction to the draft statement, Party Leader David Cameron noted:

> *Our enduring values mean we believe in trusting people, sharing responsibility, championing freedom and supporting the institutions and culture we share as one nation. Conservatives are not ideologues. That is why in each generation we change, applying our values to new challenges.*[26]

Over 90 percent of participants approved the final version which outlined eight broad policy objectives. In general, compared to previous Conservative Party positions, the statement of aims and values represented a greater emphasis on environmental issues, small business, corporate social responsibility, compassion for society's disadvantaged and fiscal responsibility over tax cuts. Based on the new statement, the party subsequently developed a more detailed platform ahead of the 2010 general elections.

PARTY COHESION

In any political party, the strength of particular individuals' or groups' loyalty to the party will vary. In addition, different individuals or groups may support a particular party for diverse reasons. These differences may be evident among ordinary members and supporters, or they may reflect gaps in the views of various components or sections of the party. Academics have proposed different theories to explain these differences. For instance, some have argued that because of different motivations people located at mid-levels within their respective parties often hold more radical views than party elites and non-elites. These middle elites, often volunteers, are more protective of their party's ideological beliefs than higher level party elites, who see moderation as a way to increase their chances of reelection. Under this theory non-elites support whichever party proposes positions that most closely matches their own; as such, they are also more moderate than the middle elites.[27]

Others have questioned the validity of this theory.[28] Regardless of the underlying reasons, diversity does exist in political parties and leaders often face challenges navigating these differences. While some parties are more cohesive than others, even parties with clear political identities incorporate supporters with a range of beliefs or degrees of ideological commitment. Depending on the degree of divergence within each party, this can raise questions about what a particular stands for and which policy positions are a "true" reflection of its principles.

As the UDF experience in the section on developing and updating party principles illustrates, in some cases, greater cohesion develops over time. Similarly, a study noted that in the aftermath of Slovakia's revolution, parliamentary groups were primarily "informal groups of like-minded legislators". A sequence of alliance and splits among parliamentary groups eventually helped create more cohesive parties and caucuses and politicians became better placed to identify those with similar values.[29] In contrast, loosely structured political parties in the United States are the product of a combination of factors. While candidates run for public office under partisan labels, due to the primary system voters play a significant role in determining ballot access relative to party officials. In addition, while party structures do provide some campaign support, candidates primarily fund their own campaigns personally and through the donations they mobilize. American political culture also places a premium on representing constituent interests and party leaders' authority to compel compliance with party policy is limited. In a situation where power is shared across different branches of government, House and Senate leaders regularly challenge presidents from their own political party.

Since 1987, the Pew Research Center has produced five political typologies classifying Americans into cohesive groups based on their political beliefs and party affiliation. The 2011 political typology outlined five main groups within the Republican Party – main street, tea party, Christian conservative, libertarian and "the disaffected". In the case of the Democratic Party, the typology identified the following: staunch liberals, the blue collar group, bootstrap optimists, younger independents and southern and rural democrats.[30] Within each party, all of these groups have a number of motivating issues in common. However, each bloc prioritizes them differently and, in some cases, has particular concerns that others do not share. For instance, motivating issues across the Republican Party include reducing the government deficit, cutting taxes, repealing President Obama's healthcare reforms and protecting the right to own guns. Among Democrats, the primary common motivating issue is protecting or expanding social safety nets. Many of the groups also favor legislation to allow same sex marriage, restrict the right to own guns, protect the environment and guarantee the right to abortion.

Trade-offs Between Broadening the Base and Cohesion

Determining how much a party should accommodate dissenting views and how much membership should be predicated on subscription to a particular set of beliefs is a question that many political parties evaluate from time to time. In the aftermath of the 2008 elections, the United States Republican Party discussed the possibility of introducing a list of policy principles against which prospective candidates would be assessed. Initial proposals recognized that the party should be open to diverse views, but also required that candidates subscribe to a minimum of eight out of 10 principles on such issues as opposition to amnesty for illegal immigrants and support for lower taxes. Candidates who did not meet this threshold would not be eligible for financial assistance with their campaign from the party establishment. Eventually, given concerns that such a requirement would make it more difficult for the party to attract candidates and be detrimental to the party's image at a time when it was trying to broaden its support, a party meeting adopted a softened version of the proposed resolution recommending use of the principles to assess candidates without making it obligatory.[31]

Political parties whose principles are loosely defined may be able to attract a broader range of support, but over time run a greater risk of struggling to coherently and consistently articulate what they stand for on the broad range of the governance issues that most countries face. In addition, developing and maintaining the unity required to sustain legislative and popular support for specific policies or to maximize a parliamentary group's influence over legislative processes may prove difficult.

Under the responsible party ideal described in this paper's introduction, political parties seek to implement the platforms on which they campaigned. Unity of action among elected officials from the same party can

mean the difference between the adoption or rejection of critical policies and even, in parliamentary systems, the fall or survival of an entire government. Through clearly defined principles and policies, political parties can more easily identify which candidates are of similar mind and identify potential problems with cohesion even before individuals contest and assume elected positions. Since it is clearer what is expected of them, publicly elected officials from parties with a clear ideological foundation and platform are more likely to toe the party line than representatives from parties that have vague goals for improving their countries.[32] At the same time, political parties with narrowly defined principles risk limiting their own ability to appeal to a range of voters or respond to changes in their environment.

While recognizing that nascent political parties often lack a clear ideological focus, this section discussed the benefits that ideologies provide political parties, namely they: attract, unite and mobilize support; can withstand significant change in external operating environments and in internal party organization; and identify like-minded groups in other countries. More specifically, ideologies provide political parties with a framework for analyzing, identifying and proposing solutions to societal problems. The next section presents a basic policy cycle, distinguishes between different types of policy, describes some of the different stakeholders that political parties may want to involve in their policy process, and illustrates how political parties have addressed policy development in their rules.

THE POLICY CYCLE, STAKEHOLDERS AND PARTY RULES

THE POLICY CYCLE AND TYPES OF POLICY

Policymaking is a continuous process that theoretically involves the following main phases. During the drafting and adoption phase, political parties embark upon problem or issue identification, conduct research, develop options for addressing identified problems and draft preliminary policy documents. Political parties may then share their initial ideas with broader groups inside or outside the party for further discussion. Based on this feedback, policy proposals may be refined and options narrowed, paving the way for a formal approval process by the party. This phase usually concludes with parties publishing and disseminating their finalized policy positions.

DIAGRAM 3: BASIC POLICY DEVELOPMENT CYCLE

In the next phase, parties' elected officials in the executive and legislative branches seek to translate party policy proposals into government action, taking into account additional factors such as the composition of the Parliament, budgetary limitations, public opinion and possible changes in the nature of the problem to be addressed. In presidential systems, the pressure for the executive to transcend party politics and "govern for all", even when faced with a Parliament controlled by his/her political opponents, makes it more likely that party policy proposals will undergo changes during the implementation phase. In contrast, parliamentary systems often have party leaders who head the majority faction and control the government apparatus from within the Parliament. Outside these governance processes, ruling and opposition parties also have the option of mobilizing public support for their policy proposals though the media, petitions and other options in the public domain. Finally, parties evaluate the policies that their representatives in the executive and the Parliament have implemented, assess their opponents policy performance, consider whether changes are required, and report back to voters about their accomplishments as they prepare to return to the drafting phase.

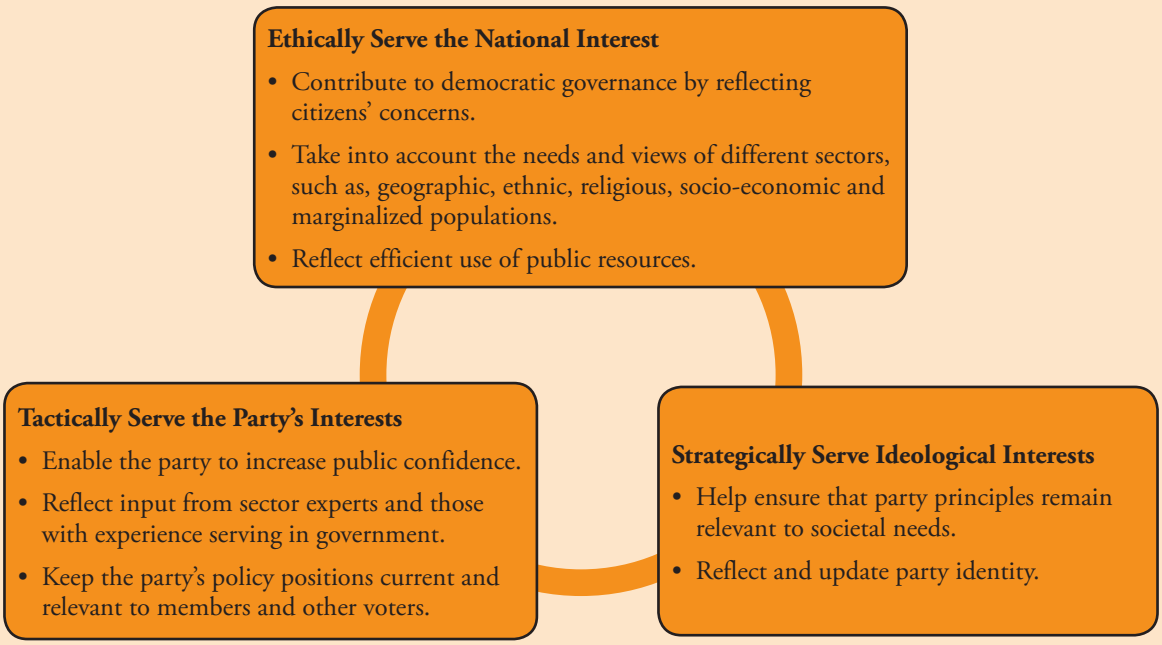
Each phase in the cycle presents different opportunities to include various party groups and external stakeholders. In addition, each of these groups may play different roles depending on the policymaking phase that is underway. In practice, policymaking processes are often more fluid and more complex than the cycle suggests. Nevertheless, this simplified framework, illustrated in Diagram 3, is helpful in thinking through different aspects of policymaking that political parties may want to address in their rules and in practice.

Three Main Types of Policy

This paper distinguishes among three main types of party policymaking. Party platforms, the first type, refer to the main compilation of policy proposals that political parties develop and adopt every few years. Depending on the party in question, these proposals may be officially approved by a delegates' congress or by a full membership vote. They typically reflect a party's efforts to identify salient issues, prioritize among them, and proactively research and formulate solutions to societal problems. Election manifesto, the second type of policy, refers to the combination of policies around which political parties focus their election campaigns. Not all political parties make a distinction between their platforms and manifestos. However, where both exist, the manifesto often draws from the party platform but focuses on a narrower set of policies that are believed to be strategic priorities for the campaign. Processes for developing and adopting party platforms and election manifestos can take time. Rapidly unfolding events may require parties to respond quickly with proposals, making it difficult to consult internally within the party, let alone with stakeholders outside the organization. Thus, where political parties have defined processes for the more extensive policy development processes that can be used to prepare medium to long term manifestos or electoral platforms, some also recognize that interim policies, the third type of policy, are often needed to address unanticipated needs. This includes day-to-day positioning that may be required due to compromises in the legislature or other changes, and urgent, arising issues that are not covered by or anticipated in party platforms or election manifestos. In the sections below, where relevant, the paper distinguishes between party rules and practices for developing party platforms, election manifestos and interim policies. As political parties navigate these different processes, clearly defined political principles can guide party structures and officials in their policy efforts, helping to frame a coherent and consistent narrative.

As illustrated in Diagram 4, regardless of their ideology, the type of policies they are developing or the process used, successful democratic political parties

Diagram 4: The Objectives of Party Policy Development[33]



Textbox 3: How Party Structures in the Social Democratic Party of Croatia Affect Policy

Policy commissions: At the national level, the Social Democratic Party (SDP) of Croatia has 10 Policy Commissions covering issues such as the economy, sustainable development, defense, agriculture and fisheries. These commissions develop programmatic documents for local elections. Beginning in 2004, SDP councils had two tasks: 1) prepare policy proposals for public discussions; and 2) engage outside non-party experts in policy discussions. The commissions gather information about public concerns, design alternative solutions and invite non-party experts to debate alternatives.

The Party Caucus: Each SDP Member of Parliament (MP) develops expertise in a certain public policy area to better advocate the party's positions in committees, plenary debates, and public speeches. MPs consult with party members and experts on specific items on the parliamentary agenda before plenary debates. In addition, they frequently speak at public discussions organized at the local level, answer member questions, and contribute to the various party newsletters[34] to keep the party membership informed.

The Political Academy: The Political Academy "New Society"[35] organizes discussions on the most relevant public policies with trainees, eminent members of commissions, the party caucus, representatives of the academic community, and other European Social Democratic parties. These discussions helped inform the development of key principles that were included in the SDP platform. The Academy has published translations analyzing Social Democratic public policies that were distributed to commission members and the academic community to encourage homegrown policy analysis. It was through these organized discussions that many non-party experts participated in preparations for the annual issue-based party convention, where the most important public policies are discussed.

Program Coordination Commission: The Program Coordination Commission produces final versions of policy documents and organizes events for SDP to present and promote its main policies. Two months before elections the policy program is reduced to five high priority issues, which are presented to the media, members and supporters. A large number of policy summaries are printed and distributed as various types of the election literature (leaflets, newspapers, etc.) at party rallies and through direct voter contact. In 2007, the work of the commission helped SDP achieve the best result in the party's history by forcing a debate with opponents on policy issues and solutions for the first time. Because of this debate, the party went from 34 to 56 mandates. By streamlining important issues and through effective communication with the media and voters, the party learned that the discussion about policies is as important as the policy documents themselves.

The 2011 Elections: In the 2011 elections a coalition comprising SDP and two other parties achieved a parliamentary majority. The coalition talks were held behind closed doors, which led to party members questioning the party's transparency and having a hard time recognizing the alliance. To help raise awareness about the coalition and build support for it among party members, SDP began an online discussion about the coalition on social networks. However, while the discussions were viewed positively, there was an overall consensus that social media could not substitute for direct communication, as there was still a lack of ownership among members of the coalition building process.

In the aftermath of the 2011 the elections, the policy processes shifted from the party to the government. With several members now serving in government, there were fewer people left to promote the party's message from within. There are currently discussions about using the party's Policy Commissions as "transmission structures," that allow party members to familiarize themselves with the government's policy process so that SDP's policies in government are coordinated with policy discussions among party activists outside the government.

This textbox is an updated version of a summary that appeared in: NDI, *NDI Montenegro Policy Development Manual* (Washington DC: NDI, 2008), 21, https://www.aswat.com/files/Policy%20Development%20Manual.pdf.

typically seek to achieve three main objectives in policy development: to serve the national interest, advance their ideologies and promote their political or tactical goals.

STAKEHOLDERS IN PARTY POLICY DEVELOPMENT

Most political parties have multiple organizational levels, each of which can play important roles in policy development. This section provides an overview of how each of these different interests and external stakeholders can contribute to party policy development. In addition, Textbox 3 describes how Croatia's Social Democratic Party involves various party structures in its policy development processes.

Party Leadership

In any organization, leaders set the tone by setting priorities, mobilizing resources and inspiring people. As such, how seriously party leaders take policy development and their visions for how the process should unfold play an important role in setting the tone for their staff and members. Party leaders have a key role to play in providing a strategic vision for policy development, encouraging participation, empowering staff or members, recognizing the contributions of various participants, and celebrating achievements. Given the role that leaders typically play in articulating, advocating, and in government seeking to implement their party's positions, their commitment to policy content is as important as their support for the process. As a result, some political parties give their leaders – within certain limits – significant authorities in vetoing, determining and/or prioritizing policies.

Elected Officials

Elected officials bear the primary responsibility for implementing their party's policies through the executive, the legislature, and by mobilizing public support. In politics, as in life, things change rapidly. Elected officials influence public perceptions of their political parties. In addition to their performance in the legislative and executive branches, media outlets often turn to them for comment as issues arise. As the public face of a political party, elected representatives, especially legislators may have regular contact with voters, gaining valuable insight into their constituents' concerns in various policy areas. New issues often arise, requiring political parties to take positions under conditions in which full consultation may not be possible. Elected officials are often in the front lines of developing party positions in these situations. They can better perform these functions when their party's policies are clear to them and are consistent with their own views. But where the party has no official policy, the caucus may have to develop a position quickly based on the values articulated in the policy development process.

As political parties develop their policies, the opinions and participation of their elected officials can help ensure that these individuals have the information and involvement they need to perform their roles in government and as party spokespersons effectively. In addition, through their work in the legislature and in the executive branch, elected officials are exposed to information and processes that can be helpful in improving policy content. Legislators have also found that they can use policy development processes to build their support base among the local electorate, for example by leading local forums that feed into policy development at the national level.

Where they exist, governors and mayors can provide a reality check on the impact of proposed party policies in their regions and provide informed recommendations on potential solutions to high priority policy challenges. For example, border state governors in the United States and Mexico know firsthand the challenge of trans-border issues and are in a position to help develop cohesive, coherent and feasible policies on such questions as border security, migration and trade in their respective parties.

Party Branches, Members and Affiliated Groups

By involving members in policy development, political parties can educate their supporters on policy issues and broaden ownership of and support for policy positions once they are finalized. Broad consultation and inclusion play another important education role for party stakeholders and the general public: raising awareness about the choices that need to be made and some of the trade-offs necessary when prioritizing policies. Such participation can help solidify members' commitment to their parties. In addition, branches and members can play useful roles in identifying and prioritizing issues and pro-

Textbox 4: The Canadian Liberal Party Pink Books

In 2006, the Canadian Liberal Women's Caucus released the *Pink Book,* a document outlining policy recommendations on early learning and child care, income security, improved maternity and parental benefits and other issues of importance to women in Canada. The Women's Liberal Caucus in Parliament developed this first *Pink Book* through working sessions with groups from across Canada focusing on the concerns of women.

At the time, given growing sentiment among party members that the Liberal party headquarters was not in tune with grassroots members' views and opinions, the Women's Caucus released the volume in an attempt to push the party to pay greater attention to the grassroots and, in particular, to women.[36] At the same time, the Caucus wanted to stay loyal to the party and did not want to force party members to accept the women's legislative agenda if they were adamantly opposed to its ideas. Therefore, the process of creating the book involved a significant amount of negotiation and compromise between the Caucus and the Prime Minister's office to ensure that the Caucus was not advocating for policy that the party would never consider.

The three volumes of the *Pink Book* have served as a way for the Women's Caucus to present recommendations to the party on policies that most seriously affect women in Canada. The Liberal Party has also used the *Pink Book(s)* as a way to demonstrate its commitment to policies that affect women by stating that if elected to government, the party will enact many of the policy proposals outlined in the documents. While the Liberal Party has not formally endorsed all of the ideas in the latest *Pink Book* as their official policy it is listed as one of the party documents on the Liberals' website.[37]

Similar to the negotiation process leading up to the first *Pink Book,* the Women's Caucus tested their ideas with the party headquarters before each new volume was finalized. The Caucus also negotiates with the Women's Commission, the party's women's wing, which is tasked with submitting resolutions on women's policy priorities to the Biennial Party Conventions. Since it is at these Biennial Party Conventions where new party policy is discussed and voted on, by ensuring that the Women's Commission agrees with their policy recommendations, the Caucus has a greater chance of influencing official party policy.

Overall, the success in releasing the *Pink Book* is that there is no longer a *Pink Book* (the last one was published in 2009). The Caucus no longer feels a need to pressure the party since it is now committed to including women and women's issues when they are working on the party platform.[38]

viding perspectives that help improve the relevance and practicability of policy proposals.

Many political parties around the world have affiliated groups that provide *fora* through which different segments of their membership – trade unionists, women, youth, ethnic minorities, and lesbian, gay and bisexual groups, for instance – can discuss issues of common concern and mobilize to participate in political activities. These groups can play formal and informal roles in influencing party agendas so that they reflect their priorities and take into account the potential impact of policy proposals on their communities. For instance, in established democracies, women's groups often work to influence party policy agendas, typically placing particular emphasis on such issues as equal pay, parental leave and childcare. Examples include the efforts of women's groups in the Swedish Social Democratic and British Conservative Parties to influence their parties' policies in these areas.[39] In Canada, as described in Textbox 4, women's groups in the Liberal Party developed a series of *Pink Book(s)* highlighting policy issues they wanted their party to address.

External Stakeholders

In addition to involving internal party units and members in policy processes, political parties often benefit from the perspectives of civil society groups, including think tanks, sectoral experts, and in some cases the general public. Civil society refers to the range of groups that exist between the governmental and for-profit sectors. The term encompasses a diverse sector including legally registered groups with a formal governance structure and less formal associations of individuals organized around a common interest that perform a wide range of roles around the world. Through their work in service delivery, community mobilizing and monitoring of political

processes – including policy implementation and public expenditures –they have access to information and insight that can help political parties improve their policies. For instance, El Salvador's Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front has established a council for consultative dialogue that is working with the party to develop its manifesto ahead of the 2014 elections. The council includes businessmen, economists, local development and legal experts, engineers, and artists. While some parties focus on consulting like-minded groups during their political development processes, others cast a broader net, recognizing that even groups who may oppose them or are unaffiliated may possess expertise in various policy areas. These perspectives can help political parties identify shortcomings or gaps in existing policy, potential solutions to societal needs, and ways to refine their own proposals. In some cases, civil society groups have been willing to endorse and help mobilize support for particular candidates or parties whose policies are consistent with their priorities. Even when they agree with a party's proposals, external stakeholders – including high profile leaders in different sectors – are more likely to endorse and help mobilize public support for these policies when they have been included in the process to develop them.

Think tanks are a particular subset of civil society that utilizes research to influence policy. Policy think tanks can have direct and indirect influences at different stages in policy development. For instance, during issue identification, they can influence which issues political parties and the public identify as priorities. Their research may shape the proposals that political parties consider and eventually adopt as positions. They may also contribute to policy implementation by providing or training staff, supplying policy advice and serving as government contractors.[40] While some think tanks are completely independent and nonpartisan, others have varying degrees of linkages with political parties. For instance, political party officials have created think tanks that can help them improve the quality of policy research and analysis: some are quite elaborate, with large budgets and a large number of professional staff, while others are much smaller and are largely staffed by volunteers. While some work closely with party members, others operate at arm's length from party members. In addition to these party-affiliated organizations, there are several examples of think tanks that have emerged independent of political parties. Here too, their relationships with political parties differ.

In Chile, think tanks contribute to policymaking through legislative assistance to legislative committees and seek to influence electoral platforms. In Uruguay, the Broad Front maintains a relationship with the University of the Republic. In recent years, with public funds, each of the political groupings in the European Parliament has established foundations that assist with various aspects of their work. For instance, the Centre for European Studies conducts research on a wide range of European public policy issues including economics, foreign affairs, energy, social values and immigration. It organizes seminars on European Union policies, publishes policy briefs and other studies, and assists the European Peoples' Party with the preparation of its election manifestos and other policy documents. In the Philippines, the National Institute for Policy Studies affiliated with the Liberal Party, promotes the study of liberal principles, organizes training programs and occasionally produces reports to brief Liberal Party officials. In Mexico's Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), the Colosio Foundation manages the entire policy development process. Additional information is available in the PRI case study in Part II of this publication. In addition, Textbox 5 describes the role that think thanks play in the United States.

In some cases, private sector groups have perspectives that can be helpful to parties in identifying policy proposals to improve economic conditions. For instance, in a number of countries, chambers of commerce and other business associations have developed national business agendas or other policy priorities around which they can organize to advocate for reforms. Kenya's Private Sector Alliance, for example, recently released the second iteration of their national business agenda. It outlines a range of challenges and policy solutions in 12 areas including national security, property rights, corruption, trade and investment.[41]

Professional lobbyists who represent different interest groups also seek to influence public policy issues through a variety of means. This may include targeting publicly elected officials or appealing to the political parties that they believe are most likely to be sympathetic to their causes. For instance, during investigations into their work on behalf of Native American casino gambling interests in the United States, Jack Abramoff and other lobbyists were accused of illegally giving gifts and campaign funds to legislators in return for supporting legislation.[42]

Textbox 5: Think Tanks in the United States

A wide of range of think tanks and internet-based organizations support policy development in both the Democratic and Republican Parties. Although many of them are formally nonpartisan, some work informally with the party to which they are closest ideologically. Some focus on academic-style public policy research, while others are involved in influencing the political landscape. Think tanks can influence the issues political parties and the public prioritize, shape the policy proposals political parties adopt, and help implement policy by providing or training staff and supplying advice. Through high media profiles, they often serve as unofficial spokespersons for the views of one party or another. They may include senior staff from different administrations or serve as training grounds for young activists. Given broad recognition of the contributions to these different groups can make to public policy, contributions to them are tax-exempt; however, under federal legislation, they may not offer material support to specific parties or candidates for office. This still leaves significant latitude for these organizations to play active roles in policy-making. Examples include the following:

Center for American Progress - Organized in 2003 by President Clinton's White House Chief of Staff John Podesta, the Center for American Progress (CAP) is designed to provide actionable policy information. CAP has a sister organization, the Center for American Progress Action Fund, which is the advocacy and lobbying arm of CAP. Together they utilize research and social media to provide a permanent campaign infrastructure for the Democratic Party. Podesta served as the Transition Director for the newly elected Obama administration. Senior CAP fellows are former Democratic staffers and politicians and many were appointed to the Obama administration. CAP has over 250 staff members. Modeled on the Heritage Foundation and the American Enterprise Institute, CAP's purpose is to generate progressive ideas and policy proposals, respond quickly to conservative proposals, and communicate effectively with the American public.

New organizations - Alternative new groups include the Daily Kos, Netroots Nation, and ActBlue, which are all internet-based organizations. The Daily Kos, the largest progressive online community, is a blog started in 2002 that now receives over 600,000 hits a day. Netroots Nation combines this community with in-person events, including the third convention in 2008.

American Enterprise Institute - The American Enterprise Institute (AEI) started as an association in 1943 and became a nonpartisan think tank in 1954. AEI is one of the largest and oldest of the Republican Party-affiliated think tanks. Its mission is to defend the principles of limited government, individual liberty and responsibility, and private enterprise, and to improve the institutions of American freedom and democratic capitalism. AEI is credited with providing over 50 of President Reagan's top staffers and advisors in 1981 and more than 20 of President G.W. Bush's top staffers and advisors in 2001.

Heritage Foundation - Founded in 1973, the Heritage Foundation is a nonpartisan think tank whose mission is to formulate and promote conservative public policies based on the principles of free enterprise, limited government, individual freedom, traditional American values, and a strong national defense.

Cato Institute - The Cato Institute is a nonpartisan think tank founded in 1977 to promote libertarian principles. Cato owes its name to Cato's Letters, a series of essays published in 18th century England that presented a vision of society free from excessive government power. Cato is known for its advocacy of libertarian approaches to government.

Given the wide range of stakeholders in policy development, political parties often struggle to find the right balance in involving each of these different groups. Party rules on policy development, the subject of the next section, provide the first opportunity for addressing this tension by clarifying the roles and responsibilities of each party unit in policy development.

PARTY POLICY DEVELOPMENT RULES

Most successful political parties have a defined process for developing their policies. Party rules usually provide some indication of this process and may outline: the broad political principles upon which policy

content is to be based; the party organ or structure responsible for overseeing policy development; general values that should be reflected in the process; the main steps in the process; who should be involved in the process and at what stage; responsibilities for approving platforms, election manifestos or interim policies; and mechanisms for reporting back on efforts to implement party policies. However, the levels of detail in party rules vary significantly from one party to another.

Some party rules contain relatively low levels of detail, simply determining who has the authority to be involved in policy and to what degree, without detailing a specific process. For instance, the party rules of the Netherlands People's Party of Freedom and Democracy rules assign responsibility for policy development to specific groups in the party but provide few guidelines on how the process should unfold. In other cases, medium to high levels of detail are provided, including the designation of specific party bodies with the policymaking responsibility and authority, broad outlines for sequencing policy development, and assigning specific roles to various stakeholders or party structures. The UK Conservative and Labour Parties' rules provide medium levels of detail by describing the party structures responsible for coordinating policy development, but also outline the general sequence to be followed. The Swedish Social Democratic Party's rules are even more detailed, defining the role of each potential stakeholder, from the branch to leadership level, in policymaking.

Regardless of the overall level of detail on policy development, party rules usually only provide broad outlines for day-to-day policymaking and the steps that party leaders may need to take to make minor adjustments to party policy positions. This allows parties to adapt as issues arise and communication or management practices change. It also gives leaders the flexibility they need to move quickly when urgent issues arise or elections are imminent.[43] Following are some examples of how different political parties have addressed the various aspects of policymaking in their party rules.

Policy Coordination Mechanisms

Political parties need to assign responsibility for coordinating their policy development efforts to particular individuals or party structures. Often, this is addressed in party rules. Under the UK Conservative Party rules, the Policy Forum's mandate includes: encouraging and coordinating policy development; creating mechanisms for receiving and responding to policy ideas, including from local branches; organizing input from policy experts; helping to organize party congresses; and advising the party leader and board on policy issues. A council that includes representatives of the parliamentary party, party structures for different geographic areas and sector experts oversees the work of the Forum.[44] In the Canadian Liberal Party, the National Policy and Platform Committee is comprised of the party leader and his appointees, federal campaign chairs, policy chairs from the provinces and territories, as well as representatives from party commissions and the parliamentary group. The committee's responsibilities include providing a forum for members to discuss and influence party policy; developing written procedures for and coordinating policy development processes across the country; and maintaining a current compilation of the party's policies on its public website.[45] In France's Union for a Popular Movement (UMP), an orientation committee comprising party national secretaries is responsible for overseeing the development and implementation of the party's platform, as well as for ensuring coordination between the party and its legislators. The party's political bureau appoints these national secretaries based upon the proposal of the party president.[46] The case study in Part II provides additional information on the UMP's policy process.

Drafting and Approval Processes

In terms of rules outlining the main steps in policy development and who should be involved, in the United Kingdom's Liberal Democratic Party, the Federal Policy Committee, responsible for overseeing policy development, is required to consider policy proposals from party structures at the regional and local levels, and from associated organizations – including groups representing students, ethnic minorities, individual members, and the lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) community. The Committee is usually expected to circulate consultation papers to various party structures and based on the feedback received as well as submissions from party units, prepare policy papers for consideration by the Party Congress. The party rules also note that while consultation papers may include policy options, in cases where there is significant disagreement

within the party over an issue, the committee may present the different options to congress.[47]

While some party rules distinguish between processes for approving platforms, election manifestos and interim policies, others are less explicit in their provisions. For instance, the Belgian Flemish Green Party Congress, whose authority includes approval and amendment of party principles and platforms is open to all members: any member who attends may vote and there are no delegates or specific representatives from particular party units. The party rules also allow the party's Political Council, comprising delegates from regional and local branches, as well as party youth and seniors, to decide upon party policy. The Council, which includes party executives and publicly elected officials as non-voting delegates, determines the party's election manifestos. In South Africa, the African National Congress (ANC) ultimate power for determining the party policy and program rests with the National Conference under Article 11 of the party constitution. Policy congresses are considered to be recommendation-making bodies and "the [National Executive Committee] NEC must convene a National Policy Conference at least six (6) months before the National Conference to review policies of the ANC and to recommend any new or to amend any present policy for consideration by the National Conference." The NEC may also convene additional policy congresses and issue policy documents and directives when it deems fit.[48] The case study in Part II provides additional information on ANC's policy process.

In the UK Liberal Democrats, however, the Federal Policy Committee, which oversees all policy development processes, is also responsible for developing election manifestos and interim policy. Interim policies must first be approved by the appropriate congress.[49] In the Canadian Liberal Party, under recent changes to the rules, platform and manifesto development now falls under the responsibilities of the committee that oversees policy development. In the past, the level of consultation on the manifesto depended very much on the party leader and his inner circle. The party leader maintains the right to veto the manifesto in whole or in part.[50] The New Democratic Party of British Columbia (BCNDP)'s Provincial Council, comprised of the provincial executive, delegates from each constituency association, the youth wing, the LGBT caucus, affiliated organizations and the past president, is responsible for policy in between conventions.[51] More specifically, article 15.03 states:

> *It shall be a specific responsibility of the Provincial Council to amplify, extend and add to policy decisions enunciated by the Convention and that such amplification or extension not be inconsistent with existing Convention policy.*

Additional information on BCNDP's policy process is available in the case study in Party II of this publication.

The Role of Affiliated Groups

Party rules provide for the inclusion of women, youth and other groupings in different ways. As the BCNDP example shows, in some cases representatives of marginalized groups are explicitly included in policymaking structures. In other instances, as the UK Liberal Democrat rules show, they may be among the affiliated or associated groups entitled to receive and comment on consultation documents. Additionally, political parties often provide for the participation of these groups in party congresses, which frequently play a key role in approving policies. Provisions for these groups may include a specific number or percentage of delegates and the right to a speaking slot on the formal agenda for these events or to propose policy resolutions. In the Canadian Liberal Party, the caucus, each provincial or territorial association, and each commission is allowed to submit 10 policy resolutions for consideration at the national convention. The method through which policies are developed or prioritized is left to the discretion of each group. Textbox 5 describes the role that unions have played in the UK Labour Party's policy development processes.

Policy Accountability

While elected officials are accountable to the citizens they are elected to serve, they also have a responsibility to ensure that their action and decisions are consistent with their party's ideals, ideology and specific policy proposals. In some cases, particularly in presidential systems, the dialogue between elected officials – especially those serving in the executive – and their parties can be informal or limited by custom or legal provisions. In others, communication between parties and their legislators is more fluid and

constant. In many cases, party rules include broad statements emphasizing the need for close communication and coordination between elected officials and party structures outside governments. This can include explicit provisions for elected officials to account for their actions.

The Canadian Liberal Party Constitution provides for a caucus accountability officer, a member of the parliamentary group (and if the party is in government a cabinet member), who presents reports to the party's Council of Presidents and to each convention on caucus efforts to implement party policies. In Sweden's Social Democratic Party, the parliamentary group must submit a report on its work to the annual general meeting of the party's National Board. However, the party rules also candidly note:

> *Party members must always be aware of the fact that all the details of policy cannot be decided at meetings…[Party] programmes and the decisions of the party organization on overall and fundamentally important issues are the guidelines for the elected representative of the party. When judging the way elected representatives manage their duties, members and organization should take into consideration the different grounds for the standpoints which the representatives have adopted.*[52]

DRAFTING AND ADOPTING PARTY POLICY

The previous section described how different parties provide for policy development in their rules. Party rules do not always reflect actual party practices. In addition, since party rules often allow some flexibility in developing party policies, this section takes a closer look at party practices in drafting and adopting party policy, touching upon different mechanisms and processes for coordinating drafting and consultations around party policy as well as approaches in formal party policy adoption.

MECHANISMS FOR COORDINATING POLICY DRAFTING

Whether their policy drafting structures are simple or complex, political parties use a variety of approaches to balance the need for party executive, publicly elected officials and grassroots structure involvement in policy processes. Regardless of which internal units and external stakeholders are involved in policy development, political parties typically have a particular person or group of people responsible for managing and coordinating the policy development process. The responsibilities of these coordination mechanisms may include: identifying priority issues for policy attention; establishing sub-committees where relevant or appropriate; overseeing the development of draft policy documents; conducting research on policy options; requesting and reviewing submissions from branches and outside experts; organizing consultations; and preparing policy reports for party congresses. The complexity, size and composition of these coordination mechanisms vary, but generally fall into one of two categories: party executive-based or multi-stakeholder commissions. The composition of these coordination mechanisms provides yet another opportunity to involve different party stakeholders.

Party Executive-Based

Some parties assign primary responsibility for coordinating the policy development process to a team of party executives, who may be assisted by a support staff based in the party secretariat. For instance in South Africa's ANC, a Policy Unit based at party headquarters is responsible for overseeing the development of draft policy documents for review by the NEC. A member of the NEC oversees the unit's work with the assistance of a number of other conveners who are also party executive officials. The unit may invite or hire experts to submit or draft documents to assist with policy development. Once the NEC approves draft policy documents, these are circulated to party branches ahead of Provincial Policy Conferences and the National Policy Conference. The National Policy Conference is a recommendation-making forum that usually meets a few months before the National Conference, responsible for approving party policies, convenes.

In some cases, the coordination function may be housed in the party executive but allows for participation by party members with relevant policy expertise. In the Netherlands, the People's Party for Freedom and Democracy's rules assign responsibility for direction and decisions on political matters to a Party Council that is elected by party members at regional branch meetings. Over the course of regular meetings, a series of issue-based committees comprising party members with policy expertise produce draft policy papers that are distributed to local branches ahead of party assembly meetings. Neither legislators nor members of the party leadership are on these committees; barring legislators or party leaders from direct participation in these groups helps ensure a grassroots-influenced process. The branches may discuss and negotiate amendments to the policy papers before they are put to a final vote at national party assemblies.

Multi-Stakeholder Committees

As indicated above, in the Canadian Liberal Party, a National Policy and Platform Committee comprised of a chair elected by convention delegates; a co-chair chosen by the leader, the national director; the national campaign co-chairs, one representative each from commissions for women, youth, seniors and aboriginal peoples; four party members chosen by the leader; four caucus members; and the elected policy chair from each province and one from the territories. The Constitution also includes provisions for gender and language balance on the committee.

In an effort to accommodate various internal units and interests, some parties have adopted multilayered policymaking structures. For instance, the rules for the United Kingdom's Labour Party outline three main policymaking institutions: the National Policy Forum (NPF), the Joint Policy Committee (JPC) and Policy Commissions. The NPF includes representatives of the National Executive Committee, local party branches, regional party structures, trade unions, parliamentary groups, socialist societies, students, the party group for ethnic minorities, local government officials, and policy forums in Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland. Party rules determine the allocation of seats across each of these units and establish minimum levels of participation for women and youth. The NPF's mandate is to oversee policy development work, manage consultations with members and other stakeholders, and to compile findings from the consultative processes. The JPC, which the party leader chairs and includes

Diagram 5: Policy Drafting and Approval

senior members of the parliamentary group - cabinet or shadow cabinet - the National Executive and the NPF, serves as steering group to direct the NPF's work. Finally, various Policy Commissions develop policy reports, taking into account submissions from different party structures, and submit them to the NPF and JPC for discussion and consideration. The NPF's policy proposals are discussed and approved at party congresses.

ISSUE IDENTIFICATION AND BACKGROUND RESEARCH

Since political parties must market their policy proposals to voters and contrast their ideas with their opponents', policymaking is a highly political process. While parties do debate contrasting proposals to policy problems, they also seek to gain the up-

per hand by shifting the focus of debates to policy areas that reflect their strengths or priorities based on past performance in government, public perceptions, and their political principles. A political party's identity will influence how it prioritizes different societal problems and the types of solutions it favors. At the same time, without sufficient technical research and input, political parties risk basing their campaign on vague or unrealistic proposals that inevitably undermine their credibility and fuel citizen disenchantment.

As indicated above, drafting usually begins with a process of identifying the issues or problems around which policies should be developed. This may involve consultations within and outside the party to determine voter priorities and issues that are emerging as medium to long-term challenges. For instance, in the lead up to the 2012 elections in the United States, the Democratic Party distributed a questionnaire to its supporters asking them to rank 17 issues by priority. Political parties may also draw upon professionally conducted qualitative and quantitative public opinion research to inform their policy development efforts. Additional information on policy development in the United States' Democratic and Republican Parties is available in the case study in Part II of this publication.

Once these priorities have been identified, parties gather additional information on: the scope and impact of the problem; its underlying causes; if relevant, lessons learned from past efforts to address the issue; and possible solutions. Based on this research, they prepare draft documents that can be used to solicit input from members. Some parties solicit an initial round of feedback, revise their policy based on the feedback, and then circulate the documents to party members and delegates before final adoption. Others use a more simplified process that focuses consultations on the process leading up to formal adoption by their delegates or membership. Diagram 5 portrays a simplified version of the steps involved in drafting and approving party plicies.

In Belgium's Flemish Green Party, periodic ideological congresses help identify basic programmatic and political positioning optics that are important to the party. Based on the outcome of these events and issues that the parliamentary group identifies as priorities, the National Executive develops a list of topics around which policies should be developed. The party's study department drafts a background document, called a white paper, on each topic. The study department is made up of party employees who have specific knowledge on policy matters and works under the direction of the party leader. The study department drafts resolutions based on these white papers for consideration at the Party Congress. Once the party's political council has approved the draft congressional text, it is circulated to local structures, who can propose amendments. Depending on the nature of the feedback from party structures, the party may convene those who proposed amendments in an effort to reconcile and consolidate different proposals. The revised text is circulated to party members ahead of the final vote at congress.

While political parties have a responsibility to consult members and the public, their policy formulation role involves more than simply summarizing and repackaging citizen preferences. Political parties also have a responsibility to provide leadership in shaping public policy agendas by setting priorities for government action; developing policy options for public consideration, raising awareness about policy issues that may otherwise be ignored, and - on occasion - convincing the public that certain policies, however unpopular, are necessary for the public good. By highlighting mismanagement of veterans' benefits in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Social Democratic Party (SDP BiH) succeeded in presenting reforms as a way to protect veterans' interests rather than as a way of cutting their support. The case study in Part II contains additional information on the party's experiences.

Often, there will be more than one way to resolve a particular policy issue. In assessing the advantages and disadvantages of various potential solutions, political parties should consider: who would stand to gain or lose from each option; whether similar approaches have been tried elsewhere and with what results; whether the capacity exists with the party, government institutions and other necessary groups to implement the policy; public opinions on the different available options; and which proposal would make the most efficient use of public resources. Since all governments have finite resources, in addition to calculating costs for individual policy areas, political parties should also consider how different initiatives will be paid for and the overall distribution of government resources across various

sectors. Diagram 6 outlines some steps and issues that parties may want to consider as they research policy options.

In countries such as Canada, France and the Netherlands, political parties publish cost proposals as part of their election manifestos. Releasing information about the costs of their various policy proposals and how they are to be paid helps to show that political parties have thought through the solutions they are proposing, taking into account a wide range of factors including assumptions about the economy's rate of growth and how the party plans to mobilize and prioritize public expenditures over its time in government. Such analyses help convey the image of a political party that is ready to govern. Beginning in 2004, the Canadian Green Party began providing a budget outline with its platform. The party's finance critic is heavily involved in producing the outline and a public finance specialist reviews the draft to help ensure that the assumptions and analyses are valid. In Ireland, the Ministry of Finance outlines the costs of proposals by the various political parties. Elsewhere, political parties have grouped their policy proposals, indicating which ones would depend on economic conditions. For instance, in Sweden, the ruling Alliance Coalition's 2010 program outlined two sets of pledges: firm commitments and more aspirational policy goals that would depend on the availability of funding. Based on the document, coalition partners review and negotiate policy priorities regularly based on the budget situation.[53]

Diagram 6: Developing A Policy Position

BACKGROUND PREPARATION

1. Gather information about the chronology of events that created the problem.
2. Collect perspectives from the main stakeholders and influential political actors on the issue.
3. Review any public opinion research or other indicators of public sentiment on the issue.
4. Collect information from experts and specialists on the specific topic, including how this issue has been addressed in other places. These experiences may help you identify potential drawbacks with different proposals and ways to avoid or mitigate them.

CLEARLY DEFINE AND EXPLAIN THE PROBLEM

1. Analyze the problem's historical trajectory over time. Identify cause and effect relationships and create a chain of events. Be sure to distinguish between the symptoms and root causes, and further between primary and secondary causes.
2. Describe the nature and range of the problem's impact noting the sectors of the population affected both directly and indirectly by this issue.

IDENTIFY THE DESIRED OUTCOME

1. Describe what you hope your policy proposal will achieve. This can be done in general terms and then refined further based on the particular positions you adopt.

CONSIDER ALTERNATIVE PROPOSALS

1. Assess the potential impact of maintaining the *status quo* and the possible benefits and disadvantages.
2. Identify alternative proposals, and outline the possible advantages and disadvantages of each.

DETERMINE A PREFERRED POLICY THAT:

1. Clearly defines the problem to be addressed including: its history, root causes and the scale of its impact.
2. Describes how the proposed policy will change/improve the *status quo*.
3. Outlines how the policy will be implemented. For example, describe any legislation required and the agencies that would be held involved in implementation.
4. Explains how the policy will be paid for.

CONSULTATION

> *An effective party system requires, first, that the parties are able to bring forth programs to which they commit themselves and, second, that the parties possess sufficient internal cohesion to carry out these programs…Clearly, such a degree of unity within the parties cannot be brought about without party procedures that give a large body of people an opportunity to share in the development of the program.*[54]

Political parties have adopted more inclusive models of policy development for a variety of reasons. Some parties involve members and citizens in policymaking based on their values or their ideological beliefs. Others believe that consultation improves the quality and relevance of policy options. Political parties have also used increased participation to keep themselves relevant to voters and to build support for their policy proposals. They help political parties identify potential criticisms of their proposals and develop ways to counter those arguments. In addition, consultative policy processes provide skills building and leadership opportunities for candidates and publicly elected officials, helping to raise their profiles. These opportunities often generate positive media coverage and generate a series of activities to engage existing members and recruit new supporters. New information and communication technologies have also made it easier to effectively and efficiently solicit input from broad groups of citizens. Some of the levels of participation used today would have been logistically unthinkable before the internet era.

Despite the benefits, common challenges in undertaking more participatory policymaking include: the risk of "consultation fatigue", when participants find the process too abstract or burdensome; disenchantment among participants who feel their views were not given sufficient consideration; and the inability to achieve clear outcomes when consultations reveal widely disparate views, no clear preferences among participants or are based on insufficient information. In some cases, consultations may even turn combative as different groups compete for dominance over policy decisions.[55] For instance, between the mid-1970s and the mid-1980s, the United States Democratic Party experimented with midterm conventions to provide additional opportunities for grassroots policy development. Midterm conventions occurred in 1974, 1978 and 1982, but the party abandoned the idea when the events pitted different party factions against each other. For instance, during the 1978 midterm convention in Memphis, 40 percent of the delegates rejected the incumbent president's proposals for economic policy. In addition, Senator Ted Kennedy spoke against President Carter's health policy proposals and would go on to challenge the incumbent for the party's nomination.

Nevertheless, political parties who have attempted to broaden participation in their policy processes have generally found the benefits to outweigh the potential drawbacks and have sought ways to manage these challenges while accommodating consultation. For instance, the United Kingdom, Canada and other Westminster-style democracies used to have branches and affiliated groups that primarily provided input to party policy proposals by drafting and submitting resolutions that were debated and voted on at party congresses. During the 1990s, many parties moved away from the resolution process, given concerns that some of the branch and affiliate group submissions were out of touch with national problems and trends, difficult to market to mainstream voters, and did not sufficiently utilize expert policy analysis. In addition, as adopted resolutions accumulated over time, they became outdated and even contradictory. Finally, political party leaders sometimes found it difficult to weave the wide range of policy resolutions emanating from diverse party structures into a consistent and coherent narrative that could form the basis for election manifestos.

Although the move away from resolutions could be perceived as somewhat less participatory than the grassroots, resolution-driven processes, circulating consultation papers developed by party policy coordination mechanisms provides a more structured approach. Political parties limit the potential for extensive discussion around options that may have already been ruled out based on their political principles, background research and other considerations. In addition, party leaders are in a better position to manage participants' expectations by clarifying what is being asked of them. Given the tradition of policy resolutions and the recognition that branches can provide valuable input in the policymaking process, some parties have maintained branch policy resolutions as a way of supplementing the proposals that policy coordination mechanisms table for discussion and adoption.

Consultation Documents

Consultation documents typically outline: contextual background for the issue, including past positions or efforts to address the issue; the extent to which the issue should be prioritized; specific policy options; what resources should be invested in addressing the issue; which government agency should implement or oversee the issue; and how progress should be measured. Finally, there are open-ended questions that stakeholders are asked to consider. This helps provide some structure and focus to consultations and make it easier to identify common themes. Consultation documents may be distributed to stakeholders via email, traditional mail or at meetings. They can also be placed on a party's website for individuals to download or respond to online. Depending on the extent to which a party wishes to involve the broader public, these documents may be posted on member-only or public portions of its website. Notices of policy consultations may be placed in party newspapers, magazines, newsletters, email lists, websites, blogs and other relevant notice boards. Depending on a party's structure, member-only or even public meetings may be held to discuss consultation papers. Often, *ad hoc* policy groups or standing policy committees are responsible for ensuring adequate distribution of consultation papers. In political parties where the Congress has the final say on policy, draft policy documents are distributed to those with the right to vote at the meeting well in advance.[56]

Consultation Formats

Regardless of whom they are consulting or what stage they are at in the drafting process, the most common consultation formats include informal surveys, policy forums and technology platforms. Political parties have also used professionally-conducted qualitative and quantitative research to assist with various aspects of the policy process. Even when parties cannot afford public opinion research, or are banned from commission their own, existing publicly available research can provide helpful insight into citizen priorities. Textbox 6 provides an overview of how polling and focus groups have helped political parties identify citizen priorities and improve their messaging around policy issues. Given that each consultation format has advantages and limitations, parties often use more than one format and sift through the results to determine what to incorporate into their final proposals. Appendix II summarizes the advantages and disadvantages of each of these formats.

Textbox 6: Public Opinion Research and Party Policy Development

PUBLIC OPINION RESEARCH HELPS PARTIES TO:

Understand Public Concerns

- Obtain objective information about the desires, expectations, and popular values of the party's voter base and the broader public.
- Identify which needs or policy issues are most important to the public.
- Understand the concerns of special interest groups such as women, youth, persons with disabilities, and the lesbian, bisexual, gay and transgender communities.

Generate and Evaluate Policy

- Measure the success of outreach efforts, including press and media appearances by party representatives.
- Assess public perceptions of party policy positions and crediblity, including strenghts and weaknesess relative to other parties.
- Understand the types of policy solutions the public prefers.

Communicate Party Policy

- Understand citizens' opinion on the effectiveness of party activities and their understanding of the party's identity.
- Compile voter profiles and evaluate regional characteristics to enhance outreach efforts.
- Evaluate the needs and characteristics of crucial swing voter groups to effectively tailor party policy and messaging.

Informal Surveys

Political parties have used informal surveys at different stages in policy development to identify member and/or supporter policy priorities. For instance, in the lead up to the 2012 presidential elections, the United State Democratic Party distributed a survey by mail to its supporters. The questionnaire listed 13 potential policy priorities of the opposing Republican Party, asking supporters to identify which concerned them most. Another question asked supporters to rank 17 national policy goals – including lowering unemployment, the United States' image around the world, immigration reform and improving education – in order of priority. In addition, informants had the opportunity to note any further comments at the end of the survey. Similarly, in France, as part of its policy development process in the lead up to the 2007 elections, the UMP distributed a special issue of its magazine asking party members to rank a list of policy areas in order of priority. Party members were also allowed to vote online or in branch offices to ease the voting process.

Policy Forums

Political parties have used a wide range of face-to-face meetings to solicit feedback from members and stakeholders on their policy proposals. This may include large public events with relatively formal panel presentations, question and answer sessions, break-out sessions, smaller scale discussions with activists, roundtable meetings with representatives from different sectors or town hall style community meetings. For instance, as part of its 2012 manifesto development process, France's UMP organized dozens of policy discussions. Spread over the course of several months, these events involved a total of 13,000 participants and almost 4,000 speakers. A council including representatives from various clubs and think tanks sympathetic to the party helped to organize these events.

In Bosnia-Herzegovina, as part of the process to develop policy proposals for the 2010 elections, the Social Democratic Party organized over 70 public discussions across the country. Over 10,000 citizens participated in these events and, in a number of cases, the party revised its proposals based on public feedback. Although teacher unions favored a proposal to make high school education mandatory, feedback from the forums highlighted concerns about the potential impact on the government's budget. Upon further reflection, teacher union representatives accepted that the policy proposal be amended given the budgetary implications. Similarly, public consultations around health policy helped the party identify existing health insurance guidelines that made it difficult for domestic pharmaceutical companies to compete against medication produced overseas. As a result, the party amended its policy proposals to include measures that would make it easier for domestic companies to get their products on the list of medications covered under health insurance.

Policy Conferences

Some parties have periodic policy conferences where grassroots party activists or delegates may put forward draft resolutions of their own or discuss consultation documents that party leaders have circulated. These events are more formal and structured than the town hall style meetings and roundtables described above. They may feature discussions among party officials and activists with expert panels during break-out and plenary sessions. Sometimes, the conference votes to determine which policies the party should consider further or adopt as formal policy. Unlike party congresses, these conferences are purely advisory and political parties have no obligation to accept their recommendations as approved party policy.

For instance, as indicated above, in South Africa's ANC, policy conferences review and discuss policy proposals and make recommendations to the national party congress responsible for officially approving party policy. In March 2012, the party's National Executive circulated discussion documents for review by party structures around the country in the lead up to the June National Policy Conference that year. The discussion documents addressed specific policy areas as well as overarching organizational issues. In the lead up to the June conference, the party executive collected submissions and reports from provincial level meetings and shared those with the 12 National Executive subcommittees charged with leading discussions and research into different policy areas. Approximately 3,500 delegates representing branches, the National Executive, women's, veterans and youth leagues, public-elected officials, ANC coalition partners and member of the business community met over four days to consider the discussion documents. After spending the first day adopting the conference program and rules, participants spent the second day in commission meetings with each commission focusing on one of 11 policy areas. During

the third and fourth days, commissions reported back to the plenary for final discussions, amendments and votes.[57]

Under the rules of the BCNDP, in years when a convention is not held, regional policy conventions are organized to make policy recommendations. The resolutions from these events are submitted to the next provincial convention for consideration and are not binding until approved by convention. Unlike provincial conventions, where party rules determine the allocation of delegates across party structures, party executives have discretion in deciding the format and participants for these policy conventions.

Technology Platforms

Emerging new technologies have significantly expanded the options for political parties seeking to engage citizens around policy development. The early days of the internet, when political parties used their websites as information boards to inform citizens and the media of their platforms and activities, seem to be over. Member-only intraparty websites and password protected areas have become a common feature for many parties around the world. The explosion of new information communication technologies has included innovative, interactive web platforms, database and phone bank development, video messaging and social networking.[58] For smaller parties, these developments can offer particular advantages by reducing the costs traditionally associated with developing outreach structures and processes and raising their public profiles. Political parties now commonly use new technologies to solicit member or public input to policymaking and to keep members informed of policy initiatives.

In the United States, both the Democratic and Republican parties created new opportunities for their supporters to participate in policy formulation in the lead up to the 2012 presidential elections. In contrast to 2008, when the Democratic Party aimed to increase constituent input by holding over 1,300 meetings across the country, in 2012 the party created a website for submissions to the party platform committee and held only one national hearing.[59] In both 2008 and 2012, the Republican Party launched online platforms, where registered users could propose policy topics through online videos, texting, and by participating in issue polls and online forums. Also in 2012, the party promoted its "Convention Without Walls", a website that combined the policy tools above with the convention and social networking feeds from party members. Items posted on these sites were later discussed during committees at each of the party conventions, contributing to manifesto development processes.[60]

In the UK, in 2007, the Conservative Party launched "Stand Up, Speak Up", an initiative to solicit feedback from voters across the United Kingdom on party policy proposals. Through a dedicated website, any registered voter could read Conservative policy ideas, vote on these issues and debate the topics. Other aspects of the party's website, including videos, highlighted the party's efforts to consult members and the broader public as it developed policies ahead of the 2010 elections. Similarly, the Liberal Party of Canada created an elaborate online community platform "As a Family", to solicit feedback from its members during the policy drafting process.[61] Traditionally, break-out workshops at conventions had determined which policy resolutions should be prioritized. However, all members, not just delegates, were able to participate in prioritizing policy resolutions in the lead up to the 2012 convention. The resolutions garnering the most votes online were then sent to the plenary of the convention to be voted upon. Additional information on the Conservative and Liberal Party's policy processes is available in the case studies in Part II of this publication.

The German Pirate Party has also employed an online platform called "Pirate Pad," which includes a shared text editor, chat rooms and a tool called "Liquid Feedback", which allows party members to work collaboratively and vote on party policies and platforms. Using this tool, any party member can propose a policy. Proposals that attract the support of at least 10 percent of the members can then be considered. Alternatively, another member is free to propose a better solution to the same public policy need. In the end, members vote on policies using a ranked preference system, or delegate their votes to other members. The proposal with the most votes is further considered at the party convention.[62]

POLICY ADOPTION

Congresses are one of the most common ways of approving party policy. They provide parties and their members the opportunity to debate and adopt policy

platforms, approve amendments to their rules, and select their leaders and officially nominate candidates for elected positions. In addition, they can provide a forum for officials and activists at different levels and from a variety of structures to exchange ideas and experiences. Further, fringe events organized alongside the formal agenda can include networking and training events. While debates can get heated, conventions have also served as a platform for rousing speeches from the podium that have united and energized political parties and improved their public image. In recent years, however, political commentators and political activists have debated the merits of these events. Increasingly, in some of the established democracies, congresses or rather the public portions, appear predictable and overly scripted. More-

Table 2: Options for Approving Party Policy

ADVANTAGES	DISADVANTAGES	POTENTIAL SAFEGUARDS
PARTY EXECUTIVE		
• Ensures that the leadership is able to focus on policies they view as most strategic. • Allows leaders the maximum flexibility in selecting or adapting positions based on information that may not be public. • Permits rapid responses to urgent issues.	• Less inclusive. • Potential for abuse by leadership. • Potential for disconnect between leaders and members.	• Build mechanisms to ensure the leadership consults members and explains their positions. • Differentiate between policies that can be approved by the leadership (e.g. manifestos) and those that require congress or member votes (e.g. platforms).
DELEGATE CONGRESSES		
• Creates space for delegates and leaders to engage one another at conventions. • Can be combined with other party business (e.g. leadership selection, revision of party rules). • Inclusive. • Can be an intermediate step toward even broader participation. • Ensures minimum level of representation from special intraparty interest groups (e.g. women, trade unions, youth, lesbian, gay, bisexual etc.).	• Logistics and high costs associated with organizing congresses (for parties and the participants). • Delegates may fail to truly represent member views. • Well-organized subgroups of delegates can wield disproportionate influence over congress proceedings. • Limited time for debate. • The conference agenda can be overshadowed by fast developing issues and other media coverage of party positions.	• Combine congresses with other forms of participation in policy discussions (e.g. online forums). • Review selection procedures to better ensure delegates represent member views. • Revise conference rules and procedures to level the playing field among delegates (e.g. electronic voting versus raised hand, ways to reduce costs and/or travel that individuals have to incur).
FULL MEMBERSHIP VOTES		
• Highly inclusive. • Can provide an opportunity to recruit new members, update member files and renew fees.	• Logistically challenging.	• Assess feasibility of online or SMS voting, bearing in mind potential concerns over secure voting.

over, given the wide range of options the parties have to engage their members and the public throughout the year, the congresses that allowed far-flung representatives to meet periodically to update each other and approve party business can appear archaic. Depending on how delegates are selected and how they interpret their roles, there may be concerns that they fail to faithfully represent the interests of the branches, are out of touch with ordinary members and the voting public, or are beholden to party leaders.

Even when selected through transparent and participatory methods, for delegates, the costs of attendance can be quite high: the equivalent of almost $US 1,120[63] in the United Kingdom and approximately $US 970 in Canada.[64] In some cases, the organizational costs for the party itself can also be high. In other cases, political parties have been able to cover some of their expenses with public subsidies – as is the case in the United States – or through fees from businesses and other organizations that set up booths at conventions. In addition to the costs, some argue that well organized intraparty groups have a disproportionate influence over congress proceedings. In the Canadian Liberal Party, for instance, youth have used the following strategies to maximize votes in favor of policy resolutions they support, including organizing wake up calls to delegates, seating their delegates near the front of the room to create a sense of momentum when they raise their voting cards, and moving *en bloc* from one breakout room to the next so that they may influence the outcome of those sessions, as well. Despite these concerns, others argue that there is no real substitute for the face-to-face dialogue that is possible at conventions. In addition, attracting public interest through a newsworthy event like a convention may be easier than generating ongoing media coverage of an online discussion or *fora*. Further, for political parties that have previously adopted policies through even more centralized methods, conventions can represent a significant move towards broadening participation in party policy processes.

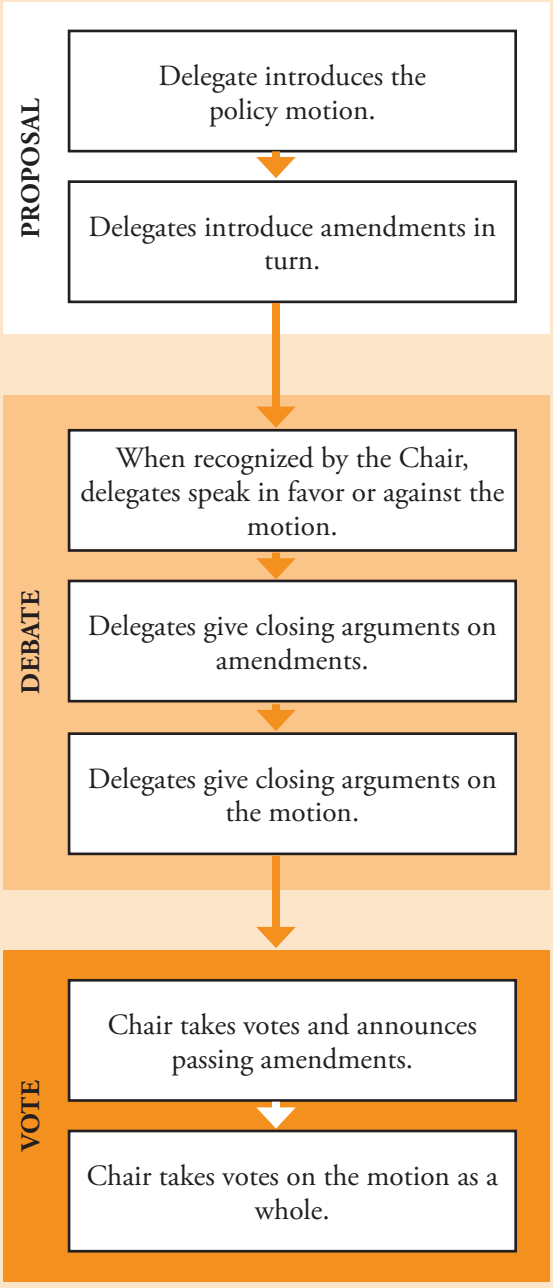
In an attempt to further increase participation some parties have incorporated direct member votes as a way of approving party policies. For instance, France's UMP party used a two-step process to approve its manifesto for the 2012 presidential election. Initially, members voted on the draft over a two-week period and then, similar to the policy prioritization vote, members had the option to vote online or at party offices. In the final step, the party's council voted to approve the draft. As indicated in the section on party rules, some parties make a distinction between processes for approving policy platforms and election manifestos. Table 2 summarizes the main advantages and disadvantages for formally approving party policies: by party executives, through delegate congresses or a full membership vote.

Regardless of whether they use delegate conventions or direct membership votes to approve their policies, political parties have a number of options for structuring approval processes. The first step involves presenting the proposals in such a way that members or delegates can easily identify what they are being asked to support and why. They must also have sufficient time to review the proposals and identify any outstanding concerns or potential improvements. For instance, in many cases, political party rules indicate certain timeframes for documents to be circulated in the lead up to conventons.

Structuring Party Votes on Policy

Given that conventions have a pre-determined and finite amount of time to discuss and approve policy proposals, political parties may need to prioritize which issues to table for discussion. Some parties have achieved this prioritization through a membership vote, by ranking proposals based on the number of sponsors and/or through assessments by party officials in charge of coordinating policy development processes. In the Belgium's Flemish Green Party, based on consultation papers and feedback from various stakeholders, party officials prepare and circulate the draft text for discussion and approval at the Party Congress. The draft congress text is circulated to grassroots party structures that have the option of proposing amendments. The party secretariat classifies branch submissions based on whether they are primarily editorial or other improvements to the existing text versus substantive submissions that should be debated at congress. Prior to the Congress, the party secretariat convenes a discussion among local officials or activists who proposed amendments to review the various suggestions and, where possible, reach agreement on ways to combine any changes, thereby reducing the number of resolutions that the Congress must consider. In preparation for the final vote, the party groups the policy proposals to limit the rounds of voting. In the Norwegian Christian Democratic Party, policy votes at party convention

Diagram 7: Structuring Policy Debates at Party Congresses



Reference: The Liberal Democratic Party, *How Conference Debates are Run* (London: the Liberal Democratic Party), http://www.libdems.org.uk/siteFiles/resources/PDF/conference/1_Guide_-_debate.pdf.

are grouped in order of priority. Issues touching upon party principles appear first in the voting order, followed by highest priority policy issues and then lower priority matters. This approach is designed to ensure that adequate time is given to the most pressing issues.

Breakout sessions during congresses increase the time allocated for debating specific policy proposals. However, this may mean that delegates have to choose which sessions to attend. As indicated in the section on consultations, technological platforms have been used to increase participation in discussions over policy proposals ahead of formal adoption at party conventions. In plenary sessions, policy proposals ready for vote are usually presented by its supporters and there is a discussion about any amendments before the final vote takes places. Diagram 7 shows the basic steps used to organize debates over policy motions at UK Liberal Democratic Party congresses.

Once political parties have adopted their policies, the options for incorporating their proposals into different types of outreach efforts and materials are almost endless. Table 3 outlines some issues that parties may want to consider as they develop communications strategies for their policy proposals.

IMPLEMENTING AND REPORTING ON POLICY

> *There is a natural cycle within all governments. They come into office on a wave of electoral success and goodwill, full of ideas and impatience to get on with them, and often facing little effective opposition. Soon, the real world of government begins to intrude. Policies turn out to be more difficult to implement than expected, compromises must be made, misjudgments and scandals sully the government's image, and opposition grows more vocal and effective.*[65]

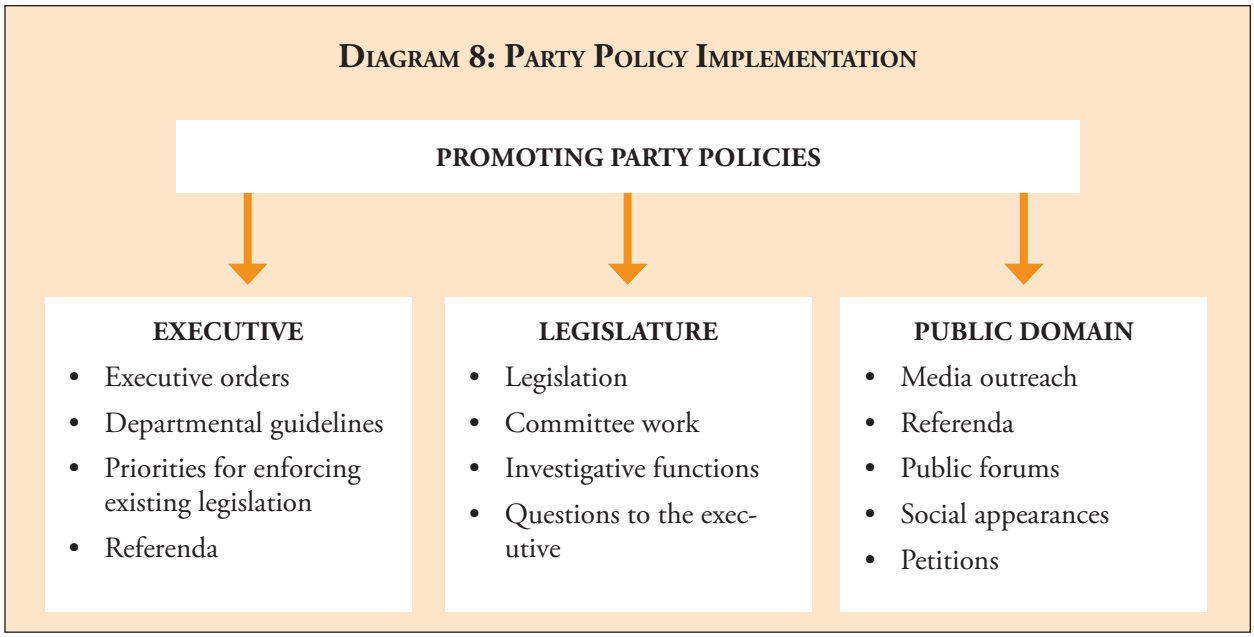
Differences in political systems shape the options that political parties have for seeking to advance their policies. Diagram 8 outlines some of the options that political parties may have for implementing and mobilizing support around their policies, depending on their context. Countries such as Belgium, the Netherlands, Norway and Sweden have a long history of coalition governments. Parties frequently have to reach policy compromises in order

Table 3: Communicating Policy Proposals
• What is current public opinion on this issue? • What is current public opinion of major political actors on the issue?
• Who is most likely to be affected by this policy? • What degree of change will they have to adjust to? • What is their initial reaction likely to be? • What information or interaction do they need to support the policy?
• Who is likely to support the policy? Why? • Will their support be strong or weak? • How can this support be maximized?.
• Who is likely to oppose the policy? • Will their opposition be strong or weak? • What will their arguments be against the policy? • How can these arguments be neutralized?
Reference: "Module 5: Issue Identification and Policy Development," in *Campaign Skills Handbook*, ed. Shannon O'Connell, Samantha Smoot, and Sally Abi Khalil (Washington, DC: National Democratic Institute, 2013), 163.

to form government. This also increases opportunities for relatively small but well-organized political parties to influence national policy agendas. The balance of power between the legislature and the executive affect the extent to which each branch of government is able to shape policy agendas, whether through vetoes, referenda, introduction of legislation or through oversight functions. For instance, in parliamentary systems, parliamentary groups and individual legislators are often better able to initiate legislation than in presidential systems. In addition, the government usually has a legislative majority that facilitates the implementation of its party's or, if in coalition, the parties' policies and prime ministers can exert direct influence over their parliamentary groups.

In presidential systems, the head of the executive branch, often has the right of legislative initiative and can veto legislation. Governors and mayors sometimes have similar powers. Even when dealing with a like-minded legislative majority, presidents may find it more difficult than prime ministers to ensure that their party will always support administration policies. Further, in divided governments, when another party controls the legislature, presidents face a choice between reaching out to the legislative majority or facing legislative gridlock. For instance, Mexico's President Fox failed to pass major fiscal reforms because his party did not have a majority in Congress. In contrast, his successor, President Calderón, whose party also lacked majority in Congress, succeeded in passing a tax reform in 2007. According to one study, Fox's reforms failed in part because the opposition was unwilling to deliver him a legislative victory that could boost his support. However, Calderón's efforts succeeded because his proposals included electoral reforms that could benefit the opposition.[66]

Whether in opposition or government, in the executive or the legislature, political parties that set clear policy priorities have a much greater chance of influencing policy agendas and sending consistent messages to the voters about what they stand for. When the BCNDP is in opposition, the leader develops a strategic plan, in consultation with the parliamentary group, to pursue issues that resonate with the party's electoral universe. Setting these priorities can make some caucus members feel that they are not getting their fair share of resources or that their work is being undervalued. However, the payoff in terms of



focused policy development and outreach is a signal to the public that the party understands the issues and is ready to govern. When in government the party leader, now the premier, forms a cabinet and cabinet committee system to reflect the priorities that the party campaigned for. As part of the transition process, a legislative agenda is put together based on the election platform so that a well-considered and effective plan is ready for the first 90 or 180 days.

THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH

Public officials have many tools at their disposal to implement their parties' policies without the need for legislation and the compromises that legislative processes sometimes require. Presidents, prime ministers, governors and mayors can direct ministries and other government agencies to change the way they do business within the limits of the law. Given the plethora of laws in most countries on the one hand, and their finite resources on the other, law enforcement agencies need to prioritize which offenses to aggressively prosecute and which to approach with greater laxity. The president, prime minister, governors and mayors often have an array of instruments through which they can implement certain policies within the framework of existing legislation. For example, United States President Lyndon Johnson issued a series of executive orders to reduce discrimination and foster equal opportunities for employment. Given the combination of prosecutorial discretion and limited funds, law enforcement agencies routinely prioritize the prosecution of some crimes over others. Thus, even in democratic systems, certain types of policies and priorities can be changed at the mere stroke of a pen or through the exercise of the discretionary powers vested in public offices.

In an attempt to prevent a repetition of past abuses by incumbents and their parties, some countries with presidential systems discourage or ban direct relations between executive branch officials and their parties. Others forbid parties from campaigning based on public policy achievements since these successes are paid for with state resources. However, given the power they wield within their respective parties, and the powers vested in their offices, presidents can often play an important role in building support for their legislative agendas. In the Philippines, President Benigno Aquino played an important but behind the scenes role in mobilizing legislative support for passage of reproductive health legislation in 2012.[67] Additional information is available in the case study on the Liberal Party in the Philippines in Part II of this publication.

In the United States, while presidents run under partisan labels, once in office they use a combination of persuasion and inducements to obtain individual votes or use public platforms to try to mobilize public opinion in favor of their legislative agendas. This agenda may include elements of their party's policy priorities as well as issues designed to shape the president's own legacy. In some cases, presidents have adopted policies that the opposing party advocates. For instance, Democrat Bill Clinton ran for reelection in

1996 arguing for tax cuts, reform of welfare policies and in favor of balanced budgets, all positions traditionally advocated by Republicans. Similarly, Republican Ronald Reagan reached budget compromises with the Democrats, ignoring the positions of and excluding members of his party in the House from the negotiations. For more information on policy development in the United States, see the case study in Part II of this publication.

PARLIAMENTARY GROUPS

Some policy proposals require legislative action. In addition, legislative processes can be used to raise questions about the effectiveness of existing policies as well as to highlight alternate proposals. In order to maximize their influence over legislative processes, political parties need strategies for organizing their parliamentary groups, including: setting clear rules and expectations for legislator behavior; determining a division of labor; and balancing the need for cohesive party action with considerations such as individual legislators' freedom of conscience and responsiveness to the needs of specific constituencies. This section gives an overview of some of these approaches.

Through their work in the legislature, comments in the media and communications to voters, legislators play important roles in raising awareness about and mobilizing support for their party's policies. Legislative rules and procedures frame the options for parliamentary groups and individual legislators to influence legislative processes. These may include: criteria for formal parliamentary group status; the respective rights of parliamentary groups versus individual legislators; and opportunities for ruling versus opposition legislators to lead committees and table legislation, motions or questions among other things. They also provide an indication of the legislative resources, such as nonpartisan legislative research services and parliamentary group staff, which legislators may be able to draw upon in their policy work. In some cases, constitutional or legal provisions and legislative rules regulate the extent to which individual legislators can dissent from their party line during plenary votes. For instance, in Colombia, national legislation requires all members to vote with their party unless their parliamentary group has granted a waiver.[68] There are a number of opportunities to highlight party positions in the legislature, including: oral or written questions to government officials; legislative responses to presidential addresses; legislative plenary debates and votes; draft legislation; hearings on specific topics; amendments to draft legislation; committee work; and even impeachment. Well organized parliamentary groups are better placed to utilize each of these different tools effectively.

Clarifying Expectations

The development of strong parliamentary groups begins with selection procedures that allow parties to build pools of legislative candidates who reflect and are loyal to party values and principles and have the skills and knowledge to contribute to the development, implementation, and communication of policies.[69] Political parties have used diverse mechanisms to achieve these results during candidate selection including: minimum membership period eligibility; extensive vetting processes; codes of conduct for candidates and elected officials; and, in some cases, requirements that aspirants sign statements confirming their support for party policies. Clear political principles, values and policy proposals make these different processes easier by clarifying what political parties expect of their elected representatives. In the Netherlands, for example, legislative candidates must sign off on relatively detailed election manifestos, although some parties allow candidates to register reservations about particular aspects of their parties' manifestos.[70] In addition, in legislatures elected wholly or in part through party lists, parties tend to include the candidates they see as the future group leaders at the top of the lists. Internal parliamentary group organization and functioning also affect a party's ability to use committee work and plenary sessions to highlight its policy proposals. Internal parliamentary group rules can help clarify expectations regarding communication, confidentiality, voting, discipline and other relevant issues.

Socialization

Formal rules and processes are as important as interpersonal relationships in facilitating cohesion around policy strategy and content. As a result, some parliamentary groups organize a range of activities with varying degrees of formality where legislators can interact with each other and other party officials. For instance, in Canada and Ireland, parliamentary groups hold regular winter and summer retreats during which the caucus meets, as a whole and in different sub-groupings, to discuss various issues and agree upon strategies and priorities for upcoming

sessions. On occasion, unsuccessful candidates have also participated in some of the discussions to help ensure the inclusion of perspectives from electoral districts around the country. Social activities during these retreats provide opportunities for elected representatives to strengthen their relationships with each other and senior officials serving in party structures outside the legislature and the executive. Major decisions and policy pronouncements often follow these caucus meetings, like in 2002 when Canadian Prime Minister Jean Chrétien announced the date of his resignation during the summer caucus in Chicoutimi, Québec.

The Belgian, European, French and German Greens all organize their own summer universities. These events feature dozens of political discussions over the course of a few days, often the last weekend in August. A variety of party officials and outside experts share their perspectives on policy issues or successful party branch initiatives. Unlike the more formal Canadian party caucus retreats, there are no draft proposed texts and no formal decisions are taken. In addition to providing legislators, party leaders and active members with new ideas, the summer universities also provide opportunities for relationship building and for individuals to raise their profile within the party. Since the events take place during the summer holidays, the program includes social activities and many party members come with their families.

Parliamentary Group Meetings

Parliamentary group meetings play a key role in strengthening cohesion as they can provide a forum for legislators to hear proposed policy positions and air their views.[71] Given the confidentiality that usually applies to these discussions, members can freely express themselves behind closed doors and then subsequently present a united front in plenary legislative sessions and to the public. Depending on a parliamentary group's size and level of organization, the full caucus meeting may be one of a number of regular sessions where policy issues and strategy are discussed. In Australia, parliamentary group strategy and policies are discussed across three sets of meetings. First, the leadership meeting, which typically includes the party leaders and his/her deputy, Senate leaders, the business manager and an advisor, meet every morning during session to determine agenda, strategy and legislative tactics. The Policy Review Committee, a sub-committee of the shadow cabinet, meets weekly during session. Finally, a series of party policy committees, made up of the shadow ministers and party backbenchers, meet to develop and refine policies in specific portfolio areas.[72] In Norway, parliamentary group meetings include representatives from the party executive. While these representatives cannot vote during group decision-making, they share their own and member perspectives on different agenda items, helping to ensure that parliamentary group members are aware of how party structures outside the legislature view different issues.

Division of Labor

It is impossible for every legislator to study and understand in detail each piece of proposed legislation. The division of labor among members of the parliamentary group offers a number of advantages. Assigning particular legislators to take the lead on different policy areas can improve the efficiency of parliamentary groups and provide opportunities for deepening the expertise of elected representatives. As mutual respect and trust develop among the group, legislators often take cues from their "expert" colleagues in assessing various policy proposals, further reinforcing cohesion as well as improving efficiency. Smaller parliamentary groups may assign particular legislators as leads on one or more policy issues. Larger parliamentary groups can extend participation by creating a system of internal policy committees. In Australia, shadow ministers are usually left to work within their portfolio with minimal guidance from the leader or cabinet. Shadow cabinet meetings are primarily used to approve, amend, or reject policy ideas submitted by shadow ministers. Most shadow ministers reach out to their leader's office and other shadow members with relevant portfolios. This helps improve policy content but also facilitates adoption at cabinet meetings. Typically, an advisor helps liaise between the leader and the shadow minister.

Persuasion, Flexibility and Discipline

Parliamentary group leaders have used incentives, including international travel, the possibility of high profile positions and the threat of sanctions, to encourage legislators to toe the party line. Even with a combination of formal and informal measures to improve cohesion and allow flexibility where possible, there will be times when legislators are unable to support their party's position on a particular issue. Successful political parties have typically tried

to show flexibility when the political costs are low and on issues that might touch upon deeply held moral, religious, or cultural beliefs through "free" or freedom of conscience votes. In cases that do not meet these criteria, it may be necessary to sanction the legislator in question. However, the possibility of appeal should exist, allowing legislators to make their case to an impartial body. For instance, in the Belgian Greens, if there is a two-thirds majority vote, the parliamentary group can allow a legislator to take a different position than the rest of the caucus. During the vote on the Maastricht Treaty in the Belgian Parliament, most Green legislators abstained, protesting limited progress on internal democracy and checks and balances in the European Union. However, a Green legislator who had a long history campaigning for a federal European Union voted in favor of the treaty, a move that had been previously discussed in the parliamentary group meeting.

Parliamentary Groups as Drivers of Policy

Ideally, parliamentary groups work to advance the policies that have been developed by their political parties. In some countries, both opposition and ruling party parliamentary groups receive funding for support staff to assist with the work of elected representatives. This parliamentary group support may feed into party policy development processes outside the legislature. However, there are instances when parliamentary groups have become primary drivers of policy development in their respective political parties, somewhat outside the formal policy development processes for their party. This can cause tension between elected officials and party members outside the legislature. For instance, in Canada, when the Liberals were in power, the Liberal Research Bureau drafted a number of Prime Minister's Caucus Task Force reports based on caucus members' outreach and consultation with citizens. These reports covered issues such as seasonal workers, Canada-U.S. relations, women entrepreneurs, seniors, climate change, urban issues and farming. They helped inform the government's Speech from the Throne, outlining the government's policy agenda for each new legislature, as well as the Finance Minister's Budget Speech. Ministers and caucus members also drew upon these reports to prepare platforms for subsequent elections. These task forces kept backbench Liberal legislators engaged in tangible, constructive work, helping to minimize dissent and frustration within the larger government caucus. Often chairs of these task forces who displayed talent were later appointed to the cabinet. However, these task forces revolved around the prime minister, elected officials and public stakeholders, occurring outside the resolution and convention process traditionally used to develop party policy and contributed to the members' perception that their elected officials were out of touch with grassroots party activists' views and priorities.

COALITIONS AND COMPROMISE

Whether in presidential or parliamentary system, political parties often face choices between compromising on their policy proposals and values, and standing by their positions and beliefs. In most cases, the choice is not over whether to compromise, in principle, but over how much ground a party is willing to cede.

On one hand, compromise might seem an acceptable price to pay for joining government or secure a partial victory. Indeed, voters might perceive such concessions as an admirable willingness to consider and respect the view of others.[73] At the same time, an uncompromising attachment to party principles and policy proposals can create the impression that a party is reluctant to consider other views. In addition, the more a party compromises, the more difficult it is to maintain its unique identity. Members may feel frustrated over their party's willingness to abandon long-held positions and values and the public might become increasingly skeptical of parties that appear willing to put aside their principles in order to enjoy the spoils of government. Citizens may also view negotiation processes as somewhat sordid and lacking in transparency. Party faithfuls and the general public may view party compromises differently based on their context. In several new democracies, particularly those emerging from conflict, like Bosnia-Herzegovina and Iraq, compromises on policy issues in fragile coalitions, which seem quite normal in established democracies, risk making previously warring parties look weak when they need to appear uncompromising to their supporters. In contrast, countries including the Netherlands, Norway and Sweden have long traditions of coalition governments. This section outlines some of the approaches that political parties have used to negotiate coalitions, express dissent within them, share credit for policy proposals and to reach agreements that fall short of full coalition governments.

Negotiating Compromise

In Norway, while it is common to establish coalitions before elections, negotiations occur both before and after the polls. First, each coalition partner identifies its own priorities. Based on these priorities, the coalition reaches an agreement on a joint coalition platform. However, any sensitive or difficult issues are left until after the elections. Based on the election results, a second round of negotiations takes place, this time addressing more sensitive issues. At this stage the party with the largest number of votes is able to negotiate from a stronger position. The negotiation team from each party usually includes three representatives. Each of these teams works closely with a reference group of five to six key party officials representing significant components of the party's base, like the leader of the women's and youth wings. These reference groups are temporary committees that only exist while negotiations are underway. Over the course of the negotiations, each party's negotiation team meets with its reference group several times a week to discuss issues that are being tabled with the coalition partners. In addition, the negotiation teams may consult with their respective party boards or parliamentary groups. These different consultations help to build support for the eventual agreements that parties reach.

Different approaches can be used to reach compromise. Negotiations may occur around a specific issue, with parties reaching agreement on the middle position. For instance, in 2001 the Christian Democratic, Conservative and Liberal Parties reached agreement on a 20 million Norwegian *krone* tax reduction, having come to the table with proposals for 10, 40 and 20 million respectively. Alternatively, negotiations may be organized around a bloc of issues including a variety of policies that reflect the priorities of different coalitions. In this scenario, the goal is to group the issues in such a way that each party wins on some issues but has to compromise on others.

Another way to enhance prospects for successful coalition building is to allow each party as much latitude as possible on its signature or priority issues. This includes taking these priorities into account during the negotiation of coalition policy agendas, but also in allocating Ministries. For instance, in Ireland, the Green Party handled energy and natural resources; in Sweden, the Liberals, the Christian Democrats, and the Centre Party managed education, social issues, and healthcare and agriculture, respectively.[74]

Coalitions may not be able to agree on every single issue; ultimately each party must reach its own decisions about what compromises it is willing to make. In Norway, given the negative media coverage that divisions in a coalition may fuel, coalition partners try to avoid them and areas where no agreement can be reached are typically left out of coalition agreements. In some cases, coalition partners group policy issues according to the degree of agreement reached. The 2002 coalition between New Zealand's Labour and Green Party outlined three categories of issues. In areas where the partners would take joint positions, Green legislators would have access to ministers, related papers, and timetables for policy development and passage. In addition, Labour agreed to publicly acknowledge the Greens' contributions in these areas and to support their amendments. On these issues, the Greens pledged to support the government's procedural motions and its position in select committees. For a second set of issues, coalition partners agreed to consult on the broad direction of policy. For a third group of policies, partnerships agreed to share information about their respective positions.[75] In the case of the Conservative and Liberal Democrats Coalition in the United Kingdom, selected issues were either turned over to a third party or the partners agreed on measures to limit the impact of the dissent. For instance, the coalition partners agreed on the establishment of 11 independent commissions to review various policy issues. In addition, the debate over electoral reform was put to referendum. On such issues as marriage, civil partnerships and tax breaks, partners agreed that while Liberal Democrat legislators could speak during the debate and abstain during votes, they would not oppose Conservative party proposals in these areas.[76]

In Belgium, the Greens have used abstention either as a way to show their dissent from their coalition partners or to indicate that future compromises will be more difficult. For instance, during the Green-Red-Blue coalition in 1999, a senior Green legislator abstained during the vote on the deportation of Roma refugees. This symbolic abstention, agreed upon during the Green parliamentary group meeting, was designed to show that although the Greens accepted their coalition partners' arguments, future

negotiations on similar issues would be more difficult.

In an effort to advance their policy goals, political leaders may negotiate compromises that fall short of coalition governments. For instance, in Mexico, following his 2012 election, then-President Elect Enrique Peña Nieto engaged the leaders of the country's three main political parties, the Institutional Revolutionary Party, the National Action Party and the Party of the Democratic Revolution, to seek a common legislative agenda. Even though the agreement did not translate into a coalition government in the executive branch, all three parties saw the benefits of acting together to solve some of Mexico's biggest challenges and to achieve partial political victories. On December 2, 2012, the day after his inauguration, President Nieto and leaders of the three parties signed the Pact for Mexico, an agreement to work together on issues related to: rights and freedoms; employment, economic growth and competitiveness; security and justice; transparency, accountability and anti-corruption initiatives; and democratic governance. The Green Ecology Party signed the agreement in January 2013.

Getting Broader Buy-In for Party Compromises

Having negotiated coalitions or reached other comprises, party leaders often face challenges "selling" coalition agreements to their membership, the most important constituency to have on board. Frequently this is where parties encounter the most resistance as grassroots supporters can be polarized and partisan. Explaining the benefits of coalition-building or compromises to party membership can be done by formal or informal means. For instance, in the aftermath of the 2010 British general election, although the initial negotiations for the establishment of the coalition government were done by Conservative and Liberal Democrat party leaders in a closed room, leaders on both sides needed the full support of their parties to ensure the success and sustainability of the coalition they had just negotiated. The Liberal Democrat leadership faced a challenge defending the choice to join the Conservatives instead of Labour. To obtain broader party approval for the coalition, the Liberal Democrats held a congress in Birmingham to debate and vote on the coalition agreement. This congress, which was mandated by party rules in order for the coalition to proceed, was a chance for party members who were not legislators to voice their approval or disapproval. The congress had no power to overturn the coalition agreement, but could have altered the terms of endorsement. Only twelve of over two thousand party delegates voted in opposition to the coalition agreement.

In Germany, Green party members concerned over the proposal for a Green-Social Democrat coalition government that could significantly reform the social welfare system in 2003, mobilized to request a special party congress. A petition supported by 20 percent of all local branches forced the National Executive to organize a congress in June 2003. At the event, party leaders successfully defended the package of reforms, gaining 90 percent approval among delegates. As a result of this participatory process, party leaders were able to increase the legitimacy of the compromise.

OPPOSITION EFFORTS TO INFLUENCE POLICY AGENDAS

In opposition, political parties and their elected officials can continue to influence policy agendas by critiquing government proposals, proposing alternatives and shedding light on citizen concerns that may otherwise go unaddressed. As part of the parliamentary group division of labor referenced above, especially in parliamentary systems, opposition groups will sometimes establish a shadow cabinet or "critic" system. Legislators are assigned to one or more ministerial-level portfolios, taking the lead on developing and communicating their parliamentary group's position on their assigned portfolio. This arrangement often allows opposition parliamentary groups to deepen sector expertise, work more effectively and convey the image of a government in waiting.

By setting clear priorities, pursuing them consistently and strategically working to build support for their positions, opposition groups have succeeded in influencing national policy agendas. In Colombia, the Independent Movement of Absolute Renovation (MIRA) had three out of 164 seats in the Chamber of Deputies and three out of 102 seats in the Senate and was still able to mobilize a legislative majority around its anti-discrimination policy proposals. MIRA initially proposed to introduce legislation criminalizing discrimination based on ethnicity. During the negotiation process, other parties supplemented MIRA's policy proposals by expanding the scope of the legis-

Textbox 7: Opposition Efforts to Influence Policy in Parliament

Examples from the British Columbia New Democratic Party

Shadow Cabinet: "Critics" are assigned to particular portfolios or government ministries and are responsible for monitoring the relevant ministry's work and its share of the annual budget debate, providing analysis and the lead on the debate of bills originating from that minister and leading outreach to the particular community of interest. Each of these activities can be a forum to highlight existing party policy, but in the process learn more about how the policy needs to be applied or refined. In addition, the parliamentary group uses several other avenues in the legislature to highlight policy alternatives to the government. The most visible of these activities is the daily question period when opposition members have 30 minutes to question the premier or ministers on any issue that falls within their jurisdiction. The questions are often driven by the news of the day but they can result in the opposition proposing solutions that might not be adopted party policy but which reflect the values of the party on a given issue.

Private Member Bills: In opposition, the BCNDP has also introduced a variety Private Member's Bills (PMBs) that were previously the subject of intense exchanges in question period and are in response to a shortcoming of the current administration. Some of the proposed bills have dealt with Medicare protection, child welfare issues, tenant issues, the creation of an independent budget officer, campaign finance reform, and lobbyist registration reform. Although the bills are rarely called for debate, they are important steps in advancing party policy and as potential building blocks for the party's next election platform. PMBs are usually drafted by caucus researchers, working with the critic or leader's office, and can involve outside experts depending on the complexity of the proposal. Often, one of the first steps is to review legislation that might already be in place especially if the federal party or an NDP section in another province has already dealt with the issue.

Member Statements, Private Member Statements, and Motions: There are three other categories of private member business which can serve to communicate policy priorities. Members' statements are usually related to a constituency concern or a non-partisan issue. There are three permitted each sitting day and they cannot exceed two minutes. Private member statements are 15-minute debates between a caucus critic and a government member of the legislative assembly, usually not a cabinet member. These statements are a maximum of 15 minutes and four, two from the opposition and two from the government, are presented on Monday mornings. Private member motions can be tabled by any member, pending approval by the House Management Committee. The motions can deal with a constituency or critic issue and they are called for debate for one hour on Monday mornings. Sometimes dozens are tabled without being called for debate but, as is the case for private member bills, the publication of the motion is another chance to highlight policy priorities.

lation to address discrimination based on gender and age. Colombian President Santos signed the bill into law in 2011.

During their years in opposition, the Belgian Green Party campaigned heavily on measures to increase safety for cyclists and pedestrians. In their first legislative action, Green deputies introduced a proposal, coordinated across all provinces in which they had representation, to repeal the bicycle tax. Simultaneously, several Green elected officials refused to pay the tax. The Greens continued to raise this issue during every budget debate, arguing that the costs of collecting the tax were greater than the income generated. Eventually, province by province, legislatures abolished the tax. In addition, as a way of reducing accidents, the Greens called for a reduction in the speed limit around schools. Raising these issues through the Traffic and Public Works Committee, they gradually built support for a speed limit of 30km/hour near schools. This speed limit is now national law. These efforts helped shift the public policy agenda in Belgium, as traditional parties began placing greater emphasis on safety for cyclists in their policy poposals.

In addition to specific policy successes, Greens and other environmental groups have succeeded in getting mainstream political parties to place greater emphasis on environmental concerns. This illustrates a movement, originally described as a "protest" grouping, which has succeeded in changing mainstream politics. In part as a result of their own success, Green parties have had to develop their

image and positioning further by building credibility on a wider range of issues including education, healthcare and social safety nets. For instance, beginning the mid-1990s, the German Green Party invested significant efforts into developing and communicating its ideas about a Green economy. Initially focusing on "Green Industrial Reform", the party moved to emphasize how Green policies could create employment opportunities. The party currently outlines a series of proposals in its "Green New Deal", which helped the German Greens secure their first opportunity to lead a state government (Baden-Württemberg). Similarly, in the 2009 European elections, the Greens campaigned on the Green New Deal, which included extensive economic policy proposals. More recently Green parties in Australia, New Zealand and a number of European countries have performed well in elections, in part because of campaigning around issues similar to those in the Green New Deal.

Reporting on Efforts to Advance Party Policy

Political party efforts to ensure communication and accountability around the advancement of party policy include: regular meetings between publicly elected officials and party officials outside the executive and the legislature; between ministers and other elected officials from the party, like legislators and governors; and assigning particular individuals with responsibility for liaising between different party units and for compiling reports on efforts to advance party policies through elected officials who are serving in the legislature and the executive branch. For example, Canadian Prime Minister Paul Martin created the position of Director of Parliamentary Affairs, a senior level position within each minister's office. These directors liaised with the caucus on behalf of their respective ministers. Their responsibilities included discussing private member's bills with individual legislators and trying to negotiate changes that would allow the cabinet to support the legislation or at least explain why the cabinet could not support the proposal. Despite these and other efforts, political parties in traditional and fledgling democracies frequently experience challenges ensuring effective coordination between different party structures involved in policy. For instance, in a separate NDI study, a former Hungarian legislator noted:

> *I think it is a painful question all over the place. It is always a huge fight between the caucus and the government. The caucus would always like to have much more input into legislation but the government doesn't like it. The government prefers to have the drafts prepared by the administration and so it is always a conflict.*[77]

One reason for these tensions is the trade-off that political parties sometimes face between the time that consultation requires and the ability to respond quickly to policy issues as they arise. This may limit opportunities for consultation with party grassroots structures, as well as between party leaders in elected office and those in party structures outside the executive and the legislature. In the case of the BCNDP, when the legislature is in session, the caucus meets at least daily to discuss the business of the legislature and responses or strategies regarding emerging issues. Frequent multiday meetings and conference calls are held when the legislature is out of session. When issues arise that require a quick response and the party policy is not clear, or when simply responding with the party's adopted position could create political difficulties, the party leader must make the decision on how to proceed. Taking the issue to the Provincial Council or Executive, although called for in the party constitution and the preferred path, is not always practical and the management of urgent issues has sometimes caused a rift between the caucus and the party. In government, the situation can also be complicated by the need for confidentiality, so consulting the party - as directed by the party constitution - may not be an option.

In the Swedish Social Democratic Party, the party leader's responsibilities include mediating between the interests of various party structures. In addition, meetings between the parliamentary group and the National Board are held at party head as a reminder that policymaking is a party responsibility, not solely the purview of elected officials. In the Canadian Liberal Party, as indicated above, in response to concerns about a perceived disconnect between approved official party policy, an amendment to party rules created the position of caucus accountability officer, charged with reporting to the Council of Presidents and the national conventions on caucus (or, when in government, cabinet) efforts to implement party policy resolutions. The caucus accountability officer submits a written report card outlining specific actions the caucus has taken on each resolution from

the previous convention, including caucus task force reports, work in legislative committees, questions asked during question period, private member bills and inclusion of the policy in the national manifesto if there was an intervening election.

Reports to Party Congress

In many of the established democracies, party congress agendas typically include a report from parliamentary group leaders. The sessions include opportunities for participants to ask questions and to hold their leadership accountable for their actions in the legislature. For instance, in Norway, elected officials report to their party central boards and to their party congresses on the efforts to advance party policies and engage in a question and answer session with congress delegates. The UK Liberal Democrats' chief whip's report to the August 2012 party congress discussed some of the challenges associated with working in coalition government, emphasizing his party's efforts to influence government policy though "principled pressure". In addition, he highlighted the accomplishments of particular legislators, described how the parliamentary group is adapting to an increase in correspondence, summarized plans for the current session of the legislature (containing voting intentions) and included a list of legislation introduced by government ministers and private members.[78] The report did not mention any particular pieces of legislation, however. The coalition government also announced plans for a midterm review with the objective of assessing progress toward meeting the goals of the coalition government, identifying gaps and setting priorities for the remainder of the governments. During the party conference, a legislator presented key issues for the review and led a question and answer session on the topic.

Public Tours

In addition to influencing public policy through the institutions of governance, political parties also turn to the public domain, including public encounters, the media and other means, to build support for and explain their efforts to advance party policies. The BCNDP won election in 1991 after spending 17 years in opposition. The party had campaigned on "A Better Way", a manifesto containing 48 sections and 129 succinct promises in a range of policy areas. After such a long time in opposition, party activists had high expectations. However, the new government had to deal with several unanticipated problems, including a budget deficit much higher than the defeated government had reported. Progress on the long list of campaign commitments did not happen at the expected pace. In the fall of 1993, members of the cabinet, with support from area elected representatives embarked on an "Accountability Tour" to meet with party activists at 14 events in every part of the province. As a follow-up, the BCNDP government prepared a two-year progress report for the party convention in the fall of 1994. The 42-page document listed hundreds of actions, promise by promise, taken by the government to deliver on the platform commitments.

Major Scheduled Policy Statements

Based on party or governmental traditions and, in some cases, legal provisions, political leaders often make major scheduled policy statements on a regular basis. This may include states of the union or speeches from the throne, and can also be utilized by the opposition as a response to ruling party speeches. Annual budget presentations and the ensuing debates present similar opportunities. In addition, annual meetings held by national, high profile organizations and lobby groups that invite party leaders to address their members present opportunities for parties and leaders to make major policy announcements or speeches.

As an example, the President of the United States delivers a State of the Union to the Congress every year. The address typically outlines general conditions in the country and the executive's legislative priorities for the coming year. In 2013, President Obama's State of the Union outlined his administration's accomplishments, including the number of new jobs created and increases in domestic sources of power that had contributed to a reduced dependence on foreign energy. The speech also outlined various policy objectives including closing tax loopholes to raise government revenue, expanding access to early childhood education and immigration reform. In some Commonwealth countries, the speech from the throne at the beginning of parliamentary sessions serves a similar purpose.

In South Africa, the ANC's National Executive issues a statement commemorating the party's anniversary

on January 8 each year. These statements usually include a brief review of the government policy accomplishments for the previous year and policy priorities for the coming year. For instance, the January 2013 statement noted a reduction in HIV/AIDS transmission rates, improvements in high school test scores, and called for further progress in land reform and expanded access to education, water and sanitation, among other things.[79]

Midterm Reviews and Term Reports

In Ireland, midterm reviews have proven helpful in allowing ministers and the civil service to assess progress, economic conditions and realistic goals for the remainder of the government's term in office. For instance, the Fianna Fail-Green Coalition's 2007 government program was based on an estimated GDP growth rate of 4.5 percent. By late 2009, however, a recession had made most of the program unachievable. In addition, tensions between coalition partners over the government's response to the economic crisis and Fianna Fail's disappointing local election results raised questions about the coalition's future. To address these challenges, the two parties renegotiated their program for government, reprioritizing policies for the remainder of their term.

In January 2013, the Conservative-Liberal Democrat Coalition Government in the United Kingdom published a midterm review highlighting major accomplishments, including reducing the deficit, introducing education reform and increasing the number of private sector jobs. Alongside the narrative midterm review report, the coalition also published a document outlining specific actions taken to achieve each of the original coalition goals.

Term reports are similar to midterm reviews but may be released either annually or toward the end of an administration. In India, under the United Progressive Alliance coalition government, the Prime Minister's office publishes regular Reports to the People, highlighting the administration's efforts over the preceding year and emerging challenges facing the nation. Initially introduced in 2004 to provide updates on progress toward the coalition's National Common Minimum Program, the product of a long negotiation process, the reports are now a routine practice that the government views as part of a broader effort to improve openness and transparency in government. The reports cover a wide range of issues, typically falling under the following headings: education and healthcare, social inclusion, rural and urban development, economic growth, the environment, science and technology, culture and sports, disaster management, security, Kashmir, external affairs, and governance and civil society. Similarly, Norway's Christian Democrat Party regularly releases reports outlining its efforts to promote its policy throughout the country's four year political cycle.

Social Media

Political parties have also used social media to engage and inform the public of their efforts to advance the policies they campaigned on. In Mexico, the National Action Party (PAN) organized a month-long Twitter campaign where they asked their supporters to tweet what they thought were the party's best policies and greatest achievements in the previous decade. The policy feedback accumulated from this campaign allowed the party to understand citizen's grievances and stay informed about issues they cared about. It also helped to refine and target the party's messages, reach a broader audience with future initiatives, and mobilize citizens to participate in face-to-face activities such as town hall meetings, policy discussion circles, and forums.[80]

In France, shortly after his 2007 election as president, Nicholas Sarkozy's administration created on online informational and reporting site that the public could use to stay updated on policy reform and implementation. The website included an "A to Z Guide" of the administration accomplishment and web-based report card outlining progress towards 15 major commitments from the presidential campaign. On the website, the UMP described the report card as an effort to promote greater transparency by enabling citizens to track the party's progress toward meeting the president's campaign promises. The website broke each of the 15 commitments into more specific goals. Under each goal, the site listed specific actions or achievements designed to accomplish that goal, including the adoption of new legislation, major speeches by members of the administration and the launch of consultative processes. The site included a link to the party blog, and forms to both become a party member and to subscribe to the party's newsletter.[81]

Explaining Changes in Policy

While party officials are understandably most eager about touting their accomplishments, they also is-

sue public statements and conduct media outreach to explain changes in their policy positions. In 2012, British Deputy Prime Minister Nick Clegg, leader of the Liberal Democrats took the unusual step of publicly apologizing for his party's failure to implement a campaign promise on tuition fees. In the video, which aired in September 2012, Clegg acknowledged voter disappointment and anger, noting that the party should not have promised a policy that could not be implemented due to the financial cost. He also used the time to remind people of the party'spolicy successes in other areas.

Media analysis of the apology attributed this unusual step to a number of factors. First the tuition fee increase helped fuel protests around the country and gathered significant media coverage, highlighting the Liberal Democrats campaign promise. Second, the Liberal Democrats had suffered another major policy setback in 2011, when voters overwhelmingly rejected their proposal for electoral reform in a referendum. The Conservative Party, their coalition partner, had actively campaigned against the change and although the Labour Party Leader favored reform, others in his party opposed it. Third, the media speculated that voters were especially disappointed in Clegg since he had appeared to them as "a different type of politician" during the 2010 campaign. By 2012, two years into the coalition government, support for the Liberal Democrats had dropped by more than half. These factors led some analysts to conclude that while Clegg probably realized that the apology could provoke greater anger and perhaps even some ridicule, he also hoped that the move would convey sincerity and help regain some of the party's lost ground.

In Croatia, despite strong popular sentiment against the International Criminal Tribunal for former Yugoslavia (ICTY), political leaders eventually assisted with the arrest and extradition of war-time Croatian General Ante Gotovina to The Hague. Then-Prime Minister Sanader, who had previously spoken out against turning Gotovina over the ICTY, justified the move as a necessity for EU accession and an important step towards improved rule of law and uncovering the truth about war crimes. This illustrates how, once in office, party representatives often have more information about the economic, social and political benefits and costs of proposed policies which may result in elected officials adjusting their parties' preferred policies.

CONCLUSION

> *The challenges for any system of policymaking are great . . . In the modern world policy issues are complex and proposed solutions increasingly technocratic; debates move swiftly and decisions are required quickly. At the same time there is an increasing and understandable desire for consultation, transparency and feedback in a world where we are becoming less the passive consumer and more the active contributor.* [82]

In democracies, elections provide voters the opportunity to choose among political parties offering distinct proposals for addressing societal needs. Once elected, public officials advance the policy proposals upon which they and their parties campaigned, by implementing them through the executive and legislative institutions or through the processes they influence. In opposition, they use their positions to critique and present alternatives to ruling party proposals. In subsequent elections, citizens use their votes to reward or punish parties, holding them accountable for their policy performance. In addition to the opportunity to judge the performance of political parties and publicly elected officials who are re-contesting at elections, citizens in modern democracies expect two-way communication throughout the political cycle. This allows citizens to constantly monitor the actions of government and publicly elected officials and to provide feedback on their concerns. Equally, political parties and publicly elected officials inform the public of their actions in the Parliament and their efforts to respond to constituents' concerns. Thus, party policymaking – the process whereby political parties develop and seek to implement their proposals for governmental action – is central to the healthy functioning of a representative democracy.

When taken seriously, party policymaking is a complex process that begins with the articulation of broad political principles about how society should be organized. These principles not only help unify a party's supporters behind a common vision, they help inform the development of specific proposals for addressing a range of social and economic problems. The party structures and processes used to develop these proposals should ideally provide for input from a wide range of actors, including: party members and ordinary citizens whose needs and views public policies are supposed to address and reflect; sector experts whose technical knowledge

can help assess the feasibility, effectiveness and potential cost of different policy options; and party officials, whether publicly elected or serving in party structures outside public office, who are well placed to assess the political implications of different alternatives. Parties also need a legitimate process for choosing among different policy options that does justice to these diverse perspectives as well as their own political principles.

Once in Parliament and in the executive, parties need strategies for feeding their policy proposals into governance processes. They may need to further prioritize, adjust or compromise on their original positions or develop new ones in response to unanticipated developments. These efforts require formal and informal tools and strategies for determining which programs can be implemented through government guidelines and regulations or executive orders and decrees, and which require legislative change. When in control of the executive, parties' efforts to develop and implement policies may benefit from the added expertise of civil service technocrats but may also be complicated by other governmental commitments and pressures. In opposition – and usually with far limited resources than those available to the ruling party – they must continue to prove their ability to provide policy alternatives, while at the same time critiquing government proposals without appearing to be obstructionists.

When their policy proposals require legislative action, political parties need strategies for organizing their parliamentary groups in order to maximize their influence over legislative processes. This includes setting clear rules and expectations for legislator behavior, determining a division of labor, balancing the need for cohesive party action with such considerations as individual legislators' freedom of conscience, and remaining responsive to the needs of specific constituencies.[83] Simultaneously, parties must continue to communicate their policy initiatives to party members and officials outside the legislature as well as to the public at large.

In such countries as Belgium, Iraq, Kosovo, the Netherlands, Norway and Sweden, coalition governments are the norm rather than the exception, requiring that political parties compromise on their policy proposals in order to form government. In presidential systems, when the president lacks majority support in the Parliament, the party in control of the legislature may be in a position to frustrate the executive's efforts to implement campaign proposals. In addition, while parliamentary rules and procedures may restrict legislators' ability to introduce or amend legislation, executive powers can strengthen the president's options for negotiating issue coalitions around his or her legislative agenda or introducing policy through non-legislative tools, such as executive orders or referenda.

Complicating matters further, various incentives and disincentives shape the behavior and preferences of political parties and the wide range of other actors who may also be involved in policymaking, including civil society, the business community, the media, the judiciary, government bureaucrats and international partners. These groups and individuals shape policymaking in a combination of formal and informal arenas including through the Parliament, the executive branch, protest, advocacy or other means.[84] In addition, increasingly, transnational forces, including international financial institutions, multinational corporations and regional unions, affect public policy choices and their impact. For instance, multinational corporations have used overseas offices to limit their tax liabilities, while international financial institutions have required various fiscal reforms in exchange for their loans. Regional unions have also overruled the policies of their member countries for violating international protocols.

Inevitably, the average voter draws conclusions about how to cast his/her ballot on a simplified version of these complex processes, their outcomes, and his/her personal experiences, preferences and biases. Moreover, policy is only one of a number of factors that voter considers in determining which party to support. In some environments, patronage, ethnicity, or religion are primary vote mobilizers, fueling corruption or intercommunity tensions and undercutting the democratic principle of government responsiveness and accountability.

This paper has described how different political parties have attempted to fulfill their policymaking role. In fledging and traditional democracies alike, and regardless of other contextual factors, some of the common challenges that parties face include:

- updating their party identities to keep current with the times and to maintain a distinct profile

relative to their competitors, while remaining true to their founding principles;

- developing rules that clearly outline the roles and responsibilities of different party stakeholders in policy development while allowing them the flexibility to adapt to political circumstances;

- involving key party stakeholders in policy development processes while keeping policy development processes manageable;

- encouraging participation in policy development processes while managing expectations about the extent to which they can amend their policies and keep stakeholders informed on how their feedback has been incorporated into policy proposals;

- balancing the need for consultation with the need to respond quickly to urgent policy issues;

- ensuring effective communication and coordination between party officials serving in the executive, the legislature and party structures outside government; and

- communicating and explaining party efforts to advance and implement policy to a public that is often impatient and skeptical.

Nevertheless, Many political parties in traditional and fledgling democracies have recognized that inclusive policymaking can produce more realistic and better designed policy options, help them better connect with voters at a time of declining party membership in many countries, create opportunities for engaging marginalized groups, build organizational capacity, attract positive media coverage, take the upper hand in defining and marketing what they stand for, energize members, and increase their support among voters.[85] Increasingly, political parties are also taking advantage of new technologies that enable them to engage supporters in consultative processes that are more efficient and less resource intensive than the options available in the past.

Based on the experiences outlined in this document, the final section outlines best practices in party policy development. In addition, it incorporates advice from experienced current and former political leaders from around the world. These lessons learned were identified as part of a previous study on party policy development in Western Europe and as part of the background papers that helped inform this paper.

Party Identity

Best Practice

Political parties that are organized around a unified set of political values or principles are more likely to have an identity and support base independent of individual leaders, survive changes in leadership, and successfully mobilize support based on their ideas rather than on patronage. Political parties should therefore:

- engage their members in discussions that enable them to identify the political principles and/or ideology that bind them together;

- educate members about the values and principles that the party stands for;

- recognize that most voters are more interested in specific policy proposals that directly affect their lives than abstract political principles; and

- periodically review and, as necessary, update how they interpret those principles in light of significant changes in society and the political landscape.

Based on their principles and ideology, parties should:

- establish clear policy priorities that provide opportunities for them to take leadership in these areas; and

- review them regularly to ensure that they remain relevant to social and economic conditions and strategically position their party relative to its political opponents.

Peer Advice

- A political party should know what its values and ideological orientation are before starting to develop its policy. Parties that are unsure of this should have an internal discussion on their core principles, vision and political beliefs, after which a platform can be built. Clearly defined party values can serve as guidelines for policy development. The people drafting policies must know which guidelines to follow and develop policy proposals that embody those principles.

- Review, renew and expand your party's signature policy areas on a regular basis. Political parties often have certain profiles based on their first leader or original ideology. As a party participates in policy debates, that profile will evolve based on what the party communicates and what its competitors do. While setting a clear policy focus can strengthen party cohesion, by reviewing, renewing and expanding the range of policy proposals, a political party can properly address changing societal needs and norms.

Party Rules on Policy Development

- Parties should embed core aspects and principles about how policies are developed and approved and who is involved in their party rules. These rules should allow some flexibility so that policy processes can be adapted to suit changing political conditions. Where nascent political parties are just beginning to increase their focus on policy development, it can be helpful to experiment and then update rules accordingly.

Peer Advice

- Party rules should detail members' rights and obligations along with a clear decision-making hierarchy. It is critical to have a definitive decision-making process along with a document detailing the party's core values to provide direction when critical issues emerge. Statutes guaranteeing members the right to participate in the policy development process should specify the stage or stages in which they can engage. This allows members to better prepare for their role in the policy development process.

- Rules must also be flexible enough to accommodate a variety of situations. Political circumstances are constantly changing and unforeseen circumstances regularly emerge and procedures differ depending on whether a party is in office or in opposition. A statute that is too specific or complicated will inhibit the party's ability to adapt and efficiently accomplish its goals. Rules must also accommodate geographic and constituency-based differences since, in most countries, a party's level of support will vary by region. Accordingly, policy structures must be able to adapt to different levels of engagement, demanding more in vibrant areas while not over-burdening those with less capacity.

Participatory Policy Processes

Best Practice

Political parties should adopt policy processes that:

- are led by and have the commitment of senior leadership;

- vest management of the policy drafting process in a structure that party members view as credible and legitimate;

- involve the elected officials or candidates who will be responsible for advancing those policies in the executive and the legislature;
- draw upon available policy research and expertise; and

- provide for regular communications between elected officials and citizens/sympathizers and incorporates mechanisms for elected officials to report back to party members on efforts to advance party policy as allowed by law.

Parties should also:

- educate grassroots structures and key party constituent groups about party policy processes and encourage them to participate in the process; and

- use a combination of methods to involve members and other stakeholders in policy development processes and to communicate to them their efforts to advance party policy. Political parties have a wide range of methods at their disposal for engaging members, policy experts and the broader public, at different stages in the policy-making process. Surveys, face-to-face meetings and various technology platforms each have their advantages and disadvantages. By using a range of consultation methods, political parties can maximize opportunities for participation.

Peer Advice

- Successful policy development and implementation relies on the energy and commitment of the party leadership to engage members on prominent issues. Party leadership includes not only the party leader, but also elected officials and other senior party officials. Party leadership must work together to communicate decisions and seek input. A talented and enthusiastic lead-

ership will translate to an engaged membership, which will ultimately strengthen the organization.

- In established and developing parties alike, having a participatory policy development process is essential. Since policy adoption and implementation requires high levels of public trust and consensus, include as many people and organizations as possible to build support for party policies. However, if the consultation process becomes too unwieldy, good ideas can easily slip through the cracks. Work to maintain high levels of consensus on policy by consulting with local structures, legislators and affiliated organizations. In addition, to ensure intra-party consensus, have decision-making bodies, such as a party congress, approve all major policies.

- Clearly determine which party structure(s) will serve as the policy engine and ensure sure they are well resourced and structured to conduct longer term policy research but also to respond quickly to emerging issues. Within the policy development structure, have small groups of recognized experts who can analyze particular policy areas, set broad goals and identify appropriate strategies. Based on the goals set, create a division of labor by assigning team members to the different subareas within their expertise. Use these experts as an emergency team that can be convened quickly to help develop rapid responses to any issues that arise in their respective policy fields. Policy development mechanisms should continue to function between elections in order to continue feeding the party with policy ideas throughout the political cycle.

- Do not be afraid to amend or revise the policymaking process to fit the needs and values of the party. The structure a party starts with does not need to be the one it permanently adopts, especially if it is not working well. It often takes time to develop optimal policy structures and processes and even then, they may need to change over time.

- Give politicians lead roles in policy development processes. This helps to ensure that policies being developed have both technical and political support from within the party. In addition, these politicians will be able to raise their profiles and become associated with the different policy issues they work on.

- It is often beneficial to consult outside of the party, as diverse viewpoints can contribute to well-rounded policy. In addition to sectoral experts, minorities, regional groups and the general public can provide valuable insight. In addition, policy consultations can provide an opportunity to diversify a party's support. However, for sensitive or controversial issues, political parties should have an internal conversation to establish their stance on an issue before reaching out to external stakeholders or experts.

- Use multiple methods to engage members and the public. For instance, if the majority of the population is online, political parties should capitalize on this, while recognizing that online tools may not be effective for all potential voters. For instance, online activity is often less effective for senior citizens or people living in remote areas. Different approaches are needed to influence different constituencies.

- Party members or external stakeholders who are included in the policy development process must see that their work influences the decisions of the party leadership. A party's credibility can be damaged if outreach is not sincere and transparent. Whether consultations occur through a roundtable discussion or an online survey, ensure that there are resources available to collect and analyze the results appropriately. When party leaders ignore the feedback from different stakeholders, it can breed cynicism among constituents who are needed to sell the party's message during an election campaign. However, when members are recognized for their efforts, it energizes party volunteers.

- There will almost always be a degree of tension between what the party membership wants and what the party leadership ultimately decides to do, particularly when the party is in government. To diffuse this tension, keep the lines of communication open and make it clear when constituents can partake in decision-making and when they cannot.

Issue Identification and Policy Research

Best Practice

In assessing the overall quality of their policy proposals, political parties should consider whether their proposals:

- address an identified problem;
- reflect a combination of voter concerns and the party's own principles;
- are realistic given their operating context;
- make efficient use of state resources;
- are likely to generate positive outcomes for significant segments of the population;
- have been clearly thought out; and
- can be defended against scrutiny from the media, opponents and sector experts.

Peer Advice

- Start drafting policies as soon as possible. Drafting policies early enables voter outreach to begin earlier. This can help political parties influence the electorate's thinking before opponents attack. In addition, a party needs to understand its strengths and weaknesses in order to create effective policy. This is equally important for parties in office and in opposition. Knowing this will allow parties to create policies that highlight parties' strengths.
- Policy initiatives should focus on pressing issues and propose realistic solutions. Adopt a template so that policy proposals are consistent. Each proposal must address a party goal and describe how to achieve it. If the steps to carry out a policy initiative are not laid out in a clear manner it often leads to contention. Policy proposals should also include a narrative which answers the following questions:
  - What problem will the policy proposal solve?
  - Why does it matter to people?
  - Who is your audience?
  - Is the solution practical and affordable?
- Conduct a detailed study of the issue or issues that each policy will address. The preliminary background research is extremely important. Studying the history of an issue, its consequences, and the national and international tradition of the subject helps to build a strong base from which to develop policy. Set deadlines and assign clear responsibilities for drafting documents.
- Additionally, consider more than one policy alternative and assess the positive and negative effects of each before settling on a particular solution. Time spent ensuring that the party's policies are grounded in solid facts and sound logic, will help the party gain leverage during discussions with other political parties, the media or the public.

Marketing and Implementing Party Policies

Best Practice

Elected officials, whether in government or opposition, should:

- establish clear priorities for executive and legislative branches that draw upon party policy positions;
- pursue good faith efforts to advance and implement the policies on which they campaigned;
- use a combination of formal and informal mechanisms to organize their work, clarify expectations and strengthen relationships among parliamentary group members and between legislators and the executive;
- where political costs are low and religious, cultural or other deeply personal issues are involved, consider allowing flexibility in voting strategies; and
- keep political party officials and activists outside the executive and the legislature as well as the general public apprised of their efforts to advance party policy.

Peer Advice

- Campaigning on concrete policies can help with party success in elections. In emerging democracies where identity politics are important, incorporating concrete policies into the political discourse is a favorable way to shift focus. This allows moderate, democratic forces to effectively compete and gain new supporters while diluting the strong personalities that can create cleavages in party politics.
- However, do not build a campaign on policies alone. While having well-conceived policies is crucial, political parties also need charismatic and

popular candidates who will attract votes. Finding the balance between strong personalities and policy driven campaigns is a challenge and something parties must work on consistently.

- Focus on policies that are popular and easy to implement; once accomplished, the party's success serves as proof of its competence and credibility. Do not promise the impossible. What parties say during election campaigns can come back to haunt them. Public support is crucial once elected and if campaign promises are unfulfilled, the party will most likely lose this support. Following through on campaign promises is especially important in parliamentary democracies because opposing parties often have to govern together in coalitions.

- For governing parties or coalitions that have a large parliamentary group, assign talented legislators the task of consulting with the public and publishing task force reports. This can set the government's legislative agenda, give legislators more freedom, help party leadership minimize dissent within its own caucus and allow individual legislators to prove themselves. Giving legislators this freedom to vote at will on issues that are not the party's core policy areas makes it easier to build consensus on the important issues.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: PARTY VALUES AND PRINCIPLES DISCUSSION GUIDE

An ideology is a set of coherent, unifying, political principles, ideas and values that provide a framework for understanding society, establishing a vision for its improvement, and identifying the policy options required to achieve that vision. As Table 4 shows, many of the concepts that are presented as universal concepts are interpreted differently by each ideological family. As political parties work to develop their policies, clearly defined ideologies help serve as a political compass of sorts. The different principles that constitute an ideology points political parties in a general direction as they seek to understand different policy problems and find solutions to them. Faced with exactly the same policy problem, political parties from social democrat, liberal, conservative, or Green families may propose different solutions based on their political compass.

All over the world, clearly defined values and principles have helped political parties to understand and propose solutions to societal problems, mobilize support, withstand significant changes in their operating environment, survive leadership changes, and to find solidarity with like-minded political parties in other countries. While there are a number of established ideological families worldwide, how political parties develop and interpret their values and principles is, in part, a reflection of their operating environment. By discussing and clarifying their values and principles, political parties can better articulate what they stand for and what distinguishes them from their opponents.

The purpose of this discussion guide is to outline some of the issues that political parties may want to discuss as they seek to clarify their values and principles. It describes some of the principles and trade-offs that have divided political parties around the world. In most cases, it will need to be adapted depending on the context in which it is used.

Party Distinctiveness: Since issues of identity are also about how political parties distinguish themselves from one another, for each of the areas below, political parties may want to consider the following.

- What is the party's position on this issue?
- What are the positions of political opponents on the issue?
- What are the main similarities and differences between the party and its opponents?

Individual versus Collective Rights: Some believe that the state should have no role in determining or influencing individuals' personal values and that civil liberties should be equally extended to all citizens regardless of their identity or religious beliefs. Some believe that equality is best secured through equality of opportunity: quotas and other efforts to ensure equality of outcomes violate this principle. Another view holds that quotas are an effective and acceptable way to provide redress for social injustices. Others argue that the state should preserve traditional values (e.g. those initially founded on religious or cultural beliefs).

- Does the government have a role to play in promoting equality and how should that role be interpreted?
- To what extent should individual and minority rights be protected even when they go against the preferences of a community and the majority?
- To what extent should the government regulate literature, gambling, birth control, euthanasia, recreational drugs, alcohol etc.?

Economic Management: Most mainstream political ideologies see some value in free market economies. However, there are disagreements over the extent to which governments should act to correct potential deficiencies in open market systems. For instance, some believe that governments should play a key role in correcting or compensating for such flaws in the open market system as unequal distribution of income. This may include efforts to introduce or raise minimum wages or subsidies for certain types of businesses or industries. Others believe that free market economies generally have a self-correcting mechanism that significantly reduces the need for government intervention and that most efforts to "meddle" with free market economies create more problems than they solve.

- To what extent should the government act to limit or reduce disparities in income?

- To what extent should the economy and/or markets be allowed to function free from government regulation and involvement?

Environmental Protection and Natural Resource Management: Some believe that human beings have a responsibility to monitor and minimize their impact on the environment, including taking steps to prevent or repair any damage. This may include requirements for environmental assessments, efforts to reduce carbon emissions and environmental standards for various industries. Some proponents of these positions see environmental damage as an unrecognized cost of business that should be better accounted for. Others believe that natural resources and the environment primarily exist to serve the needs of humans and that extensive environmental regulations deter economic growth. While some believe that each generation should primarily be concerned with its own well-being, others believe that human beings have an obligation to preserve natural resources, ranging from diverse forms of plant and animal life to the wealth from precious metals, gemstones, petroleum and gas, for future generations.

- What limits, if any, should be placed on the use of natural resources?

- Is environmental protection a concern and to what extent should governments act to deter it?

Social Safety Nets: While some believe that governments should take significant steps to assist the unemployed, the elderly, children, persons with disabilities and other citizens in need, critics argue that such safety net programs are often abused by people who do not really qualify for or need such assistance. Critics further argue that such initiatives encourage people to depend on the government for assistance rather than working harder to improve their own conditions and that these safety nets often lead to higher income taxes and encourage large government budgets deficits.

- To what extent should the government provide social safety nets and to what extent should individuals be left to manage on their own?

Public Services: Some people believe that certain needs are so important and so fundamental to people's well-being that the government should be the primary provider of related services, protecting these sectors and users from the competition and fluctuations in open markets. Others argue that governments are inefficient at administering such services and not only provide poor quality services, but limit individual choices by creating monopolies of these sectors.

- To what extent should the government be involved in providing or guaranteeing basic services such as education, healthcare and pensions?

Religion: While the constitutions of some countries include references to God or even particular religions, sometimes going as far as to use particular religions as the basis for policies and the judicial system, others make no mention of religion other than to specify the right to freedom of religion.

- To what extent should religion be treated as a private matter as opposed to an essential element of the basis for government?

- Should public policy be influenced by religious beliefs formally, informally or not at all?

Issue Prioritization: There are times when events, citizen perceptions and needs push political parties to focus on particular issues. All governments have a finite amount of resources. One way in which political parties distinguish themselves from their competitors is by how they prioritize different policy issues and government expenditures.

- What government expenditures do you prioritize and why? Consider such issues as social safety nets, environmental protection programs, defense, education and health.

Table 4: Ideological perspectives on selected political concepts

	Liberal ideologies	Right-leaning ideologies	Left-leaning ideologies	Green ideologies
Democracy	See it as consent expressed by voting in recurring, competitive elections, within a legal framework that prevents oppression by the majority.	Fully accept rule of democracy and see constitutions as a way to protect traditional institutions and economic prosperity from the changing will of the majority.	Also accept democratic rule but based on wide popular participation and desire to bring some or all of economic life under public control.	Demand the highest level of direct, decentralized democracy, and emphasize individual participation and personal responsibility within a democratic system.
Freedom	Hold it as the ultimate individualist value; classical liberals saw it as absence of constraints, but modern liberals see it as allowing development of individual human potential.	Consider it a conscientious recognition of one's responsibilities in a community, allowing more freedom in the economic sphere and less in the social sphere.	View it as reaching one's own full potential through labor, social interaction, and developing personal human capacity.	Also see freedom as self-actualization but through disowning of individual imperatives, and achieving oneness with the surrounding world.
Equality	Believe in free market competition, individual property rights and freedom to form contracts, but accept limited economic management due to market imperfections.	View it as abstract and disruptive of natural societal hierarchies; they emphasize benefits of economic inequality, but believe in equality of opportunity.	Hold social equality as their fundamental value; it is crucial to ensuring cohesion, justice, equity, and expanding individual and social freedoms.	See it as the right to life for all life forms; consider other views that focus on equality for humans to the detriment of other life forms as harmful for humanity.
Economy	Believe in free market competition, individual property rights and freedom to form contracts, but accept limited economic management due to market imperfections.	Fully support capitalism and private, small and medium enterprise; increasingly advocate for an unregulated market economy.	Endorse accessibility to welfare and a highly regulated market; also emphasize the importance of standard wages.	View obsession with growth (both from the left and the right) as unsustainable; harmony with nature must be prioritized over the drive for profits.
Human Nature	See it as a set of distinct qualities of every individual; social and historic circumstances are of no importance; humans are governed by reason and capable of personal development.	Hold humans as limited creatures, always seeking security, who are drawn to the known and tried; rationality is unreliable and moral corruption is implicit in human nature.	Consider humans to be essentially social creatures, shaped more by their conditions than by nature; sociability implies there is possibility for individual growth and collective development.	View humans only as a part of a broader system, nature; egoism, materialism and greed symbolize human alienation, and signal the need for a return to nature.
Religion	View it as a private matter linked to individual choice; this makes religion connected to civil liberties; liberals require strict division of religion and politics.	See it as a source of stability and social cohesion, that provides values and a common culture; this makes separation of religion and politics difficult.	Think that religion is a diversion from political struggle and social inequalities; compassion in religion can sometimes be considered the ethical basis for socialism.	Reject religious worldviews that promoted damaging the environment in the past, but acknowledge that this is changing; radical greens believe there is a global eco-religion emerging.
State	See it as a mediator among opposing interests of individuals and groups, a guardian of social order; should promote equal opportunities.	Fully endorse law enforcement as the main function of a state; modern conservatives call for a smaller state since institutions promote their own interests and threaten free economic activity.	View it as embodiment of the common good; fully support state intervention in all spheres of life and believe in a progressive integration of state and society.	Believe in a weak state that promotes civil liberties and decentralization of power towards both local and international structures; see transnational democracy as inevitable.

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APPENDIX II: ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF DIFFERENT CONSULTATION METHODS

Informal Surveys	Informal surveys include questionnaires that are administered by party activists going to door-to-door, sent by mail, posted online or conducted by phone. **Advantages:** • provides opportunities for direct contact with voters, enhancing prospects for understanding citizens' real concerns; • helpful for yes or no answers and prioritizing issues; • builds organizational skills and can help gather information that is useful for get out the vote and other party activities; • where volunteers are involved, provides opportunities for members and supporters to participate in party activities; • can allow for relatively immediate feedback on particular policy proposals; and • relatively inexpensive. **Disadvantages:** • time consuming and requires effective strategies for recruiting and mobilizing volunteers; • in-depth discussion of different issues is usually not possible. Often limited to yes or no answers and basic prioritization; • provides general impressions but usually does not involve statistically valid samples and so the results cannot be projected to the larger population; and • poorly worded questions can lead to misleading or inclusive results.
Public Forums	Public forums include a wide range of invitation-only or open meetings between political parties and the stakeholders they seek to consult. They include community and town hall meetings, roundtables or conferences with various stakeholders. Particular events may target specific groups, such as the private sector and party members or attract a range of groups. **Advantages:** • provides greater opportunity for participants to ask questions and seek clarification; • allows for more discussion or more complex issues; • appropriate for higher level officials and policy experts; • significant potential for positive media coverage of public events; • invitation-only sessions appropriate for discussing sensitive issues; and • possible to organize different types of events for different audiences. **Disadvantages:** • can be logistically challenging and costly to organize depending on the number and location; • limited only to sections of the public that are able to attend based on their schedule and mobility; • sometimes difficult to analyze and identify specific outcomes from the discussion; and • without effective moderation can become confrontational and/or participants can lose interest.

Public Opinion Research	The most common types of professionally conducted public opinion research methods are polls and focus groups. Polls are a type of quantitative research that involves presenting statistical samples of individuals with identical sets of questions. Focus groups, a type of qualitative research, involve moderator-led discussions among six to10 people. Using guides with open-ended questions, moderators facilitate discussions that allow participates to exchange ideas and opinions about particular topics. **Advantages:** • professionals can help parties frame questions and discussion topics appropriately; • can be structured to collect and disaggregate the views and priorities of particular populations (e.g. women, youth, swing voters, etc.); • professional analysis of findings along with recommendations for the party; • given the involvement of independent professionals, respondents may be more honest with their views about the party; • useful in getting independent assessment of party strengths and weaknesses as perceived by the public; and • can inform direct contact between parties and voters. • Polls: – results can be quantified and projected to the larger population; – helpful for identifying priorities; and – simplifying issues/options. • Focus groups can be helpful in: – understanding the underlying reasons for citizen perceptions of different parties and policy issues and can provide more nuance; – identifying language that citizens are comfortable with; and – testing messaging around policy proposals. **Disadvantages:** • requires particular skills set and is expensive; • can be logistically challenging; • limited potential for in-depth discussion of a wide range of topics; • no opportunities for direct engagement between voters and party activists/officials; • polls: – give no indication of underlying reasons/motivations for particular views; – are of limited use in analyzing complex issues; and – usually limit respondents to pre-determined options for answers. • focus groups: – cannot be quantified or projected to a larger population; – group setting may bias opinions or prevent people from speaking freely; and – results can be difficult to interpret and are often subjective.

Online Platforms	The technology revolution has offered political parties a wide range of options for engaging the public including online discussion forums, websites where members and others can submit policy proposals, Twitter feeds, and informal surveys by text message or missed calls. **Advantages:** • allows participants to access information at convenient times and locations; • can be cost and time efficient for parties; • possible to establish different levels of access to online forums (e.g. member-only, public etc.); • ease of posting can increase the frequency of contact between parties and the public.; • longer documents can be made available for download and review for participants to read at their leisure; and • innovative social media approaches can attract positive media coverage and help convey the image of a party that moves with the times. **Disadvantages:** • ineffective for reaching communities that have less of an online/social media presence (e.g. those with limited internet or computer access and those less comfortable with technology); • participants can go off topic, especially if there is insufficient moderation of the online communication; • requires active monitoring and facilitation of the dialogue; • may be more difficult to analyze and draw conclusions from the feedback; • negative information about a party can easily be posted and made public, but is notoriously difficult to remove from the internet; and • may need strategies to drive traffic to online platforms.

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PART II: CASE STUDIES

THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, SOUTH AFRICA

Brief Party History

The African National Congress (ANC) was founded on January 8, 1912 as a reaction to the exclusion of black people from power in the new Union of South Africa. Originally called the South African Native National Congress, the party adopted the ANC name in 1923. The ANC spent almost 84 years fighting for racial equality in South Africa through mass mobilization, underground work and armed struggle. In addition, while drawing upon international solidarity with its goal of racial equality, the party also worked to isolate apartheid governments. In April 1994, South Africa held transition elections as part of a negotiated settlement between the apartheid government and other groups in the country. The ANC won 252 of the 400 seats in the National Assembly, becoming the majority party in the Government of National Unity. The ANC has continued to dominate elections in the country and won 264 out of 400 National Assembly seats in the 2009 elections. The party currently has more than a million members. The ANC embraces social-democratic values and is a member of Socialist International.

Party Rules

Under the ANC constitution,[1] the party's National Conference has the authority to determine policies. In addition, the National Executive Committee (NEC) – the party's chief executive organ – can issue documents and policy directives as it deems fit. Although the NEC has the power to convene a policy conference whenever necessary, it must call a National Policy Conference at least six months prior to the National Conference. Policy conferences are recommendation bodies that propose resolutions and policy positions for consideration by the National Conference. The president, who is the political leader of the party, can make announcements on behalf of the NEC to outline ANC policies and values. The national chairperson is responsible for ensuring that all policies adopted by the National Conference are implemented by all organs within the party. However, each ANC member has the right to offer constructive criticism on any party policy.[2]

Policy Development in Practice

The Policy Unit

Until recently, the policy unit, headed by a member of the NEC and the National Working Committee (NWC), drafted party policies. The unit was an administrative arm of the ANC based at its headquarters in Johannesburg. Participation in the unit's activities were by invitation only and included people from various levels of government, state owned entities, the private sector and, in some cases, civil society organizations sympathetic to ANC's policies. The policy unit invited or hired experts to draft working documents that were presented to the NEC for consideration. Once the appropriate NEC subcommittee had discussed and approved the draft, the document was first distributed to all party structures and then later posted on the party website. The draft policies were then discussed at the local, district, regional and provincial levels of the party, as well as at provincial policy conferences in preparation for National Policy Conferences.

The ANC recently dissolved the policy unit and it is unclear which party structure will manage policy development processes moving forward.

Policy Conferences

According to the party rules, the NEC has the power to convene a policy conference whenever necessary, however, it must call a National Policy Conference at least six months prior to the National Party Conference. In practice, policy conferences have typically taken place just before the National Conferences that formally adopt party policies.

ANC branches nominate their own delegates to the different types of party conferences. Each branch's allocation of delegates is based on the size of its membership. In general, branches choose members who have a good track record with the organization, including participation in local party programs and activities. In addition, branches try to ensure that delegates rotate, creating opportunities for different members to participate in party activities. As a result, delegates vary from one event to the next depending on the nature of the event for which they are chosen; those who attend the policy conference are not the same as those who attend the National Conference. The delegates that branches nominate are vetted by party provincial leaders. In

addition to the branch delegates, the ANC youth, women and veterans leagues are each allocated 45 voting delegates for party conferences. The ANC's coalition partners, the Congress of South African Trade Union, the South African Communist Party and the South African National Civic Organization, participate in party conferences as observers without voting rights.

Each policy conference reviews and discusses the policies that will form the basis of the government over the next five years. These conferences create policy recommendations that are presented for final approval at the National Conference.

National Conferences

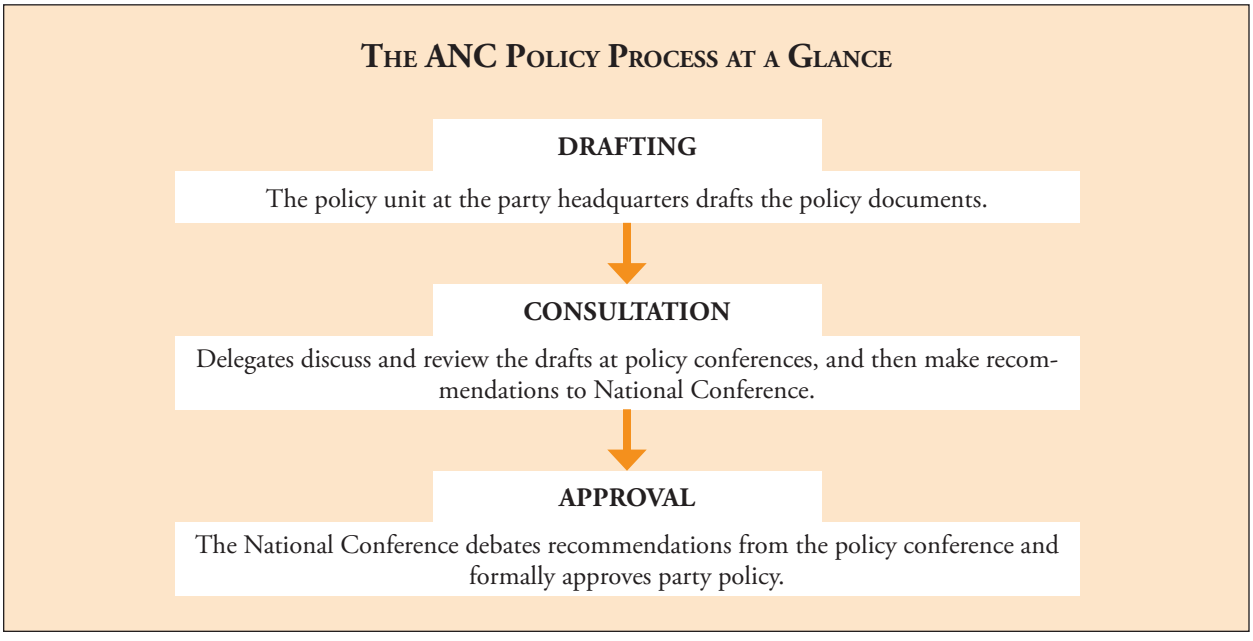
The National Conference, the highest decision-making body of the ANC, can reject, amend or adopt any policy recommendation. Most policy recommendations are adopted by the National Conference with few refinements. However, not all policies are accepted and some are altered, taking further recommendations into consideration before they are presented at the National Conferences.

Policy Implementation

The ANC has a cadre deployment policy that is designed to ensure party members are placed in executive and legislative offices to implement party policy. The rationale behind the cadre policy is to advance ANC's political and developmental agenda by placing the party's own members in the government. The policy has attracted criticism from both inside and outside the party; some argue that the criteria for deployment are unclear, whereas others see the policy primarily as a form patronage. The party has maintained that this is an important practice to ensure its policies and beliefs are being implemented from within the government. In addition, the party has highlighted the need to ensure that deployed cadres have the skills and resources to perform effectively when serving in government.[2]

For party policies requiring legislation, state law advisers draft appropriate language that is shared with the ANC parliamentary caucus. Next, the policy unit reviews the draft and the responsible minister briefs the NEC and the cabinet on the proposal. Once he or she gets approval from these structures, the Minister introduces the bill in parliament. Public hearings organized through Parliament allow different groups to discuss the proposed legislation. The bill is then debated in Parliament and eventually voted upon. Within the legislature, the ANC parliamentary caucus is the center of coordination and accountability. The party chief whip ensures that all ANC legislators adhere to the party line. In addition, the party secretary general attends parliamentary group meetings to share perspectives.

The president delivers political reports to all the highest decision-making bodies in the party and delivers the State of the Nation address in Parliament, to which the opposition responds. In addition, each January 8th, as part of the party's anniversary activities, the NEC issues a major policy statement taking



stock of party and government achievements over the past year.

Since 2009, a policy review process, written as five-, 10- or 15- year reviews, identifies gaps and challenges in policy implementation and recommends a number of priorities for the next administration. The ANC derives most of its manifesto from the reviews, identifying the party's policy shortcomings and creating a plan to address them.

Lessons Learned

Policy debates within the ANC can get quite heated. For instance, in recent years, there has been intense discussion over the mining industry, which currently accounts for 9 percent of the South African gross domestic product. Under then-president Julius Malema, beginning in 2009, the African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL) campaigned energetically for the nationalization of mines. The League continued to advocate for these policies without either the endorsement or condemnation of the ANC. The nationalization issue was finally tabled for discussion at the party's June 2012 policy conference. Attendees concluded in a document released in September 2012, that state mining companies should be consolidated and that in-country mineral processing should be encouraged with the introduction of export taxes. As an alternative to nationalization, the paper suggests introducing a "resource rent" tax or raising royalties on mining companies to redistribute private sector wealth among the South African population.

After three years of debates over the nationalization of mines, the ANC endorsed the tax proposals put forth in the policy paper in December 2012 during their National Conference. The decision provoked deep criticism of the ANC among the left and attracted a great deal of media attention, given the longstanding ANCYL campaign and the lack of a formal response from the party. Analysts had warned that the absence of a clear nationalization policy would cause a crisis in investor confidence. In addition, a number of incidents involving working conditions and worker safety kept mining sector policies in the headlines. In the meantime, following disciplinary hearings on an unrelated issue, Julius Malema was dismissed from the party in early 2012. His efforts to appeal the decision failed and he remains excluded from the party.

In many respects, the debate over nationalization epitomizes how the ANC encompasses a wide variety of interest groups with varying degrees of commitment to leftist policies. As a result, different groups within the party battle for control over leadership and policy positions, via the selection of delegates for the party conferences, where leadership and policy decisions are made. The debate also illustrates the challenges the party has faced balancing the preferences of some of its members with various concerns about the impact on business and the national economy. As Textbox 8 illustrates, the Reconstruction and Development Programme, initially developed in the lead up to the 1994 elections, was eventually modified given concerns about the impact on the national economy.

TEXTBOX 8: THE RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

After 1990, the ANC adopted a mass-based, consultative approach to policy development. In drafting its flagship policy program, the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), the ANC consulted extensively with the Tripartite Alliance, which includes the South African Communist Party (SACP), Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), and the South African National Civic Organization (SANCO). The Alliance consulted with various grassroots organizations across the country, such as religious, women, student and worker organizations, to work on sections or subthemes in the RDP policies to ensure wide support. This process involved leaders and key members from myriad organizations within the Mass Democratic Movement, the umbrella body for organizations that opposed apartheid. They included: political formations, trade unions, non-governmental organizations, and civic, educational, cultural, human rights, environmental, youth and women's organizations. In the Western Cape, these consultations culminated in a provincial RDP summit, held at the University of the Western Cape in early 1994, and later at the National RDP Conference in Johannesburg. This national summit finalized the RDP document, which deals with all aspects of apartheid legacy that were addressed immediately after the first democratic state was inaugurated.

The RDP had five basic programs:

1. Meeting the population's basic needs;
2. developing the country's human resources;
3. building South Africa's economy;
4. promoting a democratic state and society; and
5. implementation.

Written as a plan to address the economic and social problems the country was facing, the RDP highlighted issues such as violence, lack of housing, democracy, jobs, inadequate education, healthcare and a failing economy. The program aimed to mobilize South Africa's population and resources to work toward a democratic, equal, opportunistic future.

This broad policy framework was adopted while the ANC was the leader of the Government National Unity (GNU). During that time it had support from many organizations, including the party's revolutionary allies, the SACP, COSATU and SANCO. However, this mass-based consultative approach to policy formulation was short-lived. Immediately after the GNU adopted the RDP, it came under severe criticism and the ANC was forced to shelve the initiative, replacing it with the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) policy. The main criticism leveled against the RDP was that it lacked a sound economic framework; it was seen as merely a shopping list of what the first democratic state had to address, lacking clear guidelines on how the economy should grow. The GEAR policy addressed the economic criticisms of the RDP policy, which introduced a new era of policy development in the ANC-led government, one largely formulated by technocrats and economic advisors who consulted with key government departments and cabinet members. This policy also drew heavy criticism from allies who felt alienated and undermined by the government and bureaucrats.

THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY, THE UNITED KINGDOM

Background and Summary

The Conservative Party in the United Kingdom is a center-right party with roots stemming back to the 1600s. The official name of the party is the Conservative and Unionist Party, but it is commonly referred to as the Conservative Party or by its historical nickname, the Tory Party. The party's structure is highly decentralized; local party associations dominate the election of party leaders and the selection of local candidates. The Conservative Party Board is the national leadership body and is responsible for all operational matters.[3]

The Conservative Party has a fairly long history of member involvement in policy development. The Conservative Political Centre (CPC) was established by the party in the 1940s as a way to facilitate two-way communication on policy between members and the leadership. The CPC was replaced in 1998 by the Conservative Policy Forum (CPF), which shared the same objective as the CPC, but introduced a new structure and processes.

The extent to which both of these bodies influenced the outcome of policies is a much debated subject within the party. Many members argue that while the CPC was viewed as effective, the CPF failed to inspire high levels of participation and that, ultimately, policy was largely formed by the party leadership.

After the 2010 general elections, Conservative Party leader and Prime Minister David Cameron announced the revitalization of the CPF.[4] The focus of the renewed CPF is to begin to build policy towards the 2015 general elections with the input and recommendations of Conservative Party members.

The CPF also provides a means for the Conservative Party to distinguish itself on policy from its coalition partner in government, the Liberal Democrats.

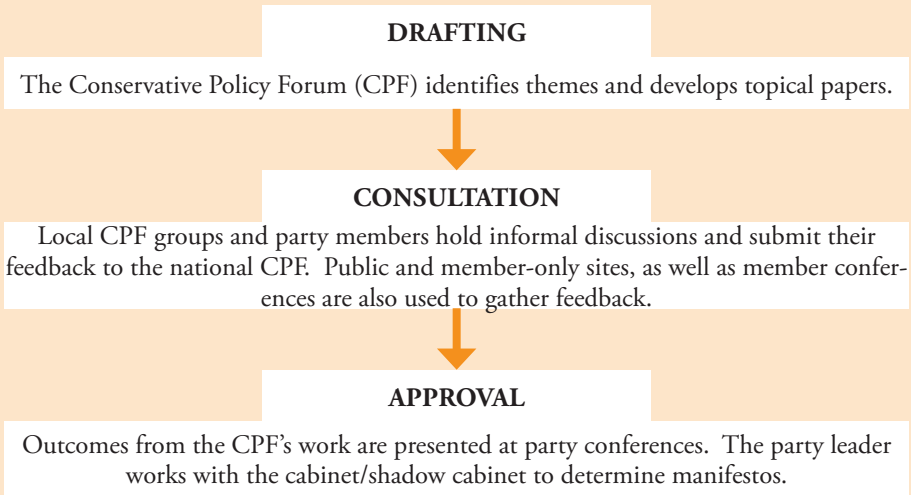
The role, purpose and structure of the CPF at the national and local levels are clearly defined in the Conservative Party Constitution, but the policymaking process itself is not. This allows for flexibility in the way that the policy development process is implemented, and the manner in which the party organizes and incorporates member feedback.

Policymaking in Party Rules

The Conservative Party Constitution requires the party leader to consider the views of members and the CPF when making decisions about the political direction of the party.[5]

The Constitution also establishes the CPF, "the principal functions of which shall be to encourage and co-ordinate the formulation and development of policy ideas and initiatives within the Party, particularly the Constituency Associations".[6] The CPF must also determine a process for receiving policy ideas and initiatives and, significantly, for ensuring a response to them is made.

UK Conservative Party Policy Process at a Glance



The Constitution instructs the CPF to consult on policy and to incorporate specialist input where necessary, but it does not dictate how the body must carry out these duties.[7] The Constitution outlines the operational structure of the CPF, which is managed by a council and convened annually. The council is led by a chair who is appointed by the party leader and is generally a cabinet or shadow cabinet minister. Local constituency associations have three elected representatives on the council. There are up to five individual policy experts appointed, as well as one representative of the Scottish division of the party and a senior director of the party. No elected member may sit on the council for more than three years.

There is also a director of the CPF, appointed by the Conservative Party Board, the party's national leadership body. The director oversees the operational activities of the CPF, including coordinating the policy work of the local constituency associations and CPF groupings formed at the local level.

The council of the CPF must meet with the party leader at least twice a year to discuss policy ideas and membership opinion in relation to these ideas.[8] Within each level of party association, from the largest to the smallest unit of party organization, the party's constitution provides for one person - typically the deputy political chairman - to have responsibility for "the formulation and development of policy ideas and initiatives."[9] This ensures that there are structures down to the most local level for the generation of policy ideas, which can be fed back to the party leadership.

Policymaking in Practice

The CPC was established in the years after World War II. The CPC's work was organized around a discussion program in which groups of party members would meet to discuss a topical brief issued by the party's central office. Each group would appoint a leader who would write a report representing the group's findings and ideas on the subject matter. The party's central office would review the written reports received and submit a summary of the contents to the relevant minister or shadow minister.

There were CPC seminars and regular conferences, known as the Summer School and Winter School, during which prominent Conservative officials and policy experts would offer their vision on relevant issues.

The CPC was replaced in 1998 by the CPF as part of a package of reforms to revitalize the party after an electoral defeat in 1997. The CPF was a more ambitious project that attempted to bring in more members through larger policy events and a broader structure. However, there was little consistency in the way the CPF was managed and it did not achieve the level of participation or success that had been anticipated.

The reformation of the CPF in 2011 was an effort to respond to continued demand within the party for a participatory policy development process, combined with the recognition that the previous structures were not meeting this need.

After the 2010 general elections, the Conservative Party went into a coalition government with the Liberal Democrats. Because of this, the revitalized CPF distinguishes the Conservative Party's policy platform for the 2015 general election and reasserts the party's identity. Therefore, the CPF focuses primarily on constructing policy for 2015 and planning a long-term vision for the party.

At an event to officially re-launch the CPF, party co-chair Baroness Warsi stated that the CPF:

> *"[M]akes clear to every Conservative Member that no matter who you are, where you live, or what your experience of politics is, in our Party you will have a strong voice about the issues that matter for Britain – and your voice will be heard and will count. . . Thanks to the new CPF structure, there's a straight line which goes from your constituency to Conservative Ministers in Government."*

The reconstituted CPF set out a list of general themes on which it would request ongoing feedback, as well as a regular schedule of topical papers that it would issue for consultation on a monthly basis. Some of the issues on which the party is seeking advice include:

- an aging population;
- new security challenges;
- changes in technology and innovation;
- increasing pressures on natural resources;

- challenges from emerging economies;
- the causes of poverty;
- ensuring higher employment rates;
- delivering more affordable housing;
- eroding income inequality and child poverty;
- protecting natural capital; and
- reducing the scale of central bureaucracy.

Party members were asked to form their own local policy groups in order to respond to these issues and generate their own ideas on policy outside of these set topics. Local CPF groups were assigned the following mandate and process:

- CPF groups will contribute to the campaigning strength of the local Conservative Party association;
- CPF groups will meet throughout the year;
- CPF groups will report back to the center;
- CPF groups will be encouraged to reach out to the rest of their communities to discuss their ideas; and
- a compendium of the views of the set papers on future challenges will go to the relevant Conservative minister who will then respond.

Local groups and individuals are encouraged to respond to consultations by email.[11] The CPF also maintains its own website, separate from the party's website, for members to download all current policy papers and find a local CPF in their area.[12] CPF staff regularly use Conservative Party blogs to announce and promote consultations on specific policy ideas, and publish opinion pieces on conservative legislation and budget proposals. The CPF also distributes doorstep surveys for members to use during canvassing as a means of garnering specific public policy feedback for local CPF groups as they draft their policy papers.

In a process similar to that used by the old CPC, submissions to each paper are then read by the national CPF team and collated into a summary. This summary is sent to the relevant minister who then responds. That minister's response is then distributed to members.

While these monthly discussion briefs form the backbone of the CPF's work, there are additional opportunities for feedback and consultation. The CPF organizes events at the party's conferences, as well as their own CPF winter conference. Other activities include panel discussions, an annual lecture, and even informal discussions for members with the party's ministers and members of Parliament on topics relevant to their portfolios.

Most recently, the CPF has focused its efforts on strengthening the coherence of its National Conservative Program and broadening its reach throughout the United Kingdom. The organization added 19 new CPF groups in the northern zones of England during 2012 and has additional plans for expansion in those regions. CPF representatives have also increasingly become involved in discussions concerning international Conservative policy, extending their reach outside of the United Kingdom. For example, in December 2012, the party sent delegates to speak at the European Union.

Lessons Learned

The evolution of policy development in the Conservative Party illustrates some of the efforts that political parties in established democracies are taking to increase participation in their policy processes. Initially introduced in 1998 as a way to increase opportunities for member participation in party policy processes, the CPF recently underwent additional reforms. These changes show that political parties do adapt their policy development processes in response to both new needs and demands from a variety of stakeholders.

THE DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN PARTIES, THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

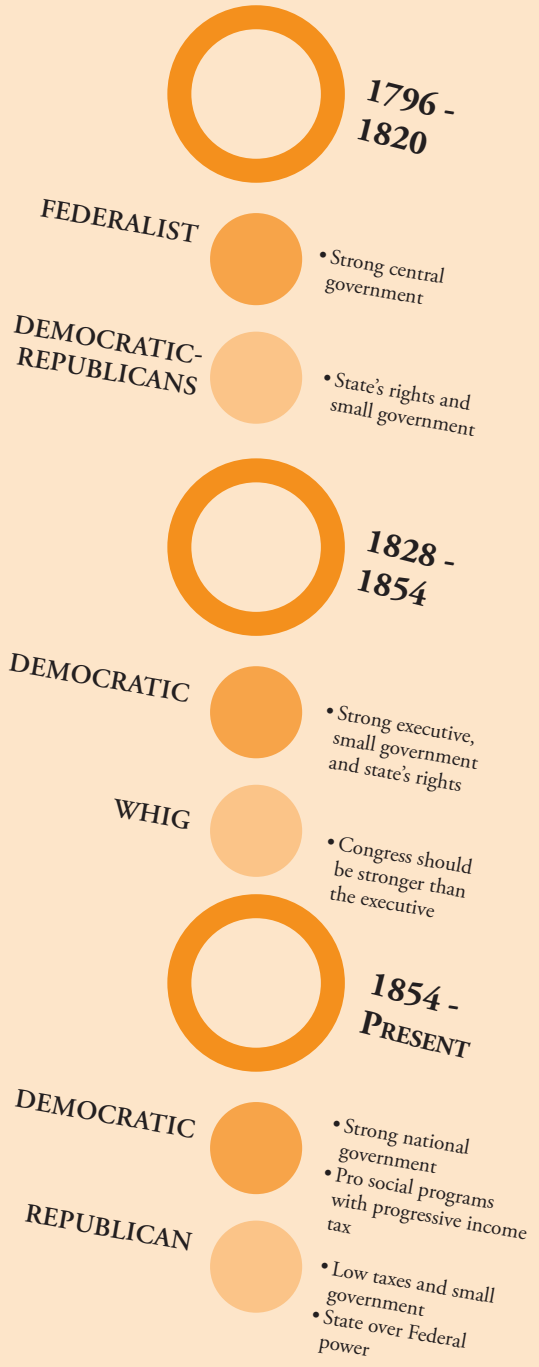
Background

The United States has remained a *de facto* two-party system for most of the country's existence.[13] While tertiary parties have existed, they generally fail to make significant inroads into national politics, except when encouraging one or both of the two major parties to discuss the issues they raise. For example, third party candidate Ross Perot's 1992 presidential campaign focused on cutting government programs, a renewed dialogue that had a significant impact on policy debates between the Republican and Democratic parties. Support for Perot and his Reform Party has dwindled over the years and the Republican Party now encompasses most of Perot's supporters and has adopted many of his positions.

As diagram 9 demonstrates, the federal system has been one of the central dividing lines between political parties in the United States, along with disputes over the balance of power between states and the federal government. Although the Democratic and Republican Parties date from the 18th century, political parties did not establish fulltime party headquarters until the 1920s. Before that, parties organized temporary campaign committees around specific candidates, disappearing between elections. Traditionally, parties have also relied on local and state level operations organized by powerful individuals who wield influence through patronage rather than policy. During the 19th century, most national domestic policy focused on land development and efforts to expand settlements westward. Until World War II, the President oversaw most foreign policy decisions. Thus, political parties were not heavily involved in policy development until the 20th century.

For most of American history, the party platforms developed at national nomination conventions were the driving force behind a party's national policy development. However, beginning in the early 20th century, incumbent presidents and Congress have greatly influenced national party policy. Since World War II, a wide range of think tanks have also influenced policy development (for more information on U.S. think tanks see Textbox 4 in Part I of this paper). Recent research has shown that citizens' groups have become major actors in lobbying and advocacy today. Textbox 9 provides a brief overview of lobbying.

Diagram 9: The United States' Two-Party System



Textbox 9: Lobby Groups

Lobby groups play an influential role in the U.S. policy process. While there is often a perception that lobbyists mostly work "across the aisle" on a bipartisan or nonpartisan basis, the relationship between lobbyists, political parties and national policy agendas is not so idealistic. Often, elected officials view themselves as leaders of specific interests and are elected with the support of these groups. Interest group advocates can provide critical resources to legislators, such as campaign funds, research, legislative language, public support and media linkages. Party coalitions help structure these relationships. For example, conservative and religious citizen groups are associated with Republican officials, while labor unions and diverse liberal citizen groups (e.g., women's and civil rights organizations) are associated with Democratic officials. While claiming to be bipartisan remains an effective lobbying strategy, comprehensive research on lobbyists finds that they primarily work within their own partisan networks.

Reference: Democratic National Committee, *The Charter & Bylaws of the Democratic Party* (Washington DC: Democratic Party, 2012), Article 1 (Sections 1.a, 1.d and 4), Bylaws Article 2 (Section 1.e).

Both parties regulate their policymaking and nominee election processes through their national committees, the Democratic National Committee (DNC) and the Republican National Committee (RNC). Party platforms are adopted, approved and amended during conventions held once every four years, during which parties also nominate a candidate for the presidency (the parties' titular leaders).

The Democratic Party Platform

According to the party charter,[14] the DNC's responsibilities include: affording all party members an equal opportunity to participate in policy formulation; developing and publicizing party policy; issuing the call for the party's national conventions; and creating the standing committees within the convention committee. In addition, Democratic Party rules assign the responsibility of adopting party platforms to the National Convention.

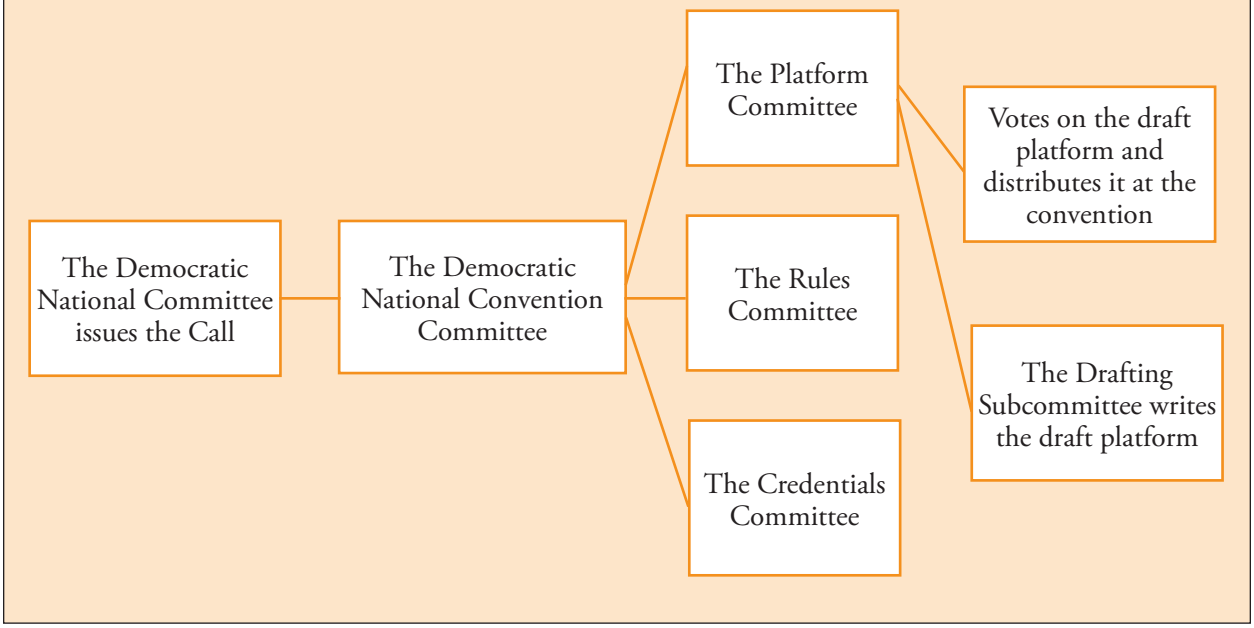
In August 2010, the DNC issued the "Call"[15] for the Democratic National Convention, established the 2012 Democratic National Convention Committee, Inc. (the DNCC), and created three convention standing committees (the platform, rules and credentials committees). The Call regulates each committee's rules and jurisdiction, but the committees also have the right to adopt additional procedures. For example, in consultation with the DNC, the platform committee determines the number of meetings, hearings and forums to be held, as well as their time and place, and a list of attending committee members. Before their first meeting, the DNCC distributes a document to platform committee members outlining the issues to be considered. In addition, the DNC chairperson appoints 15 members to the drafting subcommittee along with its chair.

The platform committee's membership consists of delegates, who represent state party structures, and members, who are party leaders and elected officials (PLEOs). In the 2010 Call, there were 161 delegates and 25 members. As stated under rule VII A (3) of the Call, "members of the standing committees need not be delegates or alternates to the Democratic National Convention."[16] The allotted number of platform committee members per state is elected by state national conventions; the PLEO's members, sometimes called "super delegates", are elected by the DNC executive committee; and the platform committee chair is elected by the executive committee. The committee membership must be equally divided amongst males and females.

The platform committee's main function is to recommend the Democratic Party's platform to the DNC. The platform's content is determined by hearings, forums and written submissions. The platform committee chair appoints a 15-member subcommittee to draft the platform and the presidential candidate appoints an additional nonvoting member.

After the drafting subcommittee writes the report, the platform committee then votes on it and distributes the approved draft to delegates during the convention. Therefore, delegates do not have much time to review its contents. Once the convention has elected its chair, the platform committee chair presents it to the convention. The presentation may include minority reports or amendments, which are then voted on. After the amendment process, the convention votes for the platform either as a whole document or section by section. In both instances, a

Diagram 10: The Democratic Party Platform



majority is needed to adopt the report as the official party platform. Diagram 10 summarizes the process for drafting the Democratic Party platform.

The Republican Party Platform

Like the DNC, the RNC has the authority to issue the Call for national conventions.[17] The national convention has four committees: resolutions, credentials, rules and order of business, and the permanent organization of the convention. The chairs are appointed by the RNC and each state delegation elects its representatives (one man and one woman) to the committees. The committee on resolutions is in charge of collecting proposals for the party platform. Decisions about what is included in the draft are made by committee leaders, who are appointed by the RNC and the presidential nominee's team. Committee leaders include important party activists, notable state level members, donors, etc. The committee on resolutions is in charge of creating a report that, once voted on, becomes the Republican National Party platform. There are 107 state level members, a chair and two co-chairs on this committee. Similar to the proceedings of the DNC, the committee on resolutions submits its report before the convention nominates a candidate for president. Traditionally, state delegations and subsidiary committees have the flexibility to run their own proceedings. Hence, most of the operating rules are introduced by the standing committees themselves, while the drafting subcommittee debates and amends the draft prepared by the resolutions committee.

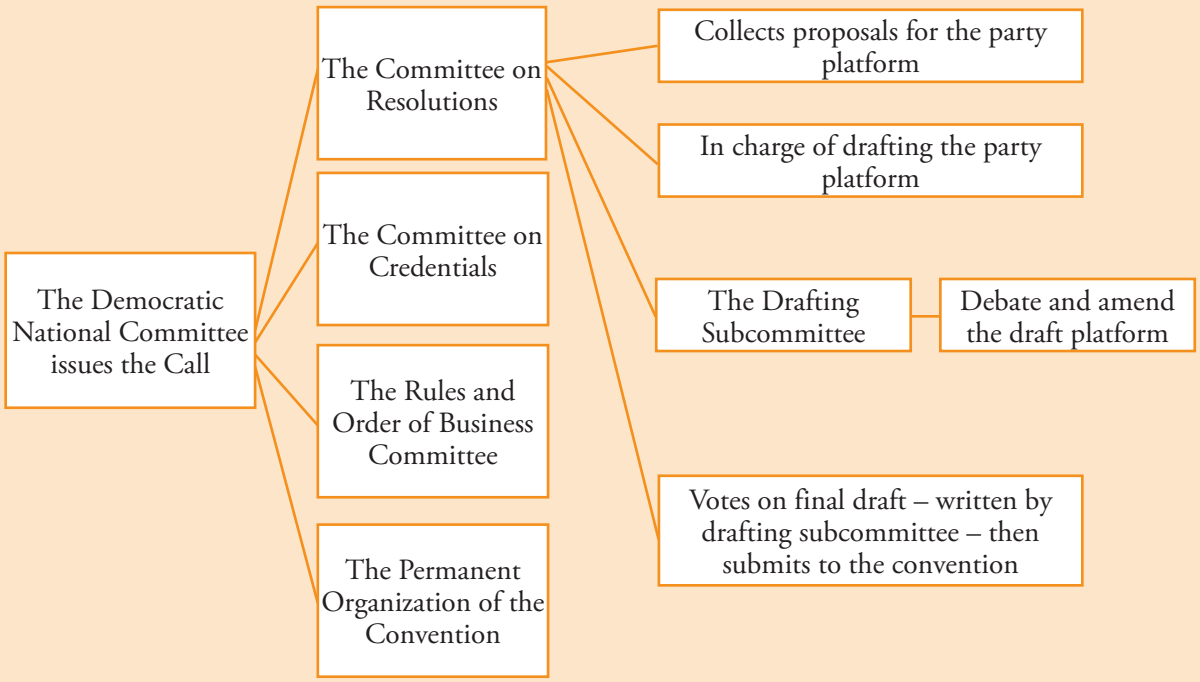
Once the drafting subcommittee has finished amending and debating the platform, it is debated and voted on section by section, first in the resolutions committee and then in the convention. The RNC rules state that during discussion, the platform can be amended by either a quarter of the resolutions committee members or by a majority of the convention delegates from at least six different states.[18] After the discussion, the platform and the amendments are put up to vote by the convention**.** Both the platform and amendments require a majority to be adopted. Only then does the report become the party platform and is distributed to the public. Diagram 11 summarizes the process for drafting the Republican Party platform.

Policy Implementation

The Executive

Constitutionally, presidents cannot introduce legislation and historically they do not participate in congressional party caucuses. House and Senate leaders often remain in office for several years, seeing a number of presidents serve, all with different policy

Diagram 11: The Republican Party Platform



agendas. Thus, presidents are regularly challenged by House and Senate party leaders, as well as by governors within their own party. As a result, discussion and compromise play a key role in ensuring that party officials, members and legislators are in agreement. While presidents are elected as partisan figures, they must sometimes privately persuade, cajole or offer positive inducements to members of the opposing party (as well as their own), in order to advance their legislative interests. Alternatively, they can use national speeches designed to arouse public opinion to gain the favor of opposing party leaders.

While reaching out to opposition parties can work in a president's favor, leaders must be careful not to alienate themselves from their own party and voter base. When in control of the executive, parties hope for a president who will strengthen their position and provide them with more resources with which to bargain in Congress; however, some presidents seek to be a neutralizing figure and use "triangulation" strategies to emphasize party independence. Triangulation can occur when a president advocates for issues championed by another party and is most effective when government control is divided. For example, when Bill Clinton, a Democrat, ran for reelection in 1996 he argued for issues traditionally championed by Republicans, such as tax cuts, welfare policy reform and a balanced budget. President Ronald Reagan, a Republican, also used triangulation to negotiate. He compromised with Democrats, ignored the Republican policy positions and excluded his fellow party members from meetings. In addition, in recent years, presidents have turned to executive orders and international agreements to implement desired policy initiatives.

Congress

In the 1940s, party policy committees were created in the Senate. These institutions receive public funds and have played a larger role in party policy development than their counterparts in the House. For instance, in 2013, the Senate Democratic Policy and Communications Committee, headed by Senator Schumer, outlined how Republican budget proposals would impact women and children in each of the 50 states. Simultaneously, the Senate Republican Policy Committee published information raising concerns about Democratic Senate budget proposals and the levels of government spending the Democrats were considering. Policy committees in the House tend to focus less on legislation and more on message development for campaigns.

Separate rules govern proceedings in the House of Representatives and the Senate. Given some of these differences, caucuses are more important in the House than in the Senate. This is because, as rules evolved over time, changes in the House provided more influence to individual members and strengthened certain leadership prerogatives, while no additional powers were granted to Senate party leaders. Thus, the incentives in the Senate are largely individual. An individual Senator can still stop all Senate plenary proceedings by either refusing to yield the floor (known as a filibuster) or informally putting a "hold" on a bill scheduled for consideration. Policy processes within the Senate are driven by small cross-party groups that attempt to broker solutions between the two parties. Depending on the policy issue, these multiparty alliances are variously known as the gang of six, the gang of seven, the gang of 10, and so forth.

In the House, party caucuses play different roles depending on whether or not they are in the majority or have control of the White House. In a polarized environment, there is tremendous pressure for members of the president's party to support his or her views. The majority power has the ability to govern - making House rules, controlling committees, setting the agenda and governing the rules committee - while the minority caucus has more freedom to discuss and propose policy agendas. The two major parties have both restructured to produce legislative agendas; however, the manner in which this reorganization occurred was different for each. The Democratic caucus model is similar to a coalition, relatively subservient to committee chairs and more internally driven. In contrast, the Republican model developed out of years of experience as a minority party and, accordingly, is more centralized and externally-oriented.

When the House Republicans were not in power from the 1980s through 1995, they created party leadership positions for entrepreneurial members, such as conference vice chair, conference secretary, research committee chair and policy committee chair. After becoming the majority party in 1995, however, the structure was reduced and streamlined. This reorganization was partly due to Newt Gingrich, a Republican, who was elected House Speaker in 1995. As Speaker, Gingrich revised congressional rules and Republican conference rules to enhance his position's power: committee staff was reduced by one-third; committee chairs became term-limited; the speaker and a small leadership team selected committee chairs and staff directors; and party policy was set by the speaker and his advisory committee. The Democratic Party initiated new party policy capacity while in the majority with Republican President Reagan in office. In 1981, the Democratic caucus, under the leadership of caucus chair Gillis Long, held the first issues conference. This issues conference, open only to members, became an annual event for the party to discuss policy. Later that year, policy task forces were created so members could work on policy issues across committees.

Lessons Learned

Parties in the United States face unique challenges. As a result of shared powers across the legislative and executive branches, it is difficult to promote a specific policy without the support of leaders in other branches; this is true even when the branches are controlled by the same party. Given their different incentives, individuals from the same political party will challenge each other on policy issues.

While candidates normally run in elections under a partisan label, they may campaign on ideas outside of the party's platform. Anyone may run as a candidate in a primary, provided they meet the legal requirements. Because political parties in the U.S. have less control over candidate selection, newcomers can defeat so-called "party insiders" with private recruitment and grassroots support and funding. The ability of party leaders to demand adherence to party policy is limited because party leaders have limited influence in selecting candidates.

Further, the historically decentralized structure of American parties means that there is no single element of the party that is in charge. Party organizations are federal in structure, with national, state, city, congressional district, county and precinct level organizations. At national and state levels, even this is divided, with each legislative body and the executive having its own separate party organization responsible for agenda setting, raising money for campaigns and recruiting candidates. Overall, the strength of each party organization varies according to whether the party controls the executive branch (e.g. gover-

nor or president). In the electorate, there are no party members per se, only activists without formal membership who choose how and when to participate in political activities.

While they remain highly decentralized compared to political parties in other established countries, the two parties have become more cohesive since the 1980s and 1990s. This is the result of the growing power of the national party committees and congressional reforms. For instance, congressional reforms in the 1970s – 1980s made it possible for both parties to remove their committee chairs and ranking members who failed to represent party agendas by internal party votes. In addition, as citizen groups have become more political active, they have helped shame the policy agendas of each party, further heightening differences between the two. As a result, longstanding divisions between the two parties over the size of government, and the degree of government intervention in society and markets now exist alongside differences over issues such as same sex marriage, prayer in schools, the right to abortion and how to fairly include various minorities in the country's political processes.

THE GREENS IN BELGIUM AND CANADA

The Greens are a political phenomenon that began emerging in western style European democracies during the 1970s. Due to growing concerns about the environmental impact of economic and social developments, a range of local initiatives emerged to advocate for social justice, direct democracy, antimilitarism and environmental protection. Because Green parties focus on maximizing direct participation in decision-making processes, they are often structured to limit the concentration of power in the hands of party leaders.

Today, Green parties exist all over the world including in Africa, the Americas, the Asia-Pacific region and Europe. They have served in government in more than 10 countries. In 2001, representatives of Green parties came together in Australia to hold the first Global Greens conference and adopted a Global Charter outlining common principles, such as ecological wisdom, social justice, participatory democracy, nonviolence and respect for diversity. Green parties have had varying degrees of success around the world, in part because differences in electoral systems have presented different opportunities for them to enter Parliament and help form governments. In addition, cultural differences have shaped how Green parties function from one country to another. For instance, aboriginal movements have influenced Greens in Australia, Canada and New Zealand. One example is the seven-generation impact rule the Green Party of Canada uses to assess its policy. Based on provisions of the Great Law of the Iroquois, it calls upon public policies to be measured by their potential impact seven generations into the future.

The Flemish Green Party

Green political alternatives emerged in Belgium in both francophone areas and in Flanders in the 1970s. The environmental movement in Flanders, Live Differently (Agalev), presented candidates for the elections of 1979, 1981 and 1982. In June 1979, the group won 2.3 percent of the votes in the European election. While these votes were not enough to elect a representative, the number was impressive for a party with nearly no campaign structure or money. Based on the result, the movement established a political working group that helped prepare for future election campaigns and to lay down the foundations for a new political party. In the parliamentary elections of 1981 they won their first national parliamentary seats.

The working group developed three documents for the party:

- a draft statute that described the separation of power within party structures and the role of the party leaders;
- a charter of principles that states the values and programmatic principles on which the party is based; and
- a transitional document that outlines the evolution from environmental movement to political party, with steps on how to expand membership outside of its original niche movement.

The charter of principles has never been changed and is considered a historical document that reflects the party's origins. The statutes and programmatic texts on specific policy issues, such as the economy, social issues and education, are updated regularly.

Rules and Structure

Under the current party rules, the following four bodies play significant roles in policymaking.

1. The Congress - Any member who attends may vote and there are no delegates or specific representatives from any party unit. This is the highest authority with responsibility to approve and amend party principles, party programs, political strategy and the party statute. The Congress decides on participation in a federal or regional coalition government.

2. The Political Council - The council is comprised of delegates from all party structures, including regional and local branches, elected officials, party youth, and seniors. The National Executive and parliamentary groups are non-voting delegates. This council has the authority to decide on the political direction of the party, the election platform, and has the final approval on the party budget and finances. The party leader, the parliamentary group and MPs both report to and can be questioned by the Political Council. The Political Council also convenes party congresses.

3. The National Executive - Elected by the Congress with representation from all regions, the National Executive also includes the party leader, deputy leader, party secretary and the parliamentary group leaders. The National Executive is responsible for the governance of the party, political strategy, electoral campaigns, and short-term political communication and positioning. It has the authority to organize congresses and set the agenda, but not to request a congress.

4. The Leader and Deputy Leader - Elected together by the Congress, these two leaders are the party's spokespersons and are responsible for its political and organizational functioning. The parliamentary group holds regular consultation meetings with the party leader and, from time to time, publicly elected officials join the party's national council and regional leaders at a retreat.

Policy Development Processes in Practice

The party uses different processes depending on the type of policy being developed:

1. basic policy platforms;

2. election manifestos; or

3. day-to-day positioning.

Basic policy platforms are decided by the Party Congress or by the Political Council, while the National Executive determines which body will consider specific issues. The same process has been used for the programmatic congresses for over 30 years and includes the following steps:

- The National Executive proposes a topic, based on issues arising from economic and ideological congresses, or what the parliamentary groups believe to be important issues. The study department drafts a background document, called a white paper, on each topic. Based on the white paper, the study department also drafts language that will be presented to the Congress.

- Once the Political Council approves the final draft of the text for congress, it is sent to local memberships groups to propose amendments.

- The study department compiles the amendments and classifies them into two groups: amendments that strengthen the text or are editorial corrections, and amendments that should be discussed and voted on at the Congress.

- Before the Congress, the party convenes those who proposed amendments – usually representatives of local party groups – to discuss overlapping or duplicate proposals, and to seek consensus on ways to combine amendments to limit the number of votes needed at the Congress.

- Ahead of the Congress, the party secretariat develops a decision tree that makes it easy for congress delegates to understand the effect each vote has on other amendments.

- Finally, the Congress discusses and votes on the remaining amendments and the programmatic texts.

Although the amendment procedure is internal for the policy proposals handled by the Political Council, the drafting work group consults with a wide range of party members and outside stakeholders. The process of presenting, discussing and voting on the proposals takes two or more meetings.

After the Political Council approves the text for the election manifesto, the National Executive creates a program commission comprised of different stakeholders within the party to outline the election program. This process uses old election programs, programmatic congress documents, the program decisions by the Political Council, programs from other Green parties and political positions the parliamentary group has taken since the last election as context to find a balance between important aspects of the current political agenda and creating a strategic focus that fits the campaign plan. The study department then drafts the election program with assistance from the party leader, who makes sure that election campaign strategies are included, and the final draft is presented to the Political Council to be discussed, amended and voted on. In the last 10 years, a growing number of civil society groups have presented their own memoranda or political wish list to all political parties. Including or responding to those requests has been an important aspect of the programmatic preparation of the election programs.

Based on the political documents accepted by the Congress and political council, day-to-day political positioning is created by the party leader and the Na-

tional Executive. The party leader, media team and parliamentary groups propose the scope of political communications for the next week to the National Executive. The National Executive then evaluates past strategies and analyzes the proposed strategy for the next week. Finally, the party leader, in consultation with the parliamentary groups, organizes the political communication and/or decides who should take the lead on a particular issue.

Parliamentary Work

During the 1980s the party saw a growing number of its MPs elected. The party has used a wide range of traditional and nontraditional tools to highlight its policy positions. For instance, in the mid-1980s, to highlight concerns over proposed cuts to programs that supported working women and families, a Green MP addressed the Parliament wearing a kitchen apron. In addition, the party identified cyclist and pedestrian safety as one of its signature issues. Through coordinated action in provincial legislatures, the party repeatedly fought the bicycle tax during the annual budget debate province by province until the measure was repealed. Efforts to lower the driving speed limit around schools also proved successful. Around the same time, the Flemish and Francophone Greens in Parliament began engaging each other around the unresolved issue of a governance structure for the capital region. Although the Green Party was in opposition, the agreement they reached helped the ruling coalition find its own compromise. During this time, the Greens also began to take part in negotiating and reaching compromises with other political parties. For example, the Green Party helped form the two-thirds majorities required for constitutional and education reforms.

Responsibilities in Parliament and as part of coalition governments increased pressure on the party to move more quickly than its traditional shared decision-making processes allowed. For instance, in 2002 a Green minister agreed to the export of weapons to Nepal and when the export licenses became public, a scandal erupted. Under party rules, the party leader does not have the authority to appoint or remove a minister. That power resides within the Political Council, which took three days to organize a meeting after this incident. By the time the Minister resigned, the damage to public opinion had been done and the licenses could not be retracted. Although the party rules for appointing and removing ministers remain, following this incident, the party has made other changes to move more quickly.

Green MPs work closely together to influence parliamentary debates. Like many other established parliamentary groups, the caucus uses a division of labor to improve its efficiency; different members are assigned to particular issue areas and report back to the group during its regular meetings. In committee, members are usually expected to vote their party line. However, ahead of plenary votes, the group holds an open, frank discussion allowing individual MPs whose opinions differ to share that with the group. The leader works to build collaborative relationships with each member and to gage how important various issues are to each MP. Based on that, depending on the issue and the political implications, an MP may be allowed to vote according to his or her conscience, or abstain.

The Canadian Green Party

Although Greenpeace started in Canada, an example that the country has a strong environmental movement, the Canadian Green Party did not wield much influence until the turn of the 21st century. The party was heavily decentralized and federal election campaigns often reflected a patchwork of local initiatives. The party was originally founded on the idea of consensus-based decision-making; however, in 2003 the party changed its statute to allow a majority vote in governing bodies, in case a consensus could not be reached. In addition, it introduced an online voting system to increase member participation in the policy motions process. These changes helped the party structures operate more efficiently. The party fielded a full slate of candidates in the 2004 federal election, receiving 4 percent of the vote and becoming eligible for federal funding. Unlike some other Green parties, where national party structures initiate policy development through staff or policy working groups, within the Canadian Green Party individual members draft and propose official policies. Similar to practices in other Canadian political parties, the leader has significant influence over the development of the election manifesto, while the Party Congress discusses and approves the official party platforms.

Policy Development

The Constitution of the Green Party of Canada outlines three levels within the party that are involved

in the policy development process: members, who propose and vote on official party policy every other year; the party leader, who represents the party, acts as party spokesperson, oversees development of the election manifesto and drives policy positioning between conventions; and the shadow cabinet, which advises the leader on communication strategies and the election manifesto. Textboxes 10 and 11 describe the Vision Green initiative and the role that the shadow cabinet plays in policy development.

Every two years at the Congress, members may propose, discuss and vote on policies. To assist in this process and to ensure member consensus, the Congress amends the language in policy proposals. Because members propose a wide range of policies that have accumulated over time, the party's official policy book is a patchwork of proposals from the different congresses and is exclusively available in the members' only portion of the party website. As of 2010, the compilation included 275 motions classified in 19 policy categories including agriculture, defense, education, environment, indigenous peoples, taxation and transportation. During the 2012 convention, the party succeeded in removing duplicates and outdated motions from the collection. In addition, efforts are underway to introduce a continuous policy development process.

Textbox 10: Vision Green

After the 2006 leadership convention, the party introduced a new document called Vision Green that was designed to effectively communicate party policy. Vision Green analyzed important environmental, economic and social challenges that the country faced and proposed solutions for each issue. Developed by the Green cabinet, party activists, policy experts and participants in policy workshops, the document used best practices to propose solutions to what the party believed to be the most pressing issues.

The advantage of Vision Green is that it gives the party leader a platform to discuss the party's policy positions on issues for which it does not yet have official positions. It also serves as a comprehensive statement of the party's policies and programs that is periodically reassessed and updated. It differs from the election manifesto because it does not prioritize policies nor does it include a budget. However, the media and political observers use it to gauge the Green Party's positions.

The Living Platform

In 2004, with the goal of engaging members in the manifesto drafting process, the party used a wiki tool called the Living Platform to develop an election manifesto that focused on environmental, fiscal and economic stability. At the time, the party had a member base of 800 and had about 120 participants in the first phase of the exercise.

During the second phase, the party allowed supporters to express their priorities among the proposed manifesto suggestions. Almost 80,000 people shared their feedback, attracting media coverage and boosting party visibility. In the 2004 federal elections, the party received more than double the number of votes it needed to receive public financing, allowing it to open a permanent office and start long-term fundraising activities. By 2008, the party had won nearly one million votes, or 6.7 percent of the total votes. While this was a significant party accomplishment, due to the first-past-the-post electoral system, it did not result in parliamentary representation.

The Canadian Green Party continued to use the internet to include more members in the policy development processes in the lead up to their 2012 convention. A committee was set up in the fall of 2011 that developed a timeline for the convention preparations, which unrolled in the following way:

- In mid-February 2012, members were invited to present their policy and/or statute motions via the party website until mid-May 2012.
- Members could participate in an online discussion board for each of the motions that usually included information outlining the impact of the motion. The party leadership had no control over who joined in these discussions, but generally there were not many participants for each motion.
- The staff had one month to classify all proposals before the shadow cabinet was asked to comment on some of the motions.
- In mid-June, members received electronic invitations to vote on all proposed motions. They did this by tagging motions that they thought ready

to be adopted as green, motions that they thought required further discussion as orange and motions that they did not want discussed at all as red. The members had until mid-July to vote and they received the results of the online vote prior to the convention.

- At the convention, all motions that were tagged as green by at least two thirds of the members were presented in a block vote while all orange and red motions were discussed in sub-groups.

The Election Manifesto

The party leader works with the shadow cabinet to develop the election manifesto. It includes a budget that outlines any proposed changes in taxes and how funds would be allocated among government departments over a four-year term. This decision to outline policy proposal costs in its election manifesto was a bold one for the party, who did not have a single MP in the Federal Parliament at the time. This step was designed to increase accountability by showing the public what impact the party's policies would have on public finances.

Lessons Learned

Green experiences in Belgium and Canada illustrate the tension that parties often face between the desire to consult and the need to move quickly. As Green parties in both countries developed and, in the case of Flanders, joined the government, they reformed their procedures to improve efficiency in decision-making and communications. Over the last 30 years, the Flemish Greens have made a number of changes to help citizens better understand party structure, to improve external communication and to create new policies in a more efficient manner. Some of the more important changes include: giving MPs decision-making power in the party National Executive; giving the National Executive responsibility for day-to-day policy positioning and the Political Council the role of policy making body between congresses; changing the title of political spokesperson to party leader; and creating dual party leadership between the party leader and deputy leader.

After a big defeat in 2003 the Belgian Green Party lost all of its federal MPs and was on the brink of disappearing, the party moved to reform its structures and policies and went through a rebranding. In addition, the party chose a young member to serve as deputy leader, a position without any additional power inside of the party, in an effort to encourage and cultivate future leaders. Since then, the deputy leader has become an official position with its own role. The Canadian Green Party also amended its rules to allow a majority vote in governing bodies when consensus could not be reached, an adjustment to the party's original focus on consensus building that was designed to improve efficiency.

When environmental issues started to become more mainstream in the late 1990s and early 2000s, the Flemish Social Democrats and other parties started to campaign on issues such as the environment and public transportation, claiming they were as high

Textbox 11: The Canadian Green Shadow Cabinet's Role in Policy Development

The leader appoints the shadow cabinet from among current and former candidates, and each member is assigned a particular policy area. The current composition is published online.[19] The shadow cabinet has no formal decision-making authority; rather its role is to advise the party leader. As is common with shadow cabinets, the meetings are private. In practice, the group holds most of its discussion via an email group where it tries to reach consensus on specific positions or communication strategies. Since 2006, the deputy party leader has coordinated the shadow cabinet's work. The group generally assumes the role of party policy staff and prepares campaign briefing papers for candidates. Each member prepares documents about the policy areas assigned to him or her for the upcoming campaign. For each policy issue, the document provides a general description of the party's position, a summary of the other parties' positions, some messaging quotes, and, if needed, specific term clarification. There are nearly 50 policy subjects for a total of almost 130 pages.

Over the past few years the party has discussed the possibility of giving the shadow cabinet a more important role in the official policy process, such as providing an opinion on the proposed members' resolutions. However, given the Greens' traditional emphasis on grassroots decision-making, members both inside and outside of the shadow cabinet are hesitant to endorse the change, given concerns about a move toward more hierarchical processes.

on their agenda as on the Green Party's. This move raised questions about whether the Greens were still needed. As a result, the Green Party has had to strengthen its credibility on wider range of issues, including healthcare, social assistance and education, while also maintaining a competitive edge on its traditional signature issues. These efforts are designed to help the party to continue to appeal to voters and keep its policies current, broad, and responsive to the needs of its members and the voting public. While a political party may have a certain profile based on its first leader or founding ideology as it expands its participation in policy discussions that profile often evolves based both on the current party composition and what its competitors do. While setting a clear policy focus can strengthen party cohesion, it is often only by reviewing, renewing and expanding the range of its policy proposals that a political party stays relevant to the needs of ever changing societies.

Finally, differences between policy processes in the two parties, summarized in Textbox 12, illustrate how political culture shapes how Green parties function from one country to another. Given differences in electoral systems, the Flemish Greens have had various opportunities to serve in parliament, while their Canadian counterparts saw their first federal legislator elected in 2011. In addition, unlike the Flemish Greens, where national party structures initiate policy development through staff or policy working groups, in the Canadian Green Party individual members draft and propose official policies. Similar to practices in other Canadian political parties, while the Party Congress discusses and approves the official party platforms, the Canadian Green leader has significant influence over the development of the election manifesto, in contrast to the Flemish Greens, where the Political Council approves the manifesto.

Textbox 12: Comparing the Green Party of Canada and the Flemish Green Party

Official party policy	Green Party of Canada	Flemish Green Party
Initiated by:	Individual members.	The National Executive.
Needs support from:	20 members.	The Political Council.
Who drafts initial policy:	• The members draft policy in an online member's forum. Other members can respond, discuss and exchange arguments. • The proposers decide what the final version of the motion will be.	• The working group develops a background paper, consults with outside stakeholders and presents a draft program text to the National Executive. • The program is based on a list of congress resolutions that form the policy position on the topic.
Input from outside stakeholders:	None, this is a 'members only' process.	The draft program text is shared with outside stakeholders, who are invited to present their criticisms and additions.
Voted by:	• Biannual general meeting, the convention. • Members vote online before the convention to classify the policy motions. • The motions that get more than 66.6 percent support are voted in an omnibus vote and other motions go to a workshop for more debate.	• Members' congress or the Political Council by majority vote. • First debate and vote on amendments, then debate and vote on the policy motions. • Amendment proposers meet to combine amendments and create a decision tree for the Congress. • During the Congress, the decision tree combines the votes on similar or opposing amendments.
Amendments:	At the convention, party members in workshops discuss and propose improved language to help reach consensus with the highest level of support.	Amendments from local groups are listed, discussed and voted on at the Congress. At the policy council, amendments can be presented immediately and voted on

Day-to-day policy positioning	Green Party of Canada	Flemish Green Party
Initiated by:	The party leader or the shadow cabinet.	The party leader or the parliamentary group.
Needs support from:	No explicit requirement in the party rules, but an initiative by the shadow cabinet usually creates consensus around a proposal.	Discussed and reviewed at the National Executive weekly meeting and, if needed, at the parliamentary group meeting.
Who drafts initial policy:	The party leader and the media team, or the members of the shadow cabinet.	The study department and the communications team, or a staff member from the concerned parliamentarian.
Input from outside stakeholders:	• At the discretion of the party leader or an involved shadow cabinet member. • The party leader will have press conferences with stakeholders.	• Taken on a continuous basis. • Regular meetings are set up with civil society groups to stay informed about their priorities and to discuss party proposals. • The party and the stakeholders usually have separate press initiatives.
Voted by:	There is no vote.	The National Executive may accept, reject or amend the proposals.
Amendments:	This is an internal process with the party leader or the shadow cabinet.	The National Executive may accept, reject or amend the proposals.

Textbox 12: Continued

Election Manifesto	Green Party of Canada	Flemish Green Party
Initiated by:	The party leader.	The National Executive.
Needs support from:	Officially no one, but can get support from the shadow cabinet.	The parliamentary group.
Who drafts initial policy:	The party leader and shadow cabinet members.	The study department.
Input from outside stakeholders:	Receives external advice on the calculated cost of the proposed government budget for the next four years.	There is continuous discussion with stakeholders.
Voted by:	There is no vote.	The Political Council.
Amendments:	This is an internal process with the party leader or the shadow cabinet.	The Political Council can accept, reject or amend the proposals. This happens in subsequent meetings to allow for follow-up.

THE INSTITUTIONAL REVOLUTIONARY PARTY, MEXICO

Brief Party History

The Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) dominated Mexican politics since its foundation in 1929 until it lost the presidency in 2000. The PRI was originally founded in 1929 as the National Revolutionary Party as a mechanism to garner the strength of all remaining leaders of the Mexican Revolution. The party was under the command of former President Plutarco Elías Calles in the wake of the 1928 assassination of President-elect Álvaro Obregón. The party's foundation transformed Mexican politics. Whereas individual leaders sought to rule their own regions, the party implemented nationwide policies seeking to develop both cities and rural areas. To build support for its policies, the party incorporated powerful unions and other social groups, such as farmers and middle class professionals.

From 1929–1934, Mexico had three short-lived presidents, one elected and two appointed by Congress. During this time, Calles continued to wield his power from behind the scenes and was called the "Ultimate Leader". However, in 1936, President Lázaro Cárdenas broke with Calles, then exiled him and centralized control of the party under the sitting president. Cárdenas also set the stage for policies aimed at fulfilling the ideals of the revolution: land reform that favored small farmers over big landowners and education reform that helped create a Mexican national identity. A constitutional prohibition on reelection and the elimination of the party's military wing reduced the temptation for the revolution's political leaders to revert the country's political system to a dictatorship.

Due to the combination of a strong political machine and strong leaders, but also to an uneven electoral playing field, a weak opposition and the PRI's clientelistic practices, the party held the presidency, the Congress, all governorships, state legislatures and most municipalities for many decades. To this day, the PRI is the only party in Mexico with a permanent presence at the precinct level throughout the country. Its association with farmer, labor and professional organizations has allowed the party to reach out to citizens to promote its ideals and implement some social policy, but also to receive feedback on its public policies.

Through the 1960s, each of the PRI presidents had a different vision of how to implement the ideals of the Mexican Revolution. Some pursued nationalistic policies, such as the nationalization of the oil industry and protectionist barriers to imports. Some sought to increase Mexico's competitiveness by promoting industrial growth. Yet others sought to increase social justice by conducting land reform or bringing electricity to remote areas of the country. During most of this time, the presidents found little opposition to their policies, both from within and outside the party.

In the late 1960s, Mexican youth began demanding reform. The government's heavy-handed response resulted in the deaths of several students in 1968 and 1971, planting the seed for further discontent. The economic crisis of the 1980s and resulting austerity measures, the tepid government response to a devastating 1985 earthquake in Mexico City, and its refusal for internal reform resulted in public disillusionment in the government. This disillusionment created a stronger opposition and caused some of the PRI's leaders to defect and found an alternative left-leaning party. At the same time, national and international pressure resulted in electoral reforms that provided a fairer process, a better chance for opposition parties to win representation in Congress and even a chance to contest the presidency. For the first time, in 1988 a PRI presidential candidate was at risk of getting less than half of the popular vote.

In the 1990s, the PRI launched aggressive new programs to reduce poverty, including conditional cash transfers. At the same time, the government pursued a program to liberalize Mexico's economy by removing foreign exchange controls, privatizing state companies, and signing a free trade agreement with the United States and Canada.

Despite the party's new programs, in 2000, the PRI lost the presidency for the first time in more than 70 years to the center-right National Action Party (PAN) due to citizen discontent, broader political options, a strong opposition candidate and a lackluster PRI candidate. That year, the PRI won only one of five state governorships at stake and came in third in the election for Mexico City's mayor.

Since then, the PRI has worked to establish a new identity as a party that is best prepared to solve citizens' most pressing needs and has learned from previous experience to become more committed to a democratic process. In 2012, this renewal campaign paid dividends: the party's candidate, Enrique Peña Nieto was sworn in as Mexico's new president. As of late 2012, the PRI membership also included 40 percent of the senate seats, 43 percent of the national legislators, 62 percent of the state governors, 42 percent of the state legislators and 81 percent of the mayors from state capitals. It also governs in more than half (51 percent) of Mexico's almost 2,500 municipalities. Preliminary information shows strong results for the PRI in the July 2013 state and local elections.

Party Identity

The party statutes[20] define the PRI as a nationalist party that promotes Mexico's modernization within a framework of democracy and social justice. The party identifies itself as social democratic and belongs to Socialist International. The PRI's structure includes a series of agricultural, labor and popular organizations, and has presence throughout the country.

Ideologically, the PRI sits between the other two other major parties in Mexico: the center-right PAN and the leftist Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD). The party's statutes express its commitments to human rights, gender equity, and a democratic, secular state. They call for the state to fight poverty and discrimination, protect the country's sovereignty, and respect minority rights.

According to a poll released in April 2013,[21] the PRI has the best net perception among independent citizens of the three main political parties. For the first time since 2001, almost half of the citizenry believes the president has control over the country.[22]

Policymaking in Party Rules

Historically, the party's electoral platform was developed by the Institute of Economic, Political, and Social Studies (IEPES), a body activated every six years in preparation for Mexico's presidential election. In 1989, the party transformed the IEPES into the Change XXI Mexican Foundation, a permanent think tank modeled after European party foundations. In 2005, the foundation was renamed the Colosio Foundation, after a former foundation president and presidential candidate Luis Donaldo Colosio, who was assassinated in 1994.

In the PRI's party statutes,[23] the Colosio Foundation is tasked with developing the party's government plans and electoral platforms, all plans and platforms are approved by the National Political Council (Art. 20) at the national level. Similarly, the State Political Councils and the Federal District Political Council approve plans and platforms at the local level (Art. 119). At the municipal level and in Mexico City boroughs, political councils can submit proposals for inclusion in government plans, which are ultimately approved by the municipal assemblies (Arts. 126 and 130). Of the public funds received by the party, the foundation executes the 2 percent earmarked for research. It also receives income by selling its services outside the party and through donations. Textbox 13 outlines additional information on the Colosio Foundation.

The National Political Council

The National Political Council is a permanent collegiate body that gathers the most significant forces within the party for planning, decision-making and assessment purposes. It oversees the work of the National Executive Committee and the party's elected officials, and approves the party's budget and annual work plan. Its members range from around 650 to around 675 and include: party national and local leaders, the president (if elected through the party) and sitting governors; representatives of national and state legislators; mayors; members of the Colosio Foundation; members of other party organizations, including disabled persons, seniors, women and youth; and 160 members elected democratically in the states. The council has a 14-member executive board, which includes the president and secretary general of The National Executive Committee, representatives of the party's national and local legislators, and other party organizations. The plenary of the council meets every year, and each of its committees every month.

The Permanent Political Commission

The party's statutes task the Permanent Political Commission with proposing public policies to promote the nation's development. The commission is a group complementary to the National Political Council that includes the country's president, party leaders, sitting governors, caucus leaders in Congress, party presidents in states not governed by the PRI,

Textbox 13: The Colosio Foundation

Currently, the PRI's statutes (Art. 203) assign the Colosio Foundation the responsibility "to develop government plans and electoral platforms," as well as to "analyze, develop and evaluate public policies."[24] In addition, the foundation guides and coordinates social, economic, and political research and analysis. It is also tasked with communicating the party's ideology and support the political training of party members, as well as developing the PRI's government plans and electoral platforms (Art. 203) at the national and local levels. In addition, the statutes make the foundation responsible for:

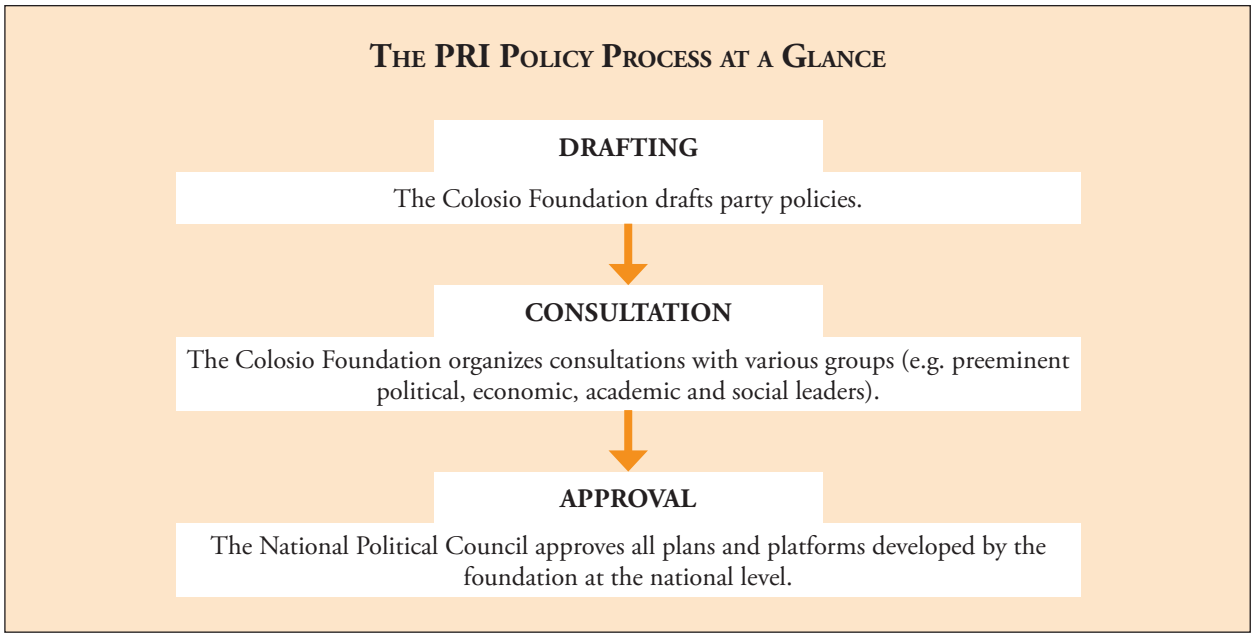
- promotion and participation of scientific, technical and cultural experts in its activities;
- providing guidance and support to other party units on editorial and party ideology matters;
- executing the budget assigned to the party by federal legislation earmarked for conducting research and studies;
- managing and updating the Adolfo López Mateos National Information and Documentation Center, ensuring the continuation of the party's memory and historical archives;
- promotion of the ideas of Luis Donaldo Colosio, the organization's namesake and assassinated presidential candidate;
- conducting studies on: social, economic and political issues; public opinion and marketing; analysis, development and evaluation of public policies; and international affairs; and
- development of an Annual Program for Political, Social and Economic Research, to be approved by the National Political Council.

While the foundation and its local chapters are legally separate from the party, the statutes clearly identify the foundation as a party organism and establish mechanisms to ensure a strong link in practice. For example, the foundation is assigned a number of delegates to the party's assemblies at the national, state and municipal assemblies (Arts. 65, 105, 125), and is represented at the National Political Council (Art. 70) and political councils at the state and municipal levels (Art. 110). The statutes expressly direct local chapters to maintain a permanent relationship with the Colosio Foundation (Art. 122). At the national level, the foundation's General Assembly chooses the foundation's president based on a short list presented by the party's president (Art. 86). At the local level, party branch presidents nominate three candidates to lead the foundation in their state or municipality; a final decision is made by the foundation's national leaders.

According to the statutes, the foundation's main goal is to provide research and training support to the party (Art. 6). They also require the foundation to provide technical and legal support to the party's caucuses in Congress (Art. 7). The Board president and secretary general must be party members (Art. 29, 30) and the foundation's associates are required to be PRI members or sympathizers (Art. 16). *Ex officio* associates include the party's president and secretary general (Art. 15).

The foundation has five main internal bodies:[25]

1. The General Assembly - A collection of all the foundation's associates and main decision-making body. Its members can be founding, ordinary, *ex officio* or honorary associates. Honorary associates have no vote. The president and secretary general of the Board of Directors have the same positions in the General Assembly.
2. Board of Directors - Includes a president, secretary general, treasurer and four vice presidents. The president is nominated by the PRI's president and ratified by the General Assembly for four years. The president names the secretary general, vice presidents and treasurer, who can be removed at will.
3. The Council - Includes 10 political, economic or social leaders nominated by the Board president and approved by the General Assembly. Its main roles are to: provide input on public policy, government plans and electoral platforms; assist the Board in the process of admitting new associates; and provide criteria for the publication of printed or electronic materials. The Board president also presides over the Council.
4. The Board of Trustees - A special five-member board to seek donations and bequests. Its members are nominated by the Board president and ratified by the General Assembly.
5. The Oversight Body - A group of associates who oversee the operations of the foundation, including its financial statements and transactions. The General Assembly assigns associates to this body based on a number of members recommended by the Board of Trustees.



representatives of local legislators and mayors, and the leaders of national party organizations. Its responsibilities also include promoting dialogue with other political forces, following the international context and issuing recommendations regarding the party's legislative agenda.

Finally, the statutes empower party organizations to promote public policies in favor of specific groups, such as women, youth, civil society, seniors and disabled persons.

Legislative Action Coordination Units

Once plans and programs have been adopted, the Legislative Action Coordination Units are tasked with ensuring that the party's legislative activity reflects its government plans and electoral platforms. These three units – one for federal deputies, one for senators and one for local deputies – are party organizations responsible for ensuring that the party caucuses conduct their activities in accordance with the party's programs and platforms, and verifying that the legislators conduct their work in accordance with the party's ideology. The units must present priority legislative areas and specific agreements to the appropriate Political Council at the national or state level. They also are in charge of the party's legislative consulting services. The structure and staff of the units are defined by the respective legislative caucuses. In addition, the party's caucuses in the national congress fund a separate think tank, the Lamadrid Sauza Foundation, to support their legislative work.

POLICYMAKING IN PRACTICE

In July 2012, Mexicans went to the polls to elect a new president and new members of congress. Citizens also elected six state governors, municipal authorities and state congresses in 12 states, and the mayor and Legislative Assembly of Mexico City. In preparation for these elections, the Colosio Foundation led separate processes to develop the PRI's electoral manifestos at the national and state levels.

To provide an overall vision of the party's priorities throughout the country, the foundation worked to develop its national platform. Where historically the platform development process was driven by the party's presidential candidate, in recent cycles the manifesto has been developed independently from the candidate and the campaign. In 2011, the manifesto was developed *before* the party had chosen its presidential candidate. Also, the goal of the manifesto changed. In the past, the PRI produced long and detailed platforms describing the party's long-term vision and its solution to many of the country's problems. Recent platforms are shorter and contain achievable and measurable commitments.

To develop this new electoral manifesto, the Colosio Foundation conducted a series of forums with opinion leaders, academics and entrepreneurs at the local level. The forums revolved around a series of questions developed by the foundation, aligned along five main themes: democratic governance and socially aware rule of law; a competitive economy that pro-

motes development; commitment to quality of life and equality; sustainable environmental policy; and a strategic foreign policy.

Additionally, some of the party's organizations – for example, the wings engaging senior citizens and disabled persons – conducted separate forums with their target groups. The process concluded with a highly visible national consultation with the country's preeminent political, economic, academic and social leaders conducted by the foundation.

While the process of developing the party's national manifesto did not engage average citizens, the local consultations conducted by the Colosio Foundation branches had some tangible benefits. For example, in some states where the PRI does not have a strong presence, the foundation's recognition as a serious institution opened doors to universities and other organizations that otherwise would have been closed to the party. This helped enrich the debate by ensuring that local concerns were taken into account when finalizing the platform. At the same time, the networks and relationships that the foundation developed at the local level helped it conduct smoother, more productive dialogues when the time came to develop the party's local platforms.

At the state level and in Mexico City, local platforms are required to be consistent with the national platform and local law. The foundation also provides guidelines for the development of local platforms and grants autonomy to state branches depending on the strength and proven capacity of the branch leadership. For example, in 2011 the foundation granted its branch in the Mexico City significant flexibility to design its own platform development process.

In the Federal District – encompassing Mexico City and some rural areas – the foundation conducted a participatory process for citizens to describe "The City that We Want" (DFQQ). As part of this process, the foundation sought citizen input through:

- more than 50,000 surveys in almost a quarter of the Federal District's neighborhoods and villages, asking about local problems, youth-specific issues and citizens' interest in supporting the PRI's campaign;
- a virtual forum to share information and gather feedback from members, sympathizers and other citizens. Participants digitally submitted 239 proposals for the party's manifesto. DFQQ also established a presence in social networks such as Twitter and Facebook; and
- a series of 11 thematic forums where experts, leaders, and members discussed and strengthened the draft platform, resulting from the citizen surveys and online forum. Topics covered were from employment and poverty reduction, to effective government and security. Instead of having separate forums for under-represented groups, DFQQ sought to include them fully in these mainstream forums to promote a richer dialogue. The dialogue topics included:
  - employment and growth;
  - poverty, marginalization and social cohesion;
  - water, environment and sustainable development;
  - urban development, land use and transportation;
  - housing;
  - effective government and citizen participation;
  - culture and recreation;
  - animal protection;
  - education, permanent training and use of free time;
  - security; and
  - nutrition, health and social security.

This process resulted in the PRI's official election platform for the Federal District. The Foundation conducted a similar process in each of the city's 16 boroughs, engaging more than 3,000 party members and ordinary citizens, which resulted in an election manifesto for each borough.

Lessons Learned

This very public and community-based DFQQ effort helped develop PRI manifestos that addressed the most pressing citizen needs at the district and borough levels. It also helped the party adopt moderate positions on topics where more radical groups

pushed for drastic changes. For example, the platform did not call for the Federal District to become the 32nd state, but rather demanded for more power to be devolved from the federal government and that a local constitution be adopted. In addition, this consultative process assisted the party in identifying the weaknesses of its main competitor, the PRD, which then governed both the district and all 12 of the 16 boroughs. The PRI was then able to incorporate that information into its strategy. Just as important, the grassroots consultation allowed the party to engage citizens, and establish a presence in public spaces and social networks during the pre-campaign period, when electioneering is forbidden but platform development is allowed. It also opened the doors for more dialogue with universities and attracted some academics previously associated with other parties.

The PRI did not win the elections in the Federal District; it lost the mayoral race and won only one of the district's 16 boroughs. However, this citizen-centered manifesto and savvy political messaging allowed the party to set the agenda for political discourse during the campaign. The PRI's clear message, based on consultations with the community, pushed its political competitors on both the right and left to develop concrete proposals to market themselves as different political options. The PRD also adapted a model introduced by the Colosio Foundation and conducted a survey to identify citizens' needs. However, the PRD's exercise focused less on dialogue and more on political marketing.

The PRI has come a long way from the times when its electoral platform was a document developed by its presidential candidate and a small group of friends. In future election cycles, it is likely to continue evolving towards a consultative platform development process based less on intuition and more on a scientific understanding of citizens' needs.

The manifestos themselves are likely to continue to evolve from long tomes with grandiose visions, to concrete and measurable commitments to improve citizens' lives. In turn, this will allow the party and its candidates to develop a simpler message that resonates with the people. Especially at the local level, the process will continue to engage communities and ordinary citizens. However, given the complexity of developing a national platform, this process might continue to seek input mainly from opinion leaders and academics.

The electoral manifesto will continue to be a blueprint for a candidate's campaign. Given the need for public officials to govern for all, not just the party faithful, the election platform needs to be a roadmap, not a straightjacket. Once selected, each candidate has a responsibility to translate the party's manifesto into even more specific commitments he or she is willing to make. Most candidates will have their own interpretations of the manifesto's proposals; others might even disagree with specific items.

THE LABOUR PARTY, THE UNITED KINGDOM

Background and Summary

The Labour Party in the United Kingdom was founded in 1900 by an amalgamation of trade unions, social democratic organizations and socialist societies. For much of its history the party's policies were established almost entirely by conference, the large annual gathering of party members, internal groupings and officials with the authority to vote on party decisions.[26]

By the 1980s this process had become combative and chaotic. Policy proposals emanated from all levels of the parties, and various stakeholders battled to dominate the process. The antagonistic nature of the process meant that many people were left out and policies produced were not always marketable to a broader audience.

In 1997, under the leadership of Tony Blair, the Labour Party adopted a system called Partnership in Power (PiP), which attempted to reform this process and created several key policymaking institutions. This system and these institutions filter and manage proposals before conference and give the party more flexibility to make policy decisions outside of conference.

PiP was intended to improve the previous process and to produce policies that could make the party more competitive in elections. With general election victories in 2001 and 2005, supporters of PiP say that it has done so. However, there has also been a significant debate within the party about whether or not PiP is sufficiently inclusive. There have been some modifications to the process as a result, which have increased the influence of party stakeholders, but the process remains contentious.

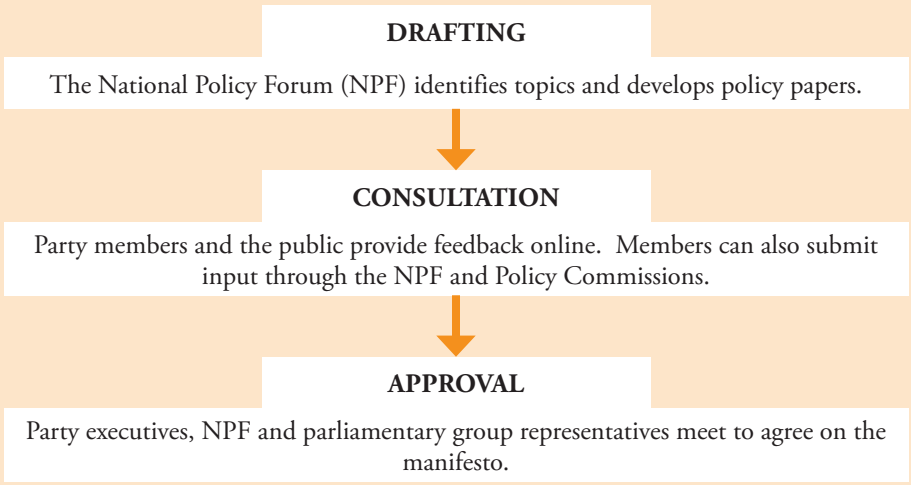
Policy Development in Party Rules

The UK Labour Party is governed by *The Labour Party Rule Book*.[27] The first 10 chapters of the Rule Book outline the constitutional rules of the party and affect how the party makes policy. It involves both a rolling program of policy development, which leads to the party's next election manifesto, as well as a year-round cycle of work on current issues. Several institutions were established to implement this process, including the National Policy Forum (NPF), the Joint Policy Committee (JPC) and six Policy Commissions. Of these, the NPF is responsible for overseeing the overall policymaking process.

Clause V of the rule book defines how the party determines its program. This clause guarantees that "members, elected representatives, affiliated organizations and, where practicable, the wider community are able to participate in the process of policy consideration and formulation."[28]

This section of the rule book also states that party conference determines "what specific proposals of

UK Labour Policy Processes at a Glance



legislative, financial or administrative reform shall be included in the party program," however, under the amendments that created PiP, conference's choices are now "based on the rolling program presented to conference by the National Policy Forum and shall be subject to approval by an 'One Member One Vote' ballot of the eligible membership once in each Parliament." [29]

To be included in the party program, a proposal must receive the support of at least two-thirds of the recorded votes at conference.

Clause V further outlines who in the party will decide which party policies will be included in the manifesto, i.e., the plan presented to the voters in an election year as the Labour Party's proposals for government. When the party is in government, this body includes the party's executive members, as well as representatives of five other leadership bodies within the party, including the cabinet. When the party is in opposition, this panel is much smaller with only the executive members, representatives of the party's legislative caucus, and the chair, and two vice-chairs of the National Policy Forum.

Clause V also gives these *ad hoc* bodies the authority to, "define the attitude of the party to the principal issues raised by the election which are not covered by the manifesto."[30]

Policy Development in Practice

The Labour Party Rule Book dictates the structures and authorities responsible for policymaking within the party. These are the NPF, the JPC and the Policy Commissions.

While policymaking institutions are clearly defined in party statute, the policymaking process itself is described in much more general terms, guaranteeing an inclusive process for members, but not stating definitively what that process will be. This has allowed for a certain amount of flexibility, revision and review of policymaking within the party, arguably allowing it to adapt to whatever its electoral situation might be.

The end product of the PiP process is a policy manual, which is used as a party document. In advance of an election, the leader's office produces the party's manifesto as a campaign document. Clearly, the two documents must be compatible, but it is not always the case that what the party wants and what the leadership needs are the same.

Table 5: Members of the National Policy Forum[31]

Division	Number of NPF Members
Constituency Labour Parties	55
Regions	22
Trade Unions	30
Members of Parliament	9
Members of the European Parliament	6
Members of the House of Lords (Peers)	2
Government / Cabinet	8
Socialist Societies	3
Labour Students	1
Cooperative Party	3
Welsh, Scottish, & Northern Ireland Policy Forums	9
Black, Asian, & Minority Ethnic Labour	4
Local Government	9
National Executive Committee	33
TOTAL	**194**

National Policy Forum

The NPF is one of the key institutions of the PiP process and is responsible for overseeing policy development work in the party. This includes managing consultations with party members and stakeholders on specific issues and pulling together the findings from consultations. Under the party rules, the NPF is formed by the party's National Executive Committee (NEC), which is Labour's national leadership body.

The NPF meets regularly to discuss documents produced by the party's six Policy Commissions. It then submits consultative, final policy documents and annual reports to conference.

The NPF is composed of 194 members representing all the major stakeholder groups in the party. The party rules outline how many representatives each division in the party will have on the NPF. The NEC is given the authority to decide how each group will select its members, but the party rules establish minimum levels of participation for women and young people.

A recent amendment to the rule book provides for individual members of the party to elect representatives to the NPF through a postal vote of all party members, ideally allowing the grassroots of the party to feel that it has more of a direct connection with policy decisions. The current breakdown in members of the NPF is outlined in Table 5.

Joint Policy Committee

The JPC is designed to provide strategic oversight of policy development. It is chaired by the party leader and is composed of members of the cabinet (when the party is in government) or shadow cabinet (when the party is in opposition), the party's NEC and the NPF. The JPC serves as a steering group on policy, directing the NPF's work and setting priorities and debates.

Policy Commissions

There are six Policy Commissions in the Labour Party that draw up policy reports for discussion by the JPC and the NPF. They meet several times a year and are responsible for considering policy submissions from all sections of the party. They have a responsibility to ensure the party is engaging on relevant issues and must also ensure that there is constant dialogue between the party and the cabinet, government, or shadow cabinet.

Each policy commission has 16-20 members representing the government or shadow cabinet, the NEC, and the NPF. The six commissions are: Britain in the World; Creating Sustainable Communities; Crime, Justice, Citizenship and Equalities; Education and Skills; Health; and Prosperity and Work.

All policy submissions are reported to the appropriate policy commission(s) to help draw up policy documents and to inform the commissions' priorities, work programs, and discussions. The commissions produce a report on their work in their Annual Reports to conference each year.

Conference

Whatever is produced by the NPF is ultimately submitted to conference for agreement or approval. Therefore, what conference is able to debate is largely determined by the priorities established by the NPF, JPC and Policy Commissions. The exception to this is that each Constituency Labour Party (i.e., local party organization), is entitled to submit one resolution to conference on a policy issue not covered by the work of the NPF.

The party conference must be convened annually, but can be called more frequently if deemed necessary.

Policy Development Cycle

The PiP process develops the Labour Party's manifesto in a rolling cycle:

1. The first stage produces either a single, broad document or several small documents that present the key issues or themes the party expects to address as it develops policy for the next election.

2. At the second stage**,** documents are produced that outline the policy choices on key issues, i.e., options for how the party might deal with each issue.

3. At the third stage, final policy documents, once produced, are considered for amendment at a meeting of the NPF. Through their NPF representatives, each party unit is entitled to submit amendments to policy documents at this stage. Following amendment and agreement at the NPF, the policy documents go forward to the Annual Conference for approval. Once agreed, they form the party's policy program, on which the manifesto for the next election is based.

On paper, this process happens over a three-year cycle. However, because early elections were called in 2010, in practice the timeline has had to be more flexible to match political and electoral realities. Table 6 outlines the policy development timeline in the lead up to the 2015 elections.

Current issues that require attention outside the more deliberate three-stage process are filtered and discussed through the Policy Commissions. Policy Commissions are responsible for engaging party stakeholders on these issues.

Connecting Party Members to Policymaking

Since the introduction of PiP in 1997, the Labour Party has struggled with how to keep its members fully involved and up to date on policy decisions, while at the same time producing timely, technical and competitive policy proposals to the electorate. Advocates of the PiP process argue that it has produced two election-winning manifestos. However, there has been strong and enduring opposition to the process from stakeholders within the party who argue that it centralizes power and decision-making on major policy issues, diluting the input of ordinary members.

The party leadership continues to try to strike a balance between inclusion and efficiency. In 2008, individual party members were invited to submit specific textual amendments to final stage policy documents; the NPF was overwhelmed by the volume of amendments it received.

Other techniques and tools used by the Labour Party to encourage and maintain the participation of individual members and stakeholder groups in party policy include:

- A newsletter entitled "Dialogue--The Partnership in Power Newsletter," which is emailed to every local party organization at intervals. Past issues are available to party members via the party's website.

- Each of the six Policy Commissions maintains its own website to post updates on its work. Party members can also get in touch with the commissions directly through email or mail. Policy Commissions are specifically responsible for engaging party members and organizations on topical issues.

- At the 2007 conference, the party amended its rules to allow all affiliated organizations and local constituency parties to submit one contemporary issue to conference. The issue submitted must not be substantially addressed by reports of the NEC or NPF to conference, thereby allowing the grassroots to influence the party's policy agenda.

- The party has also committed to creating clear, concise and engaging policy documents, as well as holding smaller group meetings to discuss policy development. This will ensure that more people have the chance to participate in the policy discussion.

It is worth noting that PiP enables the party to consult on policy with external organizations, such as local residents groups, civil society organizations, professional bodies, etc. This allows the party to benefit from technical expertise it may not have internally, helps the party better connect with voter-based organizations and has arguably promoted a more outward facing culture within the party.

Reforms Since 2010

Following the party's defeat in the 2010 general elections, Labour retitled its policy process the Partnership into Power, but maintained the PiP acronym. Through a major consultative process dubbed Refounding Labour, the party sought feedback and identified recommendations on ways to improve policy processes. When MP Angela Eagle was elected to Chair the NPF in 2012, she was determined to carry out reforms to include the electorate in the policy-making process via technology. Key issues were discussed in focused debates and new mechanisms were created to provide members, affiliates, supporters and NPF representatives with a way to get involved. The core of the reform package included:

- a new online policy hub[32] where members and the public can read policy papers, submit ideas and comments, and be part of a wider discussion;

- a greater role for the NPF throughout the cycle and not just in the final year of the process, including annual meetings of the NPF and power to take decisions on key issues at those meetings;

Table 6: Timetable of Activity for the 2015 Manifesto[34]

Date	Activity
Conference 2012	'Policy Ballot' held to prioritize issues for consideration in the year ahead.
November 2012	'Challenge Papers' are published. The party and the public are invited to make submissions on the policy hub.
March 2013	'Policy Papers' are published and submissions called for via the policy hub.
September 2013	Conference decision on 2012/13 Policy Papers and NPF Annual Report.
December 2013 – January 2014	'Final Year Documents' are published.
June 2014	NPF agrees on the final year documents that form the Policy Programme.
September 2014	Annual Conference votes on Policy Programme.
April 2015	Party executives, NPF and parliamentary group representatives meet to agree on the manifesto.

- a fixed and publicized timetable to strengthen the impact of members' voices;
- reformed Policy Commissions to reflect the party's priorities;
- a streamlined system with greater focus on topical and key issues;
- a new 'policy ballot' at conference to shape the work of the NPF to identify the key topics for consideration and consultation;
- greater emphasis on community engagement for local party units; and
- improved feedback for members who are involved and an 'audit trail' for submissions and amendments.

Additionally, rather than broad ranging policy papers, more focused annual papers are produced to tackle current challenges; priority issues are decided by ballot at the annual conference; and all policy papers are published for interactive debate on the online policy hub, which is available to the public and members alike. Lastly, in 2012, the leader requested a complete review of the party's existing policies to support the development of the 2015 manifesto; the policy review is currently underway.[33] The timeline for this process is outlined in Table 6.

THE LIBERAL PARTY, CANADA

Party History

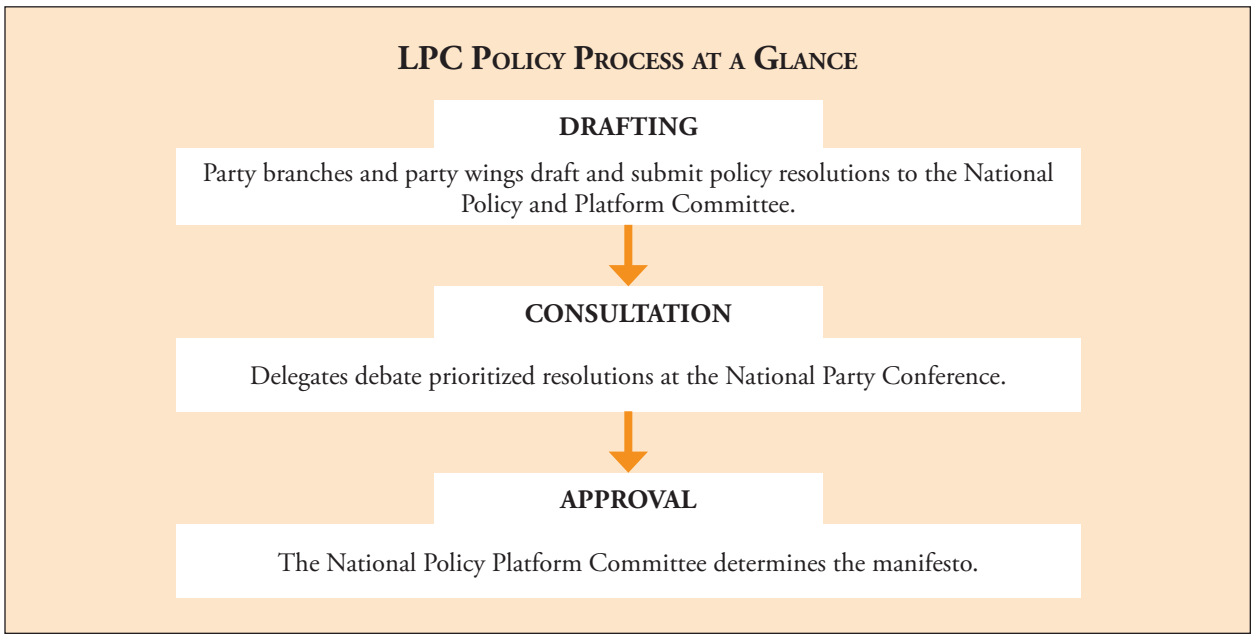
The Liberal Party of Canada (LPC) is the oldest federal political party in Canada. It is considered a centrist or slightly left of center party founded on the philosophy of liberalism and is a member of Liberal International. Most liberal party members describe themselves as fiscally conservative and socially progressive. Founded in 1861, the first united liberal party consisted of both English- and French-speaking members and took power for the first time in 1873. Since then it has been one of the most successful political parties in the world, having governed Canada for 83 years out of the country's 145-year history. For 73 of those years, the party governed with a majority. However, since losing power in 2006, the liberal party has lost significant support, largely due to a vote split with the left wing New Democratic Party (NDP), a collapse of the Québec separatist Bloc of Québec party and the right wing Canadian Alliance Party uniting with the right of center Progressive Conservative Party.

In the May 2011 federal election, the LPC suffered its worst electoral defeat in its history, gaining only 18.9 percent of the vote and becoming the third party in the House of Commons, after the conservatives and the NDP. The LPC currently holds only 35 seats in the 308-seat House of Commons, Canada's elected lower chamber; however, the party continues to hold 40 out of 101 seats in the Senate, the appointed upper chamber. At the provincial level the liberal party still forms the government in four out of 10 provinces, including the largest provinces of Ontario and Québec.

Policy Development Rules

The LPC constitution provides for the National Policy and Platform Committee. The mandate of the Committee is to coordinate the policy development process, maintain and publish current party policies, and draft the electoral manifesto, with input from the leader and the caucus and subject to a veto by the leader. The National Policy and Platform Committee consists of a chair elected by the delegates to a party convention, a co-chair chosen by the leader, the leader, the national director, the national campaign co-chairs, one representative from each commission, four party members chosen by the leader, four caucus members, and the elected policy chair from each province and one from the territories. The Constitution also includes provisions for gender and language balance on the committee.

The leader of the LPC has a significant amount of power over policy and manifesto development. When the party is in government, the leader is also the prime minister and has at his or her disposal the immense resources of the prime minister's office; in opposition the leader has a budget for a significant number of staff. The leader is a member of the National Policy and Platform Committee, has the right to directly appoint five of the 28 committee members and in-



Textbox 14: LPC Policy Resolutions

The official mechanism used to develop and validate party policy is through party resolutions drafted by riding associations and commissions, prioritized by provincial and territorial associations (PTAs), and validated at the national party convention. The official Liberal Party of Canada (LPC) constitution outlines this process in detail and there is a published set of guidelines called *Have Your Say* to assist riding associations and party members in understanding the process. This guidebook includes advice for riding associations on how to: establish a policy subcommittee; write and submit policy resolutions; and host town hall meetings, policy forums, panel discussions, debates, discussion groups and policy socials. Several riding associations have begun to experiment with innovative ways to engage members and the public in policy development. In Québec, they have established small coffee parties called "café politique" where members informally discuss policy ideas. Others have initiated monthly policy discussions in someone's home where they invite speakers to chair meetings on specific topics. Innovative ideas are being shared through social media, such as the "Liberals Rebuilding the Liberal Party" Facebook group.

The caucus, each PTA and each commission is allowed to submit 10 policy resolutions for consideration at the national convention. The method through which these bodies develop or prioritize the policies is not defined in the Constitution, which provides opportunities for innovation and accommodation at the local level, and keeps the decentralized nature of the party organization. Usually, each of the riding associations and provincial wings of the commissions are invited to submit resolutions that are then approved at provincial conventions.

The policy resolutions are then submitted to issue-based breakout workshops at the national convention, during which time they are debated by delegates who then vote on which resolutions to prioritize. Delegates may vote to prioritize as many resolutions as they wish, however the more votes they cast the more they dilute their own vote. Because the workshops are held simultaneously, delegates must choose which ones to attend based on the topics. The resolutions that receive the most priority votes then go on to the plenary session where they are debated and either approved or defeated in a general show of voting cards. More recently, electronic voting has been used.

Only resolutions prioritized during the workshops and approved in the plenary become official party policy. Since conventions only occur every two years, and the policy development process moves from the local riding through the provincial convention and only then to the national convention, by the time the policy is presented to a convention it could already be several months or even years old. To help mitigate this, conventions normally have a mechanism to allow "emergency resolutions" to be submitted on particularly important issues that may be occurring at the time of a convention.

directly appoint three, and has a veto over the policy initiatives in the party manifesto. In part, the veto is designed to address situations in which conventions pass contradictory resolutions or adopt positions that have not been costed and are not consistent with fiscal priorities. Given the veto party leaders are not forced to market policies that they do not agree with. During the 2012 national party convention, the delegates voted against a proposed constitutional amendment that would have eliminated the leader's veto over the manifesto, maintaining the leader's significant influence in the policymaking process.

Policy Structures and Processes

The party is a federation of provincial and territorial associations (PTAs) and is divided into electoral district associations (EDAs), otherwise known as "riding associations". In addition, the LPC has four official commissions that can send delegates to conventions, submit policy resolutions, establish provincial wings and clubs, and raise funds: the National Women's Liberal Commission (NWLC); the Young Liberals of Canada (YLC); the Aboriginal Peoples' Commission (APC); and the Seniors Liberal Commission of Canada (SLCC). The president of each commission is automatically on the party's National Board of Directors and the policy chair of each commission is an automatic member of the National Policy and Platform Committee. Some commissions, such as the YLC and the APC have used creative mechanisms to develop and debate policy resolutions, including: summer policy parliaments, such as "Summer Fling" and "Camp

Wannabe Free"; youth ski weekends combined with policy discussions, "Poli-ski"; and "tweetups", live web broadcasts of important policy events, among others. Textbox 3 in Part I of this paper describes the NWLC's efforts to influence party policies through the publication of a series of "Pink Books" highlighting policies they want the LPC to adopt. Textbox 14 summarizes the LPC's resolution process, the primary means by which party policies are drafted.

Ideas Conferences

Throughout history, the LPC has reached out to some of the great thinkers of each generation. This began in 1933 with the Port Hope Conference. These "ideas conferences" include academics, economists, scientists, diplomats and other subject area experts who may or may not be affiliated with the party. By reaching beyond partisan lines and holding occasional gatherings of such thinkers, the party has been able to rejuvenate itself and articulate bold new ideas.

For instance, in 2010 the thinkers' conference in Montreal was called *Canada at 150: Rising to the Challenge*, celebrating the 150th anniversary of the Canadian Confederation and focusing on what kind of Canada the party wanted to see in 2017 and how to get there. Preparation for the conference included a participatory website and web forums with the party leader, a leader's national tour with town hall meetings in high schools and universities, thematic roundtables across the country held by caucus members and riding associations, a special national caucus meeting, and an active social media campaign.

The event itself was the first participatory multimedia event to be held by a Canadian political party. In addition to the 250 in-person participants, there were another 2000 people participating through satellite conferences held in cities across the country, linked through Skype and a live web feed. There were 53 speakers over three days, including leading experts such as diplomat Robert Fowler, Pulitzer prize-winning author Sheryl WuDunn, and other world-renowned experts on the Arctic, global economics, and other issues. While the conference did not capture the attention of mass media, it was actively covered on social media, invigorating party members who felt connected despite regional distances.

Views of party members were further solicited at five full day sessions, called *Policy Matters: National Discussions*, held across the country (one in each region) for three months following the larger conference. Participation was restricted to party members, who were asked to help "refine [the *Canada at 150*] themes and shape them into a cohesive policy platform that [the party] can present to Canadians." Results from the conference were widely debated in party online forums and formed the basis of the 2011 Liberal campaign manifesto.

Task Forces and Party Renewal Committees

The development of policy within the LPC has sometimes involved various task force reports and discussion papers. While these are typically outside of the formal policy development process, much of the articulation of party policy between elections draws from these reports. Some groups that have presented papers include:

The Liberal Research Bureau and Prime Minister's Caucus Task Forces: The staff of the National Liberal Caucus Research Bureau (LRB) works for the parliamentary caucus and is officially employed by the House of Commons, not the party. The caucus research bureau differs from the Library of Parliament because it is not required to be politically neutral; indeed, caucus researchers draft much of the party's messaging and positioning on issues of the day. While the Liberals were in power, the LRB was tasked with drafting a number of the Prime Minister's caucus task force reports based on outreach with citizens on issues such as women entrepreneurs, seniors, climate change, urban issues and more. These reports often provided ideas that were articulated in the government's "Speech from the Throne" and some were referenced in the Finance Minister's budget speech. They were also used by the caucus and ministers to draft government policy and election manifestos.

Change and Renewal Commissions: In 2005-2006, The National Executive established the "Red Ribbon Task Force". The task force's final report, "A Party Built for Everyone, A Party Built to Win" made recommendations regarding fundraising, policy development and party organization, most of which were ratified at the national convention. Similarly, renewal and change commissions in 2006 and 2008 produced public policy reports and recommendations on modernizing the party based on feedback gathered through online discussions, regional meet-

Diagram 12: Timeline of the Lead up to the 2009 Convention

In the lead up to the 2009 and 2012 national conventions the party experimented with online policy development. Instead of breakout workshops during the convention, the party established an online discussion forum called "as a family", open only to party members, where policy resolutions were posted and prioritized before the convention. The following is the timeline that was used:

ings, virtual town halls, interviews with senior party leaders and caucus discussion papers.

Online Tools: In preparation for the 2009 and 2012 national conventions, the party experimented with online policy development. The online member-only discussion forum "as a family", allowed participants to post and prioritize policy suggestions before the convention. Diagram 12 summarizes how the manifesto contributed to debate over and prioritization of draft policy resolutions in the lead up to the party's 2009 convention. The advantage of this approach was that all party members, not just delegates, were able to have a say in prioritizing resolutions. "As a family" continues to be the primary LPC members-only online discussion site for party policy development. The LPC also maintains a more restricted web-based platform that is mainly used by riding association presidents, candidates, and caucus members and their staff. The party plans for the plat-

form to become a tool that clubs and associations can use to compare their policy ideas to those in other ridings in their region, their province and across the country, as well as to develop connections and create support for similar ideas.

Developing Election Manifestos

The first comprehensive party manifesto, known colloquially as the Redbook because the party's official colors are red and white, was published during the 1988 election campaign. Produced by the LRB, the Redbook draws on the results from a series of thinkers conferences and party policy resolutions. The 1988 party electoral manifesto did not include costing and revenue sources for its promises, which embarrassed the party during the campaign. Subsequent Redbooks, however, have included a detailed costing verified by independent economists.

In 2007, responding to criticism from the party grassroots about previous manifesto development processes, party leader Stephane Dion appointed MP Martha Hall Findlay as platform outreach chair and tasked her with conducting broad consultations on what should be included in the next Redbook. The process included 175 sessions in more than 35 communities, but once again the focus was on public input and not on party members.

Several constitutional amendments were passed during the 2009 national convention that formalized aspects of the manifesto development process in the official party constitution. These included: the establishment of the National Policy and Platform Committee with representation from the leader, the caucus and the party; the requirement for a caucus accountability officer to report on implementation of party policies; and a policy approval subcommittee that the leader is required to consult before vetoing any party policy.

Policy Processes in Parliament

Article 59 (2) of the Constitution of the LPC has a specific clause that limits the authority of the party over the caucus. It states that the caucus is not a constituent body of the party and therefore the Constitution does not impose responsibilities on the caucus and the caucus is not subject to the jurisdiction of the party.[35] This is necessary to preserve the role of MPs as representatives of their constituents and to guarantee their independence, however it creates an ambiguity between the party and the caucus regarding who speaks for the party.

The leader of the party – who is also the prime minister when the party is in power – and the elected MPs are not only accountable to the party members but to all of their constituents whether they voted liberal or not. As such, the party has no right to impose any limits on their ability to articulate the views of their constituents. On the other hand, the party makes certain promises during an election campaign and the leadership of the party is accountable to the public for ensuring that this policy is implemented.

However, the party leadership is able to assert certain discipline over the caucus through incentives and/or potential punitive measures. Even while in opposition, the party leader (through the caucus whip) is able to decide which committees MPs sit on, who goes on international trips, who is appointed to the shadow cabinet and even if a potential candidate is allowed to run under the LPC banner.

Another challenge is the fact that the current news cycle is so immediate. The traditional mechanism for developing party policy – resolutions voted on at conventions – is too slow to be useful in day-to-day party decision-making. When the Liberal Party has been in power, decisions on policy were made largely by the cabinet. Even in opposition, caucus critics and the caucus legislative committee respond to day-to-day emerging issues. When the Party Leader speaks out on an issue, his or her word is assumed by the media and the public to be official party policy. The party's electoral manifesto is viewed increasingly as a strategic communications tool rather than an expression of party policy and is largely written behind closed doors by party strategists with little concern for the resolutions passed at party conventions.

In both government and opposition, the primary mechanism for the caucus to influence policy positions is through weekly caucus meetings. When the Parliament is in session, there are weekly meetings of the regional caucuses followed by the national caucus meeting of all liberal MPs and senators. During the regional caucuses, MPs usually speak out about the impact of certain policy decisions on their region or constituency, and often will voice criticism regarding how the party leadership has handled a situation. Usually the regional caucus will agree on one or two of the most important issues to raise to the national

caucus, and individual MPs and senators are allowed to speak, helping party leadership see if a certain policy will be popular or will cause pushback. The confidentiality of these meetings allows MPs to express dissent internally while still showing a common face to the public.

In Parliament, the caucus articulates policy on a day-to-day basis through votes on bills and motions in Parliament, committee work and responses, or questions during Question Period. When the party is in government, ministers set the legislative agenda in their portfolio area and the government's position on issues is largely decided in the cabinet. When the party is in opposition, a caucus legislative committee undertakes the role of coordinating policy and is part of the national caucus that meets weekly when the House of Commons is sitting to debate, and ultimately recommend, positioning to the caucus leadership. Critics are required to present background and positioning proposals for any government or private member's bill in their portfolio; the committee then discusses the bill's merits and the committee chair presents his or her recommendation to the national caucus the following day. Any caucus member is invited to attend any meeting of this committee. Any member seeking caucus support for a proposed private member's bill or motion must first present to the committee before placing legislation on the order paper.

The liberal caucus generally holds a retreat twice a year. The winter retreat is usually in January during the Christmas parliamentary break and takes place in Ottawa over two to three days. The summer caucus is held outside of Ottawa for two to three days. They include meetings of the regional caucuses, the women's caucus and a full-day meeting of the complete caucus to decide on the direction for the next parliamentary session. Major decisions and policy pronouncements often follow these caucus meetings. In 2002, for example, Jean Chrétien announced the date of his resignation during the summer caucus in Chicoutimi, Québec. In recent years, the defeated candidates from the previous election have also been invited to some of the caucus meetings in order to ensure representation from all ridings. These caucus retreats also include social activities to facilitate informal communication and bonding between caucus members. They also serve as a media opportunity and give the caucus presence in the region in which they are held.

There are several mechanisms whereby the caucus is held accountable to the party for implementation of party policy resolutions. Section 33 (4) of the party constitution stipulates: "The Leader is responsible to designate one of the members of the National Policy and Platform Committee who is a member of the Caucus (and who, if the Leader is also Prime Minister of Canada, is a member of the cabinet) as the 'Caucus Accountability Officer' to report to the Council of Presidents and each biennial convention of the Party on the implementation of the Party policies by the Caucus. If the Leader does not make the designation required by this Subsection or if the Caucus Accountability Officer does not make the reports required by this Subsection, then the Leader must report that fact to the next biennial convention of the Party."[36]

The caucus accountability officer submits a written report card to be published and distributed at the national convention. This report card contains specific actions taken by the caucus on each resolution from the previous convention, including caucus task force reports, work in parliamentary committees, questions asked during question period, private members bills and inclusion of the policy in the national platform if there was an intervening election. During conventions, the leader and the caucus are available to answer direct questions from delegates related to the report card in an open plenary accountability session.

Lessons Learned

The LPC has experimented with numerous mechanisms for policy development over the past several decades, including policy resolutions, ideas conferences, task forces and party renewal committees, party manifestos and Redbooks, party leadership, the liberal caucus, local level policy processes, commissions, and online tools. The party has struggled with many of the same issues that confront political parties around the world when developing policy, including questions about the role of the leader, the role of the parliamentary caucus vis-à-vis the party membership, and how the party can be inclusive in its policy development without losing control over the message. With modern technology, information is readily accessible and party members have alternate means of expressing their ideas publicly through blogs, Facebook and online discussions. This makes it increasingly difficult for the party leadership to control the party message. The extent to which popular voices

are incorporated into party policy development will ultimately determine the future success of the party. While the LPC is at the lowest point in its history, it is using its time in opposition to take risks and experiment with innovative ways of doing things. Only parties that learn from past successes and mistakes, and adapt, will be successful in the long term.

When party members or outside academics are engaged to work on policy development, they must see that their work influences the decisions of the party leadership. Often, when the LPC elects a new leader or National Board, they embark on new policy initiatives rather than building on the hard work of the previous party leadership. This breeds cynicism among the people who are needed to sell the party message during an election campaign. On the other hand, in the instances where the members were recognized for their efforts, such as the Alberta virtual policy working groups that received an email from the Minister commenting on their discussion paper, it has often served to energize party volunteers.

The model of gathering information from experts and then presenting it for validation by the party membership through delegated conventions is at odds with current public sentiment that demands a more inclusive, popular process. To engage grassroots members, the party has increased online consultations, and enhanced accountability and reporting requirements for the leader and the caucus. In an environment where academics and experts are respected, the ideas conferences and discussion papers are an effective way for a party to renew its policy agenda.

However, in an environment with a highly educated population where information is readily accessible and internet usage is high, more inclusive mechanisms are needed. These include local level engagement through informal social meetings, online discussions and the use of social media. For a party to be successful it must change with the times.

One of the reasons for the LPC's long-term success has been the influential role of young people within the party. The party's youth commission is given a spot on The National Executive and national standing committees, and youth clubs are given delegate spots to national conventions. There is also a minimum quota of 25 percent of the delegates to any party convention that must be under the age of 26. The YLC is already innovating new ways to reach out through technology and is mobilizing around forward-thinking policies. Any party that wants to be successful in the long term must have a strong youth presence and give young people real power to influence key party decisions.

Another reason that the LPC has been successful is because it is able to reach out to different voices within the community, including both Canada's aboriginal people and women. Each electoral district in the country has the same number of delegates at party conventions, meaning that no region of the country is given precedence over any other. There is also an advantage in a federated party structure that allows a certain level of experimentation at the local or regional levels to test ideas before applying them nationally. Textbox 15 describes how regional platforms in British Columbia and Alberta helped inform changes in policy development at the national level.

Textbox 15: Regional Manifestos

One of the most illustrative experiments with policy and platform development in the Liberal Party of Canada (LPC) happened at the provincial level. Traditionally, the LPC has not done well in western Canada, especially the province of Alberta. Between 1968 and 2006, when the LPC governed at the national level, Alberta lacked significant representation in the federal liberal caucus and cabinet. This only reinforced and perpetuated the province's disenchantment with the party.

Having felt ignored for years by the LPC, Alberta liberals grasped onto an idea from British Columbia (BC). During the 2004 election, federal liberals from BC released a separate regional manifesto entitled the "Made-in-BC" agenda. Unlike the official party manifesto, this signed document outlined a number of policies beneficial to BC that party candidates committed to push the liberal government to adopt if they were elected. The strategy helped increase the number of liberal MPs elected from BC from five to eight despite the fact that the national party lost seats.

In 2005, the Alberta liberal caucus spearheaded a broad party consultation process to develop a "Made-in-Alberta" agenda. The caucus worked closely with the Liberal Party of Canada in Alberta (LPCA) executive to host "kitchen meetings", where members gathered in a small hall or in someone's house for brainstorming sessions on manifesto ideas. The caucus worked with representatives from the National Liberal Caucus Research Bureau, the Prime Minister's Office and the Minister's Regional Office to ensure that the proposals would not be outright rejected by the party leadership. While there was some natural tension between representatives of the local party branch, the process allowed the provincial wing of the party to mobilize caucus support to put pressure on their own leadership with regard to the national manifesto.

This process also led to a massive engagement of local party members, who were invited to follow up on the kitchen meetings through thematic online policy groups. These policy working groups were tasked with writing policy documents that Alberta caucus members promised to hand deliver to caucus colleagues from other parts of the country at the National Summer Caucus Retreat. The success of these virtual policy working groups depended on their level of coordination, those with a clear leader were able to translate their discussions into coherent policy success, however Alberta caucus members had to also be willing to promote and distribute the final reports. In some cases, the relevant minister wrote back to the policy working group with feedback, which was extremely encouraging to members. The agriculture policy working group, for example, was so active that they were able to convert their group into an official party standing committee with representation on the provincial executive board.

Unfortunately, the LPC lost the 2006 national election and failed to gain a single seat in Alberta. As a result, subsequent efforts to produce similar agendas lacked the enthusiasm of the 2006 initiative. However, one ongoing impact of this experiment was that the LPCA policy chair was elected national policy chair in 2006 and during her six-year tenure she used the lessons learned in Alberta to innovate policy development at the national level. In fact, the LPC's online discussion forum, "as a family" was in part modeled on the virtual policy working groups in Alberta. The party's 2006 Red Ribbon Committee brought significant recommendations, some of them based on lessons learned in Alberta, which have since been adopted and included in the LPC constitution.

THE LIBERAL PARTY, PHILIPPINES

Brief Party History

The Liberal Party (LP) was formed in 1946 out of a splinter group from the then dominant Nationalist Party (NP). While founded in the immediate post-war era, the origins of the LP can be traced to an earlier split in the NP in 1922, which emanated from the differences and competition between then Senate President Manuel Quezon and Speaker of the House of Representatives Sergio Osmena. Senate President Quezon formed the Collective Liberal Party, the precursor of the modern-day LP party, to counter the alleged personality-based rule of Speaker Osmena. Therefore, since its beginnings, LP has been associated with "a more liberal, progressive attitude toward institutions".[37]

As one of the oldest political parties in the Philippines, the rich history of the LP reflects the country's tumultuous political development. The party's evolution can be roughly divided into three periods. The first, formation and domination (1946-1972), was the period from LP's formation to the declaration of martial law and is marked by a competitive struggle for political power in a *de facto* two-party system. LP and NP alternated in governmental control, with other political parties having virtually no chance of capturing political power. Membership of the two dominant parties also shifted depending on their political fortunes, mainly because of indistinguishable ideological orientations.

The second period was dissension and reorganization (1972-1986), when martial law marked the demise of the two-party system that flourished during the post-war period. Political parties and other democratic institutions such as congress and the courts were either coopted, silenced or abolished. Prominent leaders of LP, including Benigno "Ninoy" Aquino Jr., were put in military custody; some were even assassinated.

Finally, there was the restoration and consolidation period, which began with the restoration of democracy in 1986 and elections in 1987. During this time, LP became a coalition partner in two administrations; being a member of a coalition government however, did not stop the party from disagreeing with coalition partners on certain issues in order to maintain its party identity. For example LP was at the forefront of anti-U.S. bases campaign during the Corazon Aquino administration, of anti-charter change protests during the Ramos presidency and part of a movement calling for the resignation of Macapagal-Arroyo.[38]

As the party was preparing for the May 2010 elections, former President Corazon Aquino died. This led to the decision to field her only son, then Senator Benigno Simeon "Noynoy" Aquino III, as presidential candidate. The landslide victory of Aquino in the polls was the first time LP had a president in office in over half a century.[39]

Party Identity

The LP's "Vision Mission Objectives" (VMO) in the party's constitution outlines the party's ideology, stating its aspiration for "a just, prosperous and caring civil society anchored on social equity, a vigorous market economy, political openness, ecological balance and an honest, effective government."[40]

After martial law was repealed, the party organized a youth wing, which became the first Asian member of the International Federation of Liberal and Radical Youth (IFLRY). LP is also the first Asian member of Liberal International and the first major Philippine political party to be admitted to an international network of political parties. Moreover, LP is a founding member of the Council of Asian Liberals and Democrats (CALD), a network of liberal and democratic political parties in Asia.

The party has taken two concrete steps to inculcate the liberal democratic ideology among its officials and members: first, is its association with the Philippine liberal think tank, National Institute for Policy Studies (NIPS);[41] and second, is its running of basic orientation on liberal democracy (BOLD) seminars. BOLD, a major NIPS initiative in partnership with the LP, aims to impart basic liberal theories and principles to all those who want to join the party.

Party Rules

The party constitution identifies the bodies responsible for setting party policies. The four most important bodies are the National Directorate, the National Executive Council (NECO), the National Political

Council and the National Board. Their relationships are explained below and illustrated in Diagram 13.

The National Directorate sets the general policies and guidelines for the party. It is composed of delegates elected by the general assemblies of the party chapters from each of the four major geographical areas of the country: the island groups Luzon, Visayas, and Mindanao, and the National Capital Region. The general assemblies are convened on the call of the party president and must convene at least once every six years as stated in the Constitution. NECO sets the rules and guidelines for the composition and procedures of the general assemblies.

The general assemblies elect up to 100 delegates with equal representation from the four aforementioned geographical areas to the National Directorate. Apart from setting the party's general policies and guidelines, the National Directorate also elects party officials and meets at least once every three years (or as often as necessary) upon the call of the party president. It can also meet upon the agreement of three quarters of its members, as certified by the party secretary general.

Party policies and guidelines are executed and administered by all party organs under the direct supervision of the NECO. The NECO is composed of all national party officials and all incumbent government officials from the party, senators, members of the House of Representatives, governors, mayors, presidents, vice presidents, etc., in good standing. In addition, it includes all past party presidents and

Diagram 13: Party Bodies as Laid Out in the Party Constitution

national presidents of all established allied sectoral organizations, including youth, women, urban poor, laborers and farmers, as well as persons of national stature nominated by the party president and approved by the National Directorate.

The NECO, upon formal call of the party president, exercises all the powers and performs all the functions of the National Directorate when the latter is not in session. NECO members hold office for a term of three years and must meet at least once a year, however meetings can be called in several ways: the party president can call a meeting at any time; two-thirds of NECO members can agree to call a meeting; or a simple majority of National Political Council members may call a meeting, as certified by the party secretary general.

The National Political Council exercises all the powers and performs all the functions of the NECO when the latter is not in session. It is composed of all national party officials and the immediate past president, the chairperson of the parliamentary caucus, the chairperson of the local chief executives and the chairperson of the liberal league of local legislators. It meets twice a year or as often as necessary on the call of the party president. Now that LP is in power, the roles played by the chairperson of the parliamentary caucus, the chairperson of the local chief executives and the chairperson of the liberal league of local legislators in the National Political Council have become more important. Their presence in the national party decision-making structure promotes policy coordination across various levels of government.

The party's National Board is composed of seven principal officers, including the chairperson, vice-chairperson, president, executive vice president, vice president for policy, platform and advocacy, secretary general, and treasurer. It meets regularly and exercises all the powers and performs all the functions of the National Political Council and the NECO when they are not in session.

The party also has a public policy, platform and advocacy commission, which is one of the national standing commissions. It is responsible for the party's public education and policy research program. All policies and regulations adopted by the standing commissions are subject to the approval of the National Political Council.

The constitutional provisions above show that the LP has clearly identified the organs of the party responsible for policy formulation and execution. The hierarchy among these organs is also clearly defined (see diagram 13), although the preeminent role of the party president as the principal leader and chief executive officer of the party is also noticeable. The Constitution states that the party president "shall exercise all the powers and perform all the functions of the National Board, National Executive Council and National Political Council when the urgency of the matter cannot wait for the action."[42] The president should, however, report the exercise of such powers to the NECO in the next session.

Policy Development and Implementation in Practice

Policy development in the LP involves the highest ranking national party officials only. Under the party constitution, the National Directorate serves as the highest policy body of the party. However, there have been instances in the past when it was not convened as mandated by the Constitution. For this reason, the NECO has largely assumed the role of the National Directorate, but there have been cases when both the NECO and the National Political Council were not convened. Therefore, in practice, only members of the National Board, together with some key party officials in government, meet regularly. There is no clear, step-by-step process by which the party drafts, implements and evaluates policy. In instances when policy initiatives have taken place, they have been *ad hoc* and highly dependent on the support of party officialdom, particularly the party president. The party's strategic plan in preparation for the 2010 elections serves as a case in point.

Strategic Plan 2004-2010

After the 2004 elections, the LP, on the initiative of then party president, senate president Franklin "Frank" Drilon, came up with a Strategic Plan 2004-2010. The plan was a product of a discussion among party leaders during the strategic planning conference in July 2004. Apart from the outcomes of the conference, notes and results from previous discussions with the National Organizing Commission (NOC), as well as consultations with NIPS and other allied organizations were considered when drafting the plan. The plan started with an assessment of the party's position after the May 2004

Textbox 16: Reproductive Health Legislation

Now that LP is the ruling party, President Aquino, who also serves as honorary party chairman, plays an important role in policy development. The case of Responsible Parenthood and Reproductive Health Act of 2012 serves as a case in point. In 2000, the Philippines signed the Millennium Declaration committing to the millennium development goals by 2015, including promoting gender equality and health. In August 2010, the government announced a collaborative communication strategy with USAID to promote family planning called "May Plano Sila".

Widely known as the Reproductive Health (RH) Act, this law aims to guarantee universal access to methods of contraception, fertility control, sex education and maternal care. When the law was in the process of being drafted, however, it encountered strong opposition from conservative members of society.

To promote the bill and to show his strong support, President Aquino invited members of the House of Representatives to two private luncheons, first to help move along the bill, and then to gauge whether or not to give marching orders to the chamber's majority in order to pass the bill. Once House allies heeded his original plea, the president tried to ease the fears of the Catholic clergy by organizing several meetings between the bishops, lawmakers and reproductive health advocates with minimal results.

As the House prepared for the final vote, the LP president, the Secretary of Interior and Local Government, Manuel Roxas II, and a former LP president all called a congressional caucus in the party headquarters to categorically ask their House allies to support the proposed legislation. There were even reports that President Aquino himself joined LP leaders in personally phoning representatives. They were given instructions to vote in favor of the legislation or to skip the session, with a high ranking party member warning that the party might sanction members who did not support the bill.[44] This was the way the party showed its solidarity with President Aquino after he certified the bill as an urgent measure.

There were no specific details on how the party would sanction members who refused to toe the party line. In Philippine political culture, however, it is generally believed that the president, as well as the speaker of the House of Representatives, who is usually politically aligned with the President, can use their influence to release funds, allocate committee chairmanships and provide other incentives to pass the administration's priority legislation. As a result of President Aquino's support, the RH bill passed in both Houses of Congress and was signed into law before the end of 2012.

elections, followed by a consensus on desired directions in immediate and longer-term. These include the need to: strengthen the education, coordination and cohesion of party members; take firm party positions on timely issues and actively communicate them externally; and work on functioning better as a unit and having the party work as a unified national organization.

To this end, the party called for the continuation of liberal policy and democracy fora as venues to build consensus among party members and officials on issues. Once the platform is finalized, the fora can become a venue to broadcast the party's position on issues and engage other forces in a public debate. The party could also enter into partnerships and alliances to help achieve its goals, as seen in the formulation of the Social Contract with the Filipino People.

Social Contract with the Filipino People

In line with the conclusions of the strategic plan, the LP, in coordination with various organizations, played a prominent role in the formulation then-Senator Aquino's manifesto for the 2010 presidential elections. The contract's origins can be traced to December 2009 when 50 campaign leaders met to plan and structure the campaign of Senator Aquino and his vice presidential running mate, Senator Mar Roxas.

The president of NIPS convened the campaign's policy group to develop a platform for government and the main messages of the campaign. He was assisted by LP Congresswoman Dina Abad as well as a number of government and sectoral leaders, not all of whom were members of the LP. The policy group then organized clusters to write policy reform proposals and facilitate discussions in various areas,

namely: business and economic development, education, governance, foreign policy, agriculture, health, and other concerns.[43] The result of this process was a 16 point agenda for the Aquino presidency dubbed as the "Social Contract with the Filipino People". The agenda focuses on six issue areas: transformational leadership, economy, government service, gender equality, peace and order, and the environment.

Elements of the Social Contract were clearly drawn from the platform of change that the LP and volunteer groups formulated for the 2010 elections and serve as President Aquino's guidepost in governance. Pledges the president made during the campaign - anti-corruption, reproductive health, framework peace agreement and educational reform being prominent examples – have been realized in various forms of legislation. However, there are still bills which are in line with the social contract that remain pending in Congress. One example is the Freedom of Information (FOI) bill, which was sponsored by a prominent LP Congressman Lorenzo "Erin" Tanada but only got lukewarm support from the administration. The case of FOI, together with reproductive health (RH) legislation described in Textbox 16 shows the enormous political clout of the president in the enactment of certain pieces of legislation.

Reforming the Policy Development Process

While the party constitution clearly identifies the bodies responsible for setting the party's policy direction, the preeminent role given to the party president means that progress, or lack thereof, in policy development is largely in his or her hands. Similar to the Philippine society as a whole, the LP is dominated by larger than life personalities who often define the nature and direction of the institution, resulting in leaders who are indistinguishable from the party. Many observers agree that preoccupation with personalities rather than institutions is a key reason why the country has a stunted political development. Now that the party is in power, this preoccupation with personalities manifests itself in an overdependence on President Aquino's policy pronouncements. While it is necessary for the party policies to be consistent with those of President Aquino's, the LP could have been more proactive in terms of policy development. In the debates on the highly controversial RH bill for example, the party position was decided only after the president certified the bill as urgent.

Three years after the LP came to power the policy process remains essentially the same. Party representatives attribute the lack of reform on two things. First, key LP officials were recruited to be part of the president's cabinet from 2010-2012 and have spent much of their time and energy focusing on governance rather than internal party issues. Second, from 2012-2013, the party's primary concern was the midterm elections.

However, party officials recognize that the two years following the 2014-2015 midterm elections present an opportunity to address various party-building issues before the party turns back into an electoral machine for the 2016 presidential elections. These officials identify Liberal Citizens and NIPS as groups that have the potential to make important contributions to policy development. Liberal Citizens is the party's attempt to engage and mobilize grassroots support for the reform agenda, particularly from women, farmers, the fishing community, youth, labor and the urban poor. The group claims to have more than 20,000 members nationwide.

Initially, these sectors were mobilized primarily to support the party during elections. This strategy, however, carries the risk of alienating or politicizing the sectors, and some sectoral leaders may not want to be identified with a specific political party, especially given the generally negative perception of parties in the Philippines. In other instances, sectoral leaders may want to join the LP because it is the party in power, assuming their projects would be given greater support. There is a move to work with Liberal Citizens to further democratize LP's policy-making processes. This proposal includes two main elements:

1. Liberal Citizens Policy Discussions - In each province, municipality or city, three people make up the group's organizational structure, comprised of a sectoral leader, community organizer and information technology specialist. This structure would facilitate communication about policy issues between the party and the local constituents. The sectoral leader and the community organizer would facilitate discussions or debates on policy questions at the grassroots level. The results of these policy discussions would then be

transmitted to the national party headquarters by the information technology specialist.

2. Policy Synthesis by NIPS - Once the party headquarters has compiled the inputs from the policy discussions, NIPS would be tasked with distilling the various policy positions on the issue discussed, aggregate these positions, and present them in a concise, readable format. After this is done, NIPS could then call a roundtable discussion between national sectoral leaders and key government officials from both the executive and the legislative branches. Once a policy consensus is reached, NIPS would issue a memorandum to the concerned government officials indicating the LP's policy position on the issue. The policy position would also be published on the party website so the general public could provide their feedback.

The recent electoral victory and entry of a younger breed of liberals into the party could also strengthen party-building processes, which will hopefully transform the LP into a true "people's party", particularly in terms of citizen engagement in the formulation, implementation and review of party policies.

THE NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY, BRITISH COLUMBIA, CANADA

Party History

The British Columbia New Democratic Party (BCNDP) is a section of the New Democratic Party (NDP) of Canada which was established in 1961. There have been 13 general elections in British Columbia (BC) since the BCNDP's establishment, and the party has formed the government on three occasions – in 1972, 1991 and 1996. The BCNDP is a left of center party, traditionally seen as strong on social issues, primarily health care, education, environmental protection, and issues related to the elimination of poverty. The NDP of Canada, and by extension the BCNDP, is a member of Socialist International.

In 2001, after nine and a half years as the governing party, the BCNDP lost the provincial elections. Although the party received almost 22 percent of the popular vote, the support translated to just two seats in the legislature. This tremendous defeat, after several difficult years in government, spurred a debate about the future of the party and whether the BCNDP could regain the trust of the electorate. However, by 2005, with the election of a new leader and the remarkable performance of the two members of the legislative assembly (MLAs) in the legislature and around the province, the party came close to when the BCNDP captured 42 percent of the vote, just 4 percent less than the governing Liberals. The share of the vote remained the same in the following general election held in the spring of 2009. During the May 2013 elections, in a surprise upset, the BCNDP lost three seats, winning only 39.5 percent of the vote, leaving the majority British Columbia Liberal Party with 49 out of 85 seats.

Party Rules

The BCNDP constitution is the only the enduring document that provides the rules for policy development. The foremost decision-making body of the party is the provincial convention where delegates debate and vote on proposed policy resolutions. Conventions are held annually when the party is in government and every two years when the party is in opposition.

The following articles from the Constitution describe the process for the submission of policy resolutions to convention: [45]

> *10.05 Resolutions for consideration by the Convention must originate from Provincial Constituency Associations, from chartered clubs, the Young People's Section, affiliated organizations, the Provincial Council, the Provincial Executive, all Policy Review Committees and duly constituted bodies of the Provincial Party.*
>
> *10.06 Resolutions for consideration by the Convention must be received by the Provincial Secretary not less than 60 days in advance of the date of the Convention.*
>
> *10.07 All resolutions so received shall be distributed to each Provincial Constituency Association, the Young People's Section, and each affiliated organization not less than 30 days in advance of the date of the convention.*
>
> *10.08 All resolutions not dealt with at the convention shall be returned to their originators for further consideration and disposition. The Provincial Council shall advise all Constituency Associations of the disposition of all Convention resolutions within 120 days of the adjournment of the Convention.*

Two other significant provisions set down rules for the interpretation and implementation of policy:

> *11.01 The Provincial Leader shall be the chief political spokesperson of the Party and, subject to the authority of the Convention and the Provincial Council, shall interpret to the public the policies of the Party.*
>
> *15.03 It shall be a specific responsibility of the Provincial Council to amplify, extend and add to policy decisions enunciated by the Convention and that such amplifications or extensions not be inconsistent with existing Convention policy.*
>
> *It shall be the responsibility of MLAs, when they consider there are problems with the clarity, applicability or feasibility of existing Party policy, to bring these problems to the attention of the appropriate policy committees or to the chairperson of the Policy Review Committee.*

Where policy revisions are considered appropriate and urgent or where the problems are unable to be resolved in discussion with the policy committees, the matter shall be directed to the Provincial Council for decision in accordance with this section.

Policy Development in Practice

Policy Review Committees (PRCs), traditionally comprising members of the provincial executive, coordinate the policy process, report directly to the Executive, Provincial Council and, as needed, to the convention. In the month between the receipt of resolutions, and the publication and distribution to the various membership bodies, resolutions and policy statements are examined by the relevant PRC to ensure that submissions are in order and to set priority for debate at conventions. Because the time for debate is limited and the resolutions are debated by topic area, a resolution submitted by a number of sponsors is more likely to have a high ranking in the topic area, and policy statements and resolutions submitted by a PRC are generally given priority. All resolutions not dealt with at the convention are returned to their originators for further consideration and disposition.

There is a process at the convention for members to appeal the ranking of a resolution or to submit an emergency resolution. A resolution is considered an emergency if the issue, or a circumstance affecting the issue, has only become known after the deadline set down in the Constitution. The resolutions committee also deals with amendments to resolutions under debate and reports its decisions to the convention plenary.

The BCNDP has routinely had a robust focus group and opinion research program used to measure potential policy initiatives, or to evaluate how the public responds to existing policy and key priorities. Polling has sometimes been a controversial issue within the party because there are members who are uncomfortable with the idea that strategy is determined by public polling rather than by the existing body of policy passed during the convention. However, over the last 20 years, the party has made an effort to ensure that a wide range of party leaders are regularly briefed. The research is reported to the party executive, Provincial Council and the caucus. Understanding the data that shapes the narrative of a strategy makes leaders more effective communicators.

Party Structures Involved in Drafting Policies

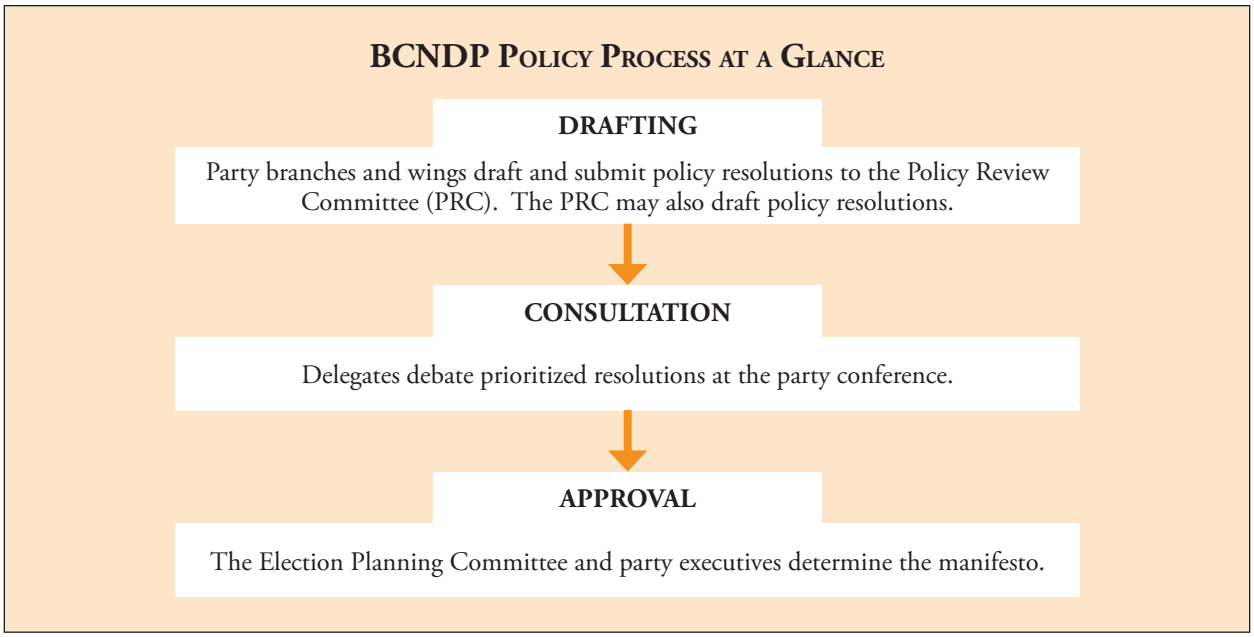
The largest volume of policy resolutions are developed at the constituency association level and each association may use slightly different approaches. Once resolutions have been written, debated, possibly amended and adopted at the constituency level, they are forwarded to the party's provincial secretary.

Policy Review Committees (PRC) - PRCs have routinely authored resolutions and more substantial policy statements, recommending them to convention, in addition to their role managing the resolution review.

Young People's Section and Duly Constituted Bodies - The Constitution authorizes a young people's section (the Young New Democrats, YND), duly constituted bodies (the Women's Rights Committee, WRC), the Standing Committee on the Environment (SCOE), the Standing Committee on Agriculture (SCOA), and the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgendered Caucus (LGBT). These five bodies have representatives on the party executive and are consistently active in their policy development work.

Affiliated Organizations - As a founding partner of the New Democrats, members of the trade union movement including individuals, regional councils, provincial unions and the umbrella organization the BC Federation of Labour, have been the second largest author of resolutions to convention, behind constituency associations. The organizations are represented on the party's executive, with a dedicated vice president position and a member-at-large, and both the party and the caucus work closely with representatives from these affiliated organizations.

Chartered Clubs - In addition to the YND representation on the provincial executive, YND clubs can be chartered through constituency associations and clubs exist at several of the province's post-secondary education institutions. Many constituency associations also have a YND representative on their local executive. Many of British Columbia's electoral districts are geographically large and travel between communities is difficult, sometimes impossible during the winter. Because of this, chartered organizations are established to represent commu-



nities with constituency associations. Although internet-based communications has improved the ability for people to communicate more effectively, many clubs exist to bring people together in their communities.

Provincial Council and Provincial Executive - The party's Provincial Council is made of up of representatives from each of the 85 constituencies, the executive members elected by convention, four members chosen by the YND, six representatives of affiliated organizations, a co-chair of the LGBT caucus and the party's past president. Resolutions from the council and the executive are largely related to administrative policy.

Election Manifesto Development

At a predetermined point in the election cycle, usually 12 months before a general election, the policy work done by the party's PRCs and the caucus policy committees is overtaken by a platform committee, a subcommittee of the Election Planning Committee (EPC) that was established by the party.

The committee will review the previous manifesto to see what has changed over the years, review existing policy and commitments made since the last campaign to identify priorities, evaluate caucus initiatives, and propose new initiatives that can be announced leading up to or during the campaign period. Early cost estimates of the manifesto's proposals are done as initiatives are developed and the priorities are set, but the final decision about what is included in the manifesto cannot be made until much closer to the election. The government tables the annual provincial budget about two months before the campaign begins. At that point the manifesto is completed to ensure accuracy and credibility.

During the stages of platform development there are regular reports to the provincial executive, provincial council and to the caucus. The EPC and provincial executive are the final decision-making authorities.

Policymaking Between Conventions

The Provincial Council meets on a quarterly basis and policy resolutions may be submitted to them for debate and approval. The council is mandated to work on resolutions referred by the convention, often after instructions for more work to be done by the appropriate subcommittee of the PRC. In cases where policy revisions are considered appropriate and urgent, or where the problems are unable to be resolved through discussion with the policy committees, the matter is directed to the Provincial Council for decision in accordance with this section. Between council meetings and the convention the authority to deal with policy resolutions rests with the provincial executive, which meets on a monthly basis or as frequently as required.

The party statutes identify the provincial leader as the chief political spokesperson of the party. The leader, subject to the authority of the convention and

the Provincial Council, interprets the policies of the party to the public. If necessary, leaders' speeches at convention address any tensions or concerns, setting the tone for discussion and policy debate.

The MLAs bring any questions regarding the clarity, applicability or feasibility of party policy to the attention of the appropriate policy committees, or to the chairperson of the PRC. While party statutes identify the convention as the foremost decision-making body, by tradition and practice, the parliamentary caucus is the senior and most active deliberative body. When the legislature is in session the caucus meets daily to discuss responses or strategies regarding emerging issues. The party leader must then decide on how to proceed when faced with issues that require a quick response, where party policy is not clear or where the party's position could create political difficulties. Taking the issue to the Provincial Council or executive, although called for in the Constitution and the preferred path, is not always practical and the management of urgent issues has sometimes caused a rift between the caucus and the party.

Outside of mandated party gatherings, the party and the caucus use various communication methods to keep the membership informed about ongoing work including a party newsletter, routine email distribution of caucus news releases and other publications.

Policymaking in Government

When in power, the policy implementation process is straightforward, albeit often very difficult. The party leader, now the premier, forms a cabinet and cabinet committee system to reflect the priorities from the party's campaign. A legislative agenda is put together based on the election platform so the party is ready for the first 90 or 180 days. Draft legislation, based on BCNDP policy initiatives, is sent to the caucus to address major obstacles before it is introduced in the House.

At the opening of each legislative session, a "Speech from the Throne" is delivered in the House outlining the government's agenda. This document lays out the ongoing delivery of responses to issues on which the party campaigned and possibly new initiatives that respond to priorities set at intervening party conventions. However, in the early part of a mandate, there is little, if any, policy development done by the party because of the substantial work done leading up to the election.

The government can appoint a number of legislative standing committees that include opposition and government MLAs to pursue policy development around any controversial issues. If the committees are convened to work on an issue, public hearings and travel throughout the province are frequently part of the process.

Policymaking in Opposition

The opposition caucus is given a budget based on a formula related to the number of MLAs in the caucus and the leader of the official opposition is given an additional amount. It has been the tradition in the BCNDP caucus to pool these funds in order to hire staff and fund activities. Related to policy development, the staff complement includes research and communication teams, a policy director, and an outreach director who report to the leader. While the party's resources for policy development are limited and it relies primarily on volunteer participation, there is a more substantial resource in the caucus staff. The research, policy development and outreach activities undertaken by the caucus staff is work done to support the MLAs in the legislature and support the caucus' responsibilities as critics to government ministers.

As Textbox 7 in the comparative section indicates, the BCNDP uses a "critic" or shadow cabinet system to assign different MLAs as lead coordinators for particular policy areas. MLAs also use the daily question period, private member bills, statements and motions to highlight the party's policy positions. In addition to their House duties, all MLAs are assigned to various committee work, either with the legislative standing committees mentioned earlier or with internal caucus committees that mirror the party's PRCs, the Social Policy Committee and the Sustainable Economy Policy Committee. To deal with specific issues such as minimum wage increases, climate change or issues important to members from rural British Colombia, MLAs can create special task forces or committees.

The caucus regularly meets in different communities around the province when the legislature is not sitting. It targets organizations unlikely to travel to the provincial capital to provide critics with a

provincial perspective on issues as policy is being considered.

Finally, MLAs are routinely assigned as a "buddy" to a constituency that is not held by a BCNDP member. The party usually makes assignments based on geographical proximity so that the MLA can easily visit constituency executive members to keep them updated on the activities of the caucus and provide them with advice and assistance.

Lessons Learned

Although there have been many changes to the BCNDP's policymaking infrastructure over the years, the fundamentals have remained the same and are detailed in the party's Constitution. The bedrock of party policy development is the membership of the party. The participation of individual members in their local constituency associations and at party conventions, and the leadership of those members on various executive bodies or as elected representatives, is critical to the process. Successful policy development and implementation in the BCNDP has recognized the tension between ideology (the party) and the responsibility of governing (the inevitability of certain constraints). The duty to find the right balance is held primarily by the party leader, with the assistance of the party executive and the parliamentary caucus.

Party rules outlining the provincial leader's responsibilities in interpreting and communicating policies have sometimes been a source of tension within the party and the parliamentary caucus. Although a great deal of the party's policy is clear in its intent, there is also a large body of policy that was adopted, simply stated, when times were different. A governing party, mindful of the electorate's increasing anxiety about the tax burden and public debt, or an opposition party needing to convince the electorate that it is ready to govern, may need latitude in the implementation of certain policies. The party leader must find a critical balance in which the values of the policy - if not the precise policy direction - are upheld and a compromise is found and adopted; this balancing act is often a struggle.

Similarly, MLAs have formal and informal responsibilities in party policy processes including as cabinet ministers or opposition critics. MLAs have many avenues to participate in the party's policy development process. They provide leadership through their constituency associations and throughout the party as a cabinet Minister, opposition critic or other duties assigned by the leader. MLAs are automatic delegates to convention and there is, by tradition, an MLA on the provincial executive. They have a voice, but no vote, at Provincial Council meetings and there is an expectation that they work closely with PRCs. Thus, although party rules do not detail the policy development role of MLAs, in practice, they can have one of the largest roles.

Finally, as the "Review, Renew, Rebuild" initiative described in Textbox 17 illustrates, at different times, concerns have been raised about the resolutions process, and the need to reconcile contradictory proposals or update outdates ones that have accumulated over time.

Textbox 17: The "Review, Renew, Rebuild" Initiative

In 2001, the party lost its governing majority and was left with just two MLAs. Within two weeks of the party's defeat, a proposal entitled "Review, Renew, Rebuild" was presented to the Provincial Council for feedback and was soon being implemented. A pillar of this initiative was a policy review process, as BCNDP policy does not expire and there is no system in place for regular policy review. At this time, documents that summarized policies passed by convention, the party's record in government and election reforms were out of date. The initiative therefore sought input from the constituency associations to reconcile new policies that contradicted existing policies; retire policies that were out of date; and integrate standalone policies into larger policy resolutions or platforms that were more accessible to the media and the general public.

The Review, Renew, Rebuild plan was the focus of the fall convention and the basis for seven regional conventions held in the spring of 2003. At these events, participants discussed alternatives to the convention resolution process, the role of the Policy Review Committees and other issues related to a revitalized policy process. Although fundamental changes were not made to the process, the membership was engaged. One tangible result was the development of a policy database that was made available to members through the party's website.

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY, BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

Brief Party History

The Social Democratic Party of Bosnia and Herzegovina (SDP BiH) traces its roots back to the Austro-Hungarian empire. Formed in 1909, it was the country's first multiethnic party. In the 1930s, the party joined the Yugoslav League of Communists, which led the antifascist resistance during World War II. After the war, the Yugoslav League of Communists ruled the country without any political opposition for 45 years, until the introduction of multiparty democracy in 1990. In the first multiparty election in 1991, the League of Communists of Bosnia and Herzegovina won 12.3 percent of the vote. During the 1992-1995 war in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH), the party changed its name back to SDP BiH. It was in government during the war and again from 2000-2002.

For the first time in its century-long history, in the October 2010 general election SDP BiH became the country's largest political party by winning the most votes. The party's list for the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina received 284,000 votes, while the SDP BiH candidate for the tri-partite state presidency, Zeljko Komsic, won the post with 337,000 votes. The party currently holds eight out of 42 seats in the BiH House of Representatives as well as 28 out of 98 in the House of Representatives in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (FBiH). FBiH, along with Republika Srpska, are the two entities that make up the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The party is part of the ruling coalitions in BiH, FBiH and in five of the 10 cantons in FBiH. The party also won 11 out of 143 mayoral seats in the 2012 municipal election.

Party Identity

In its program, SDP BiH defines itself as a "party of the left political orientation…a party of the workers and those who sustain themselves through their own work" and an "organization of the… constituent peoples (and ethnic minorities) and citizens who accept the values of a social state and civil society."[46] SDP BiH is a member of the Party of European Socialists and Socialist International. SDP BiH has a party statute and a party program, the latest versions of which were adopted at the Party Congress in 2005. Both were developed by working groups made up of high ranking party officials and party affiliated academics, presented to party branches and subsequently adopted by the Congress. Both documents provide a great amount of detail about the party's values, its vision for the country and internal procedures. In 2005, citing requests from party members, the party adopted a move from a center-left to a left stance.

Party Rules

Under SDP BiH's statutes, the party has four permanent forums for youth, seniors, union activists, and women. These bodies were founded by and are under the direct supervision of the main board. Each of these forums has their own procedures and rules, developed and adopted by their members. In addition, the party statute allows for the *ad hoc* formation of advisory or working groups, forums, and councils. These units can be formed at any level by the corresponding party structures and take different shapes and forms; each has its own rules and procedures and may include individuals who are not members of the party. These *ad hoc* entities may provide advice on a specific policy issue or may be asked to formulate a policy proposal on a relevant issue. Each one of these units can propose party policies on their own or can be asked to create relevant policies by the party main board, with or without a request from the party presidency.

SDP BiH members serving in legislative bodies are bound to implement the party program and have to follow the decisions of the party presidency on policy issues as well as on day-to-day issues. Party whips, known as chiefs of the SDP caucus, are automatically members of the party presidency, along with the president and the secretary general. State and entity level whips are directly responsible to the party presidency, while the lower level whips work under the supervision and guidance of the regional or municipal party leadership.

The party's main board provides guidelines on the implementation of the party program adopted by the Congress. However, the statute stipulates that the main board cannot make changes to the party program or the statute. Between elections, the party uses its forums and councils to gather in depth

opinions on issues that arise during various political debates. For example, the legal council frequently helps the party presidency take positions on the process of constitutional changes in the country. Also, the development council produces *ad hoc* internal position papers on key economic and development issues.

Party Renewal and Policy Development for the 2008 Local Elections

The party suffered a serious defeat in the 2006 general election and was pushed aside in the subsequent coalition talks. It remained in opposition for the next four years. There were two different schools of thought within SDP BiH about the causes of this second consecutive defeat in a general election. The first held that the party ideology and its multiethnic character limited the party's ability to attract sufficient votes in a country sharply divided along ethnic lines. Others posited that it was not the party's ideology and values that led to the 2006 electoral loss, but rather the party's rigidity, its inability to integrate new groups and its poor messaging during the campaign. By early 2007, those in the latter camp prevailed and two major changes were made within the party. First, a new secretary general, Nermin Niksic, was appointed and given the task of reorganizing the party infrastructure and broadening the base. Second, the party undertook efforts to improve its communications and improve outreach to voters.

SDP BiH held its first "Days of Strategic Planning" in April 2007, where 50 of the most influential party members from throughout the country met to discuss how to broaden the party's appeal and promote change within the existing party structure. The conclusions of the three-day strategic planning session were presented to the party's main board by the newly appointed secretary general and received the necessary endorsement.

In the next three and a half years, the party undertook major internal reforms and worked hard to change its public image. The first visible public change was the introduction of a new logo, featuring a simpler, more modern combination of the traditional red and white colors. At the same time, more meaningful reform efforts were taking place behind the scenes. This involved a new policy of reaching out to different stakeholders who shared some of the key values SDP BiH considered crucial for the future of the country. For example, regular meetings were held with the key figures in the nongovernmental sector. These meetings resulted in the first post-war series of citizen protests, bringing together civic-minded and left-leaning groups against the mayor and the cantonal government in Sarajevo. The party also courted leading liberal academics, inviting them to participate in a variety of party activities and sharing their views on key issues with the party leaders. In addition, the party reinvigorated contact with the representatives of leading labor unions, which resulted in the party publicly supporting workers in several high-profile strikes.

SDP BiH also worked to improve its image through participatory local policy development processes in selected municipalities ahead of the 2008 local elections. NDI provided technical support for these efforts while SDP BiH used polls from the International Republican Institute to monitor its ratings. In addition, the party began commissioning its own qualitative and quantitative research including analysis of media coverage of its own statements and activities as well as that of its leading opponents. Based on these efforts, SDP BiH received approximately 190,000 votes in the 2008 local election, representing an almost 40 percent increase over the number of votes attracted nationwide in the 2006 general elections. This impressive result left little room for doubt that the changes introduced in 2007 were paying dividends. Consequently, the party began investing even more resources in qualitative and quantitative data gathering and analysis.

The data gathered and analyzed revealed that the disappointment in the ruling coalition was not in itself a guarantee that disillusioned voters would choose SDP BiH: polls and focus groups showed that most undecided voters wanted to hear concrete ideas about how things could get better. In addition, public opinion research showed that in the municipalities where local SDP BiH branches had developed their policies through consultative methods and with NDI assistance, the party had gained a higher number of votes. This helped create momentum for the 2010 general election campaign.

Policy Development for the 2010 General Elections

By early 2009, SDP BiH embarked on the process to develop a new election program for the 2010 general

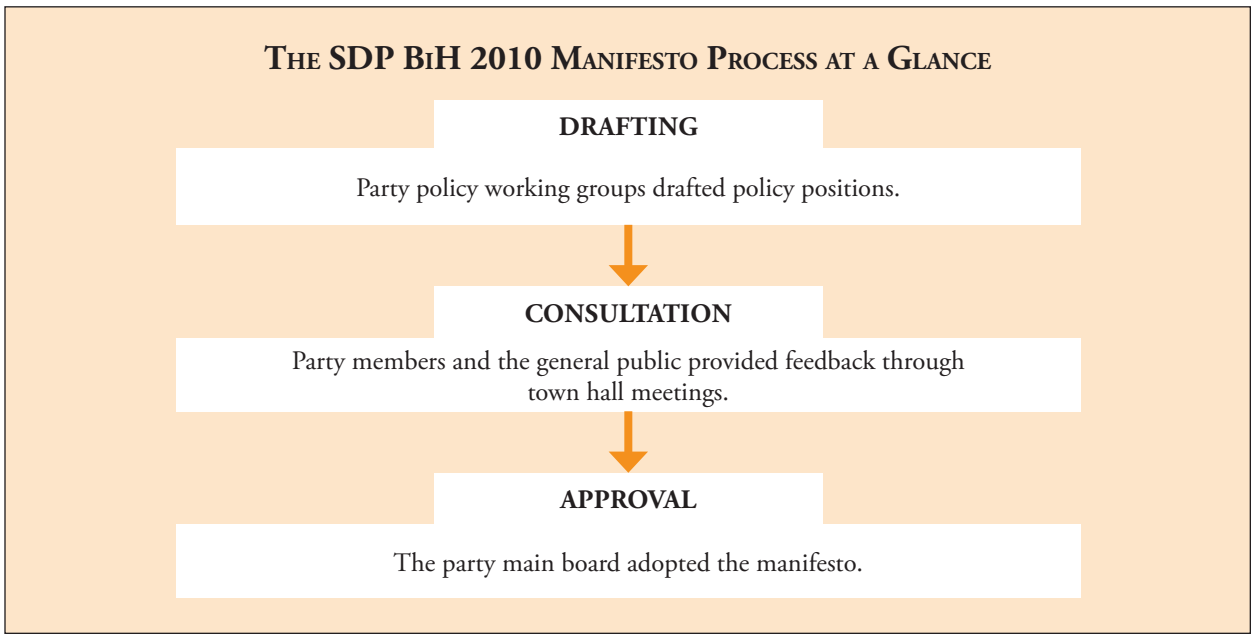
elections. The fifth party congress tasked the newly elected main board and the party presidency with development of an election program based on the policies that had been adopted at the fourth party congress in 2005. The board was given permission to convene working groups made up of high-ranking party members, independent experts and representatives from civil society, unions, local party branches, youth and others groups.

The party's main board subsequently approved the composition and the mandate of five working groups to develop five key party policies for the 2010 election program in the areas of the economy, social justice, justice, education and health. The five policy areas were chosen based on the results of the public opinion polls, focus groups, and round the clock media monitoring and analysis.

The five working groups were heterogeneous and included experts from around the country. Group membership was not restricted to party members and one of the main goals behind the formation of these groups was to improve the party's approval rating among the non-member citizenry. The process of developing policies was therefore seen as equally important to the actual policies it helped to produce. Furthermore, this process was seen as a way to reach out to different groups in society, such as unions and civil society groups, that had an interest in influencing and shaping party policies. An *ad hoc* body for the development of the election program was also created, which was made up of the five group leaders and the secretary general. NDI staff provided technical support to this committee.

Each of the five groups drafted a policy proposal in a relevant area which was then debated by constituents; each working group conducted more than 70 public discussions in urban centers across the country. More than 10,000 citizens participated and provided input. Local party branches played an important role in mobilizing members and citizens to participate in these discussions. Many aspects of the proposed policies were changed or excluded as a result of these public meetings. For example, the first draft of the education policy stipulated that the party would implement obligatory high school education for all citizens in the country. Representatives of the teachers unions liked this proposal, but public discussions showed that the country simply did not have the necessary resources to implement it. Hence, the proposal was altered and the policy position was abandoned after the teachers' union representatives agreed that the budgetary implications of such a policy would be catastrophic.

Similar adjustments occurred in the other four policy areas. For example, during the public discussions on health policy, it became apparent that the process for approving the medication covered by insurance companies disadvantaged domestic pharmaceutical companies. Consequently, the revised health policy included measures to ease the process for domestic companies to have their products included in the list of covered medications.



The party secretary general regularly reported the changes and the progress made in the drafting of the proposals to the party presidency, and the party main board. Upon the completion of the drafting procedure and the countrywide series of public discussions, the 2010 election program was adopted by the main board.

Policy Implementation in Coalition Government

The SDP BiH achieved a historic victory in the 2010 general election. For the first time since its foundation, the party became the leading political force in the country. However the complex government structure led to a difficult coalition formation processes. The party formed coalition governments in five of the 10 cantons in FBiH and four months after the election it reached an agreement with other parties to form the FBiH government. The 2010 SDP BiH election program served as the basis for government formation at both the cantonal and entity levels. A majority of the provisions in the five policies in the election platform found their way into the four-year federation coalition agreement made in March 2011, with a few of the smaller coalition partners compromising on some of their core principles in order to sign onto the coalition platform. This was considered a great achievement for SDP BiH as a political force representing a multiethnic constituency and antifascist values.

Immediately following the party's 2010 election victory, SDP BiH highlighted several legislative initiatives reflecting its core values, such as the law on seizure of illegally acquired assets, the law on the banning fascist and neo-fascist organizations and constitutional reform. However, negotiations for government formation at the state level took almost another year. The coalition negotiations presented party leaders with a difficult choice: compromise on a number of key policy positions in order to join the government at the state level, or adhere to the provisions of the 2010 manifesto and remain in opposition. After a vigorous internal debate, the party leadership decided to compromise on various aspects of its election program in order to be a part of the ruling coalition at the state level. Soon after the state level government was formed, the party deputy president Zeljko Komsic threatened to resign all duties because of the compromises. However, the majority of the party leadership held the view that given the party's vote share and party activists' expectations, SDP BiH had to join government. Komsic left the party in July 2012, given his concern that the party's agreement to electoral reforms was inconsistent with its values.

While SDP BiH has faced some criticism for its policies during the coalition government from watchdog groups such as *Istinomjer.ba (*Truth-O-Meter), it has also been able to achieve certain policy successes. Based on an agreement with the International Monetary Fund, the 2006-2010 ruling coalition tried reduce veterans' benefits. Veterans' organizations responded with a series of protests, effectively ending the attempt at cuts. The SDP BiH election manifesto for 2010 included a number of proposals on veterans' benefits and following the election, a high-profile member of SDP BiH took over as the FBiH minister for veterans' affairs. The Minister mobilized the entire party structure in support of his efforts, highlighting the funds wasted on individuals who did not qualify for benefits and the lack of clear criteria for granting funds to various categories of veterans. Despite the high approval rating and political influence enjoyed by veterans associations, by framing the issue as an effort to protect legitimate veterans from fraud, the Minister succeeded in implementing a provision of the 2010 manifesto and turning an initially unpopular policy into a successful one.

Lessons Learned

SDP BiH's focus on concrete policies in a country as diverse and divided as BiH marked a significant step forward for the country and the party. Mainly through SDP BiH's contribution to the debate about issues affecting citizens' quality of life. Identity politics often push real life problems to the back burner; focusing on nationalist and populist issues that frequently reflect ethnic or religious based politics can prevent moderate democratic forces from competing. SDP BiH did not ignore the political debate about identity, but instead engaged the public on important quality of life issues to show many voters who would not have previously considered supporting the party that it had specific ideas about to improve lives. In addition, SDP BiH's proposals demonstrated that the party had thought through plans for achieving its campaign promises. This helped to increase the party's credibility and conveyed the image of a party ready to govern. Having clearly conceived policies is

critical and SDP BiH used its policies to its advantage in multiple contexts during the campaign. However, political parties also need to field charismatic and popular candidates who can help their parties attract votes.

The policy drafting process helped SDP BiH to diversify its base by reaching out to individuals and groups that traditionally did not agree with all of the party's agenda. The five groups that led the policy drafting process were diverse and open to non-party members, such as high-profile experts in the field of education who were invited to participate and provide their input but who did not identify with the party in any way. Through the drafting process, the party also forged relationships with minority groups in areas across the country which traditionally voted for the nationalist parties because they felt threatened by the majority group. The justice policy group reached out to those groups in a systematic way by including them in the drafting of the policy and getting party officials to publicly advocate for equal opportunity. This was especially effective when SDP BiH campaigned to end the two schools under one roof practice, a form of segregation in education.

SDP BiH spent over a year developing its five pre-election policies. That enabled the party to conduct meaningful activities and reach out to voters during times when no other party was spending much time courting voters. Many citizens remembered that SDP BiH was in their town listening to their problem solving proposals for their most pressing issues.

BiH has one of the least developed road networks in Europe. SDP BiH promised to "build more kilometers of highway than all the governments before it put together". This was one of the main talking points before, during and after the campaign when the party took control of the government. It was a smart promise to make because the country had less than 40 kilometers of highway in 2010, meaning it would be easy to live up to this promise in a four-year term. Today, two and a half years after the 2010 general election, SDP BiH still uses this policy as proof of its competence and credibility as BiH will have almost 60 additional kilometers of highway before the next general election in 2014.

THE UNION OF DEMOCRATIC FORCES, BULGARIA

Party History and Background

The fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 marked the beginning of a transition period in Bulgaria toward democratic rule. The Communist Party was forced to give up its power after street protests, and freedom of speech and association, which had been suppressed for decades, was quickly utilized by emerging political parties, unions, civil society organization, and clubs. On December 7, 1989, nine politically-minded organizations joined to form the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF). In 1990, six political parties joined the group. As a result of the elections that year, the country's first free polls since 1931, UDF had the second largest parliamentary group, becoming the main opposition coalition in the country.

The clubs, associations, unions and political parties that formed UDF initially coalesced around a platform of anticommunism, despite different foci and ideological backgrounds. Once they entered Parliament and faced the challenge of creating policies around other issues, it was difficult for the members to agree on joint priorities. These disagreements led to early splits in the coalition. For instance, divisions over trials against former communist leaders created four factions that, while remaining in the coalition, further inhibited UDF's ability to reach agreement on policy positions. Given these difficulties, in the lead-up to the 1991 elections, the coalition's platform remained largely general with few policy specifics. Although UDF won the elections, internal conflict and splits continued, ultimately leading to a vote of no confidence in the government. The 1994 parliamentary elections resulted in the defeat of UDF.

Clarifying the Party's Ideology

In 1994, the party elected a new chair, Ivan Kostov. Kostov was committed to unifying and solidifying the groups into a formal political party under a common ideology, which he believed would help crystallize the party's identity and policy priorities. Although a broad Christian Democratic ideology was difficult to apply to all groups within the political party, this ideological profile was thought to align most closely to the anticommunist leanings of UDF. As part of an efforts to join the European People's Party and to unite the party's disparate groups around Christian Democratic values, with the assistance of the Konrad Adenaeur Foundation the party created the "Charter of the Values and the Principles of UDF as a European People's Party". While the document succeeded in outlining UDF's ideological leanings and connecting the party to a traditional political family, the efforts to define ideology left the party with little time and resources to develop policies on pertinent issues.

Developing Policymaking Rules and Structures

During this time, efforts were also underway to streamline the party's decision-making structures. In

Textbox 18: UDF Structures Resulting From the Reforms

National Convention - This body, which no longer exists, was the highest authority of UDF. It was responsible for adopting and legitimizing the party bylaws and political program, and directly electing the members of the National Executive Council.

National Executive Council (NEC) - This body consisted of 11 individuals: the UDF Chair and his or her four deputies; the Secretary General (responsible for the organizational work and communication with the local structures); the Chair of the Parliamentary Group; and four regular MPs. The NEC no longer exists.

National Council (NC) - This was and still is the highest body of the party between conventions, and consists of the chairs of the local structures and a member of each regional body's leadership. It also includes all the MPs from the UDF parliamentary group, as well as the members of the NEC. To better represent cities with larger populations, larger cities receive special status and are given more representatives in the NC.

Controlling Council - This oversight body, elected by the NC and consisting of four people, still exists today. It is responsible for the supervision of the party finances at all levels. The Council also has prerogatives in considering complaints regarding refused membership to individuals who want to become members of UDF and also complaints against members who have been suspended from the party.

an attempt to institutionalize policy development, the party created policy and platform development structures. Various coalition partners representing the many voices in the party participated in these groups. The National Executive Council (NEC) consisted of 11 individuals: the UDF Chair and his or her four deputies; the Secretary General, responsible for the organizational work and communication with the local structures; the Chair of the Parliamentary Group; and four regular Members of Parliament chosen from the different parties in the coalition. The National Coordination Council (NCC) gave the NEC the power to develop the coalition's National Election Program for the upcoming local elections. Specialized working groups focused on particular issues raised by MPs from the parliamentary commissions dealing with specific topical areas such as healthcare, education, economy and agriculture. These groups included representatives of the local and regional structures of UDF, and experts in different policy fields. The NEC established a general working group to prepare the program's basic points and it incorporated ideas highlighted by the specialized working groups. These working groups were *ad hoc* and ceased to exist after the election.

Following the 1995 local elections, UDF continued to reorganize its structures and articulate its values. Textbox 18 summarizes the changes. Efforts to increase the influence of local structures in decision-making processes led to the creation of multiple organizational layers and complicated internal communications. By the time information from the branches reached the regional leadership, the body responsible for communicating to the national structures, much of the useful information gathered at the grassroots was missing or misleading, and localized recommendations for reform were often lost. Given these challenges and simultaneous efforts to develop the statement of principles, the political program for the 1997 elections read as a philosophical essay explaining the Charter instead of providing an overview of specific policy proposals. Although UDF won the elections in 1997, many attribute this success to the poor performance of the previous government, rather than to UDF reorganization.

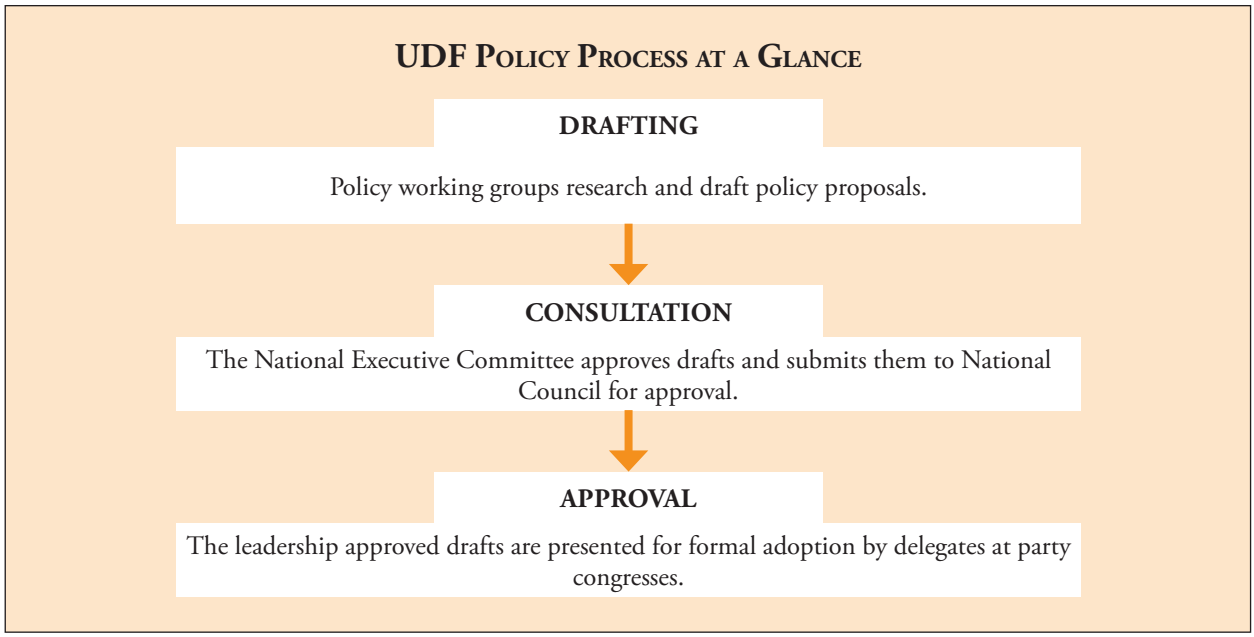
Between 1997 and 2001, as Bulgaria worked toward NATO and EU integration, the UDF government faced a series of policy decisions on issues such as healthcare, education and the pension system that created many fierce debates among the party factions. These divisions highlighted the disparate nature of the party and its struggle to unite around a slate of policy proposals. There continued to be no institutionalized mechanism the party could call on to resolve policy disputes and there was also no process for generating policy positions within the government. Policies were poorly communicated, tested and researched, leaving the general public and even party members confused about the rationale for certain decisions. Top-down decision-making further disenfranchised certain party members who already felt that their opinions were not being heard. For example, when in government, the different groups in the party agreed that privatization of government resources was important, but could not agree on how to approach the process. Some of the members wanted everything to be privatized quickly at a minimal price, and by Western companies. Some insisted on issuing stocks and distributing them among factory workers. Others wanted to privatize certain sectors and allow others to remain state-owned. Party members began to lose faith in UDF, believing that

Textbox 19: UDF Policy Development Groups

According to the UDF Party Rules, the mandate of the policy development groups is to:

1. Develop policy papers and statements on current public issues, suggestions for long term strategies in accordance with the principles and values of UDF, legislative drafts, and questions for the parliamentary control;
2. Assist local structures in drafting policy papers and statements on current local issues relevant for the respective municipality; and
3. Draft statements on issues at the request of the NEC or NC of UDF.

The sector policy secretaries conduct regular meetings with the NEC and the parliamentary group. UDF MPs are obliged to deliver the materials discussed in their respective parliamentary committees to the appropriate sector policy secretaries.



the privatization process was corrupt and not in the best interest of the average Bulgarian citizen. Some MPs, frustrated that they had no way of voicing their opinions, left the parliamentary group over policy disagreements.

Publicly, party leaders attempted to shift the focus from policy to the principles and values of the party outlined in the statement of principles. Executive Council efforts to promote these principles around the country made the party appear even further removed from the demands and interests of the general public. While the party focused on values, the public was interested in hearing the government's position and approach to practical issues such as increasing corruption around the privatization process, EU negotiations that led to the closing of two of the country's nuclear plants and the abuse of power by local UDF party leaders.

Following UDF's poor performance in the 2001 parliamentary elections, the party amended its rules, incorporating provisions which still exist in the bylaws today. The reforms included: simplifying the party structure at the local level to improve intraparty communication; defining the status of the UDF-affiliated organizations such as the youth and women's organizations, and the Small and Medium Enterprise Union; and outlining the roles and responsibility of the National Election Headquarters and the Commission for Internal Elections. Changes to the bylaws also attempted to address the problems the party had encountered with developing policy in the period after an election. The bylaws task the NC with electing "sector policy secretaries" to create and gather expert policy development groups at least once every two months. Textbox 19 summarizes the mandate of these policy groups. They draft interim policy statements and papers for the party, and concentrate on subjects that often replicate the sectoral focus of the Ministries. This allows the party to react to proposed policies when in opposition or take necessary measures for governing when in power. The expert groups present statements and papers to the NEC and the NC for approval and adoption. The party uses a similar but slower moving process to develop policy platforms that are approved by delegate congresses after initial review by the NEC and the NC.

Despite progress made in institutionalizing policy development in the aftermath of the 2001 election, the party's experiences with the sector policy secretaries have been mixed. Some have had greater success than others in securing NEC and the NC approval for their policy proposals. In addition, the participation of the party's affiliated groups in policy development is not specified in party rules and is often ignored. As a result, these groups sometimes hear about policies that relate to their interests or expertise after they have been adopted. Nevertheless, in recent years UDF has successfully influenced several government decisions. In certain areas where political leaders or experts have been nominated to head policy areas, the party has succeeded in creating thorough and well-researched policies. For example, the former leader of an NGO that focused on the economy was nominated to chair

the economic policy group, which has produced a number of well-respected policy papers.

Lessons Learned

Having achieved its initial goal of defeating the communist government, UDF found it difficult to bring its diverse membership together around a joint policy agenda once in government. These challenges, combined with the pressures of government, sometimes resulted in party leaders making policy decisions based on expediency rather than consensus. Given these challenges, the party undertook efforts to clarify its ideology and to develop clearer policymaking rules and structures. While the development of a party statement of principles created a new set of ideologies around which the party's diverse groups could unify, UDF struggled to balance the development of specific policy proposals informed by these broad principles in a way that mobilized the public. As a result, the party appeared out of touch with many voters. Subsequent efforts to develop and institutionalize policymaking efforts took time as the party tried to find the right balance in involving various party units in the process. While the earlier creation of a clear ideology and policy consensus-building process might have helped curb some of the challenges that the party experienced in the 1990s, the party's diverse membership made it nearly impossible to achieve this in its early days.

Ivan Kostov, party chair from 1994-2001, left the UDF in 2004 to create a new political party. Learning from UDF's experiences, Kostov's new party, Democrats for a Strong Bulgaria (DSB), assigned members of its executive to chair its policy development commissions, thus increasing involvement by senior party leaders, ensuring commissions are widely respected within the DSB. In addition, party leaders' active involvement in policy development has motivated working group members to remain engaged. The commission chairs often become party spokespersons for the policy areas their commissions cover, using their expertise to serve as a shadow ministers and to better prepare for positions in government. Including MPs in the process has also strengthened the relationship between the party's policy development groups and the parliamentary group, resulting in less disagreement between the two bodies. DSB has also adopted a template for policy paper development to standardize the process and limited the number of people involved in the process, thereby facilitating consensus building on policy issues. Finally, DSB's affiliated groups are included in policy working groups that correspond to their interests, so their perspectives may be incorporated into the process.

THE UNION FOR A POPULAR MOVEMENT, FRANCE

Background and Summary

The Union for a Popular Movement (UMP) in France was formed in 2002 by former French President and Prime Minister Jacques Chirac as an alliance of several center-right political parties. In advance of national elections, the UMP organizes large consultations on policy and the content of its platform. In preparation for the 2007 presidential and legislative elections, for example, the UMP launched the Project for France, which generated more than 500 policy proposals. In the lead up to the 2012 elections, the UMP unveiled a similar initiative called Project 2012, which canvassed the opinions of broad populations, including party members and supporters, think tanks, professional associations, elected officials, and even voters who were neither members nor supporters of the UMP. While the UMP has engaged in large and inclusive consultation exercises on policy since its earliest days, they are not based in the party statutes, but rather emerged from the pragmatic need to unify and mobilize a diverse coalition of political parties and movements.[47]

Policymaking in Party Rules

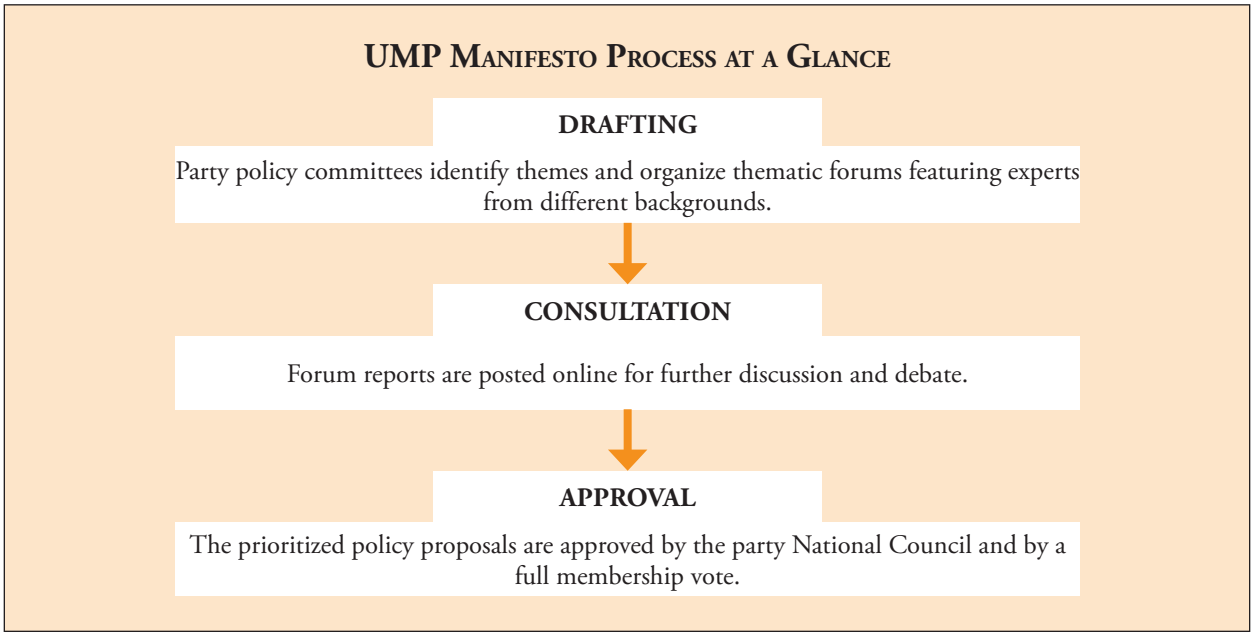
The UMP is governed by a set of rules and internal regulations and regulations that guarantee members the right to engage in debate within the party and to vote at congress. The Congress is composed of all party members in good standing at the time it is held.

The UMP has an orientation committee comprising party national secretaries that is responsible for overseeing the development and implementation of the party's platform. The orientation committee also ensures coordination between the party and its legislators. The party's political bureau appoints these national secretaries based upon the proposal of the party president.[48]

Policymaking in Practice

The UMP has developed an extensive and highly inclusive method of policy development. The party attempts to reach out to as broad an audience as possible to gather feedback, expert advice and opinions on its policy proposals. This massive exercise has been conducted in the years preceding national elections and is overseen by the UMP's secretary general.

For example, in advance of the 2007 presidential and legislative elections, the UMP held a far-reaching consultation exercise on policy known as the Project for France, with the slogan "Let's Build the Platform of the Future: One Platform, One Team." Because the UMP is an alliance of several political parties and movements, it was important to achieve a manifesto supported by all its members.



Policy committees composed of the party's legislators were established. The work of these committees led to 18 separate conferences on specific themes or topics. At the conventions, experts from a variety of different backgrounds were invited to speak. Reports were developed by the conferences and posted on the UMP website for debates that were held from March 2005 - October 2006. Many of these conferences and debates were broadcast live over a website established by the party.

Additionally, the party issued a special magazine to members in which they were asked to participate in a survey by ranking a list of policy areas from most to least important. Party members could also vote online or in branch offices. In the end, more than 500 policy proposals were generated.

An *ad hoc* manifesto committee, chaired by the party leader, assembled the policies into a proposed manifesto, which was submitted to the National Council. The National Council reviewed and amended the proposal and approved a final version, which was put to a vote of all members at party branch offices during a one-week period.

The final manifesto was based around the following five principles:

- work and merit;
- security and respect;
- justice and equity;
- personal responsibility and accountability; and
- trust.

In the lead up to the 2012 elections, the UMP used a similar policy process that is summarized in Diagrams 14 and 15.

Lessons Learned

Although the UMP's rules say relatively little about how party policies are to be developed, in practice, the party used elaborate consultative processes to develop its manifestos for the 2007 and 2012 national elections. Indeed, the party has engaged in large and inclusive consultation exercises on policy since its earliest days. While these practices are not based in the party rules, they emerged from the need to unify and mobilize the diverse coalition of political parties and movements. These experiences illustrate how party rules can be structured to allow officials the flexibility they need to develop policy processes that are suitable for their individual context.

The UMP has used multiple methods to engage different stakeholders in the policy process, including informal surveys, policy forums (some of which have been streamed lived on the internet), special issues of the party magazine, and the option for members to vote on party policies at party branch offices or online. The details of this process have been featured in the party's public relations materials, helping to convey the image of a party willing to listen to ideas from a wide range of people.

Diagram 14: Developing the 2012 UMP Manifesto[49]

December 2010	• Process to develop manifesto 2012 launched.
January 2011	• National Council of Clubs and Think Thanks launched. This new initiative was designed to promote the participation of 33 UMP-affiliated political clubs and think tanks in the policy development process. The Council helps organize policy conferences and meets regularly to discuss the outcomes from these events. • Party structures were invited to engage in policy discussions.
March - December 2011	• Over 20 policy conferences were organized, each tackling a different thematic area such as secularism, job creation, rural life, immigration, women's role in society, the future of social democracy, social justice, tourism and globalization.
September 2011	• Status update on manifesto preparations during the summer meeting.
October 2011	• 1st meeting of the manifesto 2012 drafting committee, which included the leadership of the party, ministers, Members of Parliament and representatives of different party groupings.
November 2011	• 1st Summary Conference: Social and Economic Policies. • 2nd Summary Conference: Education and the Role of the State.
December 2011	• 3rd Summary Conference: France's Role in Europe and the World. • Last meeting of the manifesto 2012 drafting committee. • Draft manifesto was presented to the Political Bureau. • Draft manifesto was distributed to party members.
January 2012	• Members voted on the draft manifesto. • The National Council approved the manifesto.

Diagram 15: UMP's Policy Process by the Numbers

78,000	• Votes cast on the policy proposals on the party website.
17,600	• Submissions by email and mail.
13,000	• Participants in the National Conferences.
8,000	• Comments made on the manifesto.
> 500	• Working group meetings organized.
393	• Speakers at the conferences, including 21 ministers, 86 members of parliament, and 193 experts and foreign visitors.
120	• National secretary, association and MP reports.
> 50	• Colloquia and conferences organized by the National Council of Clubs and think tanks.
27	• National Conferences.

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National Democratic Institute

455 Massachusetts Ave, NW, 8th Floor
Washington, DC 20001
Tel: 202-728-5500
Fax: 888-875-2887

Website: www.ndi.org