

# **REFLECTING, REBUILDING, & RECAPTURE**

## **NPP TOWARDS 2012**

**Presented by:**

**Kwasi Afrifa**

**At NPP-USA's 2009 National Conference**

**Denver, Colorado**

**May 29-31, 2009**

# DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE IN AFRICA

## THE CASE OF GHANA

- **The long-established truism that electoral reform is very uncommon, occurring only in 'extraordinary historical circumstances' (Nohlen 1984), seems no longer appropriate in an age of global constitutional and institutional experimentation. Electoral system design (and reform) has been high on the political agenda of a large number of countries in Africa over the past decade or so.**
- **Growth toward Constitutionalism**
- **Democratization in Africa- 19 countries scheduled for elections in from November 2008 to 2009**
- **Trends of democratization & Challenges in Africa- Kenya, Zimbabwe, (power-sharing) Nigeria, Zambia, Ghana, Senegal, South Africa**
- **Democratization Reversals-Madagascar, Guinea, Mauritania, Somalia**
- **Political party maturation and democratic consolidation**
- **Challenges of democratization in Africa- lack of institutionalization of parties; ethnicization of parties; political party finance; illiteracy and voter civic education, gender inequality and participation; weak civil society organizations (Unions-Social Democratic parties in Scandinavia); poverty, and corruption (party and government)**
- **Democracy and Development Linkage through promotion of governance-African Renaissance/NEPAD**
- **The role of the Diasporas-Nationalist**

# Democratization in Ghana

- **4<sup>th</sup> Republican Constitution ushered in Representative Constitutional Democracy following the 1992 elections**
- **Constitution with 26 Chapters and 2 Schedules- Transitional Provisions and Oaths constitutes the fundamental law of the land**
- **Hybrid Constitution- Presidential and parliamentary systems**
- **Separation of Powers- Executive, Judicial, Legislative- Linkages,**
- **Elections- NDC-1992, 1996; NPP - 2000, 2004; NDC-2008/2009; 2012-?**

# POLITICAL PARTIES

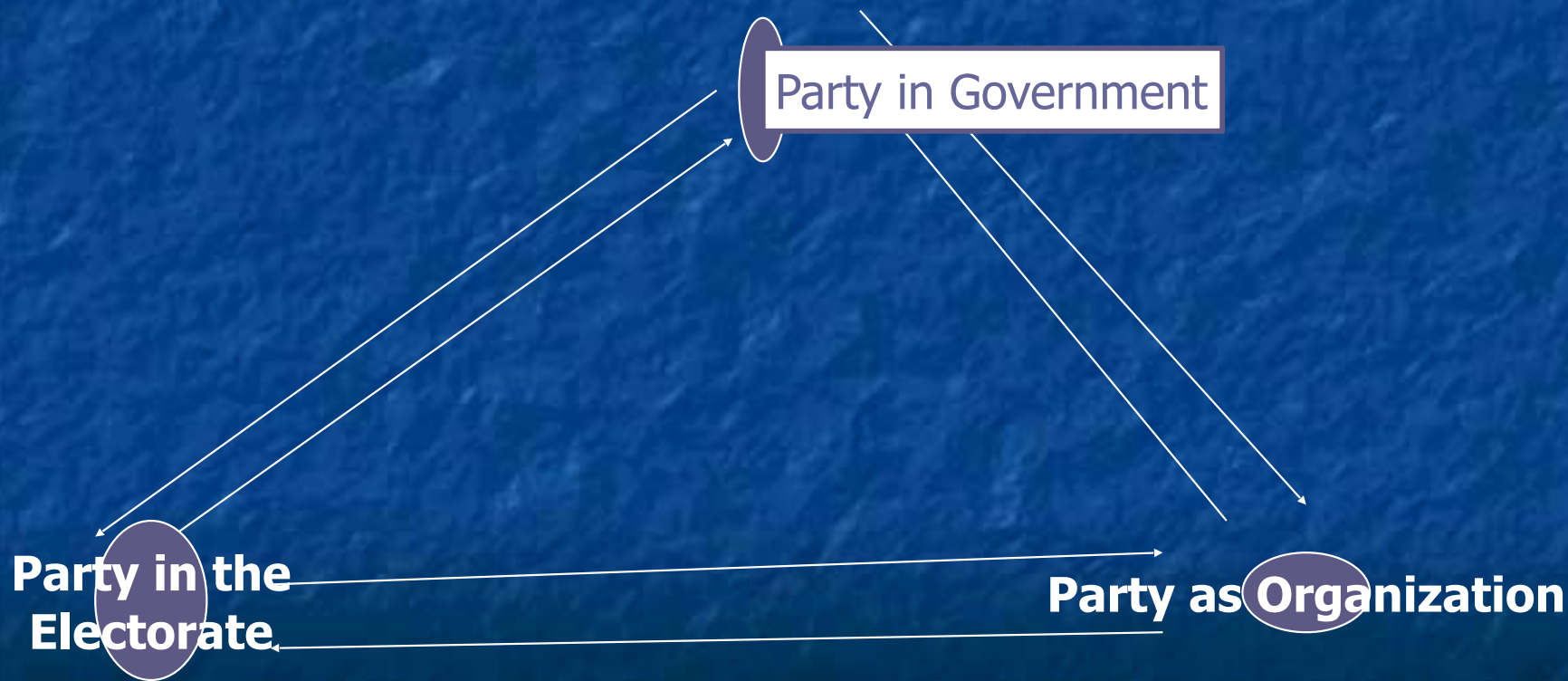
- Democracy cannot function without political parties
- Fundamental underpinnings of democracy are vibrant civil-society and well-structured and robust party system.
- Their establishment and nature are fundamentally extralegal; they are nongovernmental political institutions; their basis lies in the actions of ambitious politicians that created and maintain them.
- E.E. Schattschneider, famously claimed in the 1940s that, "political parties created democracy, and democracy is unthinkable save in terms of parties."
- V.O. Key have argued that political parties consist of three elements: i) party-in-the-electorate; ii) the party-in-government; and iii) the party-as-organization.
- Function- Citizen mobilization, recruitment, socialization; aggregation/articulation of citizens' interests; and electoral accountability through formation of government.

# **REFLECTING & REBUILDING NPP**

- **Reflection-V.O. Key Model**
- **Party in Government**
- **Party in the Electorate**
- **Party as Organization**

# V.O. KEY'S ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

- Schematic Representation



# **The Party-in-Government**

- **Components-Executive, Legislature, Judiciary**

# **The Party-in-the-Electorate**

# The Party-as-Organization

- **Structure: The Franchise Model-Associational Party-Building**
- **Selection & Election of Leaders and Candidates**
- **Membership**
- **Conflict Resolution**
- **Handling Corruption**
- **Communication**
- **Financing**
- **Technology**
- **Electoral Operations**
- **Innovation & Research**
- **Learning Organization**

# Franchise Model

- Bottom-Up Approach



# **Franchise Central Organization**

- **Set centralized organizational policy**
- **Coordinate operations of affiliates**
- **Maximize the efficiencies of scale and standardization**
- **Exploit advantages of local participation in operations and delivery of an organization's product**
- **Central organization operate under established brand, determines the product and set standards for production and labelling**
- **Designs and manages mass marketing and advertising strategies**
- **Provides management help and training**
- **Arranges for supplies needed by local outlets**

# Relationship b/n Central & Local Franchises

- **Relationship between central Org. and local franchises: varies; large and rich or important units may well have a level of independence**
- **Others may be fully owned by the central organizations**
- **Franchise systems can be centralized, federalized, decentralized, based on the efficiencies, philosophies of the org.**
- **Inevitably, there will be friction between the parts as each tries to influence others to its advantage**
- **Detailed franchise contracts spells out structure of relationship; and institutionalized rules; autonomy; and mutual independence**
- **Central org can penalize local affiliates if they fail standards**
- **Provide mechanisms for locals to hold central org. to its policies**

# Advantages

- **In Principle: franchises are flexible, adaptable, produce reliable, identifiable product consumers can count on, leadership free to make decisions about products lines and target markets, attract local investment, generate grassroots participants with an incentive to build and maintain an effective org.**
- **Attuned to local community's perspective, practices and demands than those in remote headquarters; attracting support in volatile competitive environments.**
- **Individual franchises can test market products innovation and delivery services, providing valuable ground-level feedback to the center.**

# Franchise cont'd

- Individual franchises exist to deliver the product to local market
- They invest local resources-capital and personnel in building organization attuned to the needs and demands of the community they serve
- They pre-occupied with delivering the product to their market area

# Intermediaries

- Designed to both carry out specialized functions and to mitigate the inherent tensions between the center and the individual franchises' mutual, but often competing interests

# Political Parties' Franchise Structure

- **Electoral District Association-**  
Constituency Party,
- **Fundamental Element-** Party's Parliamentary  
Caucus
- **Intermediary Organizational Element-**  
National Executive; Delegated Convention;  
Regional Executives; Council of Local Executives;  
National Staff; affiliated elements (students,  
unions, churches)

# Constituent Association

- “The worth of a state, in the long-run run, is the worth of the worth of the individuals composing it.” John Stuart Mills

# Problems of electoral democracy

## The politicians' problems:

- Assemble an electoral support base
- Coordinate legislative action
- Define the public agenda
- Organize the government & manage its activity

# Problems of electoral democracy

## The voters' problems:

- Make elections collective decision-making events
- Recruit and train leadership
- Hold those in power accountable

# Parties as the answer

Parties are organizations which:

1. Articulate and package ideas & interests
2. Recruit candidates for office
3. Campaign on identifiable positions
4. Structure the electorate into recognizable blocks
5. Organize and operate governments & oppositions

# Political Parties as “public utilities”

**Electoral rules** provide the framework for democracy

**Political parties** deliver it:

- Organize competition
- Provide for government accountability

# Party Discipline

Parties work as they do because members:

- Agree to campaign on the same issues
- Vote together as a team in the legislature
- Defend each other and their leaders

It crowds out any significant place for independents

# Party Discipline

**83%** we would be better off if MPs voted the way their constituents thought best rather than the party line.

## For voters:

1. Elections would lose their collective dimension
2. Electorate could not give a mandate
3. Voters could not hold governments accountable

## For politicians:

1. Governments would have no stable base
2. Legislature would depend on day-to-day bargaining

# The Number of Parties

## Winner take all systems

- Rewards large parties
- Penalize small parties
- Encourage parties to amalgamate
- Leads to **2 parties** dominating competition

## Proportional systems

- Parties get what voters give
- Allows more parties to win
- Provides chance for new parties
- Leads to **multi-party** competition

# Party Competition Dynamics

## 2- Party Competition

- Simple choice between 2 similar parties with incentives to minimize their differences
- Elections tend to determine government
- Debate and bargaining over issues and policies takes place inside 'catch-all' parties

# Party Competition Dynamics

## Multi-Party Competition

- Wide choice among (ideological) parties with explicit positions
- Elections allow expression of preferences
- Political bargaining takes place between parties in the legislature

# Electoral system change

-> Party system change

the New Zealand example:

	Before	After
Electoral system	Plurality	Mixed-Proportional
# parties	2 Big (Lab / National)	2 Big & 5 Small
Party styles	Broad appeal	Broad appeal Specific interests Personal machines
Elections	Chose government	Reflected preferences
Governments	1-party majority	Multi-party parliamentary coalitions

# Canadian Political Parties

A unique balance between:

- ❖ National party discipline
- ❖ Local organizational autonomy

A unstable trade-off that ensures internal party conflict

Flexible enough to allow parties to appeal to a wide range of diverse interests

# Canadian Parties as Franchise Systems

## Central Organization:

1. Define the product – leadership & policy
2. Runs advertising – election campaign
3. Supports local outlets – help for local associations

## Local Associations:

1. Builds a local outlet – members & money
2. Markets product – finds & supports a candidate
3. Harvests support – mobilizes votes on election day

# Changing Party Organization

New party types -> new organizational practices

Candidate selection:

Plurality – local members choose

Party list – party leaders / bureaucrats choose

Preferential systems – voters determine

# Some Questions

Does it matter how many parties we have?

Do we want an electoral system that makes it easy for new parties to grow?

Is multi-party or 2-party competition better for BC?

How should candidates be chosen, and by whom?