

**The Democratization of Party Leaders' Selection Methods:
Canada in Comparative Perspective**

Ofer Kenig

Department of Political Science
University of British Columbia
Tel: 604-8224922
oferke@interchange.ubc.ca

Prepared for delivery at the
Canadian Political Science Association Annual Conference
27-29 May 2009, University of Carleton, Ottawa

The Democratization of Party Leaders' Selection Methods: Canada in Comparative Perspective

Abstract

Party leaders are powerful key actors in every modern parliamentary democracy. In order to get to the most prominent position in a polity (prime minister) one might first win the leadership of political party. Thus, the office of party leader often serves as a gatekeeper to the highest political position. From here, it is easy to conclude that the methods by which party leaders are selected are important political institutions. Until two decades ago, most political parties in modern parliamentary democracies used rather exclusive methods for selecting their leaders. Since then, however, the practice has changed as many parties, including the Canadian parties, democratized their selection methods, allowing rank-and-file members, supporters or sometimes any citizen to take part in leadership selection. Despite the fact that the phenomenon has been recognized in the literature, few efforts were made to put it into numbers. This paper aims in filling this gap by trying to present updated comparative data on the scope of the phenomenon, and by delineating several problems of measuring it.

The office of party leader is among the most important political positions in modern democracies. Often, in order to become a prime minister or a president one must first assume the position of party leader. Recently, many political parties, including the main Canadian parties, have changed their leadership selection methods, opening the process to broader selectorates. This democratization was expected to attract citizens back to party politics and to reduce the parties' elitist and oligarchic tendencies by attracting more leadership aspirants and producing more competitive contests. Although this trend was described in the literature (Courtney, 1995; LeDuc, 2001; Caul-Kittilson and Scarrow, 2003) little effort has been made to present it in a comprehensive quantitative way. This paper aims in addressing this gap by answering four main questions: How do political parties select their leaders? In what way can we measure this intra-party democratization? How do Canadian parties stand in relations to other parties? What is the scope of the democratization of party leaders' selection methods?

I will address these questions by using a cross-national comparative method. Based on a universe of 50 political parties in 18 parliamentary democracies since the mid 1960s, I look into the various methods through which parties selected their leaders and assess the degree of democratization.¹ The findings imply of a general trend towards democratization, although parties in some regions (continental Europe, Oceania) are more reluctant to change.

The first section of the paper will present the various bodies (selectorates) through which party leaders may be selected. Then, I discuss possible ways to measure democratization. The third section will discuss leadership selection in the Canadian parties. Finally, I will put Canada in comparative perspective and assess to what extent Canadian parties are unique.

Party Leaders' Selection Methods

The selection of leaders is one of the main functions performed by political parties. Consequently, parties in modern democracies focus considerable resources for this particular task (Davis, 1998). Several decades ago leaders were usually selected or emerged through rather exclusive procedures, by the hands of several notables meeting in 'smoked-fill rooms'. But these practices are now a rarity. Reacting and adapting to social changes, an increasing number of parties have changed their internal distribution of power to give their members a role in candidate selection, policy-making and leadership selection (Scarrow et al., 2000). Some claim that the change was an honest attempt designed to overcome an intra-party democratic deficit and to bring the citizens back into the political process. The reforms reflected the desire to reduce the oligarchic tendencies of parties by creating a participatory revolution and by providing the rank-and-file members a chance to make a difference. Others suggested a more skeptical view according to which party elites manipulated these reforms as a measure to reduce the power of party activists, which typically hold more radical ideological positions that might interfere with the elite goal of centralizing positions in order to catch as many votes as possible (Mair, 1994: 16; Marsh, 1993: 230). Whatever the motives are, the trend toward the intra-party democratization of leadership selection is nonetheless a salient development for party politics.

But how can we assess this democratization? There are two possible ways to approach this question. The first way is by examining the numbers. For surely, one aspect of democratization is the bringing of broader populations to a certain political process. A second way is by examining whether democratic values were enhanced. The opening of a political process to wider participation does not necessarily mean that it would also strengthen other democratic values, as fairness, representation, transparency or competition. As some scholars already observed, the opening of candidate and leadership selection methods perhaps increased the numbers of participants but also brought with it some negative side-effects. Rahat and Hazan (2006) for instance claim that the increase in quantity was accompanied by a decrease in quality of participation. Kenig (2009) argues that the democratization perhaps opened the process to broader populations, but also produced less tight contests and caused a decrease in the degree of competitiveness. Although these observations are important, this paper's aim is to focus on the first approach – and to develop a tool that would assist us to evaluate the democratization through the dimension of participation. Once we possess a handy measurement of the democratization we would be able to examine even better other political consequences of the phenomenon.

Basically, we can measure democratization (increased participation) by simply looking at the absolute numbers – how many voters take part in the process. Wherever we see an increase we may claim there has been a process of democratization. If, for instance, John Turner was selected in 1984 to the leader of the Liberals by around 3,400 delegates, and six years later Jean Chretien was selected to the same position by nearly 4,700 delegates – we may argue that we identified a democratization of the process.

This simple measure, however, has few notable drawbacks. First, increase in the number of voters from one leadership selection to another might be temporary or random. It may fail to indicate a substantial process of democratization. The Liberals' next leader

(Paul Martin) was selected in 2003 by around 3,450 delegates. Does this imply of a receding from democratization? Hardly so, the decrease can be better explained by the fact that the result (who will be selected) was pretty much known in advance.² Second, parties differ in their size and this make it hard to conduct a valid comparison in the scope of democratization. Does the fact that more party members of the NDP participated in their last leadership selection than the Bloc implies that they have more democratized method? (See Table 1) Not necessarily. More than that, in the 2006 leadership race of the Greens some 3,283 party members took part. In the same year the Liberal leader was selected by 4,815 delegates. Does that mean the Liberal method is more inclusive? I would argue to the contrary – any party member of the Greens had the privilege to participate, whereas the Liberals restricted the eligibility only to convention delegates.

Table 1
Voters and Selectorates of Five Leadership Contests

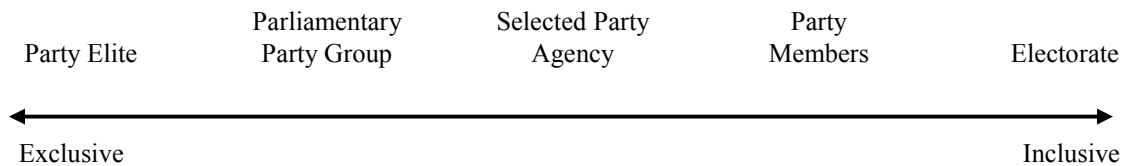
	<i>How many voted?</i>	<i>Selectorate</i>
Conservatives (2004)	93,000	Party members
NDP (2003)	58,202	Party members
Bloc (1997)	48,437	Party members
Liberals (2006)	4,815	Convention delegates
Greens (2006)	3,283	Party members

Therefore we need to look beyond the numbers. We need to look at the degree of inclusiveness and therefore we must consider the selectorate. The selectorate is the body that selects the party leader. It can be composed of only one person, or several or many selectors – up to the entire electorate (Marsh, 1993; LeDuc, 2001; Rahat and Hazan, 2001). Figure 1 presents a continuum concerning the inclusiveness or exclusiveness of the various selectorates. The most exclusive selectorate concerned here is the informal group of party elite, or even a sole individual.³ Away from the exclusive pole we find parties that give their elected representatives in the legislature the right to select the leader. The selection of the party leader by the parliamentary party group (PPG) was the dominant method in the United Kingdom and other Westminster-model democracies until the mid 1970s (Punnett, 1992; Stark, 1996). Since then, the three major British parties have abolished this system in favour of more inclusive selectorates. Some parties in Ireland, Australia and New Zealand, however, still grant their representatives in parliament the prerogative to choose their party leader.⁴

One step towards the inclusive pole, we find the selection of leaders by a selected party agency. This selectorate is very common in parties within continental Europe. Here, the leader is selected by the members of a selected party agency – a convention, conference, congress or assembly. These are regular party agencies that command various functions and tasks, including the selection of the party leader. The size of these agencies varies, but generally it ranges between a few hundred to one thousand members. In 2008, for example, Jutta Urpilainen was selected as the leader of the Finnish Social-democrats by 350 delegates of the party congress. In 2000 José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero

was selected as the leader of the Spanish Socialist Party (PSOE) by approximately one thousand delegates of the party congress.

Figure 1
Inclusiveness and Exclusiveness of Party Leaders' Selectorates



Next in line we find a selectorate that is composed of the party members. In this selectorate, also known as ‘closed primaries’, ‘party primaries’ or ‘one-member-one-vote’ system (OMOV), the entire party membership participates in the selection of the leader. Twenty years ago this kind of selectorate was rare indeed, but since then many parties expanded the right to select the leader to the party members. Finally, the most inclusive selectorate is the entire Electorate of a nation; here parties allow anyone, regardless of party affiliation, to vote. This kind of selectorate, also known as ‘open primary’, is quite rare in parliamentary democracies (Carty and Blake, 1999). In 2005, Romano Prodi was selected as the leader of left coalition bloc (l'Unione) in Italy in such a selectorate. This primary election was open to all Italian citizens at least 18 years old and to any immigrant who had lived in Italy for at least three years. Nearly 4.5 million voters participated in the process.

Measuring Inclusiveness – Towards Operationalization

It would have been very simple indeed if parties used only these five types of selectorates described above. The five types may be regarded as ‘pure’ selectorates. In order to operationalize the degree of inclusiveness we could have given increasing values to the different selectorates:

0= sole individual or party elite

1 = PPG

2 = selected party agency

3 = party members (OMOV)

4 = electorate

But some leadership selection methods are more complex than these five ‘pure’ selectorates. Some selectorates present a challenge to such a simplistic measuring. For

instance, what value of inclusiveness we would give leadership convention, this unique institution that the main Canadian parties have used for most of the 20th century. Apparently we can classify this selectorate as a selected party agency and give it a value of 2. However, Canadian leadership conventions differ from the other selected party agencies in the sense that they are not regular party agencies but rather special, ad-hoc entities with the prime task of selecting a leader (Courtney, 1995; MacIvor, 1991; Perlin, 1988). Another major difference is that rank-and-file members participate in the earlier stages of the process. Given these distinctions, and also the fact that the Canadian leadership conventions are much larger than other selected agencies, it might be argued that this sub-type of selectorate, unique to Canadian parties, should be regarded as slightly more inclusive than other selected party agencies.

Another challenge we find in parties that, while opening the selection process to the entire membership, have not gone ‘all the way’ in terms of granting each member an equal vote. The British Labour Party and the Japanese Liberal-Democrats (LDP) both select their leaders according to an Electoral College formula, which grants the PPG votes a proportionally heavier weight. Such methods presents a violation of the ‘every vote is equal’ principle and therefore should not be treated as a pure type of selectorate. In terms of inclusiveness, such methods should be considered more exclusive than the pure party members type (See figure 2). The NDP also use a sort of electoral college, but here the PPG does not count as a separate section, but rather 25% of the votes are given to affiliated union members. Therefore it should be treated as more inclusive than the Labour method, only slightly more exclusive than pure OMOV method.

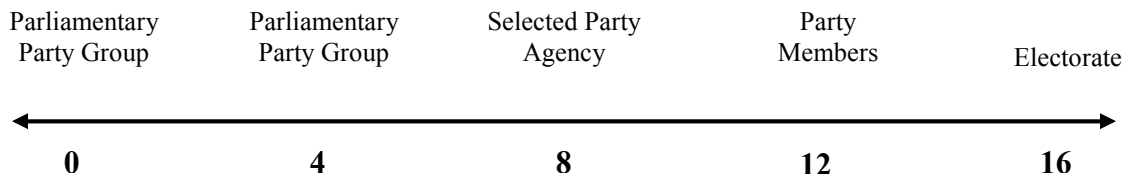
Other parties that opened the process to the entire membership insisted on retaining a territorial balance. The Conservative Party in Canada introduced in 2004 a ‘point system’ for calculating the votes, which gave each riding the same weight, regardless of how many members actually cast a vote. Again, this is a violation of the ‘every vote is equal’ principle but here no other population in the party is given a bigger influence on the results and therefore, in terms of inclusiveness, we can give it the same value as pure OMOV system.

Finally, another example of blending selectorates is the method that was adopted by the British Conservative Party in 1998. While the entire party membership has the final say in the selection of its leader, they may only choose between two final candidates. If more than two candidates compete for the position, the PPG, through a series of eliminative ballots, produces a short list of two names, from which the members may choose (Alderman, 1999; Heppell, 2008). The PPG, therefore, still yields considerable power in the process. Hence, a system of this kind should be considered less inclusive than the pure party members’ type.

Because of these variations it would be useful to apply a more spacious measuring scale. Figure 2 presents inclusiveness index on a scale of 0 to 16. A value of 0 will be given to the most exclusive cases, where leaders are selected by a small group or by an individual. A value of 4 will be given to parties which select their leaders by their PPG.⁵ The parties which select their leaders in selected party agencies will be given a value of 8, but the Canadian leadership conventions should be considered more inclusive, and will be given 9. A value of 10 would be given to the Electoral College used in the British Labour Party and Japanese LDP (reflecting the fact that although party members participate, their vote are less effective than the votes of parliamentarians) as well as to

the two-staged process of the British Conservative. The current leadership selection method of the NDP is given a value of 11, since a quarter of the weight is given to union members. Value of 12 is given to the cases where party members select the leader and their votes are equal. The maximal value of 16 is granted for parties which allow any citizen to participate.

Figure 2
Inclusiveness Index (0 to 16 scale)



Selecting Party Leaders in Canada

Leadership selection in Canadian parties has gone through a gradual process of democratization which can be divided to three periods. In the first period, which lasted from Canada's independence to 1919, party leaders were selected by the parliamentary party group (PPG). The death of Wilfrid Laurier, leader of the Liberals in early 1919, found the party in uneasy situation. At the time of Laurier's death, 62 out of its 82 MPs were French-speaking catholic from Quebec – extremely unrepresentative of the party's nationwide electorate. Therefore, many within the party rank opposed the idea that the next leader will be selected by the MPs. As a solution, the voting right was given to the delegates of the party convention (Courtney, 1973). Eight years later, the Conservatives adopted the same selectorate and the second period – the era of leadership conventions began.

At first, leadership conventions were to a large extent still controlled by the MPs. Most of the MPs could master the delegate selection in their ridings and guided the delegates to support a certain candidate. Thus, the selection procedure was de facto still in the hands of the MPs (Krause and LeDuc, 1979: 99). Leadership conventions in this period were rather small and attracted few candidates. Campaigns were short and inexpensive and the media attention was minor. But then, since the mid 1960s the leadership conventions had developed to a different institution, more open and transparent. The control of the MPs over delegate selection has diminished, more candidates stepped forward and many conventions were very competitive and several ballots were required until the winner emerged. The television covering turned the conventions to a live event that attracted much public interest and debate.

The long standing convention system came in the late 1980s and 1990s under attack (MacIvor, 1994). The criticism of the conventions turned on two dimensions of the process. First, there were growing concern among party members and supporters that the pre-convention delegate selection was subject to too many abuses. Instant membership, mobilization of groups with loose party ties and high pressure tactics of all sorts had become regular features of leadership campaigns (Carty and Blake, 1999: 213). Second, the selection process became very expansive. Before 1967, candidates raised and spent few thousands dollars at the most. Campaigns were relatively short and did not involve costly cross-country tours, media advisors and polling experts and fancy headquarter facilities (Courtney, 1995: 15). The entry of television coverage and modern campaigning methods saw the expanses increase considerably. The need to raise and spend millions of dollars began to keep good candidates out of the contest and threatened to corrupt the parties.

Discussions of open the selection process to broader population were held as early as the 1970s, but it took another decade before the first parties experimented with leadership vote by all party members (OMOV). The first parties to adopt inclusive selectorate were parties at the provincial level. Parti Québécois (1985), Ontario Conservatives (1990), And British Columbia Liberals (1993) were among the first parties that selected their leaders in such a selectorate (Latouche, 1992; Stewart, 1997). It is interesting to note that almost all parties that opened the leadership selection have done so while in opposition and often following electoral defeats. The reform was seen as a mean to regain popularity by demonstrating renewal and by presenting a fresh and democratic image. A study found that only two out of 12 provincial parties that democratized their leadership selection were in government in the time of reform (Cross, 1996: 297). Thus, it is of no surprise that the first federal party to reform its leadership selection was the Progressive Conservatives in 1995. At the time of the decision the party was in ruins, following the shocking results of the 1993 general elections. In this election the Progressive Conservatives were demolished, and from a governing party with nearly 170 MPs, its power was reduced to only two representatives.

The new method adopted by the Progressive Conservatives signified the beginning of the third period in leadership selection methods. All registered party members were given a right to vote. However, in order to maintain territorial balance a “point system” was introduced, in which every riding was allocated with 100 points. The method was used in the 1998 leadership election but in the following election (2003) the party retreated to the old convention method.⁶

Next to adopt an inclusive method to select the leader was the Bloc Québécois. Nearly 50,000 party members participated in the 1997 leadership election. In 2000 it was the turn of the Canadian alliance to use OMOV method to select its leader. More than 120,000 party members participated in this election that ousted incumbent Preston Manning in favour of Stockwell Day. The NDP also abandoned the familiar convention method and in 2003 it elected its leader in an inclusive method. When the Conservative party of Canada was established in the end of 2003, it also decided to select its leaders-to-be in an OMOV method. The only federal party that has so far retained the traditional convention system was the Liberal Party. By the end of 2006 it seemed like the party will finally adopt OMOV. The executive committee of the party approved such a measure, and the political columnists spoke of “the end of a political era”. Eventually, the

delegates in the convention objected the change and in a small margin chose to remain with the convention system. Three years later, however, at the convention that enthroned Michael Ignatieff as the new leader, the Liberals finally decided to adopt OMOV system as well. Leadership conventions have therefore disappeared from the Canadian political view, at least in the federal level (Globe and Mail, 1.5.2009).

Table 2
Leadership Selection in Canada's Federal Parties, 1967-2009

<i>Year</i>	<i>Party</i>	<i>Elected Leader</i>	<i>Selectorate</i>	<i>Number of:</i>	
				candidates	voters*
1967	Prog. Cons.	Robert Stanfield	Convention	11	2,231
1968	Liberals	Pierre Trudeau	Convention	8	2,390
1971	NDP	David Lewis	Convention	5	1,698
1973	NDP	David Lewis	Convention	2	795
1975	NDP	Ed Broadbent	Convention	5	1,618
1976	Prog. Cons.	Joe Clark	Convention	11	2,360
1983	Prog. Cons.	Brian Mulroney	Convention	8	2,988
1984	Liberals	John Turner	Convention	7	3,437
1989	NDP	Audrey McLaughlin	Convention	7	2,400
1990	Liberals	Jean Chrétien	Convention	5	4,658
1993	Prog. Cons.	Kim Campbell	Convention	5	3,469
1995	Prog. Cons.	Jean Charest	Convention	1	1,236
1995	NDP	Alexa McDonough	Convention	3	1,735
1996	Bloc Québécois	Michel Gauthier	Party agency	2	155
1997	Bloc Québécois	Gilles Duceppe	OMOV	6	48,437
1998	Prog. Cons.	Joe Clark	OMOV	5	N.A.
2000	Alliance	Stockwell Day	OMOV	5	120,557
2001	NDP	Alexa MacDonough	Convention	2	765
2002	Alliance	Stephen Harper	OMOV	4	88,288
2003	NDP	Jack Layton	OMOV	6	58,202
2003	Prog. Cons.	Peter Mackay	Convention	4	2,629
2003	Liberals	Paul Martin	Convention	2	3,455
2004	Conservatives	Stephen Harper	OMOV	3	93,000
2006	Liberals	Stéphane Dion	Convention	8	4,815
2009	Liberals	Michael Ignatieff	Convention	1	2,023

* in the first round of voting.

Canada in Comparative Perspective

Canadian parties were not the first parties to embark on a process of giving the rank-and-file members a voice in leadership selection procedures. The first cases where party members were given the chance to participate in the selection have occurred as early as the 1970s. The pioneer was the British Liberal Party which in 1976 allowed for the first time to every party member to participate. Two years later the Liberal-Democrats in Japan (LDP) conducted for the first time a primary to the selection of the party's president. More than a million party members and so-called 'party friends' took part in the selection process that year (Tsurutani, 1980). In 1981 the British Labour Party joined the exclusive club and decided on selecting future leaders through an Electoral College method (Queen, 2004).

But these were rather isolated cases which did not indicate a widespread trend. Only in the 1990s the opening of leadership selection became more common, as parties in Canada and Israel adopted such measures. About a decade ago, Scarrow et al. (2000: 143) investigated how party leaders are selected in 16 democracies. They found that nearly half of the parties selected their leaders by selected party agencies. The rest of the cases are evenly split between parties that select their leaders by the PPG (24%) and those that give their members the right to vote (23%). This study was the first attempt to present a comparative picture of leadership selection methods. However, since the turn of the 21st century, many more parties have opened the selection process to the entire membership. Parties in France, Italy, Ireland, Netherlands, Greece, Denmark and Portugal have only recently adopted such inclusive measures and therefore an updated account of leadership selectorates is much needed. Table 3 is a list of the current leaders (as of May 2009) of 50 parties from eighteen parliamentary democracies, along with the selectorate that elected them. As the table reflects, almost half (24 out of 50) of the parties now give their members a significant role in selecting their leader. The rest of the parties split between those that select their leaders via the PPG (nine cases) and via delegates of a selected party agency (15 cases). There are two cases of "extreme" selectorates, remarkably – both are in Italy. Walter Veltroni, the leader of The Democrats was selected in 2007 by more than 3.5 million voters in an open primary.⁷ His rival, Silvio Berlusconi, has created in the early 1990s a party around his personality and was never formally elected as its leader.

These findings reflect an increase in the number of parties that use inclusive measures and emphasize that the democratization of leadership selection has become a widespread phenomenon. There are still countries that resist the change. In Germany, Austria, Spain and Norway the perception is that inclusive procedures and competitive leadership races might damage the party unity and 'ruin the good life' (Strøm, 1993). In Australia and New Zealand the main parties stick to the practice of limiting leadership election to the PPG. But even in these countries there are voices that demand the opening the process to broader populations. The overall picture, therefore, paints the move to more inclusive selectorates. The Canadian parties, at least in the federal level, are part of this trend and in fact, the selectorate of the Liberal Party (as currently appears in Table 3) will be soon out of date, as the next leader will be selected by a one-member-one-vote system.

Table 3
Leaders and Selectorates in 50 Political Parties (May 2009)

Country	Party	Leader (Year of Selection)	Selectorate
Australia	Labor	Kevin Rudd (2006)	PPG
	Liberals	Malcolm Turnbull (2008)	PPG
Austria	Freedom Party (FPÖ)	Heinz-Christian Strache (2005)	Congress delegates
	People's Party (ÖVP)	Josef Pröll (2008)	Congress delegates
	Social-Democrats (SPÖ)	Werner Faymann (2008)	Congress delegates
Canada	Bloc Québécois	Gilles Duceppe (1997)	Party members
	Conservatives	Stephen Harper (2004)	Party members
	Greens	Elizabeth May (2006)	Party members
	Liberals	Stéphane Dion (2006)	Convention delegates
	New Democrats (NDP)	Jack Layton (2003)	Party members/votes weighted
Denmark	Liberals (V)	Lars Lokke Rasmussen (2009)	PPG
	People's Party (DF)	Pia Kjaersgaard (1996)	Congress delegates
	Social-Democrats	Helle Thorning-Schmidt (2005)	Party members
	Socialist People's Party (SF)	Villy Søvndal (2005)	Party members
Finland	Social-Democrats (SDP)	Jutta Urpilainen (2008)	Congress delegates
	Centre Party (KESK)	Matti Vanhanen (2003)	Congress delegates
France	Socialists (PS)	Martin Aubry (2008)	Party members
	UMP	Nicolas Sarkozy (2007)	Party members
Germany	Christian-Democrats (CDU)	Angela Merkel (2000)	Congress delegates
	Liberals (FDP)	Guido Westerwelle (2001)	Congress delegates
	Social-Democrats (SPD)	Franz Müntefering (2008)	Congress delegates
Greece	New Democracy	Konstantinos Karamanlis (1997)	Congress delegates
	Socialists (PASOK)	George Papandreou (2007)	Party members
Ireland	Fianna Fáil	Brian Cowen (2008)	PPG
	Fine Gael	Enda Kenny (2002)	PPG
	Labour	Eamon Gilmore (2007)	Party members
Israel	Kadima	Tzipi Livni (2008)	Party members
	Labour	Ehud Barak (2007)	Party members
	Likud	Benjamin Netanyahu (2005)	Party members
	Meretz	Chaim Oron (2008)	Party members
Italy	Democrats	Walter Veltroni (2007)	Electorate (open primary)
	Forza Italia/PdL	Silvio Berlusconi (1993)	Self enthroned
Japan	Democrats (DPJ)	Ichiro Ozawa (2006)	PPG
	Liberal-Democrats (LDP)	Taro Aso (2008)	Party members/votes weighted
Netherlands	Christian-Democrats (CDA)	Jan Peter Balkenende (2001)	PPG
	D66	Alexander Pechtold (2006)	Party members
	Labour (PvdA)	Wouter Bos (2002)	Party members
	Liberals (VVD)	Mark Rutte (2006)	Party members
New Zealand	Labour (New Zealand)	Phil Goff (2008)	PPG
	National (New Zealand)	John Key (2006)	PPG
Portugal	Social-Democrats (PSD)	Manuela Ferreira Leite (2008)	Party members
	Socialists (PS)	José Sócrates (2004)	Party members
Spain	People's Party (PP)	Mariano Rajoy (2003)	Congress delegates
	Socialists (PSOE)	José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero (2000)	Congress delegates
Sweden	Moderates	Fredrik Reinfeldt (2003)	Congress delegates
	Social Democrats	Mona Sahlin (2007)	Congress delegates
UK	Conservatives	David Cameron (2005)	Party members
	Labour	Gordon Brown (2007)	Party members/votes weighted
	Liberal Democrats	Nick Clegg (2007)	Party members
	SNP	Alex Salmond (2004)	Party members

Conclusion

In the age of personalization of politics and the presidentialization of parliamentary democracies (Poguntke and Webb, 2005), party leaders become increasingly powerful players. Therefore their selection methods are also important for the understanding of modern politics. Just like general electoral systems (for legislatures or for Presidential office), party leaders selection methods have various political consequences. Different methods may produce different types of winners (LeDuc, 2001) and may change the dynamics of leadership contests (McSweeney, 1999). Inclusive methods may attract more candidates and bring members back, but might also cause some negative effects as lower turnouts, instant members and increasing leadership autonomy (meaning leaders are less accountable to their parties).

As a relatively recent development, it is safe to assume that the democratization of leadership selection will be explored more and more in the near future. There are many avenues of research to be addressed, especially with regard to the potential consequences of this intra-party democratization. Hopefully, this paper provided future studies with a reliable measurement that would be handy in assessing

¹ In Presidential systems the position of party leader is often more blurred, therefore I focus here only on parties operating in parliamentary systems.

² This is why in 2009 leadership convention only 2,000 delegates voted: Michael Ignatieff was the sole candidate.

³ There are cases where a politician established a party and enthroned himself or herself as the leader. De Gaulle and Berlusconi are two obvious examples. In the Liberal-Democrat Party (LDP) in Japan, on at least two occasions, the retiring leader has been asked to decide which faction leader should succeed him (Punnett, 1992: 9). In Israel, leaders of the Ultra-orthodox Jewish party of Shas are selected by the spiritual religious leader of the party.

⁴ The main Canadian parties were the first to abandon the selection of their leaders by MPs. In 1919 the Liberals chose for the first time their leader in a national delegated convention. Eight years later, the Conservatives followed them (Courtney, 1995: 9-10).

⁵ It is possible to be even more precise, as there are slight variations between the parties regarding what kind of parliamentarian is entitled to participate in the leadership vote. Some parties restrict the vote to their representatives in the lower house, while other parties, like the Australian Labor Party (ALP), allow their representatives in the upper house to participate in the selection of the leader. Still other parties, such as the Irish Fine Gael, allow their representatives in the European Parliament to participate as well. In the latter case we may give a value of 5.

⁶ The 1998 leadership race was traumatic for the party. Not only it failed to attract notable candidates and was pretty much ignored by the media, the running of David Orchard damaged the party's image. Soon after the race the party decided to recede to the familiar convention format. The 2003 leadership convention was the last one before the Progressive Conservatives merged with the Canadian alliance to establish the Conservative Party of Canada.

⁷ He resigned in February 2009, and his successor was selected by the party's constituent assembly (an organ of about 1300 members), but he is regarded as an interim leader.

References

- Alderman, Keith (1999) Revision of Leadership Election Procedures in the Conservative Party, *Parliamentary Affairs*, 52(2), pp. 260-274.
- Carty, R. Kenneth and Donald E. Blake (1999) The Adoption of Membership Votes for Choosing Party Leaders – the Experience of Canadian Parties, *Party Politics*, 5(2), pp. 211-224.
- Caul-Kittilson, Miki and Susan E. Scarrow (2003) Political Parties and the Rhetoric and Realities of Democratization, in: Bruce E. Cain, Russell J. Dalton, and Susan E. Scarrow (eds.), *Democracy Transformed? Expanding Political Opportunities in Advanced Industrial Democracies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 59-80.
- Courtney, John C. (1995) *Do Conventions Matter? Choosing National Party Leaders in Canada*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Cross, William (1996) Direct Election of Provincial Party Leaders in Canada, 1985-1995: The End of Leadership Convention, *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 29(2), pp. 295-315.
- Davis, James W. (1998) *Leadership Selection in Six Western Democracies*. London: Fitzroy Dearborn.
- Heppell, Timothy (2008) *Choosing the Tory Leader: Conservative Party Leadership Election from Heath to Cameron*. London: I B Tauris.
- Kenig, Ofer (2009) Democratization of Party Leadership Selection: Do Wider Selectorates Produce More Competitive Contests?, *Electoral Studies*.
- Latouche, Daniel (1992) Universal Democracy and Effective Leadership: Lessons from the Parti Québécois Experience, in: R. Kenneth Carty et al. (eds.), *Leaders and Parties in Canadian Politics: Experiences from the Provinces*. Toronto: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, pp. 174-202.
- LeDuc, Lawrence (2001) Democratizing Party Leadership Selection, *Party Politics*, 7(3), pp. 323-342.
- MacIvor, Heather (1994) The Leadership Convention: An Institution under Stress, in: Maureen Mancuso, Richard G. Price and Ronald Wagenberg (eds.) *Leaders and Leadership in Canada*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, pp. 13-27.
- McSweeney, Dean (1999) Changing the Rules Changed the Game: Selecting Conservative Leaders, *Party Politics* 5(4), pp. 471-483.

- Mair, Peter (1994) Party Organizations: From Civil Society to the State, in: Richard. S. Katz and Peter Mair (eds.) *How Parties Organize: Change and Adaptation in Party Organizations in Western Democracies*. London: Sage, pp. 1-22.
- Marsh, Michael (1993) Introduction: Selecting the Party Leader, *European Journal of Political Research*, 24(3), pp. 229-231.
- Perlin, George (ed.) (1988) *Party Democracy in Canada: The Politics of National Party Conventions*. Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice-Hill.
- Poguntke, Thomas and Paul Webb (eds.) (2005) *The Presidentialization of Politics: A Study in Comparative Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Punnett, R. M. (1992) *Selecting the Party Leader: Britain in Comparative Perspective*. London: Harvester-Wheatsheaf.
- Quinn, Thomas (2004) Electing the Leader: The British Labour Party's Electoral College, *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 6(3), pp. 333-352.
- Radwanski, Adam (2009) Goodbye Political Theatre and Tribal Drama – Hello One Member one Vote, *Globe and Mail*, May 1st 2009.
- Rahat, Gideon and Reuven Y. Hazan (2006) Political Participation in Party Primaries: Increase in Quantity, Decrease in Quality, in Thomas Zittel and Dieter Fuchs (eds) *Participatory Democracy and Political Participation*, pp. 57-72. London: Sage.
- Rahat, Gideon and Reuven Y. Hazan (2001) Candidate Selection Methods: An Analytical Framework, *Party Politics*, 7(3), pp. 297-322.
- Scarrow, Susan E., Paul Webb and David M. Farrell (2000) From Social Integration to Electoral Contestation: The Changing Distribution of Power within Political Parties, in: Russell J. Dalton and Martin P. Wattenberg (eds.) *Parties without Partisans: Political Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 129-151.
- Stark, Leonard P. (1996) *Choosing A Leader: Party Leadership Contests in Britain from Macmillan to Blair*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.
- Stewart, David K. (1997) The Changing Leadership Electorate: An Examination of Participants in the 1992 Alberta Conservative Leadership Election, *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 30(1), pp. 107-128.
- Strøm, Kaare (1993) Competition Ruins the Good Life: Party Leadership in Norway, *European Journal of Political Research*, 24(3), pp. 317-347.

Tsurutani, Taketsugu (1980) The LDP in Transition? Mass Membership Participation in Party Leadership Selection, *Asian Survey*, 20(8), pp. 844-859.