

Review Article

Public Policy Making in Coalition Government: Challenges and Solution

ABSTRACT

One of the most interesting scenarios of the political scenes in several countries in the contemporary period ~~current years~~ is the emergence of the coalition government. The governance by an amalgam of various political parties is based primarily on negotiations among them and a striking balance between conflicting interests and ideas. The paper aims to study, explore and skim through the literature available about the processes of public policy-making in a coalition government. The methodology of the study is based on a systematic review of Government coalitions and challenges faced in policymaking. A total of 50 studies have been searched considering the literature on a coalition government, Solutions to identified issue, delegation and agent issues and challenging ministerial discretion. Out of them, ten studies have been extensively reviewed, three on modelling of the coalition government, four Challenging ministerial discretion and three on delegation and agent issue. The study arrives at two factors which guide decision making in public policy formulation in coalition government. First is the individual preferences of the agents or the ministers of the cabinet and second being the party ideologies and functioning. The party ideals were found to be more important because it meant weight regarding electoral costs. Existing research has focused more on the formation and termination of coalition arrangements rather than on the policy output by the government so formed. The difference that exists between the different configurations of the multi party governments has a significant impact on public policy making. The study concludes that the country with divergent and coalition government is recommended to formulate an agreement at the very ~~beganingstart~~ to reduce the future impact of divergent preference of political parties in policy formulation. Along with it, the presence of ideological differences on important ~~aspectsissues~~ like liberalisation, secularism, expectations of instability ~~leadslead~~ to the rise of minority coalitions which lead to difficulties in planning and implementation of policies.

Keywords: Coalition government, delegation, agents, challenges, identified solution, and political party

INTRODUCTION

Most commonly, a coalition government is a form of government which includes several political parties who cooperate to arrive at unanimous decision primarily to form a government or to conceptualise different public policies. In the recent years, there has been an increase in the number of coalition governments in the parliament (Hazlehurst, 2001). Owing to this, in parliamentary democracies, the coalition's transform the public policy

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41 making on the party platforms into uncertainty because of inter-party differences in
42 ideologies and functioning aspect. ~~A coalition government is a form of government which~~
43 ~~includes several party who cooperate to arrive at unanimous decision regarding different~~
44 ~~policies.~~ Hence, -It becomes imperative to understand the challenges and address the issues
45 by suggesting corresponding solutions to ~~the issue of~~ public policy making by these coalition
46 governments. In the face of clear and potential divergent interests and preferences of
47 participating parties in the coalition governments, it raises questions about the manner in
48 which the multi-party governments arrive at ~~unequivocal unambiguous~~ decisions regarding
49 policy agenda. This form of government is generally considered -weak because there is no
50 majority party. This results in following problems like Red-tapism in policy formulation and
51 underhanded deals and increased corruption, as more political parties engage in deals in
52 order to get things accomplished. On the other hand, without caveat, coalitions help in
53 formulating more comprehensive and multidimensional policies owing to presence of
54 deferent views during policy formulation. Hence, coalitions possess both negative and
55 positive role to play in public policy making(Hazlehurst, 2001).

56 When there is absence of clean majority during general elections, parties either form coalition
57 cabinets under parliament majority or end up with minority cabinets which has one or more
58 parties. Cabinets supported by parliament are more stable and efficient whereas minority
59 cabinets are prone to internal struggles. Therefore, whether is government with clear majority
60 or minority government both has to burn through the process of policy making for public
61 welfare(Hazlehurst, 2001).

62
63 ~~Most of the literature and data available pertains to the formation, allocation of portfolios~~
64 ~~within the multi party government, and the termination of such governments.~~ Thus, the
65 present study has been conducted to draw inferences from theories on coalition and
66 concerned parties as to how public policy making impacts them and they impact policies -
67 The process. The study aims to allow a conceptual starting point and to bring the research on
68 public policy making in the coalition governments. Hence, this ~~The~~ paper intends to identify
69 the challenges and solution underlying in the formation of public policy in the coalition
70 government.

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RESEARCH 2. METHODOLOGY

METHODOLOGY -

In this study, The researcher has adopted systematic review of literature as a methodology to study the challenges and solutions of public policy making in Coalition Government. This review systematically searches, identifies, selects, appraises, and synthesizes research evidence relevant to the question using a methodology that is explicit, reproducible, and leads to minimal bias. It helps to present clear findings to highlight problems, challenges, and offer proof about the effect of the implementation of policies and keep into account the findings of similar studies.

Search Strategy

Challenges faced by the coalition government in policy making were searched to do a literature review for the present systematic review. The studies that were investigated involved the concept of policymaking in a coalition government and different challenges. To perform a literature search, the following set of single and combined words were used: coalition government, influencer, policy making, challenges, political parties, delegation, agency issue and modelling.

2.1.1 Description of Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria

2.1.1.1 Inclusion criteria

The below mentioned set of inclusion criteria that have been adopted to select the studies for review in the research;

- Discussion about challenges faced in coalition government while making policy.
- Study based on the Coalition government.
- Studies reported the possible solutions to the policy making in the coalition Government.

2.1.1.2 Exclusion criteria

The various exclusion criteria used to reduce inclusion of non-pertinent information sources were;

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101 ● ~~Studies that discuss soul and basic concepts of Coalition government, with no~~
102 ~~Challenge and solution to the problem.~~

103 ● ~~Studies in a language other than the English~~

104 ● ~~Studies that were not accessible completely.~~

105 2.2 ~~SELECTION OF STUDIES- PROCESS OF SYSTEMATIC REVIEW-~~

106 ~~Before discussing further, it become pertinent to mention that how studies were selected to~~
107 ~~reach the final conclusion. inferring the impact of the coalition government on the public~~
108 ~~policy making, there is a requirement of making a selection of studies.~~

109 ~~Initially, Researcher~~ ~~After~~ ~~reviewed~~ ~~ing~~ ~~50~~ ~~studies~~ ~~to~~ ~~understand~~ ~~the~~ ~~complexities~~ ~~of~~ ~~policy~~
110 ~~formulations~~ ~~in~~ ~~on~~ ~~this~~ ~~significant~~ ~~function~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~coalition~~ ~~governments,~~ ~~out~~ ~~of~~ ~~50,~~ ~~there~~ ~~were~~
111 ~~15~~ ~~studies~~ ~~were~~ ~~that~~ ~~selected~~ ~~that~~ ~~carried~~ ~~forward~~ ~~a~~ ~~discussion~~ ~~about~~ ~~policymaking.~~ ~~And~~
112 ~~finally,~~ ~~On~~ ~~further~~ ~~investigation~~ ~~of~~ ~~10~~ ~~studies,~~ ~~were~~ ~~further~~ ~~investigation-~~ ~~on~~ ~~the~~ ~~basis~~ ~~of~~ ~~their~~
113 ~~impact~~ ~~factor~~ ~~in~~ ~~relations~~ ~~to~~ ~~policy~~ ~~making~~ ~~and~~ ~~coalition~~ ~~governments.~~ ~~And~~ ~~finally,~~ ~~primarily,~~
114 ~~only~~ ~~these~~ ~~10~~ ~~studies~~ ~~were~~ ~~investigated~~ ~~comprehensively.~~ ~~Out~~ ~~of~~ ~~these~~ ~~ten,~~ ~~three~~ ~~were~~
115 ~~specifically~~ ~~about~~ ~~argued~~ ~~about~~ ~~the~~ ~~modelling~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~coalition~~ ~~government,~~ ~~Modelling~~ ~~of~~
116 ~~coalition~~ ~~government~~ ~~has~~ ~~helped~~ ~~in~~ ~~representing~~ ~~the~~ ~~exact~~ ~~structure~~ ~~and~~ ~~composition~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~
117 ~~coalition~~ ~~government~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~present~~ ~~study.~~

118 ~~And~~ ~~other~~ ~~three~~ ~~were~~ ~~concerned~~ ~~about~~ ~~ning~~ ~~delegation~~ ~~and~~ ~~agency~~ ~~issues.~~ ~~Delegation~~ ~~and~~
119 ~~agency~~ ~~issues~~ ~~has~~ ~~addressed~~ ~~the~~ ~~delegation~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~powers,~~ ~~authorities~~ ~~and~~ ~~the~~ ~~responsibilities~~
120 ~~among~~ ~~different~~ ~~parties.~~ ~~The~~ ~~issues~~ ~~of~~ ~~delegation~~ ~~have~~ ~~been~~ ~~prominent~~ ~~in~~ ~~coalition~~
121 ~~government.~~ ~~And~~ ~~remaining~~ ~~Moreover,~~ ~~four~~ ~~studies~~ ~~were~~ ~~about~~ ~~challenging~~ ~~ministerial~~
122 ~~discretion.~~ ~~Modelling~~ ~~of~~ ~~coalition~~ ~~government~~ ~~has~~ ~~helped~~ ~~in~~ ~~representing~~ ~~the~~ ~~exact~~ ~~structure~~
123 ~~and~~ ~~composition~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~coalition~~ ~~government~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~present~~ ~~study.~~ ~~Delegation~~ ~~and~~ ~~agency~~
124 ~~issues~~ ~~has~~ ~~addressed~~ ~~the~~ ~~delegation~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~powers,~~ ~~authorities~~ ~~and~~ ~~the~~ ~~responsibilities~~ ~~among~~
125 ~~different~~ ~~parties.~~ ~~The~~ ~~issues~~ ~~of~~ ~~delegation~~ ~~have~~ ~~been~~ ~~prominent~~ ~~in~~ ~~coalition~~ ~~government.~~
126 ~~Another~~ ~~important~~ ~~factor~~ ~~that~~ ~~was~~ ~~considered~~ ~~while~~ ~~reviewing~~ ~~literature~~ ~~was~~ ~~challenging~~
127 ~~ministerial~~ ~~discretion.~~ ~~When~~ ~~different~~ ~~political~~ ~~parties~~ ~~involved~~ ~~in~~ ~~coalition~~ ~~do~~ ~~not~~ ~~arrive~~ ~~at~~
128 ~~unanimous~~ ~~decision,~~ ~~result~~ ~~into~~ ~~the~~ ~~failure~~ ~~coalition~~ ~~government~~ ~~fails.~~ ~~Thus~~ ~~Thus,~~ ~~it~~ ~~is~~
129 ~~relevant~~ ~~to~~ ~~study~~ ~~the~~ ~~different~~ ~~challenges~~ ~~that~~ ~~coalition~~ ~~government~~ ~~faces~~ ~~due~~ ~~to~~ ~~ministerial~~
130 ~~discretion.~~ ~~Hence~~ ~~in~~ ~~a~~ ~~nutshell,~~ ~~in~~ ~~this~~ ~~study,~~ ~~researcher~~ ~~has~~ ~~comprehensively~~ ~~comprehended~~
131 ~~primarily~~ ~~these~~ ~~10~~ ~~studies~~ ~~and~~ ~~tried~~ ~~to~~ ~~observe~~ ~~in~~ ~~Indian~~ ~~context~~ ~~so~~ ~~far.~~

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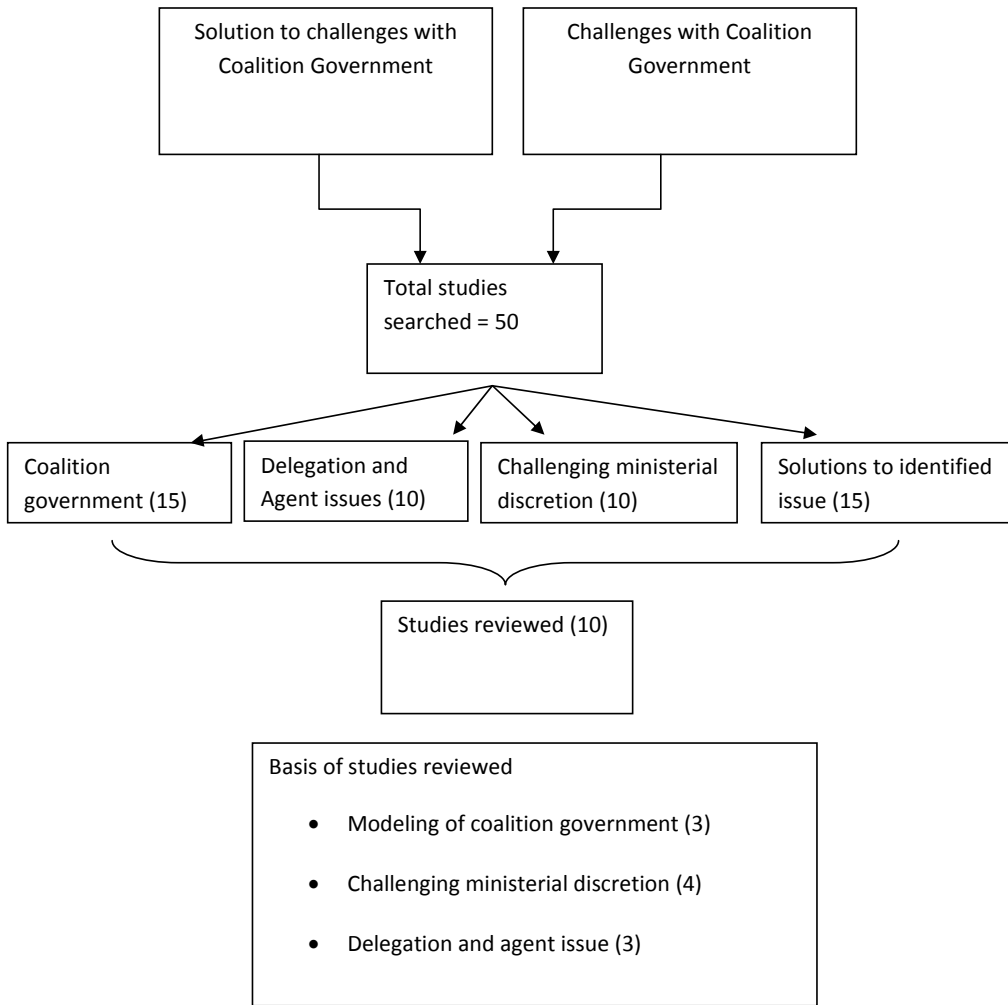
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Fig. 1 Systematic review chart

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3. DISCUSSION COALITION GOVERNMENT IN INDIA-

Historically it has been seen that Indian National Congress has been the single largest party in India since its inception in 1885. A coalition government was experienced in India as early as 1937 when Congress and the Muslim League formed a coalition government in Uttar Pradesh at the time of operation of the government of India Act, 1935(Veena K, 2016).

However, in free India, a coalition government was first formed in 1977 where Congress and Janta government united under the leadership of Morarji Desai. The formula of uniting all the opposition parties into a single party so that non-Congress votes do not get divided amongst the opposing parties was proposed by Dr Ram Manohar Lohia (Bisla, 2016). The four-party Janta government was in power from 1977 to 1979 due to the power struggle within the parties which led to the resignation of Mr Desai as well as the departure of the prominent group leaders like George Fernandes, H.N. Bahuguna, Biju Patnaik and Mudhu Limaye(Fadia, 1980).

The second coalition government in India was formed in 1979 with Mr Charan Singh being the prime minister, who had the support of CPI (Communist Party of India) and CPI (M) (Communist Party of India Marxist). However, he could not face the house due to his failure to secure the vote of confidence in the house within three weeks' time (Thakurta & Shankar, 2004).

The third coalition was formed in 1989 under the leadership of V.P. Singh which was supported by the BJP, which was the second largest party in the country at that time. The fourth coalition government was formed in 1990 under the leadership of Chandra Shekhar. The fifth coalition was formed under the leadership of H.D. Deve Gowda under the banner of united front government which was unison of 13 parties including Congress, CPI, Samajwadi Party, Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam, and Asom Gana Parishad amongst others (F. A. Malik & Malik, 2014).

The sixth coalition was formed in 1997 under the leadership of I.K. Gujral, and seventh was formed in 1998 led by A.B. Vajpayee which was supported by AIADMK, BJD, Akali Dal, Shiv Sena and others. The eighth coalition was formed in 1999 which was led by A.B.

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199 A. 3.1 COALITION GOVERNMENT BASIC STRUCTURE AND
200 FUNCTIONING REGARDING MODELLING, COALITION OF
201 COALITION GOVERNMENT POLICY MAKING

202 ~~A study conducted by W. Martin & Vanberg(2007) found out that P~~political parties in
203 coalition governments have different perspective in terms of interests and culture. And this is
204 the major challenge faced by Government of policy making ~~(W. Martin & Vanberg,2007).~~

205 ~~Another similar study conducted by~~ Moore & Mukherjee(2006) argued that two factors guide
206 policymaking in coalition governments. One is the preferences of the parties involved which
207 is different from each other, and the other is the institutional limitations on the policy-making
208 by such multi-party governments which compels the coalition government to come to
209 unanimous decision. It was also found that the preferences of the parties ~~is~~are the cause of the
210 problems arising in delegation and the institutional limitations on the policy-making aligns
211 with solutions to the issues. ~~From the perspective of theory, b~~oth the factors play a crucial
212 role in the successful execution of the agenda considering party as the principal and ministers
213 as agents or secondary to the process of decision making. Due to the working of the above
214 two factors policy disagreement arises among the political parties in Parliament. ~~p~~Policy
215 disagreements are an important consideration in politics of coalition governments. The
216 condition of policymaking in the coalition is governed by the preferences of the actors or the
217 agents involved. Also, the continuity of the governments in office is considerably influenced
218 by the internal setting of preferences of the agents. The actions that are taken in the
219 formulation of policy are highly influenced by the actions defined by each political agent in
220 the Parliament. The policy-making decisions regarding enactment and passing of legislation
221 are often hindered by disagreement flowing from the participant's preferences ~~(Naoto, 2007).~~
222 When all the partners commit themselves to agree on specific issues, it makes the
223 implementation of the legislation easier and less of an obstacle race. The literature review
224 reveals that the consensus among parties leads to better legislation.

225 3.2 The historical aspect of coalition governments

226 ~~Historically it has been seen that Indian National Congress has been the single largest party in~~
227 ~~India since its inception in 1885. Even when India became independent in 1947, the Congress~~
228 ~~party ruled over India without any opposing or competing party (Veena K, 2016). A coalition~~
229 ~~government was experienced in India as early as 1937 when Congress and the Muslim~~
230 ~~League formed a coalition government in Uttar Pradesh at the time of operation of the~~

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231 government of India Act, 1935. However, in free India, a coalition government was first
232 formed in 1977 where Congress and Janta government united under the leadership of Morarji
233 Desai. The formula of uniting all the opposition parties into a single party so that non-
234 Congress votes do not get divided amongst the opposing parties was proposed by Dr Ram
235 Manohar Lohia (Bisla, 2016). The four party Janta government was in power from 1977 to
236 1979 due to the power struggle within the parties which led to the resignation of Mr Desai as
237 well as the departure of the prominent group leaders like George Fernandes, H.N. Bahuguna,
238 Biju Patnaik and Mudhu Limaye (Fadia, 1980).

239 The second coalition government in India was formed in 1979 with Mr Charan Singh being
240 the prime minister who had the support of CPI (Communist Party of India) and CPI (M)
241 (Communist Party of India Marxist). However, he could not face the house due to his failure
242 to secure the vote of confidence in the house within three weeks' time (Thakurta & Shankar,
243 2004). The third coalition was formed in 1989 under the leadership of V.P. Singh which was
244 supported by the BJP, which was the second largest party in the country at that time. The
245 fourth coalition government was formed in 1990 under the leadership of Chandra Shekhar.
246 The fifth coalition was formed under the leadership of H.D. Deve Gowda under the banner of
247 united front government which was unison of 13 parties including Congress, CPI, Samajwadi
248 Party, Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam, and Asom Gana Parishad amongst others (F. A. Malik
249 & Malik, 2014).

250 The sixth coalition was formed in 1997 under the leadership of I.K. Gujral, and seventh was
251 formed in 1998 led by A.B. Vajpayee which was supported by AIADMK, BJD, Akali Dal,
252 Shiv Sena and others. The eighth coalition was formed in 1999 which was led by A.B.
253 Vajpayee under National Democratic Alliance (NDA) which was led by BJP (Bhartiye Janta
254 Party) and supported by 24 political parties including AIADMK (All India Anna Dravida
255 Munnetra Kazhagam), Telugu Dasam Party, NC, Trinamool Congress and others (R. P. S.
256 Malik, 2009). The ninth, as well as a tenth coalition, was formed in May 2004 and 2009
257 respectively under the leadership of Dr Manmohan Singh under the party named United
258 Progressive Alliance supported by Nationalist Congress Party, Rashtriya Lok Dal, and others
259 including left parties (Bisla, 2016). The eleventh coalition was formed in 2014 by the
260 National Democratic Alliance (NDA) led by the BJP with Narendra Modi as the Prime
261 Minister.

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B. 3.3 DELEGATION AND AGENCY PROBLEMS IN COALITION GOVERNMENTS

Delegation problem of responsibilities, finance, policy action and other actions in Parliament give rises to Coalition among government(Naoto, 2007). The participating parties in the coalition have their electorates, agenda, ideals and policy concerns for which they go through the whole hog of elections competing with parties who might become their partners in the times to come. Their record as a party in the government becomes more important than their record as a government in general because it determines their electoral fate in the future. It becomes the cause of problems in delegating important portfolios like finance (Oppermann, Brummer, & Willigen, 2003). It stand true in Indian context when President R. Venkataraman was of the opinion that Chandra Shekhar was able to handle parliament competently but was under constant strain from the Congress party which led to his resignation. This shows that it was the real government and Chandra Shekhar can be merely called a proxy. This problem is referred to as the agency problem in government political parties.

Another challenge identified under agent issue by Kostova (2004) is differences in preferences which are the major cause of agency problems in the coalition governments. When parties with a divergent view of the functioning and condition of the world will join hands, there is bound to be areas where there will be the substantial differences in opinions on policymaking. In the case of H.D. Deve Gowda, the Congress revoked its support to him due to the rising discontent regarding communication over the coalition which led to the loss of a vote of confidence to the united front government. There can almost never be similarity of beliefs and opinions amongst a wide number of people and parties. Therefore, it is a challenge for the leader of a coalition government to make decisions and plan and execute various policies or obtain consensus from all sides. However, this does not validate the withdrawing of support or compelling a minister to resign due to the difference in opinions (Ricker, 1962).

The amount and extent to which policy decisions are influenced by diverse political views of equally diverse political parties will determine the probable implementation of an electoral promise. Though it becomes imperative to arrive at some common ground; it becomes necessary for parties to compromise. Such compromise would depend on the issue under

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294 discussion and the preference of the involved parties as to which policy is more important to
295 them.

296 Hazlehurst (2001) on the same grounds found out that the participant parties not only have
297 different views on specific issues, they also have a different take on the level of importance
298 of various policies. ~~In case~~In case of United Progressive Alliance (UPA 2) government,
299 Trinamool ~~Congress~~ ~~(Congress~~ (TMC) Chief Mamta Bannerjee withdrew her support from
300 the UPA because their demands of rolling back of reforms were not met. Their rollback of
301 reforms included issues like FDI (Foreign Direct ~~Investment~~Investment) in retail, the rise in
302 the price of diesel and limiting the number of subsidized gas cylinders for households.
303 Similarly, the DMK (Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam) also withdrew its support due to an issue
304 of a draft resolution at the United Nations Human Rights Council regarding violation of
305 human rights to Sri Lankan Tamils. It shows that the difference of opinions amongst the
306 different parties leads to withdrawal of support from the coalition. Care needs to be taken to
307 ensure that important policies are handled properly despite the difference in opinions amongst
308 the parties (Vaddiraju, 2017). A logical inference garnered from the study is that a specific
309 policy proposal to be implemented is more likely to get support if it is relevant to individual
310 specific parties as well as in the case of UPA 2 government. Stressing certain policies will
311 drive up the perceived competency or credibility of certain parties while the position of other
312 parties remains unaffected. It drives the moves of various parties in the coalition.

313 Further, with the formation of the coalition government, the agreements and the distribution
314 of key areas and policy decisions are all settled through negotiation and mutual agreements.
315 There have been various instances in the Indian politics where the regional parties like
316 Telugu Desam Party (TDP) and the Indian National Lok Dal (~~INLD~~ haveINLD) have had to
317 collaborate with BJP to avoid bifurcation of their votes against their common enemy,
318 ~~i.e. Congress~~i.e. Congress party. Therefore, they were forced to support BJP to protect their
319 electoral prospects (Hoerber & Rudolph, 2002). A similar study conducted by Herd (2010)
320 found out consensus to be the factor responsible for the agreements among the Coalition
321 Government. But each government has to start with existing policies and regulations to the
322 status quo. If the government desires to alter these, they again will need a consensus. In the
323 absence of the agreement, the status quo remains. In coalition governments, each party tries
324 to block policy changes which either may be adversely affect its quo. ~~Thus~~Thus, it can be
325 stated that the power equation is more in favour of the party seeking changes to current policy
326 rather than changing the status quo.

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C. 3.4 CHALLENGING MINISTERIAL DISCRETION

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In a study conducted by Wang, Nathwani, & Wu (2016), it was found that the functioning of

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multi-party governments is severely hindered as participating parties use their control over

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their ministries under their jurisdiction to address and advance their specific agenda rather

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than cooperates in the coalition. In the case of Telangana movement ~~cooperation~~ cooperation.

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the announcement of the formation of a separate Telangana state led to protests across both

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Andhra and Rayalaseema. It included the resignation of MLAs (Member of Legislative

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Assembly) from those regions seeking reversal of the orders of the home minister. It took a

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lot of committees and consensus to take a stand on this issue which shows that the parties use

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their power to tilt the government policies in their favour (Bisla, 2016). Apart from the

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divisiveness of the political ~~parties, the parties, the~~ preferences ostensibly ~~converts~~ convert into

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potential and actual agency loss because of the need to delegate implementation of the policy

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from the combined cabinet to the individual ministers or agents whose individual policy

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position may differ substantially from the coalition average. ~~IA researcher~~ in his study

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~~Hazlehurst~~ Hazlehurst, D. (2001) held control mechanism as one of the ways to keep

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coalition party confined to a specific course of action. There is a control mechanism under

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work that parties of coalition use which is the bargaining power to keep the coalition and the

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majority party on to a specific course of action. If it does not work out, support is threatened

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to be withdrawn. It was found that such challenges to coalition severely threaten the

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functioning of the government and even constrain or slower down the public policy decisions

349

making by hindering the progress. For example, a few days before the RathYatra was about

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to end at Ayodhya in 1990, the then-chief minister of Bihar, Lalu Prasad Yadav made L K

351

Advani prisoned in Samastipur. BJP had warned that it would withdraw support if Advani

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was arrested, so, on his arrest, BJP withdrew support which left the country unstable.

353

R.Venketaraman observed,

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“It is my impression that if V.P. Singh had headed a government with a clear

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majority instead of depending on a conglomeration of parties mutually destructive to

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each other, he would have given a good administration to the country. Being

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dependent on parties with different objectives and ideologies, he could not withstand

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pressures from discordant groups” (Venkataraman, 1994).

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359 This shows that there are other reasons, besides political, which lead to withdrawal of support
 360 by political parties from a coalition government.

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361 Apart from arriving at a policy bargain consensus, the parties involved in the coalition
 362 government have to strike a balance on the allocation of ministerial portfolios. Because
 363 jurisdiction over a certain portfolio allocates power over agenda setting, it can be regarded as
 364 a dominant instrument capable of influencing the enactment or prevention of a specific policy
 365 decision (Strøm & McClean, 2015).

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366 In 1997, Inder Kumar Gujral was selected as a consensus candidate amongst others including
 367 Lalu Prasad Yadav, Mulayam Singh Yadav, Indian National Congress, left parties and others.
 368 When Inder Kumar Gujral refused to dismiss any DMK (Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam)
 369 leaders from his government, INC (Indian National Congress) withdrew support from the
 370 government which led to the resignation of Mr Gujral (Gupta, 1998). Despite this, there is not
 371 much freedom to appoint whomsoever to the cabinet as the party considers because it
 372 depends on the influence of the participating parties and the candidate's popularity with the
 373 public. Cabinet ministers tend to choose and implement their own party's policy ideals rather
 374 than the collective ideals in the areas under their jurisdictions. It can be started after doing the
 375 literature review that there lies an enormous potential for agency loss in the policy delegation
 376 from the coalition government as a whole to the ministers as individuals. It happens because
 377 the preferences of individuals and collectives are divergent (Xwkr, Hhwhu, & Zrun, 1999).

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378 Table 1: Table of factors responsible for Challenges

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S	Study	Challenges	Factors	Relationship
	detail		responsible	
1	(Martin & Vanberg, 2014)	Policy making in the coalition government	Preference of party involved	The institutional limitation is the solution to this challenge

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		nment		
2	(Meeting, 2001)	Policy disagreement in Coalition government	Preference of actor	The condition of policymaking in the coalition government is governed by this factor
3	(Naoto, 2007)	Delegation issue	Personal agendas	Cause of issue in delegating important portfolios
4	(Opperman et al., 2003)	Policy disagreement in Coalition government	Institutional limitation	Institutional limitation is solution to this challenge
5	(Strom & Meelissen, 2015)	Delegation issue	Personal ideals	Cause of issue in delegating important portfolios

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6	(Wang et al., 2016)	Policy disagreement in Coalition government	Agents involved	Governance of policy making
7	(Xwkr et al., 1999)	Delegation issue	Personal Policy concerns	Cause of issue in delegating important portfolios
8	(Kostova, 2004)	Agency problem	Divergence in preference	Divergent preference leads to disagreement
9	(Gelder, 2017)	Policy decision	Negotiation	Negotiation helps in policy-making
10	(Seyd, 2002)	Agency problem	Divergence in preference	Divergent preference leads to disagreement

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381 ~~3.5 POSSIBLE EXISTING AND POTENTIAL SOLUTIONS TO THE IDENTIFIED~~
382 CHALLENGES

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384 ~~Given such delegation problems, Hazlehurst (2007) suggested that~~ found out that the parties
385 of the coalition government may resort to controlling mechanism that will seek to help keep
386 the differences at bay and prevent the ministers of different parties holding different
387 portfolios from drifting away from the popular mandate.

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389 ~~In another similar study conducted by Gelder (2017), it was argued that~~ found out that to restrict
390 future policy actions from sliding away from common coalition ground, a potential solution
391 can be to assign junior ministers from the majority party the job of being an overseer. As it
392 was noted that there are differences in the preferences of individual actors and collective, the
393 allocation of portfolios can be considered as a solution to ensure successful delegation and
394 execution of legislative agenda in policymaking. Ministers are then more likely to implement
395 and continue with tasks assigned to them as it aligns with their party's policies as opposed to
396 the coalition collective. A coalition is likely to be more successful if the parties moderate
397 their ideologies and programmes along with listening to the point of view of ministers of
398 other political parties as well. It is not necessary that all parties shall have similar beliefs and
399 ideologies which might lead to difficulty in achieving consensus on issues. A considerable
400 literature review has pointed towards using this as a strategic move. Additionally, this also
401 hinders the autonomy of the senior minister to some extent thus, effectively reducing the
402 ministerial discretion (Naoto, 2007).

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403 ~~In the real world~~ real-world democracies, the coalition practice does not give complete
404 autonomy to the individual heads or cabinet ministers. The individual heads have to work
405 within the ambit of rules imposed by the coalition, and this helps in overcome the problem of
406 decision making and delegation. Holding a particular portfolio gives power to the respective
407 party to influence decision making, but on the other hand, it also gives the power to other
408 parties to challenge the decision (Martin, 2015).

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409 Another solution that can be considered is the formulation of a coalition agreement or a
410 contract. It can have a significant effect on the performance of cabinets in public
411 policymaking. Such drafts can reduce the negative impact of the differentiation in individual

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423 preferences of individual actors in impacting policymaking agenda. Allocation of portfolios
424 among the different political parties in Parliament can significantly help in the achievement
425 of Parliament agendas. The absence of converging preferences of the participating parties of
426 the coalition government, division of portfolios among cabinet ministers leading to a power
427 struggle, and ministerial discretions all enhance the potential for agency loss in the delegation
428 in parliamentary activity.

429 ~~On similar grounds, the U.K.'s coalition has proved to be a setback example. During the First~~
430 ~~World War. An all party coalition was formed under the first Prime Minister Herbert Asquith~~
431 ~~which replaced the last Liberal government. This coalition marked its ending in 1922 with~~
432 ~~decision of conservatives to leave the group. Another coalition came into power in 1931 under~~
433 ~~PM David Cameron which faced heavy economic losses. It was the Great Depression, and~~
434 ~~Britain's Labour government failed in dealing with it. Even after this, voters supported~~
435 ~~coalition government during the general elections. Stanley Baldwin and Neville Chamberlain~~
436 ~~were two conservatives that acted as prime ministers heading the National Government,~~
437 ~~which ended in 1940. This was then replaced with another coalition under Winston Churchill.~~
438 ~~In 1974, Britain engaged in minority government. Labour's Harold Wilson won the elections~~
439 ~~and ended up forming Parliament. Though Liberals tried to form coalition but failed at the~~
440 ~~end and Wilson headed a minority government (Daniel Schwartz, 2010).~~

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441
442 The possible solutions have been identified in the systematic review for example, the country
443 with divergent and coalition government is recommended to formulate an agreement in the
444 starting itself to reduce the future impact of divergent preference of political parties in policy
445 formulation. The main reason behind the ~~failure~~ ~~success~~ of coalition government in an
446 economy where the parties withdraw support for the smallest reasons is that there are no
447 friends or enemies in politics; the only thing permanent is interest. Along with it, the presence
448 of ideological differences on important issues like liberalisation, secularism, expectations of
449 instability ~~leads~~ ~~lead~~ to the rise of minority coalitions which lead to difficulties in planning
450 and implementation of policies.

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451 ~~1.2~~ CONCLUSION

452 ~~The coalition government is a multi-party government where several~~ ~~partyparties~~ cooperate
453 and govern as a single government. The aim of the present research was to study the

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454 challenges and the solutions of the policy making in coalition government. On the basis of the
455 systematic review, the researcher ~~identified 3~~identified Three major challenges that are faced
456 by coalition government. These are first, modelling of coalition government, second
457 delegating and agency issues and third is challenges of ministerial discretion. It has been
458 observed that coalition government has more or less failed to serve the purpose of governing
459 the country. ▲

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460 ~~For instance, as discussed in the above section, U.K's coalition government was one of the~~
461 ~~setback example that failed to continue forming coalition government and ended up as~~
462 ~~minority government~~. Modelling of the coalition government has represented the complex
463 structure of the coalition government. This complex structure involves several parties
464 belonging to different background and culture coming into contact to form coalition
465 government. Another identified challenge is delegation and agency issue where delegation of
466 power, authority and responsibilities among different parties forming coalition government
467 was an issue. Finally, ministerial discretion where the parties wanted to exercise the power of
468 their ministries under their jurisdiction. ▲

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469 As per the literature review, it can be recommended to Coalition government to adhere to the
470 control mechanism to prevent delegation problem within the working of Parliament.
471 Bargaining power through control mechanism results in converging of views. Another
472 identified solution is assigning junior ministries an overseer will help in effective
473 policymaking because the juniors can then focus on their individual assigned tasks. ▲

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474 The results of this study can be generalised on other democracies to the extent to which the
475 political systems are similar. If the coalition governments share characteristics, the results can
476 be applied, but a comparative research design needs to conduct to arrive at more specific
477 conclusions. ▲

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