

**Global
Development
Institute**

**Working Paper
Series**

2018-025

August 2018

ISBN: 978-1-909336-60-5

**From
'international' to
'global'
development in
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evidence from
political party
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Cite this paper as:

Hulme, David and Sifaki, Eleni (2018) From 'international' to 'global' development in the UK? Recent evidence from political party manifestos. GDI Working Paper 2018-025. Manchester: The University of Manchester.

Abstract

This paper explores whether UK political parties have moved from an understanding of development cooperation as international development/foreign aid, towards a more 'global developmental' approach. Its analytical framework is based on the components of the Commitment to Development Index (CDI), with an additional theme of 'addressing global inequalities'. The empirical sections examine the election manifestos of the UK's major political parties since 1997 to see if there is any evidence that they are beginning to recognise that development cooperation is about much more than foreign aid and that it will entail cross-sectoral, 'joined up' policy analysis and action. In the conclusion the different speeds at which parties are moving are compared and an initial attempt is made at explaining these differences.

Keywords: global development; international development; party manifestos; beyond aid

1. Introduction

The geography of development in the 21st century is shifting. Horner and Hulme (2017) argue that the world today is characterised by 'converging divergence', with falling between-country inequalities and rising within-country inequalities. They call for a shift in development studies and development policy from 'international development' to 'global development' to address emerging global inequalities, recognising that the notion of a clear dichotomy between the developed and developing world is now invalid. Indeed, the world today is faced with global development challenges such as climate change, regulating international finance and the refugee crisis, that transcend simple North/South divisions. The 2015 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) reflect this change in the understanding of development as they are universal and, for the first time, UN development goals apply to all countries irrespective of their development status. Similarly, the World Bank no longer reports development indicators in terms of simple GNI groups.

In light of this shift in the geography and consequently the understanding of development, we examine the extent to which political party manifestos in the UK have shifted from an 'international development' to a 'global development' approach over the last 20 years in response to global economic, environmental and social development and challenges. We do so through analysing the political party manifestos for UK general elections since 1997. The study selected the six political parties from the 2015 general election with the largest vote share: the Conservatives, Labour, Liberal Democrats, Scottish National Party (SNP), UK Independence Party (UKIP) and the Green Party. Drawing from the Center for Global Development's Commitment to Development Index (CDI) criteria (but, adding to them), we investigate manifesto recognition of and commitment to the following eight global development themes/issues: aid/official development assistance, finance, trade, technology, environment, security, migration and global inequalities.

Our analysis finds that through their manifestos all political parties demonstrate a greater recognition of, and higher commitment to, addressing global development since 1997. However, this is not a linear process but characterised by ebbs and flows in recognition and commitment around different development themes. Moreover, each party differed greatly in the speeds at which it was moving and the extent of their commitment. Labour and the Liberal Democrats showed the strongest recognition and commitment to global development over 1997-2017, with Labour showing a particularly significant increase from previous years in 2017 (this may be attributed to Jeremy Corbyn's leadership and the shift of the party from the centre towards the left). The SNP also made a significant increase in its commitment to supporting global development since 1997. The Conservatives and UKIP are far behind, with the lowest scores and least increase in recognising and responding to development challenges as global development.

1.1. Beyond aid and aid effectiveness in development policy

Recently, there has been a notable shift in aid policy beyond aid and aid effectiveness, characterised by development partnerships with emerging economies, private companies, and engagement with broader development issues such as technology, health and migration (Mawdsley et al, 2014; Janus et al, 2015). This has been a consequence of growing scepticism over aid; the changing geography of global poverty; the rise of Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa (BRICS); and the global financial crisis among other factors. While some authors have called this the 'beyond aid' agenda (Janus et al, 2015), others have called this a shift from aid to global development policy (Alonso, 2012). The integration of wider dimensions of development in development policy, however, such as ethical finance and fair migration, remain underexplored. For example, as Skeldon (2008) argues, international migration has only recently been accepted in discourse as an important dimension of development rather than simply a barrier to it.

It is, therefore, important to explore to what extent and in what ways wider development issues have been integrated into the development agenda of the Global North. Yet only few studies look at the influence of domestic politics in the development policy of donor countries (Clarke, 2017; Mawdsley et al, 2017) as 'politics' is usually seen almost exclusively as happening in recipient countries. According to Clarke (2017), factors including the rise of UKIP, austerity and international events eroded the relationship between political vision and political efficacy in UK development policy in recent years. This demonstrates that domestic political factors are crucial in shaping a country's development policy, and may also play a key role in determining a possible shift in the focus of development issues beyond aid. Party competition shapes government policy, and governments play a key role in international development policy. This study, therefore, seeks to look more closely into the role that political parties can play in shaping understandings and commitment to global development. It seeks to understand the extent of a shift to global development in political parties through an original analysis of manifestos.

1.2. Party competition and manifestos

The literature on party competition examines how political parties compete with each other in elections to attract voters. An important topic in this literature is 'issue salience' in party manifestos. Issue salience relates to, "the extent to which parties emphasise different issues in their campaign...the more a party emphasises a relevant topic or issue (makes it 'salient'), the more likely it is to attract voters who are concerned with this topic" (Pogorelis et al, 2005). Several studies have investigated issue salience in party manifestos: either focusing on the factors that determine issue salience more widely (Pogorelis et al, 2005; Libbrecht et al, 2009; Budge et al, 2001; Wagner and Meyer, 2014); or focusing on the salience of a specific issue such as climate change and the environment (Facchini et al, 2017; Farstad, 2017). These studies argue that

the factors affecting issue salience include the ideological position of a party and their position on the left-right scale, incumbency constraints, size of the party and institutional design among other issues (Pogorelis et al, 2005; Farstad, 2017).

Issue salience is very useful to understand what factors influence the content of a manifesto; however, it does not necessarily relate to the parties' policy proposals. To overcome this problem, this study focuses on manifesto commitment: the extent to which parties express commitment to different issues/themes of global development in their manifesto. We assess commitment in terms of whether the manifesto identifies specific policy proposals such as an increased budget, a new organisation, an expansion of staffing, elevation of the organisational head to ministerial status and similar advances. Alternatively, a reduction in commitment would be observed by a reduction in budget, downgrading of an organisation's status etc. Moreover, this study contributes to the literature on party competition through examining the issue of global development in particular, which has not yet been explored.

2. Theoretical framework and methodology

2.1. From 'international' to 'global' development

What exactly is 'global development'? The meaning of the term 'global development', and how it differs from international development, is under debate. According to Currie-Alder (2016, p. 8), "...global development as a scholarship focuses on creating a common future, recognising the interdependence of different countries in producing public goods and confronting public ills...It is simultaneously inward and outward looking, understanding one's own society and its role in an interconnected world." By contrast, international development is understood as a different theoretical tradition that focuses 'on actions especially designed for poorer countries. This tradition fosters scholarship on poverty and inequality' (Currie-Alder, 2016, p. 7). In a similar vein, Gore (2015) understands global development as a new paradigm that needs to emerge in the post-2015 development agenda to address global challenges. This will involve new concepts, institutions, models of practice and modes of cooperation (Gore, 2015).

According to Horner (2017), global development has been understood in the literature in two ways: as 'scale' and as 'scope'. In terms of the former; national, international and global development represent different scales of analysis. Horner and Hulme (2017) understand global development as a shift in 'scope'. They understand the shift to 'global development' firstly as a material process that is taking place in the world in terms of the simultaneous reduction of between-country inequalities and increase in within-country inequalities, that then gives rise to the necessity for shifts in disciplinary understanding and in policy. They contend that global development policy signifies a move away from a focus on modernisation, growth and following the development path of the 'Global North' (the post World War Two advanced industrial economies), to a

focus on sustainability and social justice. Drawing from this definition, we argue that the recognition and commitment of political parties in the UK to global development, as revealed by their election manifestos, involves a shift in policy focus from uni-directional (North to South) processes (mainly foreign aid and trade) to a more multi-directional, universal and multi-dimensional understanding of development, reflected in measures to address global inequalities, promote social justice and sustain the environment.

2.2. Political commitment

Brinkerhoff (2000) defines political commitment as the “commitment of actors to undertake actions to achieve a set of objectives...and to sustain the costs of those actions over time” (Brinkerhoff, 2000, p. 242). We draw from this definition to define manifesto commitment to global development as ‘the recognition and commitment of political parties to undertake action to promote global development and to sustain those actions over time’. Brinkerhoff identifies five different characteristics of political commitment: locus of initiative; degree of analytical rigour; mobilisation of support; application of credible sanctions; and continuity of effort. For the purposes of this study, we will evaluate commitment based on two of these characteristics that apply directly to political manifestos: ‘degree of analytical rigour’ and ‘continuity of effort’.

‘Degree of analytical rigour’ refers to the extent to which the manifesto proposal reflects an in-depth analysis of the complexity of the issue; is specific and provides concrete examples; addresses the root causes of the problem and uses this analysis to come up with politically feasible reform proposals; and that no other part of the manifesto contradicts this rigorous analysis of the issue. ‘Continuity of effort’ refers to the allocation of ongoing effort and resources to address global development challenges and demonstrates a long-term plan, for example, through allocating funds including measures for monitoring and evaluation, or pursuing an international agreement on the issue.

Although it must be acknowledged that manifesto commitment does not necessarily determine actual policy commitment, especially among political parties that have a low chance, or no chance, of getting into power: the purpose of this article is to investigate the extent of a shift towards a ‘global development’ approach in political parties and hence it does not investigate actual policy commitment. Researching manifesto commitment also helps understand the shifts in party priorities and how the influence of competition between parties can lead to the inclusion or exclusion of certain themes, and to the extent of policy proposals related to certain themes in the manifestos.

2.3. Methodology

We investigated manifesto recognition and commitment to global development in terms of eight different global development (GD) themes. We used the Centre for Global Development's Commitment to Global Development Index (CDI) themes of aid, finance, technology, trade, environment, security and migration. We added the theme of 'global inequalities', which involves addressing social inequalities such as access to health and education and gender inequalities, as we believe that addressing global inequalities is a crucial dimension of global development (see Horner and Hulme 2017). While the CDI has been criticised, and its origins were based on a North/South framing, there is no other authoritative framework. Moreover, the CDI is widely used and accepted in academic literature and can be applied universally (to countries or organisations).

Each of the CDI's seven themes, and our additional theme of global inequalities, was broken down into different dimensions/sub-themes drawing from the CDI measures. As the CDI indicators focused on specific data that are not found in party manifestos, we used only the relevant indicators as a guide to identify the dimensions present in each of the themes when evaluating manifesto recognition, and to identify the extent of commitment. The degree of recognition was measured in terms of the number of dimensions/sub-themes addressed in the policy proposals of the manifestos, while degree of commitment was analysed based on the analytical rigour and continuity of effort criteria. We searched all manifestos based on key terms related to the dimensions (see Table 1 below) and carried out a mapping of all party manifestos. The full dataset can be accessed on the following link:

http://hummedia.manchester.ac.uk/institutes/gdi/research/From%20ID%20to%20GD%20paper_Hulme%20and%20Sifaki%20January%202018%20DATASET.pdf

Table 1: Adapted CDI criteria for each global development theme

Theme/issue	Adapted CDI dimensions
aid	aid quantity
	fostering institutions
	transparency and learning (about aid)
	maximizing efficiency (of aid budgets)
ethical finance	financial secrecy - tax justice
	financial secrecy - public company ownership
	financial secrecy - public company accounts
	investment - international commitments
	international transparency commitments
technology for development	government support to research and development for global health
	government support to research and development for green technologies
	intellectual property
environment	greenhouse gas emissions
	climate change governance
	retaining and implementing the Kyoto Protocol (applicable 1997-2015)/ Paris Agreement (applicable for 2017)
	Commitment to renewable energy
	international commitment to biodiversity & conservation
trade justice	trade justice
global Security	peacekeeping and humanitarian interventions
	commitment to global security
	regulation of arms exports to countries with poor human rights record
fair migration	implementation of policies domestically
	refugee burden-sharing
	implementation of policies domestically
	asylum-seeker burden-sharing
	implementation of policies domestically
addressing global inequalities	active Millennium Development Goals and Sustainable Development Goals implementation process
	international commitment to promoting and protecting human rights
	gender equality
	equality in access to education
	equality in access to health
	disaster response & emergency relief

Source: Authors' adaptation of Center for Global Development's Commitment to Development Index (CDI) – from CGD (2017)

For each of the eight main themes, we scored the recognition and commitment of each political party manifesto on a scale from 0-3: 0 for evidence of no recognition and commitment; 1 for weak recognition and commitment; 2 for moderate recognition and commitment; and 3 for strong recognition and commitment. We then added up the scores for the different themes to come up with a mean score of recognition and commitment to GD for each of the six political parties for the 1997-2017 election manifestos. This was followed by a qualitative analysis of recognition and commitment based on each issue/theme. The results were then compared across years to chart the dynamics of commitment to global development for different parties. We only coded the specific policy pledges of the manifestos as these relate specifically to recognition and commitment, and not normative statements. Moreover, where one policy pledge was deemed as potentially negative to the particular development theme (for example, reducing the volume of aid), the commitment score would be reduced. Such pledges are highlighted in red in the dataset document (link is provided above).

Finally, we calculated the mean GD score across all parties per specific theme, and overall in order to analyse shifts over time in recognition and commitment around specific dimensions of global development. We investigate short-term changes between each year but also long-term changes between 1997-2017, hence the analysis of the 1997 and 2017 manifestos are a bit longer than analysis of the years in-between in this article.

3. An 'international development' agenda dominates: findings from the 1997 manifestos

The findings from 1997 manifestos, as might be expected, indicate a recognition and commitment to 'international' as opposed to 'global' development by all parties except UKIP (that showed no recognition or commitment to development issues). These manifestos were characterised by an emphasis on aid, trade and security and a weak recognition and commitment towards universal social justice issues (such as ethical finance, access to technology, migration and global inequalities). In particular, none of the six parties raised ethical finance and technology for development as a policy issue in their manifestos. Nevertheless, the findings also show the beginning of recognition of a 'global' development agenda with the majority of parties addressing global environmental issues and climate change. We suspect that the 1992 Rio 'Earth Summit' may have played a role in making climate change a global issue and part of the UK political agenda in 1997. UKIP was the only party that showed no recognition or commitment to development in its manifesto, as it did not mention most of the global development themes in its manifesto pledges. Where a theme was mentioned (such as migration), it was not mentioned explicitly as a development issue and referred to hindering rather than promoting these dimensions of development as explained below. This is consistent with the nationalist and nativist (some might say xenophobic) tenets of the party and its focus on domestic policy and isolationism.

As Table 2 shows, the Liberal Democrats scored highest (ie, recognised and committed to addressing global development issues), with a weak to moderate recognition and commitment to global development for 1997. Their policy pledges covered many dimensions of development and included: targeting bilateral aid to the least developed countries (LDCs) rather than using it to achieve domestic commercial or geo-political goals; reforming UK immigration law to enable the reunion of families; and cutting greenhouse gas emissions by 30% over the next 15 years. Labour's recognition and commitment to global development was close to that of the Liberal Democrats with only a small margin. At the other end of the spectrum, UKIP did not recognise the goal of global development, nor did it demonstrate any commitment to promoting global development. It pledged to curb migration and asylum to the UK, reduce EU regulations on environmental and social standards for business, and its manifesto did not address aid, finance, technology, environment/climate change and global inequalities. The Conservative and SNP manifestos scored a weak recognition and commitment to global development, addressing only aid, environment/climate change, trade and security dimensions.

Table 2: recognition and commitment to global development of UK political party manifestos, 1997

Theme	Conservative	Labour	LibDems	SNP	UKIP	Greens	Mean for theme
Aid	1	2	3	1	0	3	1.67
Finance	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Technology	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Environment	1	2	2	1	0	0	1
Trade	1	2	3	1	0	2	1.5
Security	1	3	3	2	0	2	1.83
Migration	0	2	2	0	0	0	0.67
Global Inequalities	0	1	1	0	0	0	0.33
Mean for party	0.5	1.5	1.75	0.63	0	1.17	0.88

Source: Authors' assessments (See dataset for details)

3.1. Aid

All parties except UKIP demonstrate at least some recognition and commitment to overseas aid. All of these parties reaffirm in their manifestos their commitment to eventually increasing the aid budget to 0.7 % of GDP. The Liberal Democrats and the SNP demonstrate the strongest commitment to sustain this through setting a timetable to achieve 0.7% (ten years for the Liberal Democrats and six years for the SNP). The

Liberal Democrats demonstrate the strongest commitment to overseas aid as they include detailed proposals. These include a debt-relief plan for the poorest countries, focusing bilateral aid on the poorest countries, putting an end to the practice of tying aid and requiring aid-recipient countries to respect human rights. Labour came second with moderate recognition and commitment and proposed to “strengthen and restructure the British aid programme” through the creation of a new department for international development. (It should be noted that at the manifesto drafting stage Clare Short, who later became a champion of global development, was Shadow Transport Minister and did not have responsibilities for Labour’s international policies). Conservatives and SNP indicate a weak recognition and commitment to aid in their manifestos. Although they mentioned increasing the aid budget, they did not propose additional measures to target other dimensions of overseas aid, such as transparency and efficiency of aid programmes.

3.2. Ethical finance

None of the political parties showed any recognition or commitment to ethical finance, with a few parties discussing tax evasion in the UK but not addressing it as a global challenge, nor proposing measures to address its adverse effects on developing countries in particular. This is consistent with an ‘international’ development focus based largely on aid and trade with developing countries and treating international finance purely from a domestic perspective.

3.3. Technology for development

None of the manifestos showed recognition or commitment to technology promotion for development challenges such as investment in research and development for global health epidemics, as there was no mention of these issues in the policy proposals. Again this is consistent with framing development policy as being mainly about aid, trade and security.

3.4. Environment and climate change

All parties demonstrate at least some recognition and commitment to addressing climate change with the exception of UKIP. Labour and the Liberal Democrats show the strongest recognition and commitment on this theme. Labour pledged to reduce carbon dioxide emissions by 20% by 2010, develop renewable energy sources and work for the successful negotiation of a new protocol on climate change to be completed in Japan in 1997. The Liberal Democrats proposed to reduce carbon dioxide emissions by 30% over the next 15 years, introduce a carbon tax on fossil fuels, and work for the creation of a global environmental organisation among its pledges. Labour and the Liberal Democrats thus demonstrate a strong recognition of the several dimensions of environmental sustainability. However, some of these proposals are not associated with clear plans to implement and sustain them in the long term, reflecting a

moderate level of commitment and an overall moderate score of recognition and commitment. The Conservatives and the SNP manifestos demonstrate a weak commitment to environmental sustainability. The SNP proposed to allocate a budget to develop renewable energy but did not address cutting carbon dioxide emissions or the UK pursuing a global leadership role on climate change. The proposals of the Conservatives were vague, lacking specificity and concrete action plans. For example, they pledged to “continue to provide leadership in Europe and internationally on environmental issues”, but did not specify how this would be done.

3.5. Trade justice

The Liberal Democrat manifesto showed a strong recognition and commitment to trade justice through proposals to make trade socially and environmentally sustainable. Both Labour and the Liberal Democrats made explicit proposals to improve the fairness of trade with developing countries. Labour proposed to “maintain and enhance the position of the poorest countries during the renegotiation of the Lomé Convention”, “ensure that developing countries are given a fair deal in international trade” and reaffirming that “the international environment should be safeguarded in negotiations over international trade”, although no specific proposals or plans were referenced to achieve these goals. The Liberal Democrats were more specific, proposing to reduce “tariff and non-tariff barriers, especially against the poorest countries”, “improve global labour standards by permitting countries to discriminate against goods produced by nations that maintain practices such as child, slave and forced labour” and to “support the addition of an environmental sustainability clause to the GATT”. Conservatives and the SNP had a weak commitment to trade justice. The Conservatives proposed “greater protection against price fixing, dumping, and other restrictive practices by larger competitors” for companies, but did not explicitly address measures to support poorer countries. They also emphasised free trade with all countries, indicating a commitment to globalisation rather than to global development.

3.6. Global security

Labour and the Liberal Democrats evidenced the strongest recognition and commitment to global security, covering a range of dimensions and proposing specific measures. Labour promised to press for reform of the United Nations to resolve its funding crisis and strengthen its effectiveness on peacekeeping; press for negotiations towards multilateral reduction in nuclear weapons; ban sales of weapons to oppressive regimes; and to implement and strengthen the Chemical Weapons Convention and Biological Weapons Convention respectively. The Liberal Democrats proposed, among others, specific measures to strengthen the UN’s peacekeeping capability; press for the conclusion of a verifiable Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty; and end the sale of British arms to regimes that oppose human rights. Although both parties demonstrate a commitment to the reduction of nuclear weapons in the long term, they remained supportive of retaining the Trident nuclear deterrent until international disarmament is

achieved. The SNP, although it promised to end the Trident deterrent and establish a security college for peacekeeping training, did not address arms sales. The Conservatives showed a weak recognition and commitment to global security, addressing some of its dimensions but at times lacking specific proposals. Although they promised to reform the UN to strengthen peacekeeping in conflict areas, they did not address arms sales or nuclear disarmament.

3.7. Fair migration

Labour and the Liberal Democrats scored highest with a moderate score for recognition and commitment to addressing the issue of international migration more fairly. Labour promised to reverse the arbitrary results that may come from the 'primary purpose' rule and deal with asylum claims swiftly. The Liberal Democrats pledged to ensure immigration policy is non-discriminatory and to enable family reunions, restore benefit rights to asylum seekers and ensure asylum claims are dealt with swiftly. The issue of refugees and burden-sharing of refugees and asylum seekers were not addressed by either party. The Conservatives, SNP and UKIP showed no recognition or commitment on the issue as they did not mention or propose measures to address any of its different dimensions in their policy pledges.

3.8. Global inequalities

Only Labour and the Liberal Democrats showed some recognition and commitment to addressing global inequalities, albeit weak. Labour recognised human rights in its manifesto and pledged to make human rights a central part of foreign policy and to create a permanent international criminal court to investigate genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity. The Liberal Democrats also promised to support the establishment of an international criminal court to deal with genocide and war crimes and to 'promote an enforceable framework for international law, human rights and the protection of the environment'. Combating gender, health and education inequalities and support for humanitarian relief were not addressed. Human rights were firmly on the agenda for both parties and we attribute this to the 1994 Rwandan genocide and the 1992-1995 Bosnian war and genocide that led to an international effort to promote and protect human rights. The Conservatives, SNP and UKIP however did not show any recognition or commitment to respecting and protecting human rights internationally in their manifestos.

4. The rise of global development: findings from the 2001 manifestos

The analysis of the 2001 manifestos indicates an increased commitment for all parties (from 1997) towards development issues covering a wider array of global development themes. Still, however, there are many thematic areas with weak commitment such as finance, technology and global inequalities. Thus, we can see that, although there was a notable shift towards a recognition and commitment to global development in 2001,

the scores were still low. The significant increase in manifesto commitment to global development since 1997 can be attributed to the adoption of the 2000 UN Millennium Declaration and 2001 UN Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) that pledged to halve extreme poverty, ensure environmental sustainability and create a global partnership for development among others (see Hulme 2015).

As Table 3 below shows, some parties like Labour and the Liberal Democrats significantly increased their recognition and commitment to global development between 1997 and 2001, while others like Conservatives, SNP and UKIP show a smaller increase in manifesto recognition and commitment. This is consistent with the left-right political orientation of the parties, as one would expect the left and social democratic parties to incorporate more of pledges to implement the MDGs than the parties on the right of the political spectrum. Both Labour and the Liberal Democrats scored the highest in recognition and commitment, with moderate scores for 2001. Labour's pledges included a continued commitment to dedicating 0.7% of national income to development aid, cutting greenhouse gas emissions by 23% by 2010 and increasing support for quality education in developing countries through teacher training and education management. The Liberal Democrats' pledges included: generating a minimum of 10% of the UK's energy from UK-based renewable energy sources by 2010; working for the elimination of all nuclear weapons through a new round of multilateral arms reduction talks; and assisting in the fight against HIV/AIDS through supporting development of vaccines, large-scale HIV/AIDS education programmes and mother-to-child AIDS treatment drugs to be made available cheaply. At the other end of the scale, the weakest recognition and commitment to global development was UKIP, followed by the Conservatives. UKIP did not address ethical finance, trade justice and global security, while the Conservatives did not show any commitment to ethical finance, technology or trade justice.

Table 3: Recognition and commitment to global development of UK political party manifestos 2001

Theme	Conservative	Labour	LibDems	SNP	UKIP	Greens	Mean per theme
Aid	3	3	3	3	1	3	2.67
Finance	0	0	1	0	0	1	0.33
Technology	0	1	1	0	0	1	0.5
Environment	2	3	3	2	1	3	2.33
Trade	0	3	2	0	0	1	1
Security	1	3	3	2	0	3	2
Migration	1	2	2	1	1	2	1.5
Global Inequalities	1	2	2	1	0	0	1
Mean per party	1	2.13	2.13	1.13	0.34	1.75	1.41

Source: Authors' assessments (See dataset for details)

5. Global development in decline: findings from the 2005 manifestos

Analysis of the 2005 election manifestos shows a marked reduction in recognition and commitment to global development since 2001 for all political parties and all GD themes. The year 2005 follows the 9/11 (2001) attack on the World Trade Center and the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. These events seem to have led to a weaker commitment to global development, especially around issues of aid and migration, while areas like finance, technology and the environment had a lower priority. Indeed, as Table 4 shows, the theme of global security has the highest score across the six parties. The themes of ethical finance, technology for development, environmental sustainability and addressing global inequalities, on the other hand, received very low scores - lower in comparison to the 2001 scores, indicating that recognition and commitment to 'global' development weakened. This is supported by evidence of the post-election UK development policy. Clarke (2017) argues that the war in Iraq "led to a greater securitisation of UK aid (the committal of resources in support of UK defence and security policy) and the erosion of its developmental and poverty-reduction foci" (Clarke, 2017, p. 6). The securitisation of development policy during this period was also noted by other authors (Duffield and Waddell, 2006; Biccum, 2005). Labour showed the highest manifesto recognition and commitment score, followed by the Liberal Democrats. Again, the lowest score was found for UKIP.

Table 4: Recognition and commitment to global development of UK political party manifestos 2005

Theme	Conservative	Labour	LibDems	SNP	UKIP	Greens	Mean per theme
Aid	2	3	2	1	0	2	1.67
Finance	0	1	0	0	0	0	0.17
Technology	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.33
Environment	1	2	3	0	1	3	1.67
Trade	0	2	3	1	0	1	1.17
Security	1	3	2	1	1	3	1.83
Migration	1	1	2	0	0	2	1
Global Inequalities	0	2	0	0	0	0	0.33
Mean per party	0.63	1.75	1.5	0.38	0.25	1.63	1.02

Source: Authors' assessments (See dataset for details)

6. The return of global development: findings from the 2010 manifestos

In 2010 there was a reversal of the declining trend of manifesto recognition and commitment to global development when compared to 2005. For all parties except Labour and UKIP, manifesto recognition and commitment scores increased from 2005 as Table 5 shows, demonstrating an understanding across political parties on the significance of wider development issues in UK policy. Both Labour and the Liberal Democrats had the strongest score, with a weak to moderate manifesto recognition and commitment to global development.

In their 2010 manifesto, Labour pledged among others to allocate at least 5% of all aid funding to developing country budgets for the purpose of strengthening the role of Parliaments and civil society; to continue to work for a legally binding multilateral climate change agreement to limit global temperature rises to two degrees Celsius; and to spend £8.5 billion over eight years for children's education in developing countries. The Liberal Democrats' pledges included cracking down on tax havens; arguing for an international target of zero net deforestation by 2020; and ruling out the replacement of the Trident nuclear weapons system. The Conservatives scored strongly on aid, the environment and global security, including pledges such as commitment to achieve 0.7% of GDP to aid and cutting greenhouse gas emissions by 80% by the year 2050. As Clarke (2017) argues, the renewed emphasis and commitment to development by the Conservatives was an attempt to move the party towards the centre and win over voters from Labour. Once more the weakest recognition and commitment was observed for UKIP, which scored zero for all themes except trade. Many of UKIP's

pledges were deemed to have potentially negative results for global development: for example, their calls to halt all migration to the UK, abolish the Climate Change Act, reappraise operations in Afghanistan and remove funding for renewables such as wind power.

Table 5: Recognition and commitment to global development of UK political party manifestos 2010

	Conservative	Labour	LibDems	SNP	UKIP	Greens	Mean
Aid	3	3	2	0	0	2	1.67
Finance	0	2	2	0	0	1	0.83
Technology	0	0	0	2	0	1	0.67
Environment	3	3	3	2	0	3	2.33
Trade	1	2	0	0	0	2	0.83
Security	2	2	3	2	0	3	2
Migration	0	0	2	0	0	1	0.5
Global Inequalities	0	2	1	0	0	0	0.5
Mean score	1.13	1.75	1.75	0.75	0	1.75	1.19

Source: Authors' assessments (See dataset for details)

The scores show that on average, the themes of the environment, aid and security showed the strongest recognition and commitment by manifestos in 2010, while migration faced a decline (probably due to increasing UK public concerns over rising numbers of migrants and refugees). The increased focus on aid does not necessarily reflect pure altruism however. Rather, as Mawdsley et al (2017) argue, it is attributed to the emergence of 'retro-liberalism' in UK development policy from 2010 onwards, which involves the engagement of the private sector in the delivery of aid and consequently the emergence of national economic growth as significant factors in shaping UK development policy.

According to Clarke (2017), the renewed focus on development was also reflected post-election in the Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition government, with David Cameron becoming joint chair of the High-Level Panel on the Post-2015 Development Agenda in 2012. This required that he spend a significant amount of his personal international political capital in lobbying for the appointment. Moreover, in 2014 the parliament passed the International Development (Gender Equality) Act, which recognised that, in addition to poverty reduction, the Secretary of State for International Development must also consider gender equality in development policy (Clarke, 2017,

p. 9). In 2014 for the first time the UK met its international commitment to spending 0.7% of GDP to aid. This could have been billed as a great achievement but it was less publicised in the face of emerging political opposition to aid spending, particularly from UKIP (Clarke, 2017; Mawdsley et al, 2017).

7. Labour goes into reverse? Findings from the 2015 manifestos

The 2015 findings show that all parties increased their manifesto recognition and commitment to global development since 2010 with the exception of Labour, which observed a small decrease. A possible reason for the decline in global development focus for the Labour party could be to win over voters from other parties in the face of growing media and public opposition to aid spending in UK. The Liberal Democrats led the way with a moderate recognition and commitment, followed by Labour with a weak to moderate recognition and commitment to GD. Among the Liberal Democrats' relatively ambitious pledges included: conduct a full Bilateral and Multilateral Aid Review to ensure that the Department for International Development continues to work in the right places and through the right channels; implement a policy of 'presumption of denial' for arms exports to countries listed as countries of concern in the Foreign Office's annual human rights report; and develop a comprehensive strategy promoting the decriminalisation of homosexuality around the world and advancing the cause of LGBT+ rights. Among Labour's pledges were: appoint a Global Envoy for Religious Freedom and establish a multi-faith advisory council on religious freedom within the Foreign and Commonwealth Office; expand the role of the Department of International Development to mitigate the risks of a changing climate; and extend the sharing of tax information to developing countries. Once more, the UKIP manifesto showed the weakest recognition and commitment to global development, proposing pledges that would hamper rather than promote development. 2015 was the first time that UKIP explicitly mentioned development policy in their manifesto, openly rejecting the 0.7% of GDP target for aid, and proposing to abolish DFID among its pledges. The criticism on UK aid spending from UKIP, which was rising in popularity, and the overall decline of consensus on development may have led to a moderating of commitment to development for Labour under Miliband.

Overall, recognition and commitment to ethical finance, fair migration and technology for development increased in comparison to previous years, while there is a notable decline of focus on aid quality, indicating a further shift towards a 'global' development agenda.

Table 5: Recognition and commitment to global development of UK political party manifestos 2015

Theme	Conservative	Labour	LibDems	SNP	UKIP	Greens	Mean per theme
Aid	3	1	3	2	0	3	2
Finance	0	1	1	0	0	2	0.67
Technology	0	0	3	1	0	2	1
Environment	2	2	3	2	0	3	2
Trade	0	2	2	0	0	3	1.17
Security	2	2	2	3	1	2	2
Migration	1	3	3	2	1	3	2.17
Global Inequalities	2	2	3	1	1	2	1.83
Mean per party	1.25	1.63	2.5	1.38	0.38	2.5	1.61

Source: Authors' assessments (See dataset for details)

8. Towards a 'global development' agenda? Findings from the 2017 manifestos

The findings from the 2017 manifestos show a greater divergence in recognition and commitment scores between political parties in 2017 as compared to 2015. The Conservatives and the Green Party witnessed small reductions in scores, while Labour, the SNP and UKIP scored higher and the Liberal Democrats remained at the same levels. As Table 6 shows, in 2017 Labour and the Liberal Democrats scored highest in commitment to GD, narrowly followed by the SNP. Labour's increase in scores can be attributed to the shift of the party towards the left under Corbyn's leadership. In contrast, the Conservatives and UKIP have the lowest scores. The strategy of the Conservative Party to attract UKIP voters following the Brexit vote appears to have watered down the emerging global development agenda that David Cameron had been fostering in the party over 2012-2015.

Both Labour and the Liberal Democrats fared strongly on finance and migration, proposing specific policies over wide areas with a long-term commitment. For example, on finance Labour pledged to tackle tax havens through a Tax Transparency and Enforcement Programme and enforcing strict standards of transparency for UK crown dependencies and overseas territories. The SNP scored high on security, migration and global inequalities, showing major progress in recognition and commitment when compared to 2015, with the 'establishment of a special envoy to promote the rights of

LGBT people throughout the world’ as one of their pledges. The Conservatives still demonstrated a low level of recognition and commitment as they did not address ethical finance and trade justice. Free trade is discussed a lot throughout their manifesto but there is no reference to ensuring that trade with developing countries is fair, indicating more commitment to ‘globalisation’ than to ‘global development’. UKIP in 2017 shows minimal commitment to global development issues and/or actively promises to reduce the UK’s commitments to global development. Although its manifesto makes pledges for the conservation of UK’s forests and coastal areas, internationally it proposes to repeal the Paris Agreement on climate change. Moreover, references to address gender inequalities target only ‘cultural’ practices, raising concerns over its singling out of minority groups and avoiding the economic dimensions of gender inequality.

Table 6: Recognition and commitment to global development of UK political party manifestos 2017

Theme	Conservative	Labour	LibDems	SNP	UKIP	Greens	Mean per theme
Aid	1	2	1	2	0	2	1.33
Finance	0	3	3	2	0	1	1.5
Technology	2	2	2	1	0	0	1.17
Environment	2	3	3	2	0	3	2.17
Trade	0	3	2	2	2	2	1.83
Security	1	2	3	2	1	2	1.83
Migration	2	3	3	3	0	1	2
Global Inequalities	1	2	3	3	1	1	1.83
Mean per party	1.13	2.5	2.5	2.13	0.5	1.5	1.71

Source: Authors’ assessments (See dataset for details)

9. Aid

Overall aid witnessed a notable reduction in focus in 2017 as compared to 2015, which may be consistent with a global development shift. Labour, the SNP and the Green Party scored highest with a moderate recognition and commitment to overseas aid. In regard to aid quantity, the Conservatives, Labour and Liberal Democrats reaffirmed their promise to allocate 0.7% of GDP towards aid. The Green Party, however, promised to increase this to 1% of GDP. However, the focus on other dimensions of aid

beyond aid quantity was lower when compared to 2015 for most parties. By contrast, UKIP promised to reduce the aid budget to 0.2 % of GNI and reallocate funds to the NHS and other public services, and to “close down DFID”, with a minister for overseas aid working out of the Foreign Office rather than having full ministerial status. These measures clearly indicate UKIP’s anti-development stance in terms of recognition and commitment towards aid for developing countries and an active intent to downgrade this area of policy.

9.1. Finance

Ethical finance witnessed increased recognition and commitment as compared to 2015 for Labour and the Liberal Democrats, while the SNP retained same levels. However, Conservatives and the UKIP showed reduction in scores since 2015. Both Labour and the Liberal Democrats had a strong recognition and commitment to ethical finance, through policies to address uneven outcomes for developing countries in different areas. Labour pledged to tackle tax havens through a Tax Transparency and Enforcement Programme, introducing “strict standards of transparency for Crown Dependencies and Overseas Territories including public register”, and “extend the sharing of tax information to developing countries”. The Liberal Democrats committed themselves to leading “international action to ensure global companies pay fair taxes in developing countries including tightening anti-tax haven rules”, requiring “large companies to publish their tax payments and profits for each country in which they operate” and champion global anti-corruption initiatives. The SNP pledged that “investment agreements should only be signed where appropriate due diligence, including on the human rights record of companies involved, has been undertaken” and to tackle international tax avoidance. The Green Party pledged to introduce “a Robin Hood tax on high value transactions in the finance sector” but did not address tax evasion and ethical investment. The Conservative Party, who under David Cameron had taken a lead in placing reducing tax evasion on the global agenda in 2014, chose to move away from this policy, which would have significant and economically negative implications for the City of London and UK Overseas Territories.

9.2. Technology

All three parties pledged to invest in research and development to tackle global health epidemics and tropical diseases (we suspect reflecting on the Ebola crisis in 2015) and promised to develop green technologies. However, they did not address alleviating the challenges faced by developing countries on intellectual property. The SNP pledged to protect the interests of environmental scientists from across the EU during Brexit but did not address research and development or intellectual property. The Green Party and UKIP were silent on the issue. Quite why the Green Party was silent on this important issue is not at all clear.

9.3. Environment

Although UKIP made proposals to conserve the wildlife and coastal areas of the UK, it did not promise measures to protect the environment beyond UK borders. Moreover, its pledges to repeal the 2008 Climate Change Act; withdraw from the EU Emissions Scheme and the Paris Agreement; and invest in shale gas are antithetical to commitment to combatting global climate change. The strongest recognition and commitment is found by Labour, the Liberal Democrats and, as expected, the Green Party. They all pledged significant reductions in carbon dioxide emissions, full support for the Paris Agreement, investment in renewable energy, and championing global cooperation to preserve the environment. The Conservatives and the SNP showed moderate recognition and commitment as they made proposals for reducing emissions and conserving the environment, but both committed to investing in shale gas, which raises concerns over the environmental consequences of fracking.

9.4. Trade

In 2017, trade justice gained ground as a policy issue for most parties following the Brexit plan. Labour showed the strongest recognition and commitment to trade justice, pledging to: offer guaranteed access to the UK market for the least developed countries; enhance labour rights internationally; tighten the rules on the corporate responsibility of British businesses; and support international negotiations towards an Environmental Goods Agreement at the World Trade Organisation. The Liberal Democrats, SNP, UKIP and the Green Party showed a moderate recognition and commitment, pledging to ensure that future trade deals respect ethical trade and the environment but providing fewer specific examples of how to achieve these goals. The Conservatives promised only to strike free trade agreements with other countries and were silent on measures to promote ethical trade with developing countries, indicating that in 2017 in relation to trade they still gave primacy to globalisation rather than global development.

9.5. Security

The Liberal Democrats and the Green Party showed the strongest recognition and commitment to promoting global security in 2017. The Liberal Democrats pledged to retain a minimum nuclear deterrent, indicating intent to reduce the UK's nuclear capabilities, while the Green Party pledged to cancel the replacement of the Trident nuclear deterrent. Both parties reaffirmed commitment to a foreign policy that promotes peacekeeping and conflict resolution. Labour and the Liberal Democrats also pledged to stop arms sales to oppressive regimes, with the Liberal Democrats additionally promising to suspend arms sales to Saudi Arabia. SNP showed a moderate recognition and commitment as, although it pledged to remain opposed to Trident replacement and resolve conflict in Syria, it did not address arms sales. Labour showed a moderate recognition and commitment: although it promised to end arms sales to

oppressive regimes and resolve the Israeli-Palestine conflict, it also pledged to renew the Trident nuclear deterrent, raising concerns over the extent to which nuclear capability even for deterrence reasons can promote global peace and security. The Conservatives and UKIP both showed weak commitment as, although they committed to peaceful conflict resolution, they both promised to retain the Trident deterrent and were silent on the issue of arms sales to states that violate human rights.

9.6. Migration

A notable reduction occurred in 2017 as compared to 2015 by the majority of political parties (Labour, SNP, UKIP and the Green Party) in terms of fair migration. This can be largely attributed to the Brexit referendum vote of 2016. The Conservatives commitment in 2017 was weak. Although they pledged to provide support to councils and NGOs to help refugees, they also promised some policies that raise significant concerns. Their promise to “reform refugee system such that there are fewer refugee claims made in Britain” seems likely to have negative effects on asylum-seekers fleeing war, famine and persecution. Their pledge to “work with countries and UN to review international legal definitions of refugee and asylum seeker” raises concerns that the definitions will change to curb flows of refugees and asylum seekers, potentially denying entry to people who are genuinely in need. UKIP actively rejected facilitating global development through migration. They proposed to ‘establish a migration control commission and reduce net migration to zero’ and a ‘moratorium for unskilled and low skilled workers for 5 years’ along with measures to promote seasonal migration for work in sectors that face labour scarcity. The focus on short-term skilled workers raises concerns over the extent of commitment to fair migration rules for all. UKIP also seem to have little understanding of the reduced role for emigration out of the UK (for UK citizens) might have on development in the UK. It seems likely that the 2015 EU ‘refugee crisis’ was a catalyst for the issue of migration to be firmly on the agenda, with left-oriented and social democratic parties moving towards fair and equitable migration and refugee policies and right-wing parties moving towards curbing migration and refugee flows.

9.7. Global inequalities

The Liberal Democrats, the SNP and the Green Party all show strong recognition and commitment to addressing global inequalities through making specific policy promises to tackle the various dimensions of inequality globally. For example, the Liberal Democrats pledged to end modern slavery through “training for police and prosecutors in identifying and supporting victims, and implement the Ewins report recommendations on domestic workers”. The SNP pledged to request the UK government to ratify the Istanbul Convention and take further action to eradicate domestic violence among others, while among the promises of the Green Party was to “protect the most vulnerable through ensuring that pregnant asylum seekers and those that have experienced sexual violence are not detained”. UKIP promised to end cultural practices

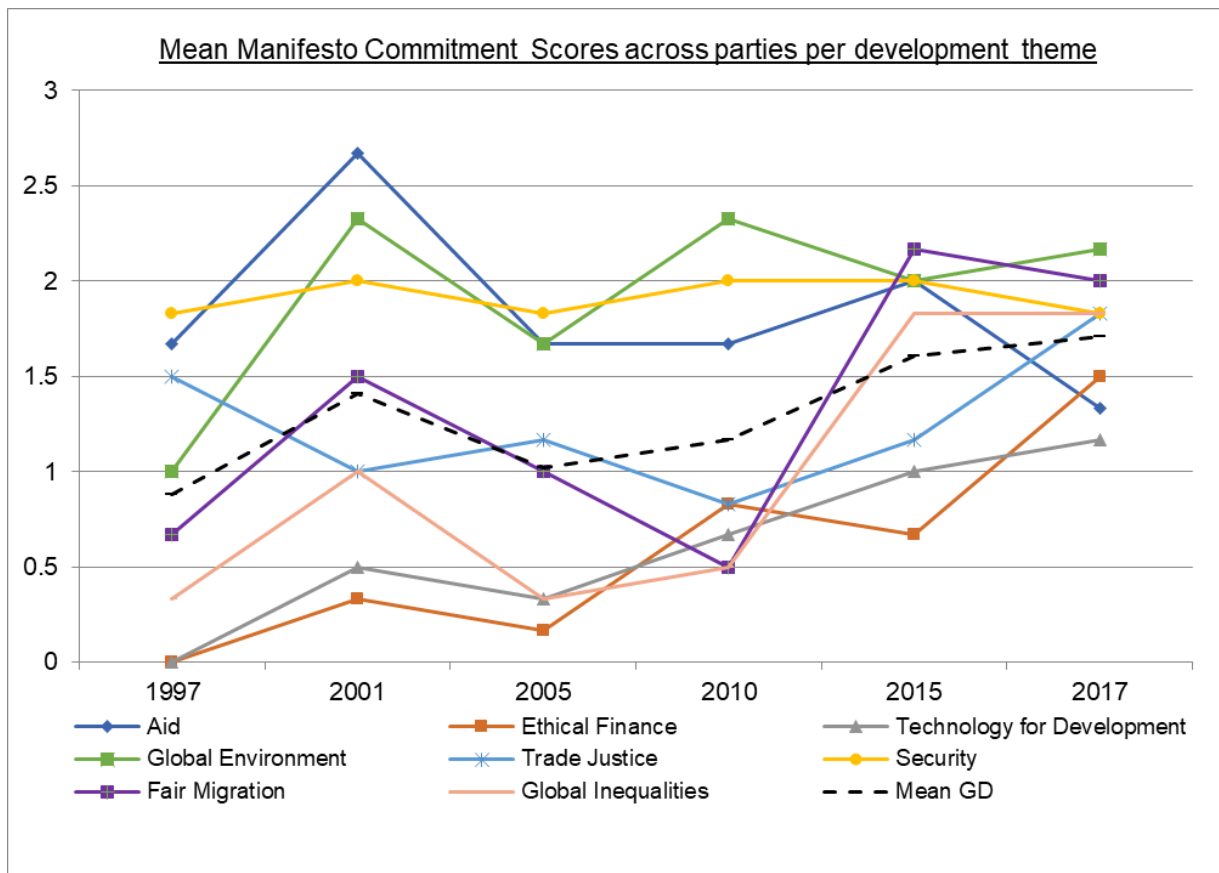
that are harmful to women and girls. Their proposals appear to target the minority communities, raising concerns about singling out one particular group of people and about UKIP's commitment to promoting human rights for all.

10. Long-term trends and short-term challenges: comparative analysis across all parties and themes

When we compare the 2017 findings to the 1997 starting point, there has been a considerable shift towards global development in political parties. This is characterised by an enhanced focus on universal social justice issues like ethical finance and addressing global inequalities. Technology for development was an integrated theme for the majority of parties by 2017. The Conservatives, Labour and the Liberal Democrats indicated a moderate recognition and commitment to technology for development, showing major progress in this area from 1997. Similarly, ethical finance was integrated firmly into the agenda for most parties by 2017, with the exception of the Conservatives and UKIP. All parties except UKIP demonstrated a recognition and commitment to international environmental sustainability and climate change, recognising them as global challenges. Although in 1997, the environment was already on the agenda for most political parties, by 2017, commitment to combatting climate change was stronger for all parties except UKIP. In regard to fair migration, there were significant advances in 2017 by Labour, the Liberal Democrats and the SNP as they all showed a strong recognition and commitment in 2017, as compared to 1997, proposing fairer policies towards migrants, refugees and asylum-seekers. On the theme of addressing global inequalities, all parties show significant increase in 2017 - usually much greater than in 1997.

This trend is supported by analysis of the overall score for global development between 1997-2017 across all political parties, shown in Figure 1 below. It reveals an overall increase in recognition and commitment to global development, with the exception of a decline between 2001 and 2005. A closer look, however, at the changes over time for the different themes shows a more nuanced picture, as change is not linear or the same for all development dimensions. As Figure 1 shows, across all parties between 1997-2017, there was a clear increase in the mean recognition and commitment scores for trade justice, technology for development and ethical finance, while fair migration and global environment fluctuated, aid witnessed a reduction over 2015 to 2017, and global security remained in similar levels. Figure 1 also shows that there is a greater convergence of recognition and commitment in 2017 among the different issues as compared to previous years.

Figure 1: Changes in recognition and commitment by issue/theme across all six political parties-



However, the motives behind the shift to a broader development agenda may not necessarily be related to social justice goals alone. According to Mawdsley et al (2017), behind the shift in recent years of the ‘beyond aid’ agenda lies a return of self-interest in UK development policy aimed at bolstering private sector investment and trade. Moreover, Clarke (2017) argued that in 2010 elections, the Conservatives kept an emphasis on development that New Labour had brought in, in order to win over votes from the Labour party (to avoid being called ‘the nasty party’). Hence, domestic politics and domestic economic growth seem to play a key role in the shift from an ‘international’ to a ‘global’ development agenda alongside shifts in moral values. This raises the question of whether this upward trend will continue in the future, or whether it is a short-term trend. Brexit and the rise of UKIP are also major causes of concern for the long-term trend in global development, especially as there was an overall decline in recognition and commitment to aid and fair migration in manifestos in 2017.

11. Conclusions:

The analysis has shown that, since 1997, there has been a trend towards greater recognition and commitment to 'global' as opposed to 'international' development in the election manifestos of the six major political parties in the UK. We found that all manifestos have higher scores in 2017 as compared to 1997. Most parties address more themes, are more specific in their policy proposals and indicate greater long-term commitment in their proposals. In 1997, the themes of ethical finance (including tax justice) and technology for development (such as R&D for health and climate change) were not addressed by any party. The themes of migration and global inequalities were referred to in some of the 1997 manifestos, but in a limited way, and only by some parties. By 2017, all parties score higher than in 1997 for technology, finance, environment, migration and global inequalities, demonstrating that some notion of global development (perhaps even social justice) had been incorporated into their agendas, albeit to different extents. Moreover, we found that over time, there is a continuous increase across all six parties towards global development recognition and commitment in manifestos since 2005.

However, analysis shows that over time this progress is not linear but involves ebbs and flows. For example, the 2001 manifestos showed a strong shift towards seeing development as global development, following on from the Millennium Summit, Millennium Declaration and the MDGs. By contrast, the 2005 manifestos shifted back towards international development as "Millennium Fever" faded and the war in Iraq dominated foreign policy.

The findings overall indicate a gradual shift in all UK political parties from a commitment to 'international development' primarily focused on aid, trade and security, to a recognition of and commitment to 'global development' with a greater focus on social justice and combatting global inequalities. The party that was least influenced by the multi-dimensional and multi-directional analytical framework of global development was UKIP, which aggressively pursued a nationalist vision and sometimes viewed international cooperation as a threat rather than an opportunity. The Conservative Party showed a relatively small shift towards utilising a global development approach to shape its policy commitments. The Liberal Democrats and Labour have been most consistent in orienting towards global development. With regard to specific development themes, across all parties the themes of ethical finance, technology for development and global inequalities showed an increase over time in recognition and commitment, while aid witnessed a reduction.

We suspect that these visible shifts are a consequence of five main factors, but further research will be needed before we can reach firm conclusions. First, is the gradual recognition by political parties (and voters) of emerging global problems such as climate change, corporate tax evasion and the consequences of global inequality. The

second relates to a shift to a model of UK development policy that seeks to benefit domestic commercial interests (private business and investment). The third relates to UK politics and party competition and especially the need for New Labour to 'show' it was different from the Conservative Party and, later, for the Conservatives to demonstrate that they were not the 'nasty party'. The fourth is a set of processes related to specific events such as the Syrian civil war and the refugee crisis of 2015, which made migration such an important issue in 2015-2017 manifestos. The fifth set of processes derives from UK participation in UN agreements, particularly the 2015 SDGs (which foster a global development approach in signatory countries), the Paris Climate Change Agreement of 2015 and the 2011 UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights.

In conclusion, it must be noted that caution needs to be observed about the degree to which identifying (and understanding) the shift from international development towards global development in UK political parties 1997-2017 might help one predict future orientations. UK domestic politics and international politics are very different in 2017 than in the late 20th century. Fear of the future and lauding earlier 'golden ages' are central to contemporary political processes, which have become increasingly nationalist, nativist and populist. The relatively complex arguments that explain 'why' promoting global development is both the right thing to do and the self-interested thing to do (Hulme, 2016) do not function well in an age of soundbites and social media.

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