

SGI Sustainable
Governance
Indicators

2015 Parties and Interest Associations Report

Intra-party Democracy, Association Competence (Business),
Association Competence (Others)



Indicator

Intra-party Democracy

Question

How inclusive and open are the major parties in their internal decision-making processes?

41 OECD and EU countries are sorted according to their performance on a scale from 10 (best) to 1 (lowest). This scale is tied to four qualitative evaluation levels.

- 10-9 = The party allows all party members and supporters to participate in its decisions on the most important personnel and issues. Lists of candidates and agendas of issues are open.
- 8-6 = The party restricts decision-making to party members. In most cases, all party members have the opportunity to participate in decisions on the most important personnel and issues. Lists of candidates and agendas of issues are rather open.
- 5-3 = The party restricts decision-making to party members. In most cases, a number of elected delegates participate in decisions on the most important personnel and issues. Lists of candidates and agendas of issues are largely controlled by the party leadership.
- 2-1 = A number of party leaders participate in decisions on the most important personnel and issues. Lists of candidates and agendas of issues are fully controlled and drafted by the party leadership.

Denmark

Score 8

Four of the political parties represented in the Danish parliament, the Liberal Party, the Social Democratic Party, the Social Liberal Party and the Conservative Party have existed for more than 100 years and have all regularly taken part in governments. Since they are either in power or have the prospect of being in the next government, they have a strong interest in proposing plausible and coherent policies, and indeed it is fair to say that they do so. This is reinforced by the fact that most governments are minority governments and the country's tradition of consensus driven policies. There is a strong tradition for "broad" compromises and agreements and, therefore, daily politics is less partisan than seen in some other countries.

Newer parties, including the third biggest party currently in the Parliament, the Danish People's Party, may be more tempted to propose popular, even populist, policies. However, parties that have the ambition to be included in a future government have to moderate their views. The Danish People's Party provided the necessary parliamentary support for initiatives taken by the previous liberal-conservative minority government and managed, in this way, to also promote some of their core issues (e.g., pensions). Similarly, the Socialist People's Party became part of the government for the first time in 2011, although it had to leave the government in January 2014 because of internal disagreements over the policies pursued by the government. In many ways the People's Socialist Party moved closer to the Social Democratic Party in recent years. In the process, however, it lost support to the Unity List on the left. The current government has been blamed for continuing the policies of the former liberal-conservative government. So "blue" policies instead of "red" policies have been the complaint from more socialist-oriented voters.

The interest in taking part in a coalition government forces parties to be sensitive to the opinions of the electorate, especially their active members. Therefore, the internal party structure has to be democratic. Parties have annual meetings where policies are determined and leaders elected. They are open to the press and covered widely. The ongoing economic crisis is a strong structural determinant of current government policies, irrespective of political colors.

Citation:

Who's who in the Danish Parliament and the government, March 22nd 2013. http://www.thedanishparliament.dk/Publications/~media/Pdf_materiale/Pdf_publicationer/English/Whos_who_in_the_folketing_220313.pdf.ashx (accessed 24 April 2013).

“Valgresultat valg 2011,” <http://www.valg-2015.dk/valgresultat-valg-2011/> (accessed 23 October 2014).

Websites of the Danish political parties currently represented in the Parliament (Folketinget):

The Liberal Party: www.venstre.dk

The Conservative Party: www.konservative.dk

The Danish People's Party: www.danskfolkepart.dk

The Social Democratic Party: www.socialdemokratiet.dk

The Social Liberal Party: www.radikale.dk

The Socialist People's Party: www.sf.dk

The Unity List: www.enhedslisten.dk

The Liberal Alliance: <http://liberalalliance.dk>

Finland

Score 8

In 2014, four major parties held seats in the Finnish parliament (Eduskunta). Although empirical research on intra-party democracy has so far focused on the Center Party (Kesk), there is little doubt that the findings of this research can be assumed to apply to the other three major parties as well. Generally, the structure of internal decision-making systems within political parties has developed in two directions. While active party members operate in voluntary, sub-national organizational units, national policy functions are decided by career politicians who constitute the party elite. This dualism has places power in the hands of party elites, especially the chair. This has led to a marginalization of party members from the executive functions within each party. As intra-party meetings are the highest decision-making institutions within political parties, the average party member only participate in party meetings indirectly through elected delegates.

Citation:

Karina Jutila, “Yksillä säännöillä, kaksilla korteilla”, Dissertation, University of Tampere, 2003; Rauli Mickelsson, “Suomen puolueet. Historia, muutos ja nykypäivä”, Tampere: Vastapaino, 2007.

Iceland

Score 8

In the 2013 parliamentary elections, four out of 15 parties gained more than 10% of the votes. These four parties constitute Iceland's traditional four-party system. These

four parties all hold their national conventions, which are the supreme decision-making forums for the parties, every second year. The conventions issue resolutions on major public policy issues, which oblige the MPs of the respective party to abide by these directives. Representatives from the regional and local party units of all parties have the right to participate in party conventions. The number of representatives attending is proportional to the number of party members in each unit. The nomination processes vary slightly among parties. All parties, except the Progressive Party, have primary elections in which only party members have the right to vote. Although, in the case of the Social Democrats, a signed declaration of support is required, rather than the stricter and more common requirement to be a party member. The Progressive Party have different rules, under which most constituencies have a constituency board (Kjördæmisráð) that selects candidates to a constituency congress (Kjördæmisþing). The number of representatives of each local party unit is equal to the proportion of each unit's membership to the total membership of all units. At these congresses, candidates are elected one by one. Two other parties had candidates elected to the parliament in 2013. These were Bright Future (Björt Framtíð), who won 6 seats, and the Pirate Party (Píratar), who won 3 seats. These new parties have not yet established complete procedures for internal decision-making.

Luxembourg

Score 8

Inner-party democracy has different levels of intensity within the four major political parties, the CSV, the DP, the LSAP and Déi Gréng. The CSV has used its current oppositional role to pursue an internal modernization process while remaining faithful to its core principles. The party is engaging in internal structural reforms, while seeking to integrate more individual members and opinions into the process. However, since the end of 2013, a small group of CSV politicians known as the “Dräikinnegrupp” has demanded an even stronger reorientation. This group has focused on strengthening internal dialogue and moving toward a grassroots democracy, and has called for a new culture of participation.

The social-democratic LSAP has expressed a clear determination to deepen its grassroots approach in the future. Internal party democracy for the liberal DP is limited by the power of the board of directors (“Comité des directeurs”), which makes most of the crucial decisions. Déi Gréng recently avowed a clear commitment to its grassroots movement, a principle that it has followed since the party's foundation. At its convention in 2009, a majority of party members rejected a proposal to create a board of directors.

Citation:

Stoldt, J. (2015), Welche Zukunft für die Volksparteien? Forum, no. 348, pp 7-9

Schroen, M. (2003): Das politische System Luxemburgs, in: Ismayr, W. (Ed.), Die politischen Systeme Westeuropas, Opladen: Leske + Budrich, pp. 415-444, p. 435

Trausch, G. (Ed.) (2008), CSV - Spiegelbild eines Landes und seiner Politik? Luxembourg

<http://www.land.lu/2011/05/19/der-linke-flugel-der-lsap/>

http://www.lsap.lu/Isap_ShowDoc_Lsap-leitet-partei-internen-reformprozess-ein.2087-27-2.html

<http://www.wort.lu/de/politik/eine-analyse-ueber-den-ist-zustand-bei-der-dp-die-partei-und-der-premier-54380a37b9b39887080751fe>
<http://www.wort.lu/de/lokales/die-basis-hatte-ein-woertchen-mitzureden-4f61e50ae4b0860580ab7084>
<http://www.wort.lu/en/politics/winning-back-support-csv-vows-fresh-start-for-new-year-54af81ab0c88b46a8ce50ff3>
<http://www.wort.lu/en/luxembourg/no-radical-renewal-for-the-csv-5300d522e4b0f989a09f27d4>
<http://www.wort.lu/de/politik/serge-wilmes-zum-reformationsprozess-in-der-csv-evoluzzer-statt-revoluzzer-54c3970b0c88b46a8ce521c8>
<http://www.wort.lu/de/politik/die-csv-zwischen-kritik-und-reform-die-rebellen-die-keine-sein-wollen-54b305830c88b46a8ce5138d>
<http://www.dp.lu/parti.php?lang=1>
<http://www.rtl.lu/letzebuerg/597989.html>
<http://www.wort.lu/de/politik/csv-auf-internem-reformkurs-weg-vom-image-der-staatspartei-54aea1440c88b46a8ce50af8>
<http://www.greng.lu/organigramme>

Norway

Score 8 All political parties give special preference to their members in terms of internal decision-making. Party manifestos are approved at annual meetings, while regional party meetings nominate candidates for elections. Non-party members can be nominated as electoral candidates, but this is rare. In most parties, attempts are made to anchor major policy issues among party members and party representatives.

Sweden

Score 8 Politics in Sweden is party politics. The political parties shape public discourse on political issues and control public decision-making at all levels of the political system. All the major parties have developed extensive party organizations, in part supported by state subsidies. Party membership has historically been high but has declined over the last couple of decades. Elected delegates from all constituencies make decisions on party policy and programs at national conferences. These meetings are increasingly public events, used not only as forums to make decisions, but also to market the party politically. Beyond that, however, rank and file members are very rarely consulted or invited to voice their opinions on daily policy issues.

Candidate selection, too, is an internal party matter. Voters do have the opportunity to indicate support for specific candidates, however.

Over the past years, the Internet has played a role in making the decision-making process within the major parties more open. The Social Democratic Party, for instance, discussed some issues of the party's platform in blogs and on its homepage. In such instances, even those who are not members of the party can join in the formulation of the party's platform.

United States

Score 8 There are two major parties, the Democratic and Republican Parties, operating at the local, state and federal levels in nearly all areas of the country. Unlike in parties in parliamentary systems, individual office holders (for example, members of Congress) decide their own positions on policy issues, subject to informal influence from party leaders. Thus, party programs or platforms, amounting to collective statements of party policies, do not exist. A national party platform is written every fourth year at each party's presidential nominating convention, but it is mostly a campaign document of the presidential candidate, with some features designed to rally the support of influential interest groups. The occasion for intra-party democracy is therefore the nomination of party candidates for office. Party nominations are determined mostly in primary elections, conducted by the states.

The presidential primaries and caucuses run from January to June of the election year in every state, leading to the formal selection of the winning candidate in July or August. Primary elections are very open. Any candidate can enter a primary contest in either party for any office, simply by collecting signatures and filing papers. Party organizations have no formal role in the selection, and may or may not have influence through endorsements, recommendations to financial contributors and the like. Any citizen can vote, with differences between states regarding whether registration as a party supporter is required in order to vote in a specific party's primaries.

Canada

Score 7 There are three major political parties at the federal level in Canada: the Conservatives, the Liberals and the New Democrats.

The Conservative Party is tightly controlled by party leader Stephen Harper. Decisions on policy and electoral strategy are made by a small number of senior officials close to him. Grassroots views and resolutions passed at party conventions provide input into the decisions of the elite, but are not binding. For example, many Conservative party members would like measures taken to restrict abortion, but Stephen Harper refuses to act on this for fear of alienating the general public, which is content with the status quo on the issue.

In April 2013, the Liberal Party of Canada elected a new leader, Justin Trudeau, through a very open voting process that allowed non-members to vote. The policy formation process is relatively open: New ideas are gathered from Liberal members and supporters through associations and clubs, then written up as policy resolutions that are voted on and prioritized first within provincial and territorial associations (PTA) and then at the Liberal Party's biannual conventions. All resolutions passed at the convention become official party policy.

In March 2012, after the death of Jack Layton, the New Democrat Party (NDP) elected a new leader, Thomas Mulcair. Under Layton, the party had made major gains in the 2011 federal election, becoming the official opposition. The most recent NDP policy conference saw diverse views expressed on many issues, but any resolutions passed were not binding on the leadership in its development of a policy program. Unlike the Conservatives or the Liberal Party of Canada, the NDP is integrated with its provincial and territorial parties (except in Nunavut, the Northwest Territories, and Quebec), which means a member cannot support different parties at the federal and provincial levels.

Germany

Score 7

During the period under review, party leaders of the coalition government were re-elected without facing major opposition for party leadership. No direct participation of party members regarding important decisions took place. The parties retained traditional hierarchical decision-making practices and candidate-election procedures. A copy of the coalition agreement was sent to all 475,000 members of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, who casted their vote in early December 2013. Within the CDU, delegates confirmed the coalition agreement. However, party members have little say in day-by-day politics. Decision making is firmly in the hands of top politicians within the government and party elites.

Israel

Score 7

The 12 parties that won seats in the Knesset in 2013 demonstrate varying levels of intra-party democracy, with three of the four largest parties exhibiting a high level of inclusiveness in their internal decision-making processes. The Israel Democracy Institute (IDI) issued a Party Democracy Index, a mechanism that allows voters to evaluate the degree of internal democracy practiced by political parties. In this assessment, the longstanding rightist Likud party and the Labor party (Havoda) were ranked top. The newly formed The Jewish Home (Ha'Bayit Ha'Yehudi, HH) traditionalists party was ranked fourth, and the centrist Yesh Atid (YA) party, which won second place in the general elections, was ranked tenth among 18 parties.

The Likud, Labor and HH parties all chose their candidates through primary elections. In this internal election process, registered party members are given the right to choose Knesset candidates. However, the parties that use this method condition primary participation by a minimum time frame of membership. The Labor, Likud and HH parties also have elective representative institutions that take part in decision making such as selecting the parties' representatives in the government, voting whether their parties will join or leave a governing coalition, and conduct debates over policy matters.

Although YA party allows some extent of consultation with party members, important decisions are made by top ranking members. For example, according to the party's regulations, the party's leader and founder, will remain leader until the end of the 20th Knesset. Moreover, the regulations authorize the party's leader to decide on the most important personnel issues, such as the list of electoral candidates. He also holds considerable power within the party's institutions, thus retaining significant influence on its policy.

Citation:

Kenig, Ofer and Shapira, Assaf, "Primary Season in Israel," Israel Democracy Institute, 2012.

"Likud's Constitution," Likud Website (Hebrew).

"The Party Democracy Index," Israel Democracy Institute, 2013.

<http://en.idi.org.il/projects/government-structure/political-reform/the-party-democracy-index/>

"The Party's Institutions," Labor website (Hebrew).

"Yesh Atid Party's Regulation," Yesh Atid Website (Hebrew).

"Our principles", Habayit Hayehudi Party website, <http://www.baityehudi.org.il/our-principles/> (Hebrew), <http://baityehudi.org.il/englp/our.htm> (English).

Lithuania

Score 7

Lithuanian parties usually restrict decision-making to party members. Although in many cases, all party members can participate in important decisions, their capacity to influence the most critical party decisions is insufficient. Some political parties are more democratically structured than others: in 2007, the Lithuanian Social Democratic Party, the Lithuanian Christian Democrats and the Homeland Union were found to be the most democratic in terms of internal decision-making. The latter two parties have since merged to form a single party, whose leader is directly elected by all party members. By contrast, some other political parties are primarily used as a platform for their leaders to express their own political interests.

Citation:

G. Žvaliauskas, *Ar partijos Lietuvoje yra demokratiškos?* Technologija, Kaunas, 2007.

Poland

Score 7

For the last decade, political parties have functioned under legislation that strictly defines the role of a political party and how parties are financed. Since most funding is public, the government mandates that parties themselves are governed by democratic principles. However, the reality is mixed, with some parties meeting democratic standards while others fall short. Charismatic party leaders such as Janusz Palikot of Palikot's Movement (now called *Twoj Ruch*, or *Your Movement*)

hold strong positions within their party, as does Jarosław Kaczyński, who has served as president of the conservative Law and Justice (PiS) party since 2003. The Polish People's Party (PSL) has also been characterized by a hierarchical mode of organization. By contrast, the Civic Platform (PO) has often experienced intra-party controversies. In 2012 and 2013, a conservative faction around Justice Minister Jarosław Gowin mounted a challenge to then-Prime Minister Tusk, but ultimately left the party. This strengthened Tusk's position; however, his attempts from early 2014 on to introduce more democratic voting and nomination procedures did not work well. As of the time of writing, it was not yet clear whether new Prime Minister Ewa Kopacz, who integrated some Tusk critics into her cabinet, would be able to practice a more deliberative style of leadership.

Cyprus

Score 6

In the years since 2000, political parties have introduced procedures giving all party members (and in some cases friends) the right to elect party governing bodies and high officials, and to nominate or be nominated as candidates for public office. The rules are more restrictive for nominating national presidential candidates or candidates associated with party alliances. In practice, leadership groups tend to try to reach consensus in such a way as to avoid elections, while other procedures tend to undermine the power of grassroots party organizations.

The Democratic Rally (Δημοκρατικός Συναγερμός, DISY) was the first party to offer all party members (and later party friends) voting rights in electing high officials and governing bodies, as well as a voice in nominating candidates to elected public offices. Non-party members can be nominated as candidates or chosen by the chairperson of the party.

In recent DISY intra-party elections, as well as in its nomination of candidates for the 2011 parliamentary, municipal and mayoral elections, the procedures were dominated by efforts to find consensus candidates. This limited the role of individual party members. The party's 2013 presidential candidate was selected by approximately 1,000 officials, the members of its Supreme Council.

DISY electoral programs are drafted and approved by the party's governing bodies. Opinion polls and advice provided by communications consultants shape the party's choices.

The Progressive Party of the Working People (Ανορθωτικό Κόμμα Εργαζομένου Λαού, AKEL) has also opened its nomination decisions to party members and their friends, while adhering to the principle of democratic centralism. While nominations start at party-cell level, selection and ranking committees have a role in the process prior to final decisions by the Central Committee (CC), though this role has not been fully explained. The party congress, made up of 1,200 to 1,400 party cadres

nominated by party cells, elects the 105 members of the CC. The members of the CC elect their own secretary general. AKEL's presidential candidate is selected first through a party-cell vote, and then by the vote of a special electoral congress. Electoral programs are approved by the party's governing bodies.

The Democratic Party (Δημοκρατικό Κόμμα, DIKO) established the direct election of its leadership by party members after 2000. However, all party candidates including the presidential candidate are selected by the central committee (made up of 150 members). The central committee also approves the electoral program.

Thus, even though Cyprus' parties differ in their internal practices, important issues in each are usually decided in a centralist manner.

Greece

Score 6

Large parties such as New Democracy and Syriza, as well as PASOK, continue to suffer from intense factionalism and heavy-handed control of lists of candidates and agendas of issues by the party leadership. These phenomena are extremely pronounced in small parties, such as the traditional communist party (KKE) and the nationalist right-wing party of Independent Greeks (ANEL), where a small circle around the party leader has the final word over who is going to be included in the party lists.

However, since 2012, Syriza has been able to revive political party life, in the sense that its own party members and voters participate actively in meetings of local party cells and social movements (i.e., those which are closely associated with Syriza). This is a partial reversal of long-term political apathy. It is not observed in most other parties.

To sum up, in the period under review and particularly so at the regional and local levels, there has been some improvement as far as the inclusiveness and openness of one of the major parties is concerned.

Italy

Score 6

With regard to intra-party democracy, Italy's major parties differ significantly. At one end of the spectrum lies the Forza Italia party (previously called the People of Freedom Party's or Popolo della Libertà), where decision-making and leadership selection are both fundamentally dominated by its leader, Silvio Berlusconi. Requests to adopt primaries to designate candidates for leading positions at national and sub-national levels are recurrently aired but have always been stopped by Berlusconi. The situation is rather different in the main center-left party, the Democratic Party, where leadership has in past years been selected through primaries

open not only to party members but to any one willing to subscribe a declaration of support for the center-left coalition. A similar procedure was adopted for the selection of parliamentary candidates. Given the increasingly strong power acquired by the current leader of the party and prime minister, Matteo Renzi, the space for minority positions inside the party has increasingly narrowed.

The Five Star Movement (Movimento Cinque Stelle) of Beppe Grillo has also introduced new mechanisms of online direct consultations for decisions and for candidate selection. At the same time, behind the scenes (and sometimes openly), the leader of the movement has maintained for himself a very strong steering role. Internal oppositions have found it very difficult to have a space for voicing their positions and cases of dissidents expelled from the party have been frequent. Overall intra-party democracy in Italy's political system is not well developed. In particular it seems difficult to balance an increasing personalization of leadership and the preservation of internal debate.

Mexico

Score 6 In terms of candidate selection, it is normal for the presidential candidate for each of the three major parties to have some kind of primary election. Unusually, in 2012, the PRD agreed to choose its candidate according to the contender with the most support in the polls. Surprisingly, this seems to have worked. Because Mexico has a federal system, nomination practices vary from state to state and from municipality to municipality. As far as policy issues are concerned, practice vary between parties. The PRI, currently the governing party, tends to be rather secretive and hierarchical, while the PRD, which is the left-wing opposition, tends to be fractious and chaotic. The PAN is much more of a members' party, with a degree of internal democracy but an exclusionary attitude toward non-party members. The question of which party is in government is also crucial. Incumbent parties tend to be more internally authoritarian because of their greater patronage resources. In general, the PRI is probably the most controlled and authoritarian of the major parties, but it offsets this by being fairly open in its negotiations with other parties.

Switzerland

Score 6 Party decisions and party lists are formally produced at conventions of party members. A 1999 analysis of local party organizations found that Swiss parties – with the exception of the Green party – prioritized party leaders' strategic capabilities over membership participation. This tendency has increased in recent years.

However, these oligarchic tendencies are arguably not the primary problem with regard to inclusion in Swiss parties. The decline in party membership and party

identification – particularly in the case of the Radical and Christian Democratic parties – along with the low level of party resources, may be even greater problems since party decisions are being made by an increasingly shrinking active party membership base.

Austria

Score 5

The Austrian party system is in an ongoing process of deconcentration. The traditionally dominant parties – the Social Democratic Party (Sozialdemokratische Partei Österreichs, SPÖ) and the conservative, Christian-democratic Austrian People's Party (Österreichische Volkspartei, ÖVP) have experienced an almost uninterrupted decline since 1980. In 1979, the two parties were able to win a combined total of more than 90% of votes; in 2013, they were down to a combined total of about 50%. The other half of voters either preferred another party or failed to turn out.

As voters have looked elsewhere, the right-wing Freedom Party (Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs, FPÖ), the center-left Greens and a variety of newer parties, sometimes with very short political life expectancies, have been the beneficiaries.

In general, all parties have spent little time developing intra-party democracy, and have focused instead on appealing to specific groups considered necessary to win elections. The younger generations have proved critical in this regard, as they are significantly less predictable in their political behavior. However, the younger generations are also much less inclined to go to the polls at all. Electoral turnout is in decline, but is still quite high compared with other European democracies.

Age, education and to a lesser extent gender are critical in explaining electoral behavior in Austria. The SPÖ and ÖVP are the parties still preferred by older voters. The FPÖ is disproportionately supported by younger (especially male) voters without higher education, while the Greens are supported by younger voters with higher education. The success of a new party, the NEOS, in the 2013 general election and in the 2014 European elections have underlined the generation gap: The NEOS, which have a center-right pro-European agenda, are popular in particular among the younger electorate.

Belgium

Score 5

Belgium maintains a multiparty political system, with more than a dozen parties that hold regular parliamentary representation. Party organizations also come in a broad variety of forms. Three parties obtained more than 10% of the national vote in 2010: the New Flemish Alliance (N-VA) obtained 17.4% of the vote. The French Socialists obtained 13.7% of the vote in 2010. The party's then-leader, Elio Di Rupo, was the

prime minister in the period under review. The Flemish Christian Democrats obtained 10.85% of the vote, and were in the governing coalition.

All the other parties obtained less than 10% of the vote at the national level, but one should be aware that each party only runs in its own districts, in Flanders for Flemish parties and in Wallonia and Brussels for French parties. Other parties obtaining more than 10% of the vote in their relevant districts were the French Liberals (Reform Movement), Flemish Socialists (Social Progressive Alternative), the Flemish Liberals and Democrats, the Flemish far-right (Vlaams Belang), the French Christian Democrats (Humanist and Democratic Center) and the French Greens (Ecolo).

Concerning internal selection procedures, Bram Wauters (2013) writes in *Political Studies* that "...all Belgian parties represented in parliament give their members a direct say in the appointment of the party leader, be it at a party conference in which all members can participate and vote or via internal elections granting each member one vote (either by postal or electronic voting, or by arranging polling booths in local party sections). The exception is the Flemish extreme right party Vlaams Belang."

The actual competitiveness of these internal elections varies widely on a case-by-case basis. In most internal elections, the winner is elected by a crushing majority, suggesting that challengers are simply acting figures destined to give an appearance of internal democracy – or, quite frequently, there is only one candidate. But it does happen that some internal elections are highly competitive, and lead to surprising results (among others, the Greens typically have competitive internal elections, and both the Christian democrats and the Liberals have occasionally had tight contests). Overall, the process is thus mostly controlled by intermediate party elites.

Citation:

Wauters, Bram (2013). "Democratizing Party Leadership Selection in Belgium: Motivations and Decision Makers". *Political Studies* 62/S1, 62-80, DOI: 10.1111/1467-9248.12002.

Czech Republic

Score 5

Five parties dominated Czech politics in the period under review. The Civic Democratic Party (Občanská demokratická strana, ODS) and TOP09 (Tradice Odpovědnost Prosperita 09, TOP09) stand on the right and were the main forces in the coalition government up to July 2013. The Czech Social Democratic Party (Česká strana sociálně demokratická, ČSSD) and the ANO party (Movement of Dissatisfied Citizens) dominated the coalition government from January 2014. The Communist Party (Komunistická strana Čech a Moravy, KSČM) has remained consistently in opposition. With the exception of ANO, their internal party structures, both formally and in practice, are remarkably similar. Each has a structure of local and regional committees with supreme authority in a congress, organized at regular intervals or when demanded by representatives of a set proportion of the membership. A member has the right to stand for any position and to vote for

delegates to the next level in the hierarchy. The national congress elects the party leaders. That is the practical means for expression of political differences. Other debates show little controversy and are dominated by figures from party leaderships. Ordinary members can raise their voice by commenting on party blogs, and leaderships usually establish some advisory committees with wider membership, but direct involvement from ordinary members is usually limited. An exceptional situation within the ČSSD, when an alternative leadership group tried to sideline party leader Sobotka in negotiations to form a new government after the 2013 elections, led to public meetings and rallies in which members expressed support for the existing leadership. ANO differs in that it is dominated by one personality, billionaire founder Andrej Babiš (listed 731 in the Forbes list) and it has weak elected structures. The ANO party congress in March 2013 elected Babiš as chair along with four deputy chairs; yet all subsequently resigned, with three out of four citing Babiš' dictatorial style as the reason. New leadership is scheduled for a vote in March 2015.

Estonia

Score 5

Decision-making processes are similar across the major parties. Formally, each party member can propose issues, but in reality inner circles of 15 to 20 elite party members make most important decisions. All parties have their annual congress, where delegates elect the party leader and other governing bodies. One of the latter is the board, which votes on political decisions, issues statements and submits proposals to the party's parliamentary group and to the party's members in the government. The board also nominates candidates of the ministers in case the party is sitting in the coalition government. Another important decision-making body is the council that manages the party when the general assembly is not in session. The council is comprised of board members and elected representatives from regions. The council negotiates agreements with other parties in the parliament, including decisions on whether to enter into a government coalition. Like the board, the council can also submit proposals to the party's parliamentary group and the party's members in the government. As a rule, it is in the council's responsibility to compose and agree upon the list of the candidates in general elections and European Parliament elections. Local organizations of political parties compose electoral lists for municipal elections.

France

Score 5

Parties are usually both centralized and organized hierarchically. There are few registered political activists. These are all serious limitations to the inclusiveness of citizens in the selection of leaders and of policy options. However, there are some countervailing forces. One traditional point is the practice of accumulating elective

mandates. Many politicians are not selected by a party; they are individuals who have made their breakthrough locally and impose themselves on the party apparatus. This means that national politicians have a concrete and ground-based knowledge of people's aspirations and claims. Another factor is the popular election of the president. Candidates' programs are inclusive; no policy sector is forgotten in their long to-do list. A third factor lies in recent changes in the selection of candidates for presidential elections and communal elections. Primaries have taken place, first within the Socialist party, then in the neo-Gaullist conservative Union for Popular Movement (UMP). In both cases, both registered activists and voters sympathetic to the party are eligible to participate. However, control of the party apparatus is crucial as evidenced by Sarkozy's decision in September 2014 to run for the chairmanship of the UMP.

Ireland

Score 5

The prime minister is elected by the lower house of the parliament and is usually the leader of the biggest party in parliament. The position of party leader is therefore of great significance.

In the 2011 general election, the vote shares received by the four largest parties were: Fine Gael (36.1%), Labour (19.4%), Fianna Fáil (17.4%) and Sinn Féin (9.9%). Smaller parties and non-party candidates obtained 17.2% of the votes. The procedures used by the major parties to select their leaders and presidential candidates are described below.

Fine Gael:

The party leader is selected by secret ballot of the members of the parliamentary party. The party selected its presidential candidate in 2011 at a special convention. Voting was by secret ballot, with an electoral college made up as follows: 70% member of the Fine Gael parliamentary party, 20% Fine Gael members of county and city councils and 10% by the 12-member Fine Gael executive council.

Labour:

When the party became the junior partner in the new coalition government, the party leader was automatically nominated as *tánaiste* or deputy prime minister. The leader of the party is elected at the national conference by vote of the party members. Following setbacks in the local and European elections in May 2014, the party elected a new leader in July, who then became deputy prime minister.

Fianna Fáil:

The party has a pyramidal structure based on the local branches or *cumann*. There

are approximately 3000 of these across the country. The party leader is elected by the party's serving members of parliament. When in power, the party president has always been elected taoiseach (prime minister) by the serving members. In the past there has been controversy over votes of confidence in the party leader and whether these should be by secret ballot or a show of hands

Sinn Féin:

The present leader of Sinn Fein has been in that office since 1983. In view of that fact, it is difficult to provide details about how the party leader is selected. Since the party entered politics in the Republic in 1986, no vote of confidence in the party leader has been tabled. The Ard Fheis (National Delegate Conference) is Sinn Féin's ultimate policymaking body, where delegates – directly elected by members of local branches (cumainn) – vote on and adopt policies. The party has not yet formed part of a government in the Republic of Ireland.

Latvia

Score 5

The Law on Political Parties mandates that certain political-party decisions be made in the context of full-membership meetings or by elected officials of the parties. These include party officer elections as well as decisions on party governing statutes and party programs. Other decisions must be taken in accordance with party statutes, but are not subject to regulation. Regulations allow for little input by party members. By comparison, commercial law provides more rights to shareholders than rights accorded to party members in their own party.

The Harmony Party (Saskanas centrs, SC) is an alliance of a number of parties. Decision-making processes are different for national and municipal (Riga) policies. Candidates for national or municipal elections are selected by the party leadership. Decision-making at both the national and municipal levels is opaque. The balance of power within the SC alliance parties varies between central and local governments.

Decision-making within the Unity Party (Vienotība, V) centers in the organization's board of directors, which engages closely with its parliamentary faction leadership and government representatives. There is active internal debate on policy issues, as evidenced by press leaks detailing internal party correspondence and publicly visible debates on issues. Local chapters have considerable autonomy in personnel choices and in taking positions on local issues. There is also, however, evidence of party members' initiatives being suppressed or ignored by the board of directors.

The Greens and Farmers Union (Zaļo un Zemnieku Savienība, ZZS) is an alliance of two major parties and one minor one. The alliance parties operate together at the national level, but can pursue separate activities and agendas at the municipal level. Party decision-making resides with the board. ZZS is perceived to be beholden to

one of Latvia's oligarchs, and decisions on candidates and issues often reflect this. Prior to the 2014 elections there was public evidence of internal debate within the alliance about a suitable prime ministerial candidate.

The Reform Party (Reformu partija, RP) was established in 2011, directly prior to the parliamentary elections. It did not, however, last for the entire parliamentary term. Prominent individuals from the party joined other party lists for the 2014 elections and the party is in the process of disbanding.

Two previously independent parties merged to form the National Union (Nacionāla Apvienība, NA). While decision-making resides with elected party officials, an internal diversity of opinion on important issues is visible to the public. The Union's parliamentary faction plays the role of agenda-setter and parliamentarians sometimes pursue individual policy agendas despite official party positions.

The October 2014 elections brought two new parties to power, namely To Latvia from the Heart (No sirds Latvijai) and the Party of the Regions (Latvijas Reģionu apvienība). Both were established in the run-up to the 2014 elections and the intra-party mechanisms of decision-making are still developing.

Malta

Score 5

Political parties restrict the power to make decisions on important issues primarily to elected delegates, although party members may be consulted on some issues. Participation in elections for party leadership positions is restricted to elected delegates, as are the processes of creating candidate lists and selecting agenda issues. The Nationalist Party election of a new leader and deputy leaders on 8 May 2013 offers one example of this process. While the idea of including all party members in decision-making processes has been floated, and now indeed appears to be gaining ground among the parties, no concrete steps in this direction have been taken.

Portugal

Score 5

Three parties met the 10% vote-threshold criteria in the 2011 legislative elections: the Social Democratic Party (Partido Social Democrata, PSD), the Socialist Party (Partido Socialista, PS), and the Democratic and Social Center People's Party (Centro Democrático e Social – Partido Popular, CDS-PP). During the period under review, there was one significant innovation with regard to intra-party democracy, with the Socialist Party adopting primary elections for the selection of its "prime minister candidate." These elections allowed for this figure to be selected not only by party members, but also by "party sympathizers" – that is, non-party members who chose to register to vote in these elections. The ballot on 28 September 2014 was the first primary election in Portugal held by a political party with parliamentary

representation. A total of 150,000 party sympathizers registered to vote in these elections, in addition to the 93,000 party members.

Aside from this change, the pattern outlined in the previous report remained largely unchanged. In all three parties, national-level decision-making is highly centralized around a small number of party leaders. The PS and PSD each hold direct elections for their party leadership enabling only party members to vote, and have congresses with delegates also elected by party members. For the Socialists, this direct election of the party leader now coexists with primary elections.

With regard to policy issues and candidates other than the party leader, rank-and-file members have little say. Instead, decisions are largely made by the party leadership, which – depending on the internal balance of power – may have to negotiate with the leaders of opposing internal factions. In the case of the CDS-PP, this degree of centralization has if anything become stronger. It abandoned direct elections for the party leader in 2011, and has a shrinking rank-and-file base and weaker internal factions. This means that virtually all decisions are placed in the hands of the party leader. Indeed, the current party leader has led the party for 15 of the last 17 years. While only these three parties met the 10% criteria in the past legislative elections, two other parties in Portugal, the Portuguese Communist Party (Partido Comunista Português, PCP) and the Left Bloc (Bloco de Esquerda, BE), are also relevant. These are also marked by a high degree of centralization with regard to national-level internal decision-making.

Spain

Score 5

Only two parties – the Popular Party (Partido Popular, PP) and the Spanish Socialist Workers Party (Partido Socialista Obrero Español, PSOE) – can be considered major parties in Spain, having gained more than 10% of the popular vote in the last general elections. However, this section also includes a new party (Podemos), since all opinion polls taken since September 2014 predict that it may get as much as 20% to 25% of the vote in the next elections.

The PP, in office since December 2011, is characterized by quite opaque internal decision-making processes. It is a heavily centralized party, although some of its regional branches enjoy significant independence – at least regarding decisions on personnel. The PP seeks to speak with one voice (the voice of its president), a tendency illustrated through the 2011 nomination of Mariano Rajoy as the candidate for prime minister without any direct participation by party members, despite some internal resistance to his candidature. The decisions on how to fill the rest of the electoral lists and which position will be represented by the party in most issues are restricted to a small core leadership.

The PSOE, which was in office until December 2011, cannot be considered a

flagship example of inclusiveness or openness, but is considerably more participatory than the PP. As a less president-driven organization, internal debate on electoral programs is common and even public, frequently involving some of the regional branches (especially the powerful Andalusian and Catalanian sections, the latter of which is formally an independent party). The manner in which the PSOE selects its leader and main candidates is also more open, with the participation of regional delegates or through the use of primary elections. Current Secretary-General Pedro Sánchez was elected in July 2014 primary elections in which party cardholders were allowed to vote (turnout was 67%). For the candidate in next elections, despite the selection of a new party leader, the PSOE is considering following the French example and holding primary elections open to all party supporters.

In the new leftist party Podemos (“We can”) – a political force fiercely critical of austerity policies and the cartelization of the two major parties that was founded in January 2014, and by the end of the year was surprisingly leading the electoral polls – the situation is not particularly brilliant with regard to intra-party democracy. Despite its claims to allow all party members and supporters to participate in personnel and program decisions, a very closed party leadership was able to fully control the most important decisions on personnel and program items during the party’s first convention, held in autumn 2014.

Citation:

Elodie Fabre. 2011. “Measuring party organization: The vertical dimension of the multi-level organization of state-wide parties in Spain and the UK” *Party Politics*, 17: 343-363.

United Kingdom

Score 5

A distinction needs to be made for all major parties between the election of the leader (for which party members do have a say) and the selection of other personnel or decisions over major issues, for which there are generally much more restrictive procedures. The selection of candidates for parliaments and local councils usually involves local party members. Annual party conferences notionally have a major role in settling policy positions, but in practice it is party leaders that play the biggest role.

The Conservative Party restricts decision-making to party members. In most cases, a number of selected delegates participate in the most important personnel and issue decisions. Central party influence over local candidate selection – and all candidates are local candidates in Britain – has varied in recent years. David Cameron introduced a “priority list” with at least 50% women and significant representation from ethnic minorities, from which all target seats and Conservative-held seats were supposed to be selected. In the run-up to the 2010 election and in the wake of the parliamentary expenses scandal, necessity dictated a loosening of the rules. After the election, selection rules reverted to the post-2005 procedure.

The party leader is elected by a poll of all party members, who have to choose from a shortlist of two which has been decided by the parliamentary Conservative Party – that is, all Conservative MPs.

The Labour Party restricts decision-making to party members. In most cases, a number of selected delegates participate in the most important personnel and issue decisions. Central party influence over local candidate selection has varied over time – since 1988 there has had to be at least one woman on every shortlist. Since 2001, candidates require approval by party HQ before they can be selected by constituency Labour parties.

The selection of the party leader has also undergone changes in recent years. There is an electoral college which consists of three elements, namely the parliamentary Labour Party, the constituency Labour Party, and the trade unions and affiliated organizations. Each of the elements is balloted individually using a “one member, one vote” system; the results for each segment make up a third of the final vote. Since 2007, the winning candidate has been required to have the support of 50% of the vote, so the election process takes several rounds as the candidates with the fewest votes drop out and have their second preferences redistributed until the winning candidate has reached the required quorum.

The Liberal Democrats restrict decision-making to party members. In most cases, all party members have the opportunity to participate in the most important decisions and choice of personnel. Lists of candidates and agendas of issues are fairly open.

Australia

Score 4

Elected members and senators, but no other party members, are responsible for decision-making in both the major parties. Decisions regarding who should hold positions within the party, such as ministerial positions for the party in government, have largely been at the discretion of the elected leader in Coalition governments. Labor prime ministers cannot choose their ministers freely, but instead have to allocate portfolios among a set of candidates selected by the factions.

The Coalition has a more open and inclusive process for determining leadership than the Labor Party, which is dominated by factions to which most members are beholden. The factions of the Labor Party are regularly criticized for making opaque decisions and for contributing to a lack of transparency of decision-making processes.

On matters of developing policy agendas, both parties have inclusive forums for developing policy platforms. However, in practice, a small leadership group in the party tightly controls decisions on major policies.

Bulgaria

Score 4 Three parties have obtained more than 10% of the popular vote in the last three general elections (2009, 2013 and 2014) in Bulgaria: Citizens for the European Development of Bulgaria (GERB), the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP), and the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (MRF), which is effectively the party of the ethnic Turkish minority in Bulgaria. Of the three, the most democratic is the BSP, a party with more than a century of tradition. The party program is adopted at a congress of delegates elected by the party members. Electoral platforms and candidate lists are prepared in a relatively centralized manner, but local party organizations do have an input. At its congress in the summer of 2014, the party democratically changed its leadership in the wake of its loss in the elections to the European Parliament. The party has several factions that vie for influence over the party's central decision-making institution.

The other two parties are leader-dominated. Regardless of the internal democratic mechanisms envisaged in their statutes, most decisions are concentrated in the hands of the leader and a few members of his circle. While in GERB, which has a larger support and membership, the influence of different groups and constituencies can be effective, the specific characteristics of the MRF make its decision-making process very opaque and highly concentrated.

Chile

Score 4 Chile has a presidential government system and thus the president determines the policy guidelines, so the presidential elections are much more relevant than the congressional ones. Therefore, in campaigns for the presidency, government programs are presented by the presidential candidates and not by their coalitions or by their parties. These global program proposals tend to be limited to descriptions of their effect on the public rather than technical details or any detailed discussion of content. In particular, the primary elections (primarias) for the 2013 presidential elections demonstrated that candidate selection and issue agendas are largely controlled by the parties' leaders

Croatia

Score 4 Croatian parties are characterized by a rigid structure. The degree of intra-party democracy is generally low, as participation of members is limited and selection procedures and debates are largely controlled by the party leadership (Čular 2005). In the HDZ (Croatian Democratic Union), no internal elections take place. The SDP (Social Democratic Party) is somewhat more open, with party members given the

chance to vote on the party leadership in early 2013. However, Zoran Milanović was the only candidate on the list. Moreover, the SDP does not tolerate the existence of open political factions.

Citation:

Čular, Goran (2005) Organizational Development of Parties and Internal Party Democracy in Croatia, *Croatian Political Science Review*, 41(5):28-51.

Hungary

Score 4

Hungary's former party system collapsed during the 2010 elections. Since then, Fidesz has been the dominant party, competing with a fragmented left and an increasingly strong extreme right. This situation was consolidated during the 2014 elections, which left seven parties in the parliament: Fidesz (133 MPs, 66.83%), three parties of the left (MSZP, DK and Együtt-PM: 38 MPs in total, 19.10%), Jobbik (23 MPs, 11.56%) and the LMP (5 MPs, 2.51%). The three leftist parties ran during the 2014 election as an alliance (Unity), but maintain separate groups in the parliament: MSZP (30 MPs), DK (Democratic Coalition, 4 MPs) and Együtt-PM (Together-PM, 4 MPs). Notwithstanding its formally democratic procedures, Fidesz is completely controlled by the party leadership. Prime Minister Orbán decides on core personnel, candidacies and positions within the party. In the case of Jobbik, an extreme rightist party, the core party leadership is dominant, even though there is no focal person equivalent to Orbán. The three leftist parties that emerged from the split of the Hungarian Socialist Party (MSZP) are democratically organized. The LMP has stagnated at a relatively low level, but it shows a reasonable degree of intra-party democracy.

Netherlands

Score 4

Intra-party democracy in the Netherlands does not exist. In all recent major political parties, political professionals dominate decision-making on lists of candidates, agendas and selection of party leaders. Briefly characterized, the list runs like this:

People's Party for Freedom and Democracy (Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie, VVD) (27%): typical professional politicians' and administrators' party; party leader not elected but self-nominated after internal elite struggle.

Labor Party (Partij van de Arbeid, PvdA) (25%): typical professional administrators' party; party leader elected through elite struggle and formally confirmed by members' vote.

Party for Freedom (Partij voor de Vrijheid, PVV) (10%): leadership or dictatorial party; charismatic party leader (Geert Wilders) self-nominated and the only formal member.

Citation:

R.B. Andeweg and G.A. Irwin (2014), *Governance and Politics of The Netherlands*. Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan: 80-95

New Zealand

Score 4

During the review period, there are three political parties that were supported by more than 10% of voters in the last general election. The Labour Party and the National Party are traditionally the largest parties, the Green Party was, again, able to achieve a share of the vote above 10%. The next-largest party, New Zealand First, polled 8.7%.

The organizational structure of the Labour Party is complex, as it mainly consists of affiliated members (for example, a (decreasing) number of trade unions). Although the party refuses to disclose membership numbers, it is thought to have a current membership of around 7,000. Decisions with regard to personnel and policy are therefore not restricted to individual party members. However, at the same time, the Labour Party uses a system of delegates. The selection process for candidates for parliamentary seats is based on a heavily formalized moderating procedure that takes criteria such as ethnic background, gender and region into regard. Following pressure from grassroots members to have a say in the selection of the party leader, in 2011 the party took away the party caucus's sole responsibility for choosing a party leader, replacing it with a combination of party membership (40%), the parliamentary caucus (40%) and the affiliated trade unions (20%).

The National Party considerably increased the central leadership's influence in an organizational reform in 2003. The newly created National Management Board, including the parliamentary leader, plays an especially influential role in pre-selecting parliamentary candidates for electorate seats (to a so-called Candidate's Club), although these are still required to compete with other nominees, using the existing decentralized electorate selection process. The selection of candidates for list seats has equally been centralized at the expense of regional party organizations. The party leader is chosen by the members of the parliamentary caucus.

The Green Party's organizational structure is much more decentralized when compared with those of the traditional larger parties. Decisions on policy and the selection of parliamentary candidates are made by the party membership, with less control from the parliamentary caucus.

Citation:

Constitution and Rules of the New Zealand National Party (Wellington: New Zealand National Party 2013).

Green Party: <http://www.greens.org.nz/> (accessed October 9, 2014).

Candidate Selection and List Ranking Procedures 2014 (Wellington: Green Party of Aotearoa New Zealand 2014)

Labour Party: Constitution and Rules 2014 (Wellington: New Zealand Labour Party 2014).

Stephens, Gregory R. und John Leslie: Parties, organizational capacities and external change:

New Zealand's National and Labour parties, candidate selection and the advent of MMP, *Political Science* 2011 (63): 205-218.

Slovenia

Score 4 Slovenian party law leaves political parties with some organizational autonomy. Political parties are very heterogeneously organized, with some organized only on the micro level – that is, in each of the 212 municipalities – and others organized only on the macro level. However, most have a presence at both the macro and micro levels. Access to decision-making processes is normally restricted to party members. Whereas party members have the formal right to participate in decisions, the party leadership controls the candidate lists and the policy agendas. The details of internal party decision-making are not widely known to the public, as most decisions are made behind doors that are firmly shut.

Japan

Score 3 Generally speaking, parties in Japan are fairly insider-oriented, with policy and personnel decisions driven by leading politicians and their clientelistic networks. One symptom of this is the high number of “hereditary seats” in parliament, which have been held by members of the same family for generations. The current LDP prime minister, Shinzo Abe, is among those who “inherited” his seat, in his case from his deceased father Shintaro Abe, who was also a leading LDP-politician.

Japan’s two major parties are the LDP and the currently far weaker DPJ. The LDP has traditionally revolved around individual politicians, their personal local-support organizations and the intraparty factions that divide lawmakers (although the importance of factionalism has declined since the 1990s). Ordinary party-member involvement is usually limited to membership in a local support organization and is based on mutual material interests: While members want political and hopefully tangible support for their communities, the politician at the group’s head wants public support for his or her (re-) election. Even party congresses offer little real opportunity for policy input by delegates. However, delegates from regional party branches have taken part in selecting party leaders since the early 2000s, with some branches basing their eventual choice on the outcome of local primaries. While the LDP has also paid some lip service to increased intraparty democracy, it has shied away from major internal reforms aimed at making the party more open and inclusive.

The DPJ is somewhat less institutionalized in terms of internal groupings and support organizations, but basically follows a similar pattern. It has experimented with open calls for recruiting parliamentary candidates (with the LDP having recently followed suit in cases where there is no incumbent or designated candidate). The DPJ has also allowed party members and other registered supporters to take part in a few leadership elections over the years. In its 2009 election manifesto, the DPJ called for the abolition of hereditary seats, but the party’s programmatic and personnel decisions are still controlled by insider circles.

Romania

Score 3 The major parties on the Romanian political scene have similar intra-party procedures, which limit the influence of rank-and-file party members and exclude non-party members from party decision-making processes. The selection of leaders in all three parties is based on delegates elected from the territorially based party organizations (based on quotas decided by the party leaderships) in national party congresses that meet every four years unless emergency congresses are convened. Beyond this, however, most important personnel and issues are decided by a small group of party leaders. The de facto degree of intra-party democracy depends on the relative political power of different party leaders and factions, and tends to be inversely proportional to the party's electoral success.

Slovakia

Score 3 All Slovak parties are elite projects that are dominated by a few party leaders. The only party that gained more than 10% of the votes in the 2012 parliamentary election is Prime Minister Fico's Smer-SD. It is strongly centered around Fico, who has led the party since its founding in 1999. The inner circle of the party and the number of party representatives with influence are rather limited. Rank-and-file members have little influence on decision-making.

South Korea

Score 3 There is almost universal agreement among political scientists, political observers, politicians and the general public that political parties are one of the weakest links in South Korean democracy. In addition to their inchoate nature and lack of internal democracy, political parties have little ability to produce meaningful manifestos, political programs or alternative policy proposals. Party positions and candidacies for parliamentary seats are decided by powerful party elites. For the presidential race, parties have experimented with a primary system that uses text message and online polls, but the experiences have been rather mixed. Small reform-oriented groups of young lawmakers have recently made strong voices against party leadership, which could promote internal party democracy.

The election platforms of individual candidates tend to be more important than party programs, but often avoid proposing coherent policies in favor of promises to achieve certain goals and secure certain benefits for a specific constituency. Strong regionalism further undermines the ability to form platforms based on political goals.

Turkey

Score 2

The Political Parties Law (Law No. 2820) does not encourage intra-party democracy. Nor do the bylaws of the major parties provide any incentive to pursue intra-party democracy. Although the Justice and Development Party (AKP), the Republican People's Party (CHP) and the Peace and Democracy Party (BDP) do not discriminate on the basis of ethnicity or religious orientation with regard to membership, contestation within the parties is limited, at best. Dissenting voices are generally unable to find an institutional path by which to engage in effective debate. Competition usually revolves around party members' ability to create local power centers through which they compete for the attention and goodwill of the party leader. Within the AKP, the confrontation between the party leadership and deputies close to the preacher Fethullah Gülen led to the resignation of nine deputies. In the CHP, Emine Ülker Tarhan, who was very critical of the party leadership, had to resign along with other members following the CHP's defeat in the presidential elections.

In 2014, the ruling AK Party retained its internal regulations – unique in comparison to other parties – limiting deputies and office holders to three terms. This means around 70 AKP deputies, including ministers and founding members of the party, will not be allowed to run for parliament in the 2015 general elections.

Citation:

AK Partili İlhan İşbilen istifaya çağırıldı, *Hürriyet*, 7 February 2014, <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/25757574.asp>
Mehmet Akinici /Özgür Önder / Bile Kagan Sakacı (2013): Is Intra-Party Democracy possible in Turkey? An Analysis of Political Parties Act and Party By-Law, *European Scientific Journal*, Vol. 9, No.11.
Pelın Ayan (2011), *Authoritarian Party Structures and Democratic Political Setting in Turkey*, Palgrave Macmillan.

Indicator

Association Competence (Business)

Question

To what extent are economic interest associations capable of formulating relevant policies?

41 OECD and EU countries are sorted according to their performance on a scale from 10 (best) to 1 (lowest). This scale is tied to four qualitative evaluation levels.

- 10-9 = Most interest associations are highly capable of formulating relevant policies.
- 8-6 = Many interest associations are highly capable of formulating relevant policies.
- 5-3 = Few interest associations are highly capable of formulating relevant policies.
- 2-1 = Most interest associations are not capable of formulating relevant policies.

Australia

Score 9

The major interest associations, which are run by the employers and business groups and the trade unions, have a history of proposing practical, plausible policies. The main explanation for this is that the government has a long history of involvement and policy consultation with most of the groups (for example, business groups are closely allied with the Liberal Party, farmers' and rural groups are allied with the National Party, and trade unions are allied with the Labor Party). Many elected representatives have, at some point in their career, been a member of one of these groups, further cementing relations with the interest groups. There are also considerable formal and informal networks linking the various groups to the major political parties, further consolidating the development of practical and coherent policies.

Denmark

Score 9

Interest organizations play an important role in Danish politics. Policies proposed by the major interest organizations are of course important for the group they represent. They may not be quite as important, however, for society at large, or for the collective interest. That is why the government must aggregate the views of various interest organizations.

Given the corporatist tradition in Denmark, the major interest organizations are regularly involved in policymaking. This tends to educate them to moderate their policy proposals. Interest groups know they will lose influence if they propose policies that are seen as unreasonable; they realize that they have an interest in getting things to work. The trade unions also learned at some point that demanding

very high raises in salaries will produce inflation and job losses and thus be counterproductive. They too have a tradition of being quite responsible and negotiating in good faith.

Citation:

Peter Munk Christiansen og Lise Tøgeby, *Magten i Danmark*. Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 2005.

Norway

Score 9

The major interest associations all propose practical, plausible policies. Many interest organizations have competent and skilled staffs, enabling them to formulate policies and proposals. The Norwegian Confederation of Trade Unions and the Confederation of Norwegian Enterprise have for years been engaged in very close tripartite cooperation with the government. Through this process, these organizations – in combination with the government – have been able to prevent strikes, secure a moderate salary policy and ensure moderate inflation and interest rates.

This cooperation has also been regarded as important in promoting gradual governmental reforms in areas such as health insurance and pension plans. In their work, these interest organizations rely to a large extent on scholarly knowledge, and typically take a long-term perspective.

Similar patterns of organized cooperation are evident in many other policy fields. Employers' association groups have traditionally been allied with the conservative parties, farmers' groups with the Center Party, and trade unions with the Labor Party. These ties are most explicit between the Labor Party and the labor unions, with the head of the labor union confederation sitting on the party's executive committee. The union confederation and the employers' association both have academics as advisers, and their proposals normally aim at consensus rather than at social confrontation.

Sweden

Score 9

Sweden has a long corporatist tradition. Although corporatism as a mode of governance has declined, economic interest associations are still important players in the policy process.

The major business interest organizations and unions are certainly very capable of analyzing the economic situation and presenting policy proposals. As organized interests, they obviously pursue their respective agendas, but overall, the expertise and policy capacity of the major interest organizations is impressive. During the global economic crisis, for example, the interest associations showed a high degree of responsibility by not counteracting the crisis management of the government.

United States

- Score 9** A vast number of business associations are active in the United States. This is a reflection of the size and complexity of the American economy and of a political culture that fosters participation, but also of the opportunities for lobbying influence in a decentralized political system. The associations themselves range from peak associations such as the Business Roundtable to trade associations of major industries such as the American Trucking Association, and further to groups representing narrow industry segments. The larger, wealthier associations have sizable professional staffs and can produce not only credible policy proposals, but also substantial supporting documentation. Given the large numbers of very small associations, it is not true that “most” business associations can present credible proposals. However, there are certainly several hundred business associations that can draft bills or amendments and present articulate, sophisticated arguments for their positions.

Austria

- Score 8** The role of economic interest groups is still very strong in Austria: Significant associations include the Austrian Economic Chambers (Wirtschaftskammern) and the Federation of Austrian Industry (Die Industriellenvereinigung) for business and employers; the Austrian Trade Union Federation (Österreichischer Gewerkschaftsbund) and the Austrian Federal Chamber of Labor (Arbeiterkammern) for employees; and the Chamber of Agriculture (Landwirtschaftskammern) for farmers. These groups’ ability to shape politics may have been reduced as a result of Austria’s integration into the European Union, but within domestic politics, their influence remains very strong. Though formally independent of political parties, the groups have various individual links to the parties, especially to the Social Democratic Party and the Austrian People’s Party. Moreover, their influence is enhanced by their practice of acting in a coordinated, neocorporatist way through the social-partnership network.

Some observers underline the ambivalence of associations’ strong role: On the one hand, they help stabilize the democratic system as such; on the other, they can be seen as limiting the authority of parliament and government.

Belgium

- Score 8** Belgium has a high level of trade union membership and a strong tradition of social consensus, through strong and well-organized trade unions and employers’ organizations. For instance, most proposals on wage regulation and employee

protection are the result of routine negotiations between employers' associations and trade unions. Proposals are validated by the government and translated into law. This continuous mechanism of cooperation forces these actors to present realistic and well-argued demands (budgeted and framed in legal terms), even if some bargaining (and bluffing) occurs. Both trade unions and employers' organizations have their own well-developed study services with highly technical (legal, budgetary and so on) expertise. It should be noted that, in contrast to political parties, employers' associations and trade unions are still structured at the national level. However, there are some elements of Belgian social organizations that appear not to be open to debate, given general conservatism and a need to protect the institution.

Canada

Score 8

Many business associations, employers groups and trade unions develop policy proposals that identify the causes of problems, make use of scholarly research to support their analysis, propose technically feasible measures to attain policy objectives, take account of long-term interests and anticipate policy effects. Among the most competent associations in this respect are the Council of Chief Canadian Executives, the Canadian Chamber of Commerce, the Canadian Manufacturers and Exporters Association, the Canadian Labour Congress and the Canadian Auto Workers. Many of these associations have realized that they must identify their policy proposals with the overall societal interest rather than solely with the narrower interests of their members if they are to gain traction with the public and policymakers. The most successful associations are those that have mastered this art.

In a disturbing recent case of the impact of poor-quality policy work, the Minister of Finance adopted a proposal to cut employment-insurance premiums originating from the Canadian Association of Independent Business (CFIB), a small-business lobby group, based largely on the significant number of jobs that the CFIB said would be created. The minister publicly stated that since the CFIB membership had first-hand experience with employment insurance, it was unnecessary for his officials to do further analysis. However, the Parliamentary Budget Officer did an independent analysis of the policy change and concluded it would have effectively no impact on employment. Alan Freeman, a former assistant deputy minister responsible for communications at Finance Canada, now a professor at the University of Ottawa, wrote a very critical op ed article on this government decision, calling the Finance Department a "fact-free zone."

Citation:

Alan Freeman. "Finance Department Now a Fact-free Zone," Toronto Star, December 8, 2014

Finland

Score 8

Employers' and employees' organizations became involved in a series of comprehensive income policy agreements in 1968 concerning wages, working

conditions, and social welfare programs and legislation. While this institutional arrangement for cooperation between government and associations has since eroded, it created a framework for advancing responsible, considered and expert-based policy proposals on the part of large economic interest associations. Other mechanisms, not least the participation of associations as members and experts in the committee system, have worked in the same direction. As a consequence, this corporatist setting and the consensus style of policy-making has led to reasonable policies.

Germany

Score 8

Economic interest associations like trade unions or employers' associations in Germany are well-functioning organizations endowed with rich analytical and lobbying resources. They are definitely able to develop policy strategies and proposals and to present alternatives to current politics. Both trade unions and employers' association have their own economic think tanks supporting their policy proposals through substantive research on costs and benefits of different options. Furthermore, these organizations also invest substantial resources in lobbying for their positions among the general public and do so successfully. For example, the decision to introduce a general statutory minimum wage had been preceded by trade unions' extensive public lobbying.

Iceland

Score 8

The main interest organizations in Iceland continue to have considerable influence on public policymaking and engagement with political parties.

The Confederation of Icelandic Employers (Samtök atvinnulífsins) has informally, but closely associated with the right-wing Independence Party. Likewise, the Icelandic Confederation of Labor (Alþýðusamband Íslands) has maintains close links to the parties on the left, though its formal ties to the Social Democratic Party were severed in 1942. Until its breakup in the 1990s, the cooperative movement, with its strong ties to the agricultural sector, was closely linked to the Progressive Party (Framsókn), which has its origins in the farmers' movement.

All major interest organizations have a staff of skilled employees. who create research-based policy proposals that are usually well grounded, coherent and in line with the organizations' goals.

After the 2008 economic collapse, the employers' organization, the employees' organizations, the government and the Federation of Municipalities signed an agreement that aimed to achieve economic stability (Stöðugleikasáttmáli). The agreement dealt proposed a restructuring of the economy through wage and price freezes, among other issues.

During previous government's tenure, the Federation of Icelandic Fishing Vessel Owners resisted government plans to change regulation of fishing quotas. However, the federation unable to prevent a considerable increase in the fees paid by owners of fishing vessel owners to the government. Nevertheless, the group was able to help prevent a broader overhaul of the system, as promised by the government.

The previous government failed to realize its goals for restructuring the management system for Iceland's fisheries, despite raising fishing fees significantly. However, on succeeding to power, the new government lowered the fees in 2013.

Citation:

Gunnarsson, Styrmir (2009), *Umsátrid (The Siege)*, Veröld, Reykjavík.

Israel

Score 8

Israel has a vibrant business community that often interacts with government departments and Knesset representatives in order to advance its agenda. At least three major business groups – the Federation of Israeli Chambers of Commerce, the Manufacturers' Association of Israel and the Chamber for Coordination Between Financial Organizations – actively pursue policy goals through legal, regulatory or project-based perspectives. All three take part in conferences, perform independent research and publish their agendas. Recent publications include a plan to induce business growth and create more jobs, an analysis of annual Israeli industry trends and recommendations for government financial policy. Business organizations also cooperate with academics and research institutions to produce research, and some business-oriented think tanks exist. In general, Israeli businesses are well represented in the political sphere, and most economic interest associations are highly capable of formulating relevant policy proposals. However, Arab entrepreneurs' voices and influence in these associations is weak. Particularly for establishing technology-driven companies, Arab businessmen are confronted with many structural obstacles. Local and foreign analysts demonstrate that Arabs are key for Israeli economic growth but the Arab economy still lacks appropriate business encouragement programs by the Israeli government.

Citation:

Bassok, Moti, "Heads of business sector presented Fisher with a plan to up product by 3%," *TheMarker* website, 18.2.2013 (Hebrew)

Magar, Oren, "The small business sector to the Minister of the economy: These are the solution we need," *TheMarker* website 10.4.2013 (Hebrew)

"Israeli industry status report, trends and predictions 2012-2013," *The Manufacturers Association of Israel* website, March 2013 (Hebrew)

"The chamber for coordination between financial organizations," *Maot* website (Hebrew)

The Israeli Chamber of Commerce website

"Gov't failing Israel's Arabs on high tech jobs", 2014 Israel Business Conference, *Globes*, 10.12.2014,

<http://www.globes.co.il/en/article-govt-failing-israels-arabs-on-high-tech-jobs-1000992586>.

Miller, Elhanan, "Finance minister says government has failed Arabs", Times of Israel, 24.02. 2014, <http://www.timesofisrael.com/finance-minister-says-government-has-failed-arabs/>.

Luxembourg

Score 8

Given Luxembourg's specific social partnership model, the government must consult with unions and employers' organizations over each draft bill. They are asked to produce an opinion on the bill, and all opinions as well as the modified draft bills are published on parliament's website. The two employers' organizations (the Chambre de Commerce and the Chambre des Métiers) as well as the Luxembourg business union (Union des entreprises Luxembourgeoises, UEL) support a research unit, enabling them to produce opinions on draft bills, to organize conferences and to draft future government bills.

Trade unions share this approach. Mainly through the Parliamentary Act of 15 May 2008 ("statut unique"), the impact of trade unions increased as there is just one employee union (Chambre des salaires) instead of the previous two (one for manual workers and one for white-collar workers). All citizens working in Luxembourg have to become members and contribute to this organization – a keystone of Luxembourg's neo-corporatist policy tradition. Both social partners commission expert advice and policy briefings either abroad or in Luxembourg, and each respectively prepares position papers on the basis of their own capacities.

Citation:

<http://www.cc.lu/actualites/detail/conference-chambre-de-commerce-chambre-des-metiers-et-lasti-1/>

<http://www.csl.lu/>

<http://www.legilux.public.lu/leg/a/archives/2008/0060/2008A0790A.html>

<http://www.legilux.public.lu/leg/projets/archives/2007/2007P0225.html>

http://www.uel.lu/images/stories/Documents_public/Annuaire2013-documentdef.pdf

Netherlands

Score 8

For a long time, there was no lobbying culture in the Netherlands in the usual sense. Instead, prominent members of labor unions and business associations are regular members of high-level informal networks, also comprising high-level civil servants and politicians, on labor and other important socioeconomic policy issues. These processes have become institutionalized. For instance, there are tripartite negotiations in which employers, employees and the Crown are fixed discussion partners in the early stages of decision-making regarding labor issues. The same takes place for regular negotiations with economic interest associations. Analytic capacities of both business and labor associations are well-developed due to the institutionalized character of poldering.

Recently, matters have changed. There is now a Professional Association for Public Affairs (BVPA) that boasts 600 members (four times the number of parliamentarians) and a special professorship at Leiden University. The professionalization of lobbying is said to be necessary in order to curb unethical practices such as the creation of a foundation or crowdsource initiative as a means of pursuing business interests. The “quiet politics” (Culpepper) of business lobbying through organizations such as the Commissie Tabaksblad and the Amsterdam (later Holland) Financial Center (Engelen) have proven quite successful in influencing public policies on corporate governance and in easing regulation of the banking and financial sector.

Citation:

NRC Handelsblad 16 April 2011, De trouwe hulp troepen van Mark Rutte

NRC Handelsblad, 27 september 2014, Hoe de lobbywereld zijn ‘prutsers en slechterikken’ ongemoeid laat

P.D. Culpepper, 2010. Quiet Politics and Business Power. Corporate Control in Europe and Japan, Cambridge University Press

E. Engelen, 2014. Der schaduwelite voor en na de crisis. Niets geleerd, niets vergeten, Amsterdam University Press

Spain

Score 8

Spain’s economic-interest associations have improved their substantive competence in recent years through specialized research, contacts with scholars, and their own training centers and foundations. This may help them to identify the causes of problems and analyze policy effects while taking long-term interests into account.

During the period under examination, the main trade unions in Spain (UGT and CCOO) have strongly opposed the austerity measures and other adjustment reforms implemented by the Popular Party (Partido Popular, PP) government. However, this does not mean that Spanish trade unions are radicalized or incapable of formulating relevant policies. UGT is associated with the Fundación Francisco Largo Caballero, and CCOO with Fundación 1 de Mayo.

The largest employers’ association (CEOE) has the Círculo de Empresarios and the Círculo de Economía think tanks, as well as the training centers linked to the CEOE and the Chambers of Commerce. Other private economic groups include some farmer’s associations (such as COAG and ASAJA), the National Federation of Fishermen’s Association, some consumer associations (CEACCU and UCE), the Spanish Confederation of Cooperative Business, and diverse sectoral-lobbying actors (for example, “Foro Nuclear,” on the issue of nuclear energy). All are capable of proposing relevant policy measures within their specific areas of interests. Big Spanish companies also fund liberal economic-policy think tanks (for example, Fedea) that are autonomous but produce “business friendly” policy proposals.

Czech Republic

Score 7 The government's legislative rules define which entities are considered to be legitimate "commenting actors" during a consultation period. In this respect, trade unions and employer associations can make comments on draft laws dealing with social and economic issues during tripartite meetings with government representatives in the Council for Economic and Social Accord. The consultation process has become more open, thanks to the digital publication of legislative norms and regulations. The main employers' unions and the main trade unions both have considerable resources and expertise with which to develop coherent policies. Trade unions have considerable competence with regard to labor relations and economic policy more generally, and have the ability to lobby ministries and parliament and to influence government directly through tripartite consultation structures. Employers also have access to considerable resources, but have a slightly different agenda, favoring a less regulated labor market and lower business taxes.

Ireland

Score 7 During the economic crisis the capacity of the trade unions and the employers' and farmers' associations to influence policy was seriously diminished. However, these associations are staffed by economists and other experts who conduct detailed background research and make detailed – if selective – cases to support their favored policies. They make detailed submissions to the Finance Ministry during the annual budget process. The government takes some account of these arguments when preparing the budget and in formulating other policies.

Citation:

The number of independent commentaries and online policy forums has grown in recent years:

see

<http://www.publicpolicy.ie/>

<http://www.irisheconomy.ie/>

<http://www.nerinstitute.net/>

<http://politicalreform.ie/>

<http://www.politics.ie/>

Italy

Score 7 The big interest associations (employers associations and trade unions) have developed research units which regularly use experts and rely upon scholarly knowledge. Their proposals are often detailed and based upon substantive policy know-how. However, it must be noted that trade unions generally have a rather conservative outlook, and are reluctant to adopt innovative policies in the areas of labor relations or pensions.

Employers associations (the most important of which being Confindustria) in general adopt a more innovative perspective, and are less defensive of the status quo. Their policies are more prudent on issues associated with increasing competitiveness or reducing government subsidies. In recent years, two of the largest trade unions (CISL and UIL) have shown a somewhat greater willingness to negotiate with the government and employers associations over measures designed to increase the flexibility of labor relations.

Japan

Score 7

Japan's leading business and labor organizations regularly prepare topical policy proposals aimed at stirring public debate and influencing government policymaking. The three umbrella business federations – Keidanren (formerly Nippon Keidanren), the Japan Association of Corporate Executives (Doyukai), and the Japanese Chamber of Industry and Commerce (Nissho) – as well as Rengo, the leading trade-union federation, make their impact felt not only by publishing policy papers, but also through their membership in government advisory committees. As the business sector's financial support of political parties has declined, politicians may have become less willing to accommodate the views of these interest groups. While there is an obvious scramble for influence between Rengo and the business organizations, there is also growing competition among the business organizations themselves. For instance, Keidanren is dominated by large enterprise groups, and has been somewhat slow in demanding a further opening of the economy. The Doyukai is more characterized by strong independent companies, and has been outspoken in demanding a more open business environment.

Latvia

Score 7

The Tripartite Council of Latvia (Nacionālā trīspusējās sadarbības padome, NTSP), which links employers' associations, business associations and trade unions, provides a good example of effective association involvement in policy formulation. The members of the NTSP are all capable of proposing concrete measures, and work with academic figures in order to ensure quality inputs into the policy dialogue.

Employers' associations and business associations are continually engaged with the policy process on specific issues, such as energy policy, formulation of the national development plan and tax policy.

The Foreign Investors' Council (FICIL) has a strong capacity for presenting well-formulated policy proposals. FICIL conducts an annual structured dialogue at the prime ministerial level. The actions that come out of these dialogues are subsequently implemented and monitored. The 2014 High Council presented proposals in the areas of tax policy and administration, macroeconomic policy,

investment security policy, health system efficiency and intellectual property protection.

Citation:

1. The Foreign Investors' Council in Latvia, Information available: <http://www.ficil.lv/index.php/home/>, Last assessed: 21.10.2014.
2. The Tripartite Council of Latvia, Agenda available at (in Latvian): <http://www.mk.gov.lv/lv/mp/vaditaspadomes/ntsp/NTSPsedes/>, Last assessed: 21.05.2013.

Malta

Score 7 Economic interest associations have structures capable of formulating relevant public policies. Employers' and business associations command more resources than do trade unions, and this allows them to employ qualified personnel and to source qualified academics to assist according to the policy issue/s involved. By contrast, trade unions rarely use their own robust research departments, opting to use existing studies or seek assistance from academics and/or other specialists in the policy area under review. However, the influx of EU funds has strengthened non-economic interest associations.

New Zealand

Score 7 There are few well-organized and well-staffed interest groups in New Zealand. The largest and most prominent are the New Zealand Council of Trade Unions, Federated Farmers, the Chambers of Commerce, and Business New Zealand. All are involved in policy formation and dissemination, and all seek to influence government policy. However, there is an underlying asymmetry. Business interests additionally rely on the work of the New Zealand Business Roundtable, an organization of chief executives of major business firms, which in 2012 merged with the New Zealand Institute to form the New Zealand Initiative, a new libertarian think-tank to lobby for pro-market economic and social policies.

Citation:

- Business New Zealand – Submissions: <http://www.businessnz.org.nz/submissions> (accessed October 9, 2014).
 New Zealand Council of Trade Unions – Campaign Main: <http://union.org.nz/campaigns/summary> (accessed October 9, 2014).
 The New Zealand Initiative: <http://nzinitiative.org.nz/> (accessed October 9, 2014).
 The National Business Review: Roundtable and NZ Institute Morph Into New Libertarian Think-Tank: <http://www.nbr.co.nz/article/roundtable-and-nz-institute-morph-nz-initiative-ck-115751> (accessed October 9, 2014).

Slovenia

Score 7 In Slovenia, with its strong corporatist tradition, economic-interest associations are very well organized and possess relatively strong analytical capacities. Most economic and social policies are discussed in detail in the Economic and Social Council, a tripartite body. Trade union and employers' associations do not have their own research institutes, but cooperate with universities and think tanks. Trade

unions' analytical capacities have suffered from the fragmentation associated with the coexistence of seven separate union confederations.

South Korea

Score 7 The business associations, such as the Korean Employers Federation and the Federation of Korean Industries, and labor-union umbrella groups, such as the Federation of Korean Trade Unions and the Korean Confederation of Trade Unions, have some expertise in developing policy proposals. They are supported by think tanks that provide scholarly advice. However, these groups are relatively weak in comparison to businesses and company-level trade unions. Some individual businesses, such as Samsung, LG and Hyundai, have their own think tanks that produce high-quality research, and are able to analyze and provide alternatives to government policies. Under the previous Lee Myung-bak administration, business organizations, individual companies and businessmen were in an advantageous position to articulate their interests.

Switzerland

Score 7 Employers' organizations and trade unions in Switzerland are pragmatic and avoid rigidly ideological stances. Of course the major interest organizations do have their ideologies, but this does not prevent them from entering rational discussions with other organizations and political parties. Furthermore, interest organizations in general have access to more substantial professional resources and often have a better-informed view of problems than do political parties. Thus, despite the defense of their own interests, associations often provide better policy proposals than do parties.

The influence of employers' organizations has declined as single firms or small groups have elected to engage in their own lobbying activities. Internal differences have also split these organizations. In 2013, a public initiative seeking to control excessive salaries for CEOs, as well as regulate proxy-voting rights, was passed by the voters. This initiative was strongly opposed by the employers' organization. Following the initiative's passage, the employers' group changed some of its key personnel and launched an institutional reorganization.

Turkey

Score 7 The Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges (TOBB) is the most influential association in Turkey, representing more than 1.2 million enterprises and members of various industry and business chambers. Along with the pro-Western, Istanbul-

centric Turkish Industrialists' and Entrepreneurs' Association (TÜSİAD) and the conservative, Anatolian-centric Independent Industrialists' and Entrepreneurs' Association (MÜSİAD), it supports privatization, the development of the market economy and the integration of Turkey into the global economy. Beyond that, these groups advocate political reforms to strengthen human rights and the rule of law, and support reforms of the Turkish ethnic-nationalist concept of citizenship. During the review period, they regularly published recommendations aimed at reducing the growing polarization in politics and society. Furthermore, these groups often issue reports, proposals or positions on issues such as education, health care, security and constitutional reform. The degree of direct impact of such proposals and amendments on legislation is unknown, but the government regularly claims to take such reports under consideration.

When it comes to social and labor rights, the three organizations favor employers' interests, but do not oppose unionism as such. While these associations have represented the secular side of Turkish society since the 1990s, TUSKON, a group close to both the governing party and the Fethullah Gülen network, has become more prominent in promoting Muslim business interests. With the government's allegations against the Gülen network, institutions such as AsyaBank and companies related to the network have come under scrutiny.

Among labor unions, the ideological split between secular unions such as the Confederation of Public Workers' Unions (KESK) and the Confederation of Revolutionary Trade Unions of Turkey (DİSK) and the more conservative-Islamic Confederation of Turkish Real Trade Unions (Hak-İş) tends to prevent common action. Moreover, it has become increasingly obvious over the last decade that religiosity has become a strategic resource in creating solidarity among union members, and in bolstering loyalty to the government.

Citation:

Ayşe Bugra and Osman Savaskan, *New Capitalism In Turkey The Relationship between Politics, Religion and Business*, Edward Elgar, 2014.

United Kingdom

Score 7

Major business associations propose practical policy solutions which are rooted in a realistic assessment of the circumstances in which they will be carried out. Since the polarization between the major parties has been reduced substantially over the last two decades (especially in the field of socioeconomic policy matters), there is little incentive for business associations to engage in wishful thinking if they want to be taken seriously in the national policy discourse. However, some economic interests do propose somewhat more provocative ideas.

The crisis and the ongoing economic decline have sharpened the tone in some interest associations' publications. The main issue here is not so much whether

economic-interest associations are capable of formulating viable policies, but that even when they do, they have limited influence on the policy process.

Bulgaria

Score 6 The capacity of the three major employers' and business associations to make policy proposals is relatively well developed. These bodies can influence and propose policies in at least three ways: first, through their participation in the National Council for Tripartite Cooperation; second, through various EU-funded projects aimed at improving competitiveness and the business environment; and third, through their own capacity to perform research, formulate proposals and initiate public debates. All three have been relatively active in this regard throughout the period in review. This includes a growing tradition of cooperating with academic institutions and scholars, think tanks and other interest groups. However, the three associations do not always find it easy to work together or to develop policy analysis, evaluation and proposals on a systematic rather than case by case basis. The same is true for the trade unions, which in Bulgaria are represented by two confederations, and are also represented in the National Council for Tripartite Cooperation. In contrast to the employers' associations, the unions rely more heavily on their internal expertise in drafting and promoting proposals, cooperating comparatively less with academia. The range of topics on which trade unions take active positions and make proposals goes beyond the issues of the labor market – in effect, they behave like political parties.

Poland

Score 6 Poland has a relatively developed universe of interest associations. Business associations and trade unions have become increasingly professional over time. However, the unions have largely taken an obstructionist approach toward government reforms. By contrast, leading business associations such as the Konfederacja Lewiatan and the Business Center Club (BCC) have the expertise and resources to carry out research and formulate elaborate reform proposals. Konfederacja Lewiatan monitors many draft bills, and its spokespeople maintain a strong media presence. There are also a number of smaller associations that organize internationally known events such as the European Forum for New Ideas (EFNI), which annually invites leading public intellectuals, academics and politicians, both Polish and European, to the EFNI conference in Sopot.

Slovakia

Score 6 In Slovakia, business associations and unions alike have some policy competence.

Business associations are in a better position to provide full-blown policy proposals as they have more resources and some of them run or support think tanks. Trade unions are less well equipped and have suffered from fragmentation. However, some trade unions, including those representing medical doctors, nurses and teachers, are able to analyze the impact of decisions and to formulate relevant policies. KOZ SR, the main Trade Union Confederation representing almost 30 sectoral unions, has focused primarily on increasing the minimum wage and an assortment of less controversial issues such as workplace security.

Lithuania

Score 5 Most Lithuanian interest associations, including employers' associations and trade unions, have a rather limited ability to formulate well-crafted policies. They typically lack skilled research staff, and do not engage in cooperation with academic bodies or individual experts. The Investor's Forum, which represents foreign investors in Lithuania, is one of the exceptions, as it has regular annual meetings with the government and provides policy recommendations based on its members' input. Some local economic-interest organizations, including the Lithuanian Confederation of Industrialists (which is represented on the Tripartite Council) and the European Economic and Social Committee, have developed improving policy-formulation capacities. Some business associations and even individual businesses support think tanks. In 2012, the University of Pennsylvania recognized the Lithuanian Free Market Institute as being among the most influential public-policy centers in Central and Eastern Europe, rating it at 11th place within the region. The European Union provides support earmarked for strengthening the capacities of business associations and social partners, including trade unions.

Citation:

University of Pennsylvania. "2012 Global Go To Think Tanks."

Mexico

Score 4 There are few voluntary associations and social movements in Mexico in comparison with other countries. However, the organizations' range of activities and interests is wide, and they are usually autonomous and independent from government. With regard to economic interest organizations, there is a clear asymmetry here. Trade unions are not sophisticated organizations in Mexico, while employers' associations mostly are. This is partly a matter of money and partly of education. Given these capacity restrictions, there is only a limited number of interest associations which are highly capable of formulating relevant policy proposals.

Chile

- Score 4 Policy proposals by economic interest groups do address relevant topics and are not always short-sighted or untenable, but tend to be partial and largely guided by the groups' narrow interests. Unions as a socioeconomic interest group are relatively weak, and their influence in formulating policies relevant to their interests is quite limited. Exceptions to this rule of thumb do occur.

Cyprus

- Score 4 Cyprus has very strong trade unions, with a very high rate of membership, as well as well-organized employers' associations. Their relations have been characterized by a will to find consensual solutions and avoid industrial action. These associations in some cases have internal research or study divisions, which typically produce proposals defending or promoting sectoral interests. In rare cases, associations have commissioned and made public special studies by academics or experts. Associations propose no comprehensive measures or policies that take a long-term perspective. They mostly focus on specific short-term issues rather than structural change. The Pancyprian Labor Union (Παγκύπρια Εργατική Ομοσπονδία, PEO) has created a research institute on labor issues, which largely focuses on producing studies and monitoring developments in the economy and the labor market.

As an example of typical behavior, debates on adjusting salaries and benefits during the period under review were quite polarized, with employers unilaterally suggesting cuts in benefits, and trade unions rejecting even the idea of reopening debate on past gains. Neither side offered a policy proposal for addressing matters on a long-term basis. The whole system of benefits and labor relations is currently under review with reference to the framework of commitments made under the MoU, with some changes having already been implemented.

Estonia

- Score 4 The Estonian Trade Union Confederation (ETUC) is comprised of 20 branch unions. In comparison to many western European countries, its policy formulating capacity is very weak. The head office includes the secretariat (eight people) that prepares all kind of documents, including the draft law proposals, and organizes cooperation between the members of the confederation; there is no special research or analysis unit responsible for preparing concrete policy proposals. Thus, trade unions are typically invited to contribute to policymaking processes initiated by the government.

The Estonian Employers' Union has been more active (and even aggressive) in making policy proposals, especially in the realms of tax policy and industrial policy. Yet their institutional and analytic capacity is not significantly higher than that of trade unions.

Other interest groups beyond the social partners have a similarly limited capacity with regard to formulating policies.

France

Score 4

Business associations, mainly the largest employer's union (Mouvement des Entreprises de France, MEDEF) but also agricultural associations, are able to formulate policy proposals and contribute to agenda setting. They have their own research and study capabilities, and can successfully lobby government and parliamentarians. Weaker organizations such as the association of small and medium companies complain that their specific interests are marginalized by larger international groups and by the government. Trade unions are usually more reactive, mainly because their membership is low, at less than 8% of the workforce, the lowest percentage within the OECD, and split into several rival organizations. Government tries to stimulate social negotiations by extending social partnership agreements to the whole sector. In areas where interest groups are united and strong, as in agriculture and education, they may have substantial influence, amounting to co-decisions together with government. In other areas, the weakness of organized interests results in marginal involvement in decision-making, which may lead to friction at the implementation level.

Greece

Score 4

Interest associations make few relevant policy proposals in a few policy areas, such as macroeconomic policy, incomes and pensions, and labor relations. Leading businesses do not have their own associations, but some leading private banks produce policy papers and reports through their economic research departments.

The think tank of the association of Greek industrialists (SEV) is the Institute of Economic and Industrial Research (IOBE). Depending on the policy issue, this think tank may retain some autonomy from the leadership of SEV and promote the policy views of its own staff. The rest of the interest associations, such as the national association of merchants (ESEE) and the association of artisans, craftsmen and owners of small enterprises (GSEVE), have relatively less well-resourced and smaller think tanks.

During the period under review, policy formulation was confined to the results of negotiations between the government and the Troika. There was little space and time

for interest associations to formulate policy proposals, even though they continued producing interesting policy papers.

Citation:

The opinions expressed by INE, a think tank associated with labor unions, are available at its website <http://www.inegsee.gr/> (no foreign language version of this website's contents). For opinions mostly reflecting the views of Greek industrialists, see the website of the think tank IOBE at http://www.iobe.gr/index.asp?a_id=122 (English version of the website).

K Featherstone & D Papadimitriou, *The Limits of Europeanization: Reform Capacity and Policy Conflict in Modern Greece*; London, Routledge, 2008

Hungary

Score 4 The analytical capacity of economic-interest associations in Hungary varies. The main domestic business associations have proved generally loyal to the government. They have confined themselves to criticizing policy details and have largely refrained from formulating policy alternatives. This applies to the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce and Industry (Magyar Kereskedelmi és Iparkamara), the reorganized Hungarian Agrarian Chamber, the National Association of Entrepreneurs and Employers (VOSZ) and the Confederation of Hungarian Employers and Industrialists (GYOSZ). However, the third Orbán government has been strongly criticized by the Hungarian European Business Council (HEBC). Representing Hungary's most important export companies, this body has outlined an alternative economic and social program. The trade unions have also adopted a critical position toward the Orbán government. Their capacity to formulate relevant policies has benefited from the merger of three of Hungary's six trade-union federations. The new Hungarian Trade Union Confederation (MaSZSZ) held its first congress on 21 November 2014.

Portugal

Score 4 A few business-related organizations are capable of formulating relevant policies – notably employers' associations and trade unions. However, their proposals tend to be reactive to government measures rather than being proactive in setting policy debate. This pattern of reactivity has if anything been reinforced in the current period. While both employers and trade unions have increasingly expressed dissatisfaction with the austerity measures, there are few substantive alternatives presented other than reactions to specific government measures.

Croatia

Score 3 Trade unions have traditionally played a significant role in Croatia. Union membership rates are relatively high, and unions have been quite powerful in

organizing protest against the government's austerity measures. Like other economic interest associations such as the Croatian Employers' Association, however, the unions have focused on opposing government proposals and have lacked the will – and the capacity – to develop their own proposals.

Romania

Score 3 While policymaking in Romania is often influenced in a particularistic fashion by individual business interests, business associations are rather weak and have played a minor role in proposing concrete policy measures, much less in offering cost–benefit analyses of the likely effects of such policies. The potential for such engagement is further reduced by the fact that Romania does not have a coherent regulatory framework for lobbying. The Romanian Lobbying Registry Association (RLRA), a weak non-profit, non-governmental private organization, has unsuccessfully petitioned in favor of regulations in the area. Even though union density is fairly high in Romania, union structure is fragmented and weakly developed, and rank-and-file members are increasingly alienated from a self-serving leadership. Unions have not played an active role in policy formulation. However, under the current Social Democratic Party (PSD) government, which has comparatively close ties to labor unions, unions have scored some political victories (such as an expanded role in the higher-education sector, following recent reforms).

Indicator Association Competence (Others)

Question To what extent are non-economic interest associations capable of formulating relevant policies?

41 OECD and EU countries are sorted according to their performance on a scale from 10 (best) to 1 (lowest). This scale is tied to four qualitative evaluation levels.

- 10-9 = Most interest associations are highly capable of formulating relevant policies.
- 8-6 = Many interest associations are highly capable of formulating relevant policies.
- 5-3 = Few interest associations are highly capable of formulating relevant policies.
- 2-1 = Most interest associations are not capable of formulating relevant policies.

Iceland

Score 9 Iceland has many active, non-economic interest organizations in various fields. Although many have a reasonable level of prominence, only a few have the capacity and competence to exert significant influence on public policy. The largest are the Organization for the Disabled in Iceland (Öryrkjabandalagið), with 35 associated organizations and a staff of 11, and the Consumers' Association of Iceland (Neytendasamtökin), with a staff of seven and 9,200 members. The Nature and Wildlife Conservation Organization (Náttúruverndarsamtök Íslands), with one staff member, is also influential. This group has managed to feature prominently in public debates about hydro and geothermal power plants, and expressed reservations about further construction of aluminum smelters around the country. Landvernd, the Icelandic Environmental Association, also has some influence.

Norway

Score 9 The government and the opposition parties listen carefully to the opinions expressed by business, farm-sector and union leaders. Intellectuals and academics also receive attention. Environmental groups have a substantial influence on environmental policy. The large organizations are professional in communicating their messages to politicians and to the public, and are sometimes able to set the political agenda.

In addition, there are numerous formal arenas for routine consultation between governments and various kinds of interest organizations. In many areas, such consultations are formalized and have become a routine mode of policy formulation.

Sweden

Score 9 For non-economic interest associations, their capacity to conduct analysis and produce relevant policy proposals varies significantly depending on their size.

For instance, in the environmental policy field, the major interest organizations have an large staff that conducts high quality studies and presents highly relevant policy proposals. In other policy fields, small interest associations do not have the staff to produce high-quality policy proposals. Yet if we assess the quality of non-economic interest associations over the very broad range of all Swedish interest associations, most of them produce high quality policy proposals.

Australia

Score 8 A number of social interest groups, environmental groups and religious groups take responsible and well-considered positions and are, therefore, taken very seriously by government, although there are also groups that take extreme positions. The extent to which the proposals are well thought-out and feasible varies considerably. In general, the proposals from mainstream interest groups are of high quality in part because many elected representatives are drawn from these groups, or have had considerable contact with them prior to their election. The proposals also tend to be of high quality because of the expertise of the groups themselves and their narrow (often single-issue) interest, which means the groups can focus exclusively on a single problem and the ways in which it can be resolved.

Denmark

Score 8 There is a long corporatist tradition in Denmark. The major interest organizations are often members of committees and commissions preparing legislation. They provide information for the government and legitimacy for the policies adopted, thereby facilitating implementation.

In recent years, during the years of Prime Minister Anders Fogh Rasmussen's government, the relationship between the government and interest organizations changed somewhat. Some laws were passed without having been prepared through corporatist committees. Instead, interest organizations had to lobby more – by making direct contact with civil servants and politicians – so as to influence policies. The current cabinet of Helle Thorning-Schmidt also seems willing to challenge interest organizations, as evidenced by the lockout of teachers during the school labor conflict in the spring of 2013.

The fact remains that the administration needs input from outside when legislation is prepared. In other words, there is a common interest in continuous dialogue.

Citation:

Peter Munk Christiansen og Lise Togeby, *Magten i Danmark*. Copenhagen: Gyldendal.

Finland

Score 8

Policy-relevant positions of most associations are based on expert knowledge and feasibility analyzes in the respective fields, and contribute to the quality of decision-making. Exaggeration and one-sided arguments are in the nature of interest organizations and of the negotiation process, but this style of policy-making grants access for various interests. This contribution of interest associations' expert knowledge is a valuable asset, which enhances the quality of policy-making. Also, interest associations have a high profile in public discourse and often shape public opinion. The fact remains, however, that the function of interest associations is to promote certain interests, which can disadvantage others.

Germany

Score 8

As of April 2013, the government's official list contained 2,142 registered associations, 56 more than in 2010. One-third of those can be considered noneconomic interest associations. Within the process of policy formulation, interest-group expertise plays a key role in providing ministerial officials with in-depth information necessary to make decisions. Citizen groups, social movements and grassroots lobbying organizations are increasingly influential actors, particularly at the local level. Although policy proposals produced by noneconomic interest groups can be described as reasonable, they tend to be focused on single issues and often ignore economic and financial constraints. In this sense their suggestions appear less realistic. Although noneconomic interest associations can succeed in placing subjects on the policy agenda that other actors tend to ignore, their lack of political weight means their influence is limited.

Luxembourg

Score 8

Interest groups have and can have an important impact on policymaking. However, drawing on academic knowledge within Luxembourg is limited. Some larger non-governmental organizations maintain a small research department (e.g., Caritas) and express opinions through publications (the Caritas annual almanac) and conferences, or through offering comments on draft bills or proposing policies. Voluntary working groups that act essentially as think tanks have become more popular during

the review period, and many have chosen the future of Luxembourg as their focus: La Société Luxembourgeoise de l'Evaluation et de la Prospective (SOLEP), Luxembourg 2030 and “5 vir 12.”

These groups have considerable impact, given the government's practice of consulting all social partners and the overall small size of Luxembourg. However, efforts to draw on academic skills remain limited.

Citation:

<http://5minutes.rtl.lu/fr/actualite/luxembourg/415157.html>

<http://www.2030.lu/en/home/>

<http://www.caritas.lu/content/download/568/3026/version/3/file/Caritas+Sozialalmanach+2013.pdf>

For further informations: www.solep.lu

Netherlands

Score 8

Policymaking in the Netherlands has a strong neo-corporatist (“poldering”) tradition that systematically involves all kinds of interest associations – not just business and labor – in the early stages of the policymaking process. Owing to their well-established positions, associations such as the consumer association, all kinds of environmental NGOs, religious associations, municipal (Vereniging voor Nederlandse Gemeenten) and provincial interests (InterProvinciaal Overleg), medical and other professional associations (e.g., teachers, universities, legal professions) can influence policymaking through the existing consensus-seeking structures. Trade-offs are actively negotiated with ministries, other involved governments, stakeholder organizations and even NGOs. Furthermore, non-economic interest organizations react to policy proposals by ministries and have a role in amending and changing the proposals in the early stages of the policymaking process. They may also become involved later on with the implementation of policies.

New Zealand

Score 8

There is a rich tradition of consulting societal groups. The amount of consultation of groups and individuals and the way their proposals have been dealt with is reported in regulatory impact statements. In several cases, recent regulatory impact statements claim that consultation has had a substantive impact. Still, the size and shortage of resources prevent some interest associations from developing specialist policy know-how that would have a lasting impact in consultations.

Citation:

Regulatory Impact Statement Information Release: <http://www.treasury.govt.nz/publications/informationreleases/ris> (accessed October 9, 2014).

Slovakia

- Score 8 Slovakia has a vibrant third sector and many competent interest associations whose analyses and proposals have featured prominently in the media. Think tanks are an integral part of civil society, and have close links to academia and other experts. Following the 2012 change in government, many experts from the Radičová government became active in NGOs or have cooperated with them, thereby providing important policy knowledge.

Slovenia

- Score 8 Slovenia's vibrant third sector has been quite active in monitoring government activities. Most interest associations have considerable policy knowledge, and many can rely on think tanks that involve various experts from the universities and research institutes in their work. Policy proposals developed by interest associations, although not numerous, have been featured prominently in the media.

Spain

- Score 8 Non-economic interest associations have always been relatively weak in Spain, and it has been difficult for them to influence political decision-making with relevant policy proposals. Furthermore, the lack of a strong, organized civil society is a disincentive for the government to take these associations' views into account during policy formulation (since the process would become much more complex, without necessarily adding social legitimacy as a compensation). Thus, there is no virtuous circle encouraging social, environmental and religious groups to improve their policy competence.

Even the strong Catholic Church lacks a research unit capable of formulating policies, although it remains influential on education and moral issues. However, despite its close links with the current center-right Popular Party government, the church was unable to avoid a 2014 policy reversal, in which the PP decided not to implement a previously announced legislative restriction on abortion. Other minority religious communities are very tiny.

Leading environmental groups (e.g., Ecologistas en Acción or Greenpeace España) and some NGOs devoted to human rights (such as Amnesty International) or development aid (Intermon-Oxfam and other Spanish groups which benefited larger budgets in this area in the late 2000s) have gained technical competence, and rely increasingly on academic expertise and specialized publications to influence public opinion and policymakers within their areas of interest. Women's associations are

weak as autonomous organizations, but influential within the political parties (especially in the PSOE). The LGBT movement has successfully defended homosexuals' rights and particularly same-sex marriage.

Finally, social protest movement triggered by the crisis have made a mark in recent years. Platforms and networks following the example of the 15-M Movement (the so-called Indignants, who launched their demonstrations on 15 May 2011) have been able to gain media attention and even shape public policy by asking for more transparency (for example, the group Democracia Real Ya) or better regulation of mortgages (for example, the Plataforma de Afectados por la Hipoteca or Mortgage Victims Association). Social movements promoting (or in some cases opposing) Catalonia's right to become an independent state also have expert staff that undertakes research on issues related to independence.

Citation:

www.wsws.org/en/articles/2013/04/02/spai-a02.html

<http://thediplomatinspain.com/en/the-catalan-civil-society-receives-the-european-citizens-prize-granted-by-the-european-parliament/>

United Kingdom

Score 8

The United Kingdom has a tradition of close scrutiny of policy proposals. The quality and realism of policy proposals determines the degree to which any interest group is taken seriously in the country's national political discourse and there are many NGOs which have had a tangible impact on policy thinking. Green interest groups in particular have helped to shape the policies of successive governments. There are vocal campaigners for rural interests, while both sides of the migration debate have been nourished by interest groups.

There is an abundance of NGOs with often-narrow policy agendas that tend to be pushed forward with small consideration for the wider ramifications of the pursuit of their issue. By the same token, the diversity of such bodies allows a wide range of proposals to obtain a hearing.

Belgium

Score 7

There is a large range of opinion and proposal formulations in Europe, and Belgium is among a group of good performers in this regard. Several non-economic interest associations receive state funding, including environmental, cultural, religious/philosophical, sports/leisure and minority (such as individuals with handicaps) groups.

The largest groups are able to not only make proposals but also actually influence policy. Consociationalism also implies that some socially important decisions are

made smoothly. The decision to legalize same-sex marriage in 2003 or euthanasia in 2002 followed intense but quite dispassionate debating. The contrast with France or the U.S. over similar issues is all the more striking.

The main reason why this can happen is again related to the predominance of political parties. Several groups and associations that receive funding either initially have, or subsequently develop, preferential political relationships with political parties and/or government actors. This means that social groups, associations and (to some extent) publicly funded schools often have longstanding ties to a political group. It implies that there is a strong incentive for non-economic interest associations to propose policies, and to be reasonably documented with such proposals, as there is a high probability that they may see those proposals debated in parliament.

Obviously, the negative aspect of this structure is a dependence on public funding, and therefore a possible lack of independence, which is sometimes criticized by more radical cadres and activists. On the positive side, some groups are able to coalesce in broader umbrella organizations (such as around environmental protection) that are then able to hire stable staff with policy expertise.

Canada

Score 7

Many social-interest groups, environmental groups and religious communities develop policy proposals that identify problems' causes, make use of scholarly research to support their analysis, propose technically feasible measures to attain policy objectives, take account of long-term interests, and anticipate policy effects. However, as these groups have fewer resources than economic-interest groups, they generally do a somewhat less competent job in proposing reasonable policies. A 2011 report prepared for the Canadian Council for International Cooperation (CCIC) found that for many civil-society organizations, broad policy ideas are not always translated into concrete proposals due to a lack of expertise. While some coalitions, such as the Americas Policy Group (APG); the Canadian Biotechnology Action Network (CBAN); the Climate Action Network (CAN); the Policy Working Group on Maternal, Newborn and Child Health; and the Global Call Against Poverty/Making Poverty History, among others, have a strong record with respect to governmental relations (political and legislative), they represent a minority in this regard.

Citation:

A Map of Canadian Civil Society Organization Coalitions' Governance, Capacity and Agendas: Common Challenges, Shortfalls and their Implications, report prepared for The Canadian Council for International Co-operation (CCIC), 2011.

Chile

Score 7 A substantial number of autonomous, self-organized groups, associations and organizations exist in Chile. Civil society's organizational landscape has become increasingly differentiated since redemocratization. Religious, environmental and social organizations, as well as NGOs, academic groups and professional associations often present substantive policy-reform proposals that contribute positively to policy discussions and government reforms, and consider long-term perspectives. Various political foundations and think tanks play a decisive role as formulators of relevant policies. On the other hand, there are great disparities in the durability and the organizational strength of associations, mostly as a result of social inequalities.

Czech Republic

Score 7 Interest associations have grown considerably in the Czech Republic since 1990. There are around 126,000 autonomous, self-organized groups, associations, foundations and organizations registered in the country, not all of them active. Between 2011 and 2014, additional NGOs emerged to address important issues such as corruption, city planning, the rights of gays and lesbians, food safety and participatory budgeting on the local level, many of them effectively and competently. Amendments to the Civil Code in 2014 have aimed to make nongovernmental and non-profit organizations more accountable and to make NGO funding more transparent. Whereas many new NGOs have a relatively broad agenda and played an important role in the 2014 municipal elections, the Roman Catholic Church, the most active traditional religious organization, has largely focused on issues of direct concern.

Israel

Score 7 Noneconomic associations and NGOs organizations have become increasingly influential in recent years. Along with professional consultancy firms, they fill the gap left by the state's privatization policies. Both social and environmental interest groups often formulate relevant policies and cooperate with government and academic bodies. Recent projects include the Alaluf Committee on poverty, as well as numerous conferences, roundtable events and publications. In 2014, the Ministry of the Interior advocated for the removal of four representatives of civic and environmental bodies that traditionally sit on a supreme national planning committee. In light of widespread protest, two representatives were reinstated, including one from the environmental lobby. While social and environmental organizations tend to advocate policy by publishing reports and policy papers,

religious organizations are less prone to formulate policy recommendations regularly on arenas accessible to the public at large.

Citation:

Nisan, Limor, "Civil society and the third sector in Israel," IDI paper for the 10th Caesarea conference, June 2010: <http://www.idi.org.il/media/526545/%D7%97%D7%91%D7%A8%D7%94%20%D7%90%D7%96%D7%A8%D7%97%D7%99%D7%AA%20%D7%95%D7%9E%D7%92%D7%96%D7%A8%20%D7%A9%D7%9C%D7%99%D7%A9%D7%99%20%D7%91%D7%99%D7%A9%D7%A8%D7%90%D7%9C.pdf> (Hebrew)

Vigoda-Gadot, Eran and chaim cohen, "Privatization of policy making: One step too far?," Van Leer Institute, August 2011: http://www.vanleer.org.il/sites/files/product-pdf/niir_emda_eitzob_mdiniot.pdf (Hebrew)

United States

Score 7

Citizens' or public-interest associations' competence in proposing reasonable policy initiatives is unusually high in the United States. This high level of competence is in part due to associations' ability to attract highly qualified professional staff, and part due to their media and communication skills. This holds true for groups such as the Environmental Defense Fund, Common Cause and the American Conservative Union. From the standpoint of developing credible policies, these associations have the advantage of focusing on broad interests, rather than self-interested ones, as their central mission. However, they are subject to ideological biases and membership demands that tend to favor extreme views.

Austria

Score 6

Along with economic interest groups, organized religious communities, especially the officially recognized denominations, have a formalized role within the decision-making process. Like the economic interest groups, they are consulted before the cabinet approves the draft of a law. This is a critical stage of the process, as most cabinet-approved drafts are also approved by parliament.

A number of other groups occasionally exert notable influence, including the physicians' chamber, various environmental groups (such as Greenpeace) and some human rights organizations (such as Amnesty International).

The recent proliferation of various special interest groups involves a certain polarization of interests as traditional interest groups with a broader reach are weakened.

Croatia

Score 6

Many social-interest organizations in Croatia have the capacity to propose relevant policy proposals. For instance, experts from Citizens Organize to Oversee Voting (Građani organizirano nadgledaju glasanje, GONG), an association of various

organizations for the protection and promotion of human rights originally formed in 1997, have taken part in the drafting of various laws on lobbying and elections. Green Action (Zelena Akcija) is another example of a social-interest organization with strong analytical capacity and the ability to promote its issues in the media.

Estonia

Score 6

The policy-formulation capacity of non-economic interest groups has substantially increased over time, and some of them are today able to propose concrete policy measures. The capability varies across fields of interest and with the scope of the intended impact. Most civil-society associations are small and possess limited financial and human resources. Therefore, their in-house capacity is very low, and most analyses have been carried out as single projects on a contractual basis. The level of capacity also depends on the formal policy agenda, as it is easier to add a new proposal to the existing agenda than to set the agenda. Therefore, social-interest groups lobbying on issues such as better socialization and care for disabled people or same-sex marriage have been quite good at formulating policy proposals, since relevant draft laws were already being considered by the parliament. Environmental groups in Estonia act mainly at the local level, working to affect community policies. However, local action can have a nationwide impact. For example, the corridor for the Rail Baltica high-speed rail system has been revised based on input from community groups. Religious groups typically are not active in domestic politics or policy.

France

Score 6

The number of, and membership in, non-business associations has been increasing. If the phenomenon of dependency on the financial support of public authorities exists, especially at the local level, there are non-economic associations that are combining pluralistic approaches, long-term perspectives and a public perspective. This can be seen in fields such as urban policy (where national programs and local public actors rely on the expertise and commitment of associations dealing with local issues), environmental policy or social policy (aid to people with different social problems or handicaps).

This being said, only a few associations are equipped with the capacity to make relevant and credible proposals. Some groups (such as environmental groups and social workers) have a real proactive strategy; most associations are reactive.

Ireland

Score 6

There is a strong tradition of interest associations and advocacy groups in Ireland, especially in the areas of health and social policy. While their influence was diminished by the financial constraints of the last six years, they continue to have an

impact on policies relating to issues such as drug abuse, provision for people with disabilities, homelessness, asylum seekers, and perceived inequalities and injustices in Irish society.

One of the most influential of these associations, Social Justice Ireland, evolved from an association of members of Roman Catholic religious orders.

While many of these associations prepare relevant policy proposals, their emphasis is on advocacy rather than analysis.

Citation:

For Social Justice Ireland, see

<http://www.socialjustice.ie/>

Italy

Score 6

The landscape of non-economic interest organizations is increasingly rich and diversified. But only few of them are able to formulate articulated policy proposals and most operate in a reactive mode instead. Among the most professional associations, some religious ones (such as Caritas, which deals with immigration policies) and environmental groups (such as Legambiente, WWF, etc.) deserve special mention and are able to provide well-articulated or scholarly grounded analyses of significant breadth. An increasing number of single-issue movements are gaining ground in Italy and are contributing policy proposals.

There are also a series of foundations and think tanks in the field of international affairs, social and economic problems producing critical studies and conducting oversight activities. But their infrastructures, resources and personnel are in general limited.

Malta

Score 6

Malta has a large number of non-economic interest associations. Though typically short on resources, they often receive external support through their membership in international or regional federations, which helps them formulate extremely well-informed policy papers. Local associations have also been able to improve their policy capacities thanks to funds from the European Union. Few organizations employ full-time staff, but many have academics as part of their leadership structure, allowing them to make use of expert advice when discussing policies. In some cases, organizations are able to attract research support on a voluntary basis from like-minded academics, giving them access to top experts in their area of operation.

Mexico

- Score 6 There has been a considerable increase in both the quantity and the sophistication of non-economic interest groups. Many talented graduates have found positions in NGOs and they are working to influence policy in Mexico. Several tertiary-education institutes (e.g., ITAM, Colmex) both teach and conduct public-policy research, and some are highly influential in the political sphere. Furthermore, there has been an increase in the number of national and international advocacy NGOs that, depending on the sector and the government in place, are also relevant in the agenda-setting process. Finally, the degree of movement of personnel between NGOs, think tanks and government is high compared to other OECD countries. Nevertheless, the capacity of most of these organizations to propose policy reforms in complex policy settings is rather restricted.

Poland

- Score 6 Poland has a number of interest associations beyond business associations and trade unions. However, compared to other countries, there are comparatively few environmental groups. Most non-governmental organizations are relatively small, and there are only a few interest associations that focus on – and are capable of – developing full-blown policy proposals. The Catholic Church, still the most influential interest group in Poland, pursues relatively narrow interests, and is largely preoccupied with stabilizing its influence within an increasingly secular society.

Romania

- Score 6 NGOs have significant analytical capacities, especially in areas such as environmental policy and social protection. However, many NGOs have been dependent on international financing. In early August 2013, Social Democratic Deputy Mihai-Bogdan Diaconu proposed legislation to amend Article 11 of Law 334/2006 on the financing of political parties, electoral campaigns and NGOs in such a way as to ban any type of international financing. The proposal attracted considerable criticism within the NGO sector and eventually was not passed.

Switzerland

- Score 6 Noneconomic interest groups are very heterogeneous in Switzerland. Some offer reasonable proposals.

Greece

Score 5

Greek civil society is relatively underdeveloped. A survey of the European Foundation for Working and Living Conditions, conducted in 2011, is telling enough: while on the average in the EU-27, more than 20% of citizens participated in voluntary activities, Greece (along with Portugal, Spain, Malta, Bulgaria and Romania), showed a much lower participation rate of between 10% and 15%. According to the Eurobarometer 2011 study, only 14% of Greeks participated regularly or occasionally in a voluntary activity. In this context, “voluntary activities” means unpaid work such as charity or communal work. Non-economic interest associations do not have the resources to become involved in policy formulation and the Greek state does not invite them to do so.

Among all social non-economic interest associations, environmental associations are most developed in Greece. The World Wildlife Fund claims that there are more 300 environmental groups in Greece, but their impact remains small, because policymakers prioritize other policy targets over enhancing environmental protection.

On the other hand, the Greek Orthodox Church plays a preponderant role in formulating ecclesiastical matters and (to some extent) matters of education. For instance, religion is a compulsory subject in all grades of primary school and high school. The Greek Orthodox Church enjoys a tailor-made taxation regime which allows it to sustain a large amount of property.

Citation:

Data from the survey of the European Foundation for Working and Living Conditions are available in the press release http://www.eurofound.europa.eu/pubd_ocs/2011/021/en/1/EF11021EN.pdf. Accessed on 04.06.2013. Data from the Eurobarometer survey are available in Figure QA15, page 7, available at http://www.europarl.europa.eu/pdf/eurobarometre/2011/juillet/04_07/rapport_port_%20eb75_2_%20benevolat_en.pdf. Accessed on 04.06.2013.

Data on Greek environmental associations are available at WWF's Greek language website

http://politics.wwf.gr/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=476&Itemid=384. Accessed on 04.06.2013.

The provisions of the Constitution of Greece on the Greek Orthodox Church can be found in article 3 of the Constitution.

Lithuania

Score 5

The capacity of nonacademic interest associations to formulate well-crafted and relevant policy proposals varies by group. Most lack skilled staff members and do not engage in cooperation with academic bodies or individual experts. Moreover, the lawmaking and regulatory impact assessment processes do not sufficiently ensure the participation of relevant stakeholders. Business interest groups tend to have stronger abilities to formulate policies than do social or environmental groups. The Lithuanian Catholic Church is an important player in Lithuanian politics, with its influence typically focused on a small number of policy issues. The Non-

Governmental Organizations' Information and Support Center facilitates cooperation between NGOs as they seek to represent their interests.

Turkey

Score 5

The number of non-economic civil-society organizations has increased in the last decade, indicating a growing degree of public engagement within many segments of Turkish society. There are several initiatives to promote the capacity of civil society in Turkey, yet due to financial and human resources issues, only a few leading, semi-professional associations are able to work and provide alternative proposals for social issues based on scholarly research. In general, interest groups have limited influence over government policy, despite their ability to communicate with the government through various channels. Moreover, the government has excluded opponents from participation in decision-making process, creating instead its own loyal civil-society groups such as TÜRGEV, a foundation led by President Erdoğan's son that has gained political influence. Religious orders and communities have extended their networks under the different names of solidarity associations.

Few of these groups, platforms or associations undertake advocacy locally or nationally by producing reports and organizing meetings. There is no legal mechanism to regulate relations between the public sector and civil society in the policymaking process.

Environmental pressure groups have increasingly demonstrated against dam and hydroelectric-energy projects throughout Turkey, but their protests are regularly suppressed by the security forces.

Citation:

TÜSEV, Kültür Politikaları Ekseninde Kamu-STK İlişkileri 2013, http://www.tusev.org.tr/usrfiles/images/Sivil_Toplum_Izleme_Raporu_2013_-_Kultur_Politikalari_Ekseninde_Kamu-STK_Iliskileri_Vaka_Analizi.pdf

TÜSEV, 2012-2013 Döneminde Gönüllülük Alanında Yaşanan Gelişmeler, <http://www.tusev.org.tr/usrfiles/images/GonullulukVakaAnalizi.23.07.14.pdf>

Police use rubber bullets against activists occupying Istanbul grove over tent row, 7 November 2014,

Charity NGO counting Turkish PM's son as board member received \$99,999,990 in donations: Deputy PM, 10 April 2014, <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/charity-ngo-counting-pms-son-as-board-member-received-99999990-in-donations-deputy-pm.aspx?pageID=238&nID=64844&NewsCatID=338>

Bulgaria

Score 4

The most active non-economic interest groups in Bulgaria are largely engaged in four fields: education (especially parents' associations), health (patients' organizations), minorities and the environment. While there are many associations and they often act in accord, they seem more activist than analytical in their efforts. Their proposals are rarely accompanied by attempts to encompass the relevant issues

fully, or to argue in favor of or against specific proposals on analytical grounds. The religious communities in Bulgaria have their channels of political influence, but are not broadly active in the public sphere. The Bulgarian Orthodox Church takes public positions only on rare occasions, as in the introduction of religious classes at school.

Cyprus

Score 4

The development of civil society is a recent phenomenon in Cyprus. The mobilization of environmental groups in the late 1980s, initially for specific causes, and later in pursuance of a comprehensive policy framework, served as one primary point of origin. Assisted by funding from European programs, new associations have emerged, undertaking studies and formulating proposals on issues pertaining to good governance (e.g., access to information) and other matters.

Since 2011, various groups have emerged with a focus on the political crisis and its associated economic and social problems. Their aim is to address these issues in a comprehensive manner. These young groups have thus far made proposals largely of a general nature, but have also addressed a few specific issues. The issues of hydrocarbon use, transparency in political finance, the electoral law and the country's response to the economic crisis are at the top of these groups' agenda. At this point in time, their appeal remains limited, and it is too early to assess the impact of their work.

The Church of Cyprus, one of the country's strongest institutions (financially as well as politically) continues to play an influential role in a number of policy areas, including education, the island's division, the exploitation of hydrocarbon resources, measures and policies related to the economic crisis, and problems facing the banking sector.

Citation:

1. On the Archbishop's public interventions, <http://cyprus-mail.com/2013/10/20/no-one-will-shut-me-up/>
2. On activities of the NGO Transparency Now, <http://cyprus-mail.com/2014/10/11/party-donations-in-focus/>

Japan

Score 4

Civil-society organizations with a public-policy focus are rare in Japan. Until 1998, it was very difficult to find such an organization and ensure a steady flow of membership contributions and/or donations. The Non-Profit Organization Law of 1998 made the incorporation of such bodies easier but many bureaucratic and financial challenges remain. With a few sectoral exceptions, the depth and breadth of such organizations in Japan thus remains limited. Japan also lacks a well-developed think-tank scene. It should also be noted that some non-profit organizations are used by the government bureaucracy as auxiliary mechanisms in areas where it cannot or does not want to become directly involved.

The incompetence of many state actors during the immediate aftermath of the 3/11 disasters has led to renewed calls for the development of civil-society mechanisms. High levels of engagement on the part of activists notwithstanding, it will be difficult for such actors to create professionally operating, sustainable organizations.

Citation:

Susanne Brucksch, Japan's Civil Society and its Fight against Nuclear Energy, Sustainable Governance Indicators Website, 09.04.2014, <http://news.sgi-network.org/news/details/1212/theme-democracy-sustainability/japan-civil-society-and-its-fight-against-nuclear-energy/>

Latvia

Score 4

A number of environmental interest groups have the capacity to propose concrete policy measures and provide capable analysis of policy effects, often in cooperation their international networks or academic bodies. Environmental organizations engage in structured policy dialogue with the relevant ministries, which supports sustained involvement in decision-making and has contributed to the further development of capacity.

Social interest groups are very diverse. However, most lack the capacity to propose concrete policy measures or analyze likely policy outcomes. While the government consults regularly with some social interest groups, such as the Pensioners' Federation, these groups do not produce high-quality policy analysis. Groups representing patients' rights or reproductive health interests are skilled at producing policy proposals, but most lack the resources to engage in sustained advocacy or policy development.

Religious communities have largely remained outside of the public policy process. The notable exception has been conservative groups advocating for "traditional Christian values." These groups have sought to limit LGBT and reproductive rights, and influence the school system. They have gained ground by changing their modus operandi from protest activities to active advocacy at the parliamentary level.

Portugal

Score 4

In the context of the economic crisis and of the bailout, there has been a reduction in the impact of other associations. On the one hand, Portugal's signing of the Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) with the EC-ECB-IMF Troika, which specified a very clear set of policy proposals, almost wholly shut civil-society movements with policy platforms out of the policymaking process. Additionally, the overwhelming focus on economic issues means that proposals by established groups focused on other issues now attract less visibility (e.g., the environmental group Quercus).

South Korea

- Score 4 The rise of civil society organizations has been one of the most important political trends in Korea during the last decade. Some of the largest NGOs, such as the Korean Federation for Environmental Movement, the Citizen Coalition for Economic Justice and the People's Solidarity for Participatory Democracy, have built up considerable competences in specialized fields, such as environmental policies, electoral reform and human rights. They provide reasonable policy proposals and are supported by a large group of academics and professionals. The majority of smaller NGOs remains focused on service provision and does not develop policy proposals. However, civil society and NGOs – especially those on the left of the center – had found it difficult to have any influence on decision-making under the Lee Myung-bak administration. The Park Geun-hye administration has co-opted only politically sympathetic NGOs.

Hungary

- Score 3 The analytical capacity of non-economic interest associations has suffered from the government's control of the sector. The National Civil Fund (NCA), a body in charge of monitoring and supporting civic organizations and NGOs, was taken over by the Orbán government and transformed into the National Cooperation Fund (NEA). As this new body has financed only associations loyal to the government, independent associations have struggled with a lack of funding. However, there are some small but very important NGOs with substantial policy expertise. One of these is the Ökotárs Foundation, which is sponsored by the Norwegian Civil Fund. The Orbán government's raid on Ökotárs in September 2014 triggered massive international protests, and has broadly been seen as an attempt to intimidate civic activists.

Citation:

The Norwegian Minister, Helgesen, Vidar (2014) Hungary's journey back into past, Financial Times, 29 August 2014, <http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/2234f99a-2942-11e4-8b81-00144feabdc0.html#axzz3Bko4IFrW>.

This country report is part of the Sustainable Governance Indicators 2015 project.

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