



# Parties and Interest Associations Report

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

## Sustainable Governance Indicators 2018

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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.

### United States

Score 9

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 is rarely referred to after the convention.

The occasion for intra-party democracy is therefore the nomination of party candidates for office. Party nominations are determined by primary elections and open caucuses conducted within each party in each state, thus putting these decisions directly in the hands of ordinary party members. The Republican primary elections in 2016 produced a presidential candidate, Donald Trump, who was viewed by leading Republican figures and nonpartisan commentators as unqualified and profoundly unfit for the office. The Trump nomination underscored the critical views of some scholars and other observers about the dangers of relying on ordinary party members to choose party nominees.

### 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 second biggest party currently in the parliament, the Danish People's Party and the new party The Alternative, 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 the previous liberal-conservative minority government (2009 to 2011) and the current three-party government, and has managed, in this way, to promote some of their core issues (e.g., elderly and immigration policy). Similarly, the Socialist People's Party for the first time became part of the government in 2011, although it had to leave the government in January 2014 because of internal disagreements over the policies pursued by the coalition.

The political parties have a membership structure and are democratic organizations. Parties have annual meetings where policies are determined and leaders elected. They are open to the press and covered widely.

The economic crisis has been a strong structural determinant of government policies in recent years, irrespective of political colors. Since the influx of immigrants and asylum-seekers in the summer of 2015, immigration policy has become one of the biggest issues in Danish politics. Currently, even the Social Democratic Party supports efforts to restrict immigration.

Citation:

Antal medlemmer i partigrupperne, <http://www.ft.dk/Folketinget/findMedlem/Mandatfordelingen.aspx> (accessed 10 October 2015)

Jørgen Grønnegård Christensen and Jørgen Elklit (eds.), *Det demokratiske system*. 4. udg., Chapter 3. Hans Reitzels Forlag, 2016.

Websites of the Danish political parties currently represented in the parliament (Folketinget) in order of representation after the June 2015 election:

The Social Democratic Party: [www.socialdemokratiet.dk](http://www.socialdemokratiet.dk)

The Danish People's Party: [www.danskfolkepart.dk](http://www.danskfolkepart.dk)

The Liberal Party: [www.venstre.dk](http://www.venstre.dk)

The Unity List: [www.enhedslisten.dk](http://www.enhedslisten.dk)

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

The Alternative: <http://alternativet.dk/>

The Social Liberal Party: [www.radikale.dk](http://www.radikale.dk)

The Socialist People's Party: [www.sf.dk](http://www.sf.dk)

The Conservative Party: [www.konservative.dk](http://www.konservative.dk)

## Finland

Score 8

At the time of writing, three major parties hold seats in the Finnish parliament (Eduskunta). Although empirical research on intra-party democracy has so far

mainly dealt with the Center Party (Kesk), there is little doubt that the findings of this research can be assumed to apply to the other 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, subnational organizational units, national policy functions are decided by career politicians who constitute the party elite. This dualism places power in the hands of party elites, and most particularly the party chairs. 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 participates in party meetings only indirectly by helping to elect delegates.

Citation:

Karina Jutila, "Yksillä säännöillä, kaksilla korteilla", Dissertation, University of Tampere, 2003; Rauli Mickelsson, "Suomen puolueet. Historia, muutos ja nykypäivä", Tampere: Vastapaino, 2007; Vesa J. Koskimaa, Intra-Party Power: The Ascendancy of Parties' Public "Face", in Lauri Karvonen, Heikki Paloheimo and Tapio Raunio, eds. The Changing Balance of Political Power in Finland, Stockholm: Santérus Förlag.

## 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, sometimes called the Gang of Four. 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 members of parliament 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. Most parties have a tradition of primary elections in which only party members have the right to vote. For example, in the case of the Social Democrats, a signed declaration of support is required, rather than the stricter and more common requirement of party membership. The Progressive Party has 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. The recently established party Bright Future (Björt Framtíð), which won six seats in 2013, four in 2016 and zero in 2017, did not nominate candidates by primary elections before the 2016 election, but thereafter developed its procedures for internal decision-making. Regeneration (Viðreisn), a liberal party founded in 2016, also does not hold primary elections. The Pirate Party (Píratapartíið), which won three seats in 2013, 10 in 2016 and seven in 2017, was the largest party according to opinion polls from 2015 onward. The party held electronic primary elections in every constituency in autumn 2016. Further, the

Pirate Party uses internet platforms to conduct open debates on many policy issues. Due to the limited time for election campaigning in 2016, the traditional parties skipped primary elections in some constituencies and used alternative nomination methods within the party organization. The time factor was even more important in the very sudden parliamentary elections held on 28 October 2017. After the cabinet coalition breakup of 15 September 2017, there was little time for selection procedures. Therefore, all parties except the Pirate Party used the most effective nomination method – to just propose lists and put the decisions in the hands of the constituency congresses. Meanwhile, the Pirate Party held electronic pre-elections countrywide.

## Luxembourg

### Score 8

Inner-party democracy has different levels of intensity within the four major political parties Christian Social People's (CSV), Democratic Party (DP), Luxembourg Socialist Workers' Party (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 dialog and moving toward a grassroots democracy and has called for a new culture of participation. The CSV adopted new internal governance statutes in December 2015.

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 a board of directors ("Comité directeur"), which makes most of the crucial decisions. Déi Gréng recently avowed a clear commitment to its grassroots movement, a principle 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:

"CSV vows fresh start for new year." Luxemburger Wort, 9 Jan. 2015, [www.wort.lu/en/politics/winning-back-support-csv-vows-fresh-start-for-new-year-54af81ab0c88b46a8ce50ff3](http://www.wort.lu/en/politics/winning-back-support-csv-vows-fresh-start-for-new-year-54af81ab0c88b46a8ce50ff3). Accessed 21 Feb. 2017.

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Stoldt, Jürgen. "Welche Zukunft für die Volksparteien?" Forum.lu, Feb. 2015, [www.forum.lu/pdf/artikel/8035\\_348\\_Stoldt.pdf](http://www.forum.lu/pdf/artikel/8035_348_Stoldt.pdf). Accessed 21 Feb. 2017.

"Wir brauchen den politischen Wechsel." Luxemburger Wort, 15 Avril 2017, [www.e-paper.wort.lu/eweb/spl/2017/04/15/w/2/1238019/?q=Dr%C3%A4ikinnegrupp](http://www.e-paper.wort.lu/eweb/spl/2017/04/15/w/2/1238019/?q=Dr%C3%A4ikinnegrupp). Accessed 21 Dec. 2017.

## Norway

**Score 8** All political parties give special preference to their members in terms of internal decision-making. Party manifestos are approved at annual party meetings, while regional party meetings nominate their constituency's electoral candidates. Non-party members can be nominated as electoral candidates, but this is rare and happens mostly in small municipalities in local elections. In most parties, attempts are made to anchor major policy agendas in the views of party members and party representatives. Although there is some variation, membership in political parties has been in a decline for some time. Recently, a few new initiatives were launched by party leaders, without prior consultation within the party membership. Concerns have recently been raised about structural biases in nomination processes that favor active party members' preferences over those of average voters who rarely have or take the time to become active in political nomination processes. Some political parties have therefore begun experimenting with new modes of nominating and picking candidates.

## 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.

## Canada

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

In April 2013, the Liberal Party of Canada elected Justin Trudeau as their new leader, 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. The Liberal Party currently forms the Canadian government, with Justin Trudeau as prime minister. How inclusive his leadership style is remains to be seen, although he promised a "return to government by cabinet."

Until his resignation in the aftermath of the October 2015 election, the Conservative Party was tightly controlled by party leader and then Prime Minister Stephen Harper. Decisions on policy and electoral strategy were generally made by a small number of senior officials close to him. While grassroots views and resolutions passed at party conventions provide input into the decisions of the elite, they are not binding. For example, many Conservative party members would like measures taken to restrict abortion, but Stephen Harper refused to act on this for fear of alienating the general public, which is content with the status quo on the issue. The Conservative Party of Canada chose Andrew Scheer, former Speaker of the House of Commons, as the new party leader in May 2017.

Unlike the Conservatives or the Liberal Party of Canada, the New Democratic Party 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. In the October 2015 election, the New Democratic Party under Thomas Mulcair finished third and no longer form an official opposition. A wide range of views were expressed at a recent New Democratic Party policy conference, but all policy resolutions passed at the conference were non-binding on the party leadership.

At the October 2017 convention, Jagmeet Singh won the leadership on the first ballot with 53.8% of the vote. Singh is the first person with an ethnic minority background to be elected leader of a federal party.

Given their short time in office, it is too soon to evaluate either Scheer or Singh's leadership styles. Time will tell if they deviate from current party practice.

## Greece

### Score 7

Large parties, such as New Democracy and Syriza, continue to suffer from intense factionalism and heavy-handed control of lists of candidates and agendas of issues by the party leadership. New Democracy under its new leader has made some efforts to encourage supporters to participate in defining the party agenda. Nevertheless, major decisions are still made by the leader and a close group of advisers. These

phenomena are extremely pronounced in small parties, such as the traditional Communist Party (KKE) and the nationalist far-right 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.

Nevertheless, in the period under review, the leadership of New Democracy and Syriza summoned their parliamentary groups and other party organs, such as the Central Committee, to discuss the party's line on major issues. Moreover, the parties of the center and the center-left, namely PASOK and Potami, along with smaller parties, decided to merge in November 2017. Thus, they were to an extent able to partly revive intra-party life. To sum up, there has been improvement with respect to the inclusiveness and openness of the major parties.

## Israel

### Score 7

The eleven parties with Knesset seats following the 2015 elections demonstrate varying levels of intra-party democracy. The Israel Democracy Institute (IDI) has issued a Party Democracy Index, a mechanism that allows voters to evaluate the degree of internal democracy practiced by political parties. In this assessment on the eve of 2015 elections, the long-standing rightist Likud party and the Labor party were ranked top. In fact, the three topmost parties, Likud, Labor and the Arab Joint List (AJL), showed above average of intra-party democracy. However, other parties demonstrated very low intra-party democracy, especially ultra-orthodox parties and right-wing parties. New parties, mostly centrist parties, such as Yesh Atid (YA), Kulanu and Hatnua displayed middling intra-party democracy scores. In 2016, a bill was presented in the Knesset calling for financial benefits for parties that select their leaders using primary elections. As of the time of writing, the bill had been approved in a preliminary Knesset committee, and was being prepared for approval.

The Likud, Labor and the Jewish Home (JH) parties all choose their candidates through primary elections. In this internal election process, registered party members are given the right to choose Knesset candidates. The parties that use this method require a minimum membership duration in order to vote in the primary. The Labor, Likud and JH parties also have elective representative institutions that take part in decision-making processes such as the selection of the parties' representatives in the government, votes on whether their parties will join or leave a governing coalition, and debates over policy stances.

In other parties such as the YA party, the Kulano party and the Israel Beytenu party, some consultation with party members is conducted, but important decisions are made by top ranking members. For example, according to the YA party's regulations, the party's leader and founder will remain leader until the end of the 20th Knesset. Moreover, in both parties, the regulations authorize the party's leader to decide on most important personnel issues, such as the list of electoral candidates.

These figures also hold considerable power within the party's institutions, thus retaining significant influence over policy decisions.

The exceptions are nondemocratic parties such as Agudat Israel, Degel Hatora, Shas and Ra'am. While the former three are ultra-orthodox parties, the latter is an Arab party (it ran in the 2015 election in alliance with Hadash, Balad and the United Arab list).

Citation:

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

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

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

"The Kulanu Party Regulation: Wide authority to the Chairman, Will decide on his own if to join the coalition." Haaretz Newspaper website: <http://www.haaretz.co.il/news/elections/.premium-1.2510097> (Hebrew)

"The Party Democracy Index," Israel Democracy Institute, 2015. <http://www.idi.org.il>

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

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Zarhia, Zvi, "Financial Aid to Politicians" The Marker, 16.7.2017, <https://www.themarker.com/news/politics/1.4258803>

## 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 Social Democratic Party of Lithuania, 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 party whose leader is directly elected by all party members. In 2017, members of the Social Democratic Party of Lithuania directly elected the party's chair for the first time in the party's history. Gintautas Paluckas, the young deputy mayor of Vilnius, won the party election and started the process of renewing the party elite. Between 2001 and 2015, the party was dominated by members over the age of 50. As a result of Paluckas' victory, the party leadership decided to split from the ruling coalition led by the Lithuanian Farmers and Greens Union. Though most of the party's members of parliament continued to support the Skvernelis government.

Some other political parties are primarily used as a platform for their leaders to express their own political interests. Following the success of non-party candidates in the 2015 municipal elections, the Lithuanian Farmers and Greens Union brought

together a group of non-party candidates for the 2016 parliamentary elections. Many of these candidates, campaigning as a movement rather than a political party, won against candidates of established political parties. Many of Prime Minister Skvernelis' parliamentary faction and government ministers are not party members.

Citation:

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

G. Žvaliauskas, *Lietuvos socialdemokratų partijos elito kaita 2001–2015 m. laikotarpiu, Viešojo politika ir administravimas*, 2017, T. 16, Nr. 1, p. 52-67.

## Cyprus

Score 6

The opening witnessed in the 1990s and early 2000s that extended powers to party members and their friends has suffering a backlash in recent years. Attempts to reach “consensus” and other practices cancel or limit the exercise of these rights. In 2016, political expediency or party alliances guided the selection of mayoral candidates. Similarly, the nomination of presidential candidates for the January 2018 election was almost exclusively left to the top bodies of the political parties. These phenomena undermined the powers of grassroots party bodies and members.

The Democratic Rally (Δημοκρατικός Συναγερμός, DISY) sought in recent years to avoid internal procedures. In both intra-party and public-office elections, “Consensus” or the proposals of “strong” candidates were sometimes chosen instead of following the procedures set out in the party's statutes. The selection of the presidential candidate for 2018 was merely a formal approval of the announced candidacy of the incumbent president. DISY's electoral programs are drafted and approved by its governing bodies, with its program choices built upon opinion surveys and the advice of communications consultants. The party's leader follows a highly centralized and personal management approach.

The Progressive Party of the Working People (Ανορθωτικό Κόμμα Εργαζομένου Λαού, AKEL) adheres to the principle of democratic centralism, with nomination and selection rights given to party members and friends. The whole process, however, lacks transparency. The party congress (1,200 to 1,400 party cadres nominated by party cells), elects the CC (105 members), which in turn elect the secretary-general. AKEL's presidential candidate is selected by votes cast by party cells, though it is the CC that delivers the nomination. Electoral programs are approved by the party's governing bodies.

The Democratic Party (Δημοκρατικό Κόμμα, DIKO) applies a direct vote for its leadership. However, the CC (150 members) nominates all party candidates including the presidential candidate. The CC also approves the electoral program.

Thus, despite adoption of democratic practices, leaderships attempt to keep decisions as much as possible to central bodies or the leader.

## France

Score 6

Parties are usually both centralized and organized hierarchically. There are few registered fee-paying 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 those cases, both registered activists and voters sympathetic to the party are eligible to participate. Actually, this "opening" of the process contributes to a further weakening of the parties which are already very feeble organizations. The strong participation in the primaries (up to 4.4 million in the case of the conservatives, a multiple of the number of registered members) is a form of citizen participation in a crucial political party decision, which can be seen as a positive sign for open and democratic legitimation of the party's choice. However, in spite of this apparent success, the primaries in France have confirmed the American experience: they are the most efficient instruments for weakening and destroying political parties. The socialist and conservative primaries have been profitable to the most radical candidates in both cases, deserting the moderate political space and thus permitting the landslide success of the centrist Macron. As a result, the traditional parties of government are deeply divided and weakened. Five years will not be too much for these parties to attempt to reconstruct themselves. As for the new movement of the new president, *La République en Marche*, it remains purely a product of and for Macron. *La République en Marche* has not yet been able to transform itself into a movement capable of playing a proper role in decision-making, and mediation between citizens and government.

## Germany

Score 6

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 policy decisions took place. The parties retain traditional hierarchical decision-making processes and candidate-election procedures. Particularly important policy challenges have led to fierce debates within the SPD (e.g., TTIP negotiations) and the CDU/CSU (e.g., refugee policy). However,

party members have had little direct influence in these debates. Decision-making is limited to representatives at the party congresses and firmly controlled by party elites.

On 19 March 2017, the SPD elected Martin Schulz as its new chairman in a federal party convention in Berlin. The former chairman, Sigmar Gabriel, withdrew as the party's front-runner and recommended Schulz who was elected as the new chairman and top candidate of the SPD for the upcoming elections (with 100% approval). However, the decision was made in the top ranks of the party and then approved by the party's membership.

## Spain

### Score 6

After the two general elections in a row held in 2015 and 2016, Spain's political landscape (a predominantly two-party system from 1982 to 2014) had expanded to include four major parties with more than 10% of the popular vote at the national level: the mainstream center-right party Partido Popular (PP), the social-democratic Spanish Socialist Workers Party (Partido Socialista Obrero Español, PSOE), the new left-wing anti-establishment party Podemos (We Can) and the new center party Ciudadanos (Citizens).

The PP, in office since December 2011, is characterized by its 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 nomination of Mariano Rajoy as the candidate for prime minister without any direct participation by party members and despite several polls showed that more than half of the PP's voters preferred a different candidate. 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. Actually, despite the PP announced that its next party conference (to be held in 2017) would introduce primary elections for the selection of representative candidates, it withdrew this idea later. The PSOE, which is the major opposition party, 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 Catalan 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. Its leader Pedro Sánchez was endorsed as the party's candidate for prime minister in late 2015 and mid-2016 with no rival contender, and thus no need to organize primaries. However, following its poor 2016 election results, the party was embroiled in internal battles to force his resignation as secretary-general. After interim leadership beginning in October 2016, Pedro Sánchez again became

secretary-general in June 2017. Shortly after reassuming leadership he demanded an internal reform of the party, with the objective of including more participatory mechanisms for party members.

Finally, both Podemos and Ciudadanos present themselves as more internally democratic than the PP and the PSOE, insofar as they formally allow all party members and supporters to participate in personnel and program decisions. However, despite the rhetoric in these two new parties, closed party leaderships were able to fully control the most important decisions in 2016, including the appointment of their charismatic leaders (Pablo Iglesias and Albert Rivera, respectively) to serve as prime-ministerial candidates.

Citation:

Rodon T. and M.J. Hierro. 2016. "Podemos and Ciudadanos Shake up the Spanish Party System", *South European Society and Politics*.

Noviembre 2016, La Razón: "El PP no aprobará «primarias» en su Congreso

<http://www.larazon.es/esp/ana/el-pp-no-aprobara-primarias-en-su-congreso-AJ13928967>

## Switzerland

### Score 6

Party decisions and party lists are formally produced at conventions of party members or delegates. 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.

## United Kingdom

### Score 6

A distinction needs to be made for all major parties between the election of the leader, on which party members 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 parliamentary and local council candidates 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 have the most significant 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 candidate selection 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, this requirement was relaxed. After the general election, selection rules reverted to the post-2005 procedure. The party leader is elected by a poll of all party members, who choose from a shortlist of two candidates nominated by Conservative Party MPs.

The Labour Party also restricts decision-making to party members, although trade union influence remains strong. In most cases, a number of selected delegates participate in important personnel and issue decisions. Central party influence over local candidate selection has varied. Since 1988, there has had to be at least one woman on every shortlist. Since 2001, candidates require the approval of the central party’s head office prior to selection by their respective constituency Labour Party. Some political allies of the current leader, Jeremy Corbyn, favor a return to mandatory reselection, which would increase the influence of the left-wing within the party and is therefore highly contested. The Labour Party’s selection process for party leader was changed prior to the election of Jeremy Corbyn. Previously the old electoral college voted for the party leader. The college consisted of the Parliamentary Labour Party, constituency Labour parties, and the trade unions and affiliated organizations. Each group had one-third of the total vote. Since the procedural change, the choice is now based on a “one member, one vote” system. In addition, “registered supporters” can pay £3 to be entitled to vote as well. The winning candidate must secure at least 50% of the vote. Consequently, the election process can take several rounds, as the candidate with the fewest votes after each round drops out, and their second preferences are redistributed to the remaining candidates, until the winning candidate has reached the required quorum. However, Corbyn won more than 50% of the vote in the first round. While the new procedure massively increased party membership and participation in the leadership election, the distribution of indicated preferences between party members, members of affiliated organizations and registered supporters varies considerably. Registered supporters appear to be much further to the left of party members or members of affiliated organizations. Furthermore, in the wake of the Brexit referendum result and accusations that Corbyn had not campaigned effectively enough for “remain,” Corbyn’s leadership of the Labour Party was challenged. Though in a repetition of the previous Labour Party leadership election, the election resulted in another clear victory for Corbyn. However, this raised questions about the representativeness of the newly enlarged membership and its effect on party leadership elections. Nevertheless, after Labour surprisingly managed to win 40% in the 2017 general election (only 2.4 percentage points less than the Conservatives) and thereby discredit the claim it had become widely unelectable after the change in leadership, Jeremy Corbyn has stabilized his control of the party.

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.

The populist UK Independence Party (UKIP) also limits its leadership election to party members. UKIP had difficulties choosing a successor to their long-time leader Nigel Farage, with the first elected successor resigning after just 18 days. Nigel Farage followed as interim leader again until the election of Paul Nuttall who in turn resigned after UKIP lost poorly in the snap general election of 2017. His successor is Henry Bolton who, however, only received 29.9% of members' votes in the leadership election.

## 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 the federal elections held in May 2014: the New Flemish Alliance (N-VA) obtained 20.3% of the vote; the French Socialists, whose then-leader Elio Di Rupo was the prime minister in the previous government, obtained 11.7% of the votes; and the Flemish Christian Democrats obtained 11.6% of the vote.

All the other parties obtained less than 10% of the vote at the national level. However, this observation must be qualified by the fact that each party runs only in its own district, mainly Flanders and Brussels for Flemish parties, or Wallonia and Brussels for French-speaking parties. Hence, the percentage totals in the relevant regions were much higher. This is evident in the vote totals for the regional parliaments, which were elected on the same day. In Wallonia, the left-wing socialists, the right-wing liberals and the Christian Democrats respectively obtained 31%, 27% and 15% of the vote. In Flanders, the New Flemish Alliance, the Christian Democrats, the Liberals and the Socialists respectively obtained 32%, 21%, 14% and 14% of the vote.

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

## 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 an annual congress at which delegates elect the party leader and other governing bodies. One such body 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 ministerial candidates when the party is part of a coalition government. Another important decision-making body is the council, which manages the party when the general assembly is not in session. The council is comprised of board members and elected representatives from the various 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 the council's responsibility to compose and agree upon the lists of candidates for general and European Parliament elections. Local political-party organizations compose electoral lists for municipal elections.

## 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 2016 general election, the vote shares received by the four largest parties were: Fine Gael 25.5%, Fianna Fáil 24.3%, Sinn Féin 13.8% and the Labour Party 6.6%. Smaller parties and independent candidates won around 30% of the votes.

Specific party procedures for selecting party leaders and presidential candidates are detailed below. However, all the main parties now use a one member one voting system, meaning that each party member can vote once for the party candidate in their constituency. As such, party members are important gatekeepers to the selection of parliamentary candidates.

Fine Gael:

The party leader is selected by an electoral college comprising: (1) the Fine Gael

Parliamentary Party – weighting 65%, (2) ordinary Fine Gael members – 25% weighting, and (3) Fine Gael local representatives comprising city and county councilors and members of Udaras na Gaeltachta – weighting 10%. On 2 June 2017, Leo Varadkar beat Simon Coveney to become the new leader of Fine Gael. He was appointed taoiseach by President Higgins following a vote in Dail Eireann on 14 June 2017.

#### Fianna Fáil:

The party has a pyramidal structure based on the local branches (cumainn). There are approximately 3,000 of these across the country. The party leader is elected by an electoral college comprising: (1) ordinary members – weighting 45%, Dail deputies – 40% weighting, and (3) other elected representatives – weighting 15%. Before the establishment of this electoral college, Micheal Martin was elected as leader of Fianna Fail on 26 January 2011, in an election in which only TDs (MPs) who were members of the Fianna Fail party were eligible to vote.

#### The Labour Party:

After a heavy electoral defeat in the 2016 General Election, Brendan Howlin was elected unopposed as leader of the Labour Party. No one within the parliamentary party was prepared to second the nomination of the alternative candidate, Alan Kelly.

#### Sinn Féin:

The president of Sinn Féin has held office since 1983 but will resign in 2018. The party will elect his replacement in the first half of 2018. Since the party entered politics 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.

## Italy

### Score 5

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 subnational levels were recurrently aired but have always been stopped by Berlusconi. With the decline of Berlusconi, the party is largely in disarray. 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 anyone 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 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 and veto 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. Discussions about regulating the internal dynamics of political parties are recurrent, but have not been implemented.

## 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 (Saskaņas 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. In early 2017, a group of disgruntled Vienotība members of parliament left Vienotība and joined an effort to establish a new party in advance of the 2018 elections. Vienotība has experienced upheaval, with a change in party leadership, several high-ranking party leaders either quitting the party or being expelled. The former chair of the party, Solvita Aboltina, has been expelled from the party, but remains in parliament and is still chairing the Vienotība faction in parliament. The Vienotība faction currently contains only a minority of Vienotība party members due to defections and

expulsions. The prognosis for the parliamentary faction's future ability to formulate joint positions is weak.

The Union of Greens and Farmers (*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.

Two previously independent parties merged to form the National Union (*Nacionālā 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. Both parties have actively used their parliamentary presence to enhance their visibility, but their intra-party decision-making mechanisms remain opaque. Both parties have experienced defections of visible parliamentarians.

## Malta

### Score 5

Political parties are increasingly coming under pressure to consult beyond party membership. This shift has been driven by voter volatility, with voters less constrained by party loyalties. Recently, the Nationalist Party (PN) decided to open to its members the second phase of voting for the party's leaders. However, these members are only allowed to vote after party delegates have made an initial choice from among the contenders. The result has been the election of a new leader who does not have the support of a number of the old stalwarts of the party. The Labor Party is presently utilizing a top-down approach in the selection of its deputy leaders. In selecting their agenda, the parties do now consult more widely with civil society. This explains the Labor Party's reference to itself as a movement, since it has succeeded in bringing together groups from various identities. This is an approach the Nationalist Party is also attempting to adopt.

Citation:

Are political parties becoming irrelevant? Malta Today 09/02/16

Replacing political parties. Times of Malta 01/01/18

## Poland

### Score 5

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. The conservative Law and Justice Party (PiS), led by Jarosław Kaczyński since 2003, and the Polish People's Party (PSL) have been characterized by a hierarchical mode of organization. By contrast, the Civic Platform (PO) has often experienced intra-party controversies. Since January 2016 and the party's reorganization following its defeat in the parliamentary elections of 2015, Grzegorz Schetyna, former foreign minister in the Kopacz government, has led the party. In order to stimulate internal discussions and to increase a network also outside party membership, PO launched so-called citizens' clubs that convene all over Poland. The other strong opposition party, Nowoczesna, does have democratic internal structures but is more fixed around its leader, Ryszard Petru.

## Portugal

### Score 5

A total of seven parties, running in five lists, won seats in the parliamentary elections held on 4 October 2015. These included the Social Democratic Party (Partido Social Democrata, PSD) and Democratic and Social Center/Popular Party (CDS-Partido Popular, CDS-PP), which ran together as the Portugal Ahead (Portugal à Frente, PAF) alliance. This won 38.5% of the vote and 107 seats, of which 89 were allocated to the PSD and 18 to the CDS-PP. The Socialist Party (Partido Socialista, PS) received 32.4% of the vote, and 86 seats. The Left Bloc (Bloco de Esquerda, BE) won 10.2% and 19 seats. The Unitarian Democratic Coalition (Coligação Democrática Unitária, CDU), which included the Portuguese Communist Party (Partido Comunista Português, PCP) and the Ecologist Party (Partido Ecologista "Os Verdes," PEV) took 8.3% of the vote and 17 seats, which resulted in 15 for the PCP and two for the PEV. Finally, the People-Animals-Nature party (Pessoas-Animais-Natureza, PAN) won 1.4% and one seat.

Of these seven parties, only three gained more than 10% of the vote in the 4 October 2015 legislative elections: the PSD, the PS and the BE.

Both the PS and PSD hold direct elections of their party leadership by party members and have congresses whose delegates are also elected by party members. However, regarding policy issues and candidates other than the party leader, the 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 January 2015, the PS approved new statutes that would allow primary elections to choose political candidates and would let registered party sympathizers (not just members) to vote to choose the party leader. While current party leader António Costa gained the party leadership because of a primary election, this technique was not used to select candidates for the 2015 legislative elections, nor was it used for the 2016 party leadership election in May 2016, where Costa ran unopposed. The latter election reverted to the direct election model previously noted.

The BE elects delegates that convene at the party's national convention to elect an 80-member national committee called "Mesa Nacional," which is elected proportionally. The Mesa Nacional then votes for the party's 21-member Political Commission. In its tenth convention, held in June 2016, the party changed its statutes slightly, albeit the change does not significantly alter the degree of internal democracy. Due to this change, it is now up to the Political Commission to elect a seven-member Secretariat. Until the ninth party convention held in November 2014, the BE had two national coordinators within the permanent commission. After this convention, the party returned to the model of a single coordinator, in this case Catarina Martins (the only female party leader among Portugal's main parties), who retained her position in the tenth convention. Within the BE, internal factions tend to be more ideological than in other parties (as the run-up to both the ninth and tenth conventions illustrated). To some extent, this reflects the different parties that came together to form the BE in the late 1990s. It would also appear that party members have more interest and participation in policy choices, though there the number of active party members is small, meaning that the rank-and-file is relatively close to the party leadership. For instance, just 2,653 party members voted to elect the 617 delegates to the ninth convention, producing a ratio of rank-and-file members to delegates of approximately 4:1.

While only these three parties met the 10% criteria in recent legislative elections, two other parties are potentially relevant within Portugal's political landscape: the Portuguese Communist Party (Partido Comunista Português, PCP) and the CDS-PP. These are also marked by a high degree of centralization in their national-level internal decision-making. The former abides by the rules of democratic centralism. The latter is characterized by a small rank-and-file base.

## South Korea

### Score 5

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 2015, both the governing and opposition parties decided to introduce an open-primary system to pick congressional candidates. This was expected to provide new challengers with a fairer and more transparent environment. However, in reality, "strategic" party nominations still played a strong

role in both parties' candidate selections during the 2016 parliamentary elections. For example, the governing party conspicuously favored candidates who supported former President Park. Parties have also introduced other nomination mechanisms such as the use of opinion polls. During the selection process for presidential candidates in 2017, different parties adopted different nomination processes, ranging from open primaries (Democratic Party), a mixture of opinion polls and party delegates (Liberty Party), a mixture of open primaries and opinion polls (People's Party), and a direct vote by party members (Justice Party). In this sense, voters had the choice not just between different candidates, but also between different selection systems. While the selection of presidential candidates is becoming more democratic, issue-oriented participation by normal citizens remains somewhat anemic and party organizations remain weak.

## 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 Liberal-National coalition has traditionally had a more open and inclusive process for determining leadership than the Labor Party, which is dominated by factions to which most members are beholden. These factions are regularly criticized for making opaque decisions and for contributing to a lack of decision-making transparency. In response, the process for selecting the Labor Party leader was altered in 2013, giving 50% of the votes to the wider party membership, with the remaining 50% staying with elected members and senators.

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

Citation:

<http://www.smh.com.au/comment/malcolm-turnbulls-downfall-was-that-he-wasnt-allowed-to-lead-20160705-gpyrmc.html>

## Austria

Score 4

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, the parties were down to a combined total of about 50%. In 2017, the combined total of both parties again rose to more than 58%.

For decades, the right-wing ("populist") Freedom Party (Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs, FPÖ), the center-left Greens, and the liberal New Austria and Liberal Forum (NEOS) as well as a variety of newer parties, sometimes with very short political life expectancies, have been the beneficiaries. In 2017, this changed significantly, as the Greens failed to cross the 4% threshold and the FPÖ won a substantial share of the vote (26%). A party led by some green dissidents (Liste Pilz) succeeded in getting into parliament.

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.

In preparation for the 2017 general elections, the ÖVP changed its traditional procedure for nominating candidates. The party has transferred all authority for the nomination process to one person, the party's candidate for the Chancellor's Office, Sebastian Kurz. This must be seen as a significant decline in intra-party democracy. In contrast to the ÖVP, the other parties have followed their traditional procedures, ensuring that the different intra-party interests continue to be represented.

## Bulgaria

### Score 4

In the 2017 parliamentary election only two parties gained more than 10% of the popular vote – Prime Minister Borissov's Citizens for European Development of Bulgaria (GERB) and the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP). The BSP traditionally campaigns in elections as part of a formal coalition of parties, although the BSP is by far the largest carrier of votes within the coalition. The Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS) was close with 9.2% of votes. The United Patriots coalition also obtained more than 9%, but consists of three parties that are relatively equal in terms of voter strength and cannot be considered as a single entity.

The BSP is a relatively democratic party with authentic internal opposition, and clear opportunities for different factions to influence party discussions and agenda, even though the faction around the party chair usually prevails. Electoral platforms and candidate lists are prepared in a relatively centralized manner, but local party organizations do have an input and the party has several factions that vie for influence over the party's central decision-making institution.

GERB and DPS are leader-dominated parties, as are at least two of the three parties forming the United Patriots coalition. Regardless of the internal democratic

mechanisms envisaged in their statutes, most decisions are concentrated in the hands of the party leader and a few members around the party leader. 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 DPS make its decision-making process opaque and highly concentrated.

## Chile

Score 4

Chile has a presidential governmental system. As the president determines the government's policy agenda, presidential elections are much more relevant in terms of policy direction than are congressional ballots. Therefore, in campaigns for the presidency, government programs are presented by the presidential candidates and not by their coalitions or parties. These global program proposals tend to be limited to descriptions of policies' intended public effects rather than technical details or any detailed discussion of content. The primary elections (primarias) for the 2013 and 2017 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, members do not regularly participate in party activities and the party leadership maintains considerable control over selection procedures and debates. In the HDZ (Croatian Democratic Union), no internal elections took place until April 2016. While the party's chairman has been elected directly by party members ever since, the latter have not had the chance to choose between different candidates. The SDP (Social Democratic Party) is somewhat more open to internal debates but does not tolerate the existence of open political blocs. MOST held its first intra-party elections in January 2017, more than one year after having been catapulted into parliament.

## Czech Republic

Score 4

Since the 2013 parliamentary elections, two political parties dominate Czech politics: the Czech Social Democratic Party (Česká strana sociálně demokratická, ČSSD) and the Movement of Dissatisfied Citizens (ANO party). The Communist Party (Komunistická strana Čech a Moravy, KSČM) has remained consistently in opposition, joined in 2013 by the vocal TOP09 (Tradice Odpovědnost Prosperita 09, TOP09). The Civic Democratic Party (Občanská demokratická strana, ODS) struggled to find a new face after its massive electoral loss of power. The radical right party Freedom and Direct Democracy was very vocal, especially in its anti-

refugee agenda. It does not report on internal democratic structures or discussions. Apart from this and ANO, each of the party's internal party structure, 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 the expression of political differences. Ordinary members can raise their voice by commenting on party blogs and leadership usually establish some advisory committees with broader membership, but direct involvement from rank-and-file members is typically limited. ANO differs in that it is dominated by one person. The billionaire founder Andrej Babiš was reelected chair at the party's congress in February 2017 (by 95% votes) and has dominated the party in a similar way to his control over businesses that he owns. Babiš lent the ANO party a large sum of money and his company Agrofert provides ANO accounting and PR services. In 2017, ANO changed its internal party rules and further strengthened the role of Babiš by giving him the right to intervene in the selection and ranking of party candidates.

Bustikova, L., Guasti, P. , forthcoming: The State as a Firm: Understanding the Autocratic Roots of Technocratic Populism, in: East European Politics and Societies.

## Hungary

Score 4

Intra-party democracy has been a rarity in Hungary. Although regulations for electing party leaders and for establishing candidacies for national, regional and local elections are formally in place, they do not play a dominant role in intra-party democracy. In the two most popular parties at the moment, Fidesz and Jobbik, the president of party is almost almighty. Fidesz is completely controlled by its president, and by pushing the transformation of Jobbik to become a moderate party forcefully, Gábor Vona has also become the strong leader. Among the left parties, MSZP (Hungarian Socialist Party) and Együtt (Together) are democratically organized and have a weak leadership, whereas DK (Demokratikus Koalíció) is dominated by former Prime Minister Ferenc Gyurcsány. Politics Can Be Different (LMP) and P (Párbeszéd) show a reasonable degree of intra-party democracy which reflects their origins as social movements.

## Mexico

Score 4

In terms of candidate selection, it is normal for the presidential candidate for each of the major parties to participate in some kind of primary election. Unusually, in 2012, the Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD) agreed to choose its candidate according to the contender with the most support in the polls. 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, practices vary between parties. The Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), currently the governing party, tends to be rather secretive and hierarchical, and Morena – the current most relevant left-wing opposition party – tends to be heavily reliant on the personality of its leadership.

The National Action Party 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.

In terms of candidates to both chambers of Congress, all parties are dominated by a leadership elite which makes all relevant decisions. They can operate in this exclusionary way because they are in control of the delegates' votes. When the candidate lists are chosen, delegates will vote as their respective leaders indicate.

## Netherlands

Score 4

The dominant political view is that government interference in private organizations like political parties is incompatible with the role of the state in a liberal democracy. A law for internal party democracy is appropriate for countries with a history of non-democratic governance (e.g., Germany, some states in southern Europe, and in central and eastern Europe). However, in the Netherlands with its strong democratic tradition, it is considered superfluous.

Political party membership reached an all-time low of 285,851 (less than 3% of the electorate). Approximately 10% of this group is considered active. In all recent major political parties, political professionals now dominate decision-making with regard to candidate lists and agendas, and the selection of party leaders.

Citation:

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

Montesquieu Instituut, *Er moet in Nederland, net als in Duitsland, een 'Parteiengesetz' komen*, december 2012 (montesquieu-instituut.nl)

Gezamenlijk ledenaantal politieke partijen naar dieptepunt, Documentatiecentrum Nederlandse Politieke Partijen, 2016

## New Zealand

Score 4

During the bulk of the review period, there were three political parties that were supported by more than 10% of voters in the 2014 general election. The two major parties, National and Labour, dominated the electoral map with 47% and 25% of votes, respectively. The Green Party came next with 10.7% of the vote. In 2017,

National attracted 44.4% of the vote and Labour 36.9%. None of the small parties reached 10%, although NZ First did best with 7.2%, followed by the Greens with 6.3%.

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 (a policy shared by the National Party), 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, Labour 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%). This system has been used to elect the last two party leaders, David Cunliffe in 2013 and Andrew Little following the 2014 election.

National considerably increased the central leadership's influence in an organizational reform in 2003. The newly created National Management Board, which includes 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 quite decentralized in comparison with the traditional larger parties. Decisions on policy and the selection of parliamentary candidates are made by the party membership, with less control exerted by 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 24, 2015).

NZ Electoral Commission ([elections.org.nz](http://elections.org.nz), 2017)

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 single or several of the 212 municipalities – and others

organized only on the macro level. 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 networks.

Japan's strongest party is the LDP (holding 61% of Lower House seats after the October 2017 snap election). Despite a number of fairly stable smaller parties such as Komeito (LDP's coalition partner, with 6% of Lower House seats) or the Communist Party (3%), no stable second major party currently exists. While the Democratic Party (DP) once seemed a possible contender, it suffered a major, possibly fatal, blow before the snap election in 2017, when many of its Lower House members regrouped as the Constitutional Democratic Party (CDP, 12%), with an agenda of not changing the existing constitution, while others entered the newly formed conservative Party of Hope (11%). Japan's majoritarian mixed electoral system for the Lower House is likely to spur a future reamalgamation of some of the opposition parties.

The LDP has traditionally revolved around individual politicians, their personal local-level support organizations and the intraparty factions built by key party leaders. Especially in the LDP, there are many "hereditary politicians" whose families have operated from the same local constituency for generations. Local party chapters may play decisive roles in choosing a parliamentary candidate if there is no "natural" successor to the former incumbent. Ordinary party-member involvement is usually limited to membership in a local-level support organization for a politician and is mainly (but not solely) based on mutual material interests: While members want tangible support for their communities, politicians want secure "vote banks" for (re-)election.

The LDP has become more centralized in recent years, with the influence of factions declining. Party congresses offer little real opportunity for policy input by delegates. However, delegates from regional party branches have participated in party leader elections 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.

Party politics before and after the 2017 snap election for the Lower House showed that major strategic decisions in some of the newer opposition parties are made more or less autonomously by individual party leaders. For instance, Party of Hope leader

Yuriko Koike, the governor of Tokyo, surprised party colleagues and supporters by first deciding not to stand as a candidate in the 2017 snap election, and then by resigning as party head after the disappointing election results.

Citation:

LDP factions lose clout, leaving Abe with monopoly on power, Japan Times, 23 November 2015, <http://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2015/11/23/national/politics-diplomacy/ldp-factions-lose-clout-leaving-abe-monopoly-power/>

Aurelia George Mulgan, Where is Japan's party system headed?, East Asia Forum, 10 October 2017, <http://www.eastasiaforum.org/2017/10/10/where-is-japans-party-system-headed/>

Reiji Yoshida, Koike's latest dramatic exit expected to damage her reputation and Kibo no To further, Japan Times, 15 November 2017, <https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2017/11/15/national/politics-diplomacy/koikes-latest-dramatic-exit-expected-damage-reputation-kibo-no/>

## Romania

Score 3

Almost all Romanian parties have been characterized by weak intra-party democracy. In the case of, the strongest party in parliament, its chairman Liviu Dragnea has enjoyed an unprecedented authority, not even reached by Ion Iliescu, Romania's first post-communist president. Despite being convicted for vote-rigging, Dragnea has been able to appoint and dismiss cabinets at will.

## Slovakia

Score 3

All Slovak parties are elite projects that are dominated by a few party leaders. In the parliamentary elections in March 2016 new parties entered the parliament: the extreme right ĽSNS, the populist Sme Rodina and the center party Siet'. The nationalist party SNS, a former coalition partner of Prime Minister Fico's Smer-SD) could renew its parliamentary presence while two standard parties – the former government parties SDKU-DS and KHD – remained outside. Smer-SD remains 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. Since 2016, dissatisfaction with Fico within the party has grown. After the losses of Smer-SD in the regional elections in November 2017, the party's vice-chairman, Marek Maďaric, voiced criticism and stepped down from his party position. The two newly formed centrist parties – Spolu – Občianska Demokracia (Together – Civic Democracy) and Progresívne Slovensko (Progressive Slovakia) – are relatively democratic.

## Turkey

Score 2

The centralized structure of the Political Parties Law (Law 2820) and the bylaws of the major parties does not encourage intra-party democracy. Consequently, strong party discipline is a common feature of all political parties. Although the Justice and Development Party (AKP), the Republican People's Party (CHP) and the Peoples'

Democratic Party (HDP) 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.

Membership, party congresses and executive boards are not democratically managed in most political parties. Three deputies were dismissed from the MHP in March 2017. Several deputies of the AKP allegedly closer to illegal Gülenist networks either resigned or faced being dismissed, especially in the aftermath of coup attempt in 2016. On the request of the president and AKP chair, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, the mayors of six provinces, including Ankara and Bursa, resigned in fall 2017. Erdoğan stated that "people do not take these offices as independent candidates but as candidates shown by parties."

The AKP determines its candidates through a somewhat complex process involving a so-called tendency survey, interviews by special commissions and the supreme board's final say. However, candidates are ultimately chosen by the party's leadership, which consults "significant" public opinion leaders. The CHP chose 301 out of 550 candidates through primary elections before the 7 June 2015 elections. However, most of the delegates were determined by the trusteeship of the party's central executive committee during the provincial and township congresses.

Citation:

"AKP'de 'metal fırtına': Erdoğan, "Gökçek dahil 6 belediye başkanının istifasını istedi" iddiası," 2 October 2017, <http://t24.com.tr/haber/erdogan-gokcek-dahil-6-belediye-baskaninin-istifasini-istedi-iddiasi,455251> (accessed 1 November 2017)

"Turkey's Erdogan Calls on Mayors to Resign, Hurriyet Newspaper Says," 19 October 2017, <https://www.usnews.com/news/world/articles/2017-10-19/turkeys-erdogan-calls-on-mayors-to-resign-hurriyet-newspaper-says> (accessed 1 November 2017)

Mehmet Akıncı, Özgür Önder and Bilge Kağan Sakacı, "Is Intra-Party Democracy possible in Turkey? An Analysis of Political Parties Act and Party By-Law," *European Scientific Journal*, 2013, 9(11): 33-49.

AKP'nin milletvekili adaylarını belirleyecek 'üst kurulu'nda kimler yer alıyor? 9 March 2015, <http://t24.com.tr/haber/akpnin-milletvekili-adaylarini-belirleyecek-ust-kurulunda-kimler-yer-aliyor,289760> (accessed 27 October 2015)

Ve AK Parti'de 3 dönem kuralı kalktı! 12 September 2015, <http://www.radikal.com.tr/politika/ve-ak-partide-3-donem-kurali-kalkti-1432915/> (accessed 27 October 2015)

Tarhan Erdem, Parti içi demokrasi yine ertelendi, 5 October 2015, <http://www.radikal.com.tr/yazarlar/tarhan-erdem/parti-ici-demokrasi-yine-ertelendi-1445250/> (accessed 27 October 2015)

Bekir Ağırdır, Fuat Keyman, Tarhan Erdem, Türkiye'nin Demokratikleşmesi İçin Kapsamlı Bir Siyasi Parti ve Seçim Sistemi Reformu Önerisi, İstanbul: IPC, 2015, <http://ipc.sabanciuniv.edu/en/wp-content/uploads/2014/03/Turkiyenindemokratikleşmesiicinkapsamli.pdf> (accessed 27 October 2015)

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. The most recent examples include initiatives focusing on the employment of immigrants and life-long learning. 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 Togeby, *Magten i Danmark*. Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 2005.

Jørgen Grønnegård Christensen og Jørgen Elklit (eds.). *Det demokratiske system*. 3. udgave. Hans Reitzels Forlag, 2013.

## 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' associations 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.

In addition to traditional corporatist actors, several consultancy firms have been launched in recent years that seek to influence policymaking. Some, but not all, of these firms disclose their list of customers. Interest associations, which do not employ their own staff to influence policymaking, can hire lobbying services from consultancy firms. However, weaker economic groups do not have the sufficient available resources and are unable to pay for professional support.

## 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.

Citation:

Garsten, C., B. Rothstein and S. Svallfors (2015), *Makt utan mandat: de policyprofessionella i svensk politik* (Stockholm: Dialogos).

Pierre, J. (ed) (2015), *Oxford Handbook of Swedish Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), esp. Section 10.

Svensson, T. and P-O.Öberg (2010), "Does Power Drive out Trust? Relations between Labor Market Actors in Sweden," *Political Studies* 58:143-166.

Öberg, P-O, S. Oskarsson and T. Svensson (2011), "Similarity versus Homogeneity: Contextual Effects in Explaining Trust," *European Political Science Review* 3:345-369.

## 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 groups representing narrow industry segments. The larger, wealthier associations have large professional staffs and can produce credible policy proposals with 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.

This may change as a consequence of the FPÖ's entry into coalition government with the ÖVP. As the FPÖ, in contrast to the ÖVP and SPÖ, has traditionally not had strong links to economic interest groups, the new government may be less inclined to accept the interest groups' influence.

## Belgium

### Score 8

Belgium has a high level of trade-union membership and a strong tradition of social consensus implemented 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.

The trade unions and employers' organizations each have their own well-developed study services with highly technical (e.g., legal and budgetary) expertise, even on topics outside their traditional competencies.

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 within Belgium's social organizations that appear resistant to change, given a general conservatism and a perceived need to protect the institution.

Citation:

[http://www.lecho.be/tablet/newspaper\\_economie\\_politique/Il\\_reste\\_des\\_certaines\\_de\\_millions\\_d\\_euros\\_d\\_economies\\_a\\_faire\\_dans\\_les\\_services\\_publics.9776078-7320.art?utm\\_campaign=app&utm\\_medium=tablet&utm\\_source=IPAD](http://www.lecho.be/tablet/newspaper_economie_politique/Il_reste_des_certaines_de_millions_d_euros_d_economies_a_faire_dans_les_services_publics.9776078-7320.art?utm_campaign=app&utm_medium=tablet&utm_source=IPAD)

## 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.

## 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 slightly eroded, it created a framework for advancing responsible, considered and expert-based policy proposals on the part of the large economic-interest associations. Other mechanisms, including associations' participation 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 policymaking has led to reasonable policies with fairly broad support.

Citation:

Voitto Helander and Dag Anckar, *Consultation and Political Culture. Essays on the Case of Finland*, *Commentationes Scientiarum Socialium*, nr 19, 1983, Helsinki: The Finnish Society of Sciences and Letters.

## 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, referred to as the employers' association) has close, informal ties to the right-wing Independence

Party. Likewise, the Icelandic Confederation of Labor (Alþýðusamband Íslands) has close links to the parties on the left, although 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.

Closely associated with the Confederation of Icelandic Employers is the Iceland Chamber of Commerce, which continues to dispense advice to the government.

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' association, the employees' union, the government, and the Federation of Municipalities signed an agreement intended to promote economic stability (Stöðugleikasáttmáli). The agreement proposed a restructuring of the economy through wage and price freezes, among other issues. Then, in autumn 2015, the representatives of the government, employers and labor unions signed the so-called SALEK agreement, a framework for collective agreements in the labor market. This agreement applies now to approximately 70% of employees. Some public-sector unions have so far refused to agree on SALEK. This situation continues to be the case at the time of writing.

Under the Sigurðardóttir cabinet of 2009-2013, the Federation of Icelandic Fishing Vessel Owners resisted government plans to change the regulation of fishing quotas. However, the federation was unable to prevent a considerable increase in the fees paid by owners of fishing vessels to the government. Nevertheless, the group was able to help prevent a broader overhaul of the system, as promised by the government.

The 2009-2013 cabinet failed to realize its goal of restructuring the management system for Iceland's fisheries, despite raising fishing fees significantly. However, the 2013-2016 cabinet lowered the fees already in 2013, against IMF advice.

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 in Israel and abroad. At least three major business groups – the Federation of Israeli Chambers of Commerce, the Manufacturers' Association of Israel and a group 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. Business organizations also cooperate with academics and 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, there is a significant degree of social inequality in this practice, as the Arab business sector seldom enjoys such close and productive ties with the government.

Citation:

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/>.

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

Solomon, Shoshanna, "Netanyahu to head panel to tackle high-tech workers pinch," The Times of Israel, 28.12.2016, <http://www.timesofisrael.com/netanyahu-to-head-panel-to-tackle-high-tech-workers-pinch/>

The Industry Association Press Releases, <http://www.industry.org.il>

"Israel Business Conference 2016," Haaretz, <http://www.globes.co.il/news/home.aspx?fid=8750>

## Latvia

### Score 8

The National Tripartite Cooperation Council (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 dialog.

Employers' 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 Latvian Chamber of Commerce (LTRK) engages in ongoing dialog with the government, and along with the slightly less influential Employers' Confederation of Latvia (LDDK), forms a part of the tripartite council.

The Foreign Investors' Council (FICIL) has a strong capacity for presenting well-formulated policy proposals. FICIL conducts an annual structured dialog at the prime-ministerial level. The actions that come out of these dialogs are subsequently implemented and monitored. The 2017 council meeting focused attention on the demographic situation as a future economic hurdle and urged consideration of a smart migration policy. The council also noted improvements in shrinking the shadow economy and promoted a continuation of anti-corruption efforts.

Citation:

1. The Foreign Investors' Council in Latvia, Information available: <http://www.ficil.lv/index.php/home/>, Last assessed: 22.11.2017.

2. National Tripartite Cooperation Council, Agenda available at (in Latvian): <http://www.mk.gov.lv/lv/mp/vaditaspadomes/ntsp/NTSPsedes/>, Last assessed: 21.05.2013.

## Luxembourg

Score 8

Given Luxembourg's specific social partnership model, the government in general consults with unions, employers' organizations and professional chambers over each draft bill. Furthermore, all opinions, as well as the modified draft bills, are published on the 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. The impact of trade unions increased as a result of the Parliamentary Act of 15 May 2008 ("statut unique"), which created just one employees' union (Chambre des Salariés) in place of the previous two (one for manual laborers and one for white-collar workers). All citizens working in Luxembourg, except public servants, are automatically 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 both prepare position papers on the basis of their own resources.

Citation:

Chambre de Commerce Luxembourg, [www.cc.lu](http://www.cc.lu). Accessed 21 Feb. 2017.

Chambre des Salariés Luxembourg, [www.csl.lu](http://www.csl.lu). Accessed 21 Feb. 2017.

"L'UEL lance son nouveau site «Compétitivité – Tableau de bord»." Union des Entreprises Luxembourgeoises, [www.uel.lu/445-l-uel-lance-son-nouveau-site-competitivite-tableau-de-bord](http://www.uel.lu/445-l-uel-lance-son-nouveau-site-competitivite-tableau-de-bord). Accessed 21 Dec. 2017.

"Mémorial A n° 60 de 2008." Journal officiel du Grand-Duché de Luxembourg, 15 May 2008, [legilux.public.lu/eli/etat/leg/memorial/2008/60#page=2](http://legilux.public.lu/eli/etat/leg/memorial/2008/60#page=2). Accessed 21 Dec. 2017.

## 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 that also include high-level civil servants and politicians. Members of these networks discuss labor and other important socioeconomic policy issues. These processes have become institutionalized. For instance, there are tripartite negotiations in which employers, employees and the government are fixed discussion partners in the early stages of decision-making regarding labor issues. A similar process takes place for regular negotiations with economic-interest associations. The analytic capacities of business and labor associations are well-developed.

However, this state of affairs has changed somewhat in recent years. There is now a Professional Association for Public Affairs (BVPA) that boasts 600 members (four times the number of parliamentarians) and a special public-affairs professorship at

Leiden University. The professionalization of lobbying is said to be necessary in order to curb unethical practices such as the creation of foundations or crowdsourcing initiatives as a means of pursuing business interests. The “quiet politics” (Culpepper) of business lobbying through organizations such as the Commissie Tabaksblat 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.

During the cabinet formation process from April to October 2017, the negotiators on behalf of the involved political parties were inundated with policy memos and proposals from a wide-range of civil society organizations, economic interest groups and business associations prominent among them.

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

Otjes and Rasmussen, Trade Unions and the Decline of Social Democracy, Social Europe, 5 June 2017

NRC-Handelsblad, ‘Wie kent wie in zakelijk Nederland,’ 4 September 2017

NRC-Handelsblad, Het gebroken Nederland dat in 2017 op Den Haag afkomt, 5 November 2016

## Spain

Score 8

During the period under examination, the main trade unions in Spain (UGT and CCOO) have strongly supported the reversion of austerity measures and other adjustment reforms implemented by the Popular Party (Partido Popular, PP) government during the worst years of the crisis. However, this does not mean that Spanish trade unions are radicalized or incapable of formulating viable policies within the euro zone context. UGT is associated with the Fundación Francisco Largo Caballero, and CCOO with Fundación 1 de Mayo. The largest business association (CEOE) has the Círculo de Empresarios think tank, as well as the training centers linked to the CEOE and the Chambers of Commerce. Other private economic groups include the Círculo de Economía, farmer’s associations (such as COAG and ASAJA), the National Federation of Fishermen’s Associations, some consumer associations (CEACCU and UCE), the Spanish Confederation of Cooperative Business, and diverse sectoral-lobbying actors (e.g., Foro Nuclear on the issue of nuclear energy). Big Spanish companies also fund liberal economic-policy think tanks (e.g., Fedea) that are autonomous but produce “business friendly” policy proposals. Other organizations such as CEPES, which addresses the social economy, are also very influential. Finally, AFI and FUNCAS are relevant economic think tanks.

Citation:

October 2017, Círculo de Empresarios: “Informe CCAA”

<https://circulodeempresarios.org/app/uploads/2017/10/Informe-CCA-A-octubre-2017-Circulo-de-Empresarios.pdf>

September 2017, Florentino Felgueroso (Fedea) et al: “Recent trends in the use of temporary contracts in Spain”

<http://documentos.fedea.net/pubs/eee/eee2017-25.pdf>

## Czech Republic

Score 7

The main employers’ unions and trade unions both have considerable resources and expertise with which to develop coherent policies. Trade unions have a significant competence with regard to labor relations and economic policy more generally; they can lobby ministries and parliament and influence government directly through tripartite consultation structures. In the aftermath of the economic crisis, the generational change and new European patterns of conduct by trade unions contributed to their growing public support. Employers also have access to considerable resources, but have a different agenda, favoring a less regulated labor market and lower business taxes. To strengthen their position, the trade unions align their position with European legislation.

## 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. However, their policies are much more prudent on issues associated with increasing economic 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, 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, try to impact policy by publishing policy papers and through their participation in government advisory committees. As the business sector's financial support of political parties has declined and major companies have globalized their operations, 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.

## Malta

### Score 7

Economic interest associations have structures capable of formulating relevant public policies. The greater resources commanded by economic interest associations enable them to employ highly qualified personnel and consult qualified academics according to the policy issue involved. The larger trade unions have their own research officers and can also draw on the expertise of the Centre for Labor Studies (CLS) at the University of Malta which was established to facilitate the trade union sector. Trade unions also use existing studies or academic and specialist support. EU support funds and structures such as internship programs have strengthened non-economic interest associations, allowing them to produce detailed research in their area of expertise.

## 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. In 2012, this merged with the New Zealand Institute to form the New Zealand Initiative, a libertarian think-tank that lobbies for pro-market economic and social policies.

Citation:

Business New Zealand – Submissions: <http://www.businessnz.org.nz/submissions> (accessed October 24, 2015).

New Zealand Council of Trade Unions – Campaign Main: <http://union.org.nz/campaigns/summary> (accessed October 24, 2015).

The New Zealand Initiative: <http://nzinitiative.org.nz/> (accessed October 24, 2015).

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 unions 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** Business associations such as the Korean Employers Federation and the Federation of Korean Industries (FKI), as well as 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 themselves 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 Park government, major business organizations supported by large conglomerates had significant influence over the formulation of policies. The FKI has faced a period of serious crisis following the influence-

peddling scandal involving former President Park. Park had tried to build a hub of conservative pro-government groups using funds from the FKI. Recently exposed information has shown that the FKI pledged to provide KRW 950 million in 2015 and KRW 800 million in 2016 earmarked for this purpose.

Citation:

Hankook Ilbo. Park attempted to build a hub of conservative groups by funding of FKI. November 9, 2017. <http://www.hankookilbo.com/v/22464dde0fa5497b9049eade8df88508>

## 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.

## 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. Until recently, the polarization between the major parties had diminished, especially in the field of socioeconomic policy matters. However, this is again widening. Even so, and especially with the Brexit decision, there is little incentive for business associations or trade unions 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 United Kingdom's forthcoming withdrawal from the European Union has led to some more assertive stances both from business (concerned especially about threats to its EU market access and curbs on skilled immigrant workers) and unions (notably around protections deriving from EU rules). Some business groups are, however, more concerned about what they perceive as excessive regulatory burdens associated with EU membership. Although British business associations are divided over Westminster's political ties to Brussels, access to the single market is at the very heart of Britain's economic interest, namely their world leading financial and

insurance industries. Overall, the influence of economic interest groups is relatively low-key, though not insubstantial.

## Bulgaria

**Score 6** The capacity of the 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 major associations 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.

In Bulgaria there are two trade union confederations, both 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. For example, in the autumn of 2017, they made a deliberate attempt to unite efforts with several other organizations and pressure groups to push for specific tax reforms, including the introduction of individual income tax exemptions and differentiated VAT rates.

## Greece

**Score 6** Interest associations make some relevant policy proposals in a few policy areas, such as macroeconomic policy, incomes and pensions and labor relations. Probably the most efficient interest association in this respect is the association of Greek industrialists (SEV).

The General Confederation of Workers of Greece (GSEE) counts on its think tank, the Labor Institute (INE), for information and advice on policy matters. The think tank of 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.

In the period under review, the government tried to mend holes in relations between

government and businesses, as it realized it needs the tolerance, if not the support, of business owners in order to revive the Greek economy.

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](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

## Poland

**Score 6** Poland has a relatively developed universe of interest associations. Business associations and trade unions have become increasingly professional over time. The trade unions, especially NSZZ Solidarność, have quite friendly relations with the PiS government. For example, the trade unions supported the PiS government's pension reform, protesting against the European Union and its critique of the pension reform in Brussels. Though OPZZ opposed some legal initiatives of the government, most notably the education reform. 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. In the period under review, the National Union of Employers (RUZ), the Federation of Associations (AZZZ) and the Business Alliance of Slovakia (PAS) were quite active and made many policy proposals. Trade unions are less well equipped and have suffered from fragmentation. Some trade unions, including those representing medical doctors, nurses and teachers, can analyze the impact of decisions and 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.

## Estonia

### Score 5

The Estonian Trade Union Confederation (ETUC) is comprised of 18 branch unions. In comparison to many western European countries, its policy formulation capacity is rather weak. The head office includes the secretariat 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. Trade unions are typically invited to contribute to policymaking processes initiated by the government.

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

Both the ETUC and EEU are expected to take various measures (such as allocating funds, implementing training programs, and hiring analysts) in the 2014 – 2020 programming period to increase their analytical and policymaking capacities.

## 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 Investors' 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. This association successfully advocated the adoption of a more flexible labor code as part of the new "social model." The Infobalt IT-industry association is also actively engaged in representing its interests in the e-governance policy area. Some economic-interest organizations, including the Lithuanian Confederation of Industrialists (which is represented on the Tripartite Council and the European Economic and Social Committee), have improved their policy-formulation capacities. Some business associations and even individual businesses support think tanks. In 2016, the University of Pennsylvania recognized the Lithuanian Free Market Institute as being among the most influential public policy centers in Central and Eastern Europe, and ranked it 12 in the region. An accord signed by the government, business organizations and trade unions in October 2017, encourages employee participation in trade unions and the formation of business associations, and supports the capacity-building efforts of social partners.

Citation:  
University of Pennsylvania. "2016 Global Go To Think Tanks."  
[https://repository.upenn.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1011&context=think\\_tanks](https://repository.upenn.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1011&context=think_tanks)

## Mexico

- Score 5** With regard to economic interest organizations, there is clear asymmetry. Trade unions are not sophisticated organizations in Mexico, while employers and business associations mostly are. However, these organizations tend to be dominated by a small group of empowered agents who guide most of their policy positions and decision-making processes. The collective interest of those supposedly represented by the association is seldom the one that prevails. A good example of this is the Employers Confederation of the Mexican (COPARMEX): it would be in their best interest to push for a tax consolidation (combined reporting) reform. However, because it is not in the interest of the most influential members of the organization (frequently owners of the largest companies in the country), this issue is almost completely out of the organization's agenda.

## Portugal

- Score 5** A few employers' associations and trade unions are capable of formulating relevant policies. However, their proposals are largely reactive to government measures rather than being proactive in setting policy debate. While employers and trade unions have both expressed dissatisfaction at some austerity measures – or sought faster alleviation of others – these tend to be reactions to specific government measures rather than ex ante and general policy proposals.

## Turkey

- Score 5** The Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges (TOBB) is the most influential business association in Turkey, representing more than 1.2 million enterprises and members of various industry and business chambers. The Economic Policy Research Foundation of Turkey (TEPAV), affiliated with TOBB University in Ankara, provides extensive surveys in various fields. The pro-Western, Istanbul-centric Turkish Industrialists' and Entrepreneurs' Association (TÜSİAD) and the conservative, Anatolian-centric Independent Industrialists' and Entrepreneurs' Association (MÜSİAD), also have R&D units and sponsor reports on political reforms, education, health care, security and migration. 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.

The Turkish Confederation of Businessmen and Industrialists (TUSKON), an umbrella organization founded in 2005 and representing seven business federations, 211 business associations and over 55,000 entrepreneurs from across Turkey, is

believed to be close to U.S.-based preacher Fethullah Gülen and his global network of enterprises and schools. In November 2015, the Ankara police department launched a raid against the TUSKON headquarters as part of an investigation into the illegal, allegedly terrorist network, called “Parallel State Structure Terror Organization/Pro-Fethullah Terror Organization.” Moves against the confederation and its members intensified after the July 2016 failed coup.

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. Turkey’s oldest trade union, Türk-İş, has for many years prepared monthly surveys on hunger and poverty thresholds and is included in the collective bargaining process.

TÜSİAD repeatedly calls for an end to the state of emergency to improve freedom and plurality in Turkey. However, the government argues that the state of emergency is not a hurdle for business.

Citation:

“State of emergency no hurdle for business in Turkey: Erdoğan,” 18 May 2017, <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/state-of-emergency-no-hurdle-for-business-in-turkey-erdogan-113283> (accessed 1 November 2017)

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

Ankara police raid Gülen-linked business group TUSKON, 6 November 2015. <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/ankara-police-raid-gulen-linked-business-group-tuskon.aspx?pageID=238&nID=90838&NewsCatID=509> (accessed 7 November 2015)

Türk-İş, Açlık ve yoksulluk, <http://www.turkis.org.tr/Aclik-Yoksulluk-catg91-pn1> (accessed 27 October 2015)

## Chile

Score 4

Policy proposals by economic-interest groups do address relevant topics and are not always short-sighted or untenable; however, they tend to be narrow and largely guided by the groups’ 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

The spirit that has prevailed in industrial relations – characterized by a will to compromise to avoid industrial action – has been under tension since 2012. The actors have always founded their demands or positions on sectoral interests. They

generally either lack internal research teams or have teams with limited capacities and scope. The Pancyprian Labor Union (Παγκύπρια Εργατική Ομοσπονδία, ΠΕΟ) is a rare exception; it has a research institute on labor issues, which regularly produces scientific studies on the economy and labor market.

Affected by the crisis, the whole system of labor relations is going through a transitional period. The debate is ongoing, with a focus on what rights and processes to reestablish.

Citation:

1. Government signs deal with unions pegging payroll to growth, Cyprus Business Mail, 4 January 2017, <http://cyprusbusinessmail.com/?p=38427>

## 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 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. Trade unions' strategy is to counterweight their weakness at the company level by negotiating at the sector level or even at the national level, and organizing mass protests in the streets. 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 on implementation. President Hollande's attempt to rejuvenate "social dialog" has produced limited results. A major problem is that two corporatist and "conservative" unions (CGT and FO), taking advantage of their footing in the civil service and public sector, have more or less rejected any change (e.g., they refused to sign the previously mentioned agreements). Macron in attempting to reform the labor law code has opted for a different strategy: organizing a systematic, but separate consultation with all the unions; and then adopting ordinances (executive orders) without parliamentary debate and overall negotiation with the unions.

## Hungary

Score 4

While the main domestic business associations have proved generally loyal to the government, some business associations, first of all the National Association of

Entrepreneurs and Employers (VOSZ), have become rather critical of the government's lack of predictability in economic policy. Ferenc Dávid, its general secretary, has been the most outspoken critic of the government's economic policy. Moreover, the Orbán government has been criticized by the Hungarian European Business Council (HEBC). Representing Hungary's 50 most important export companies, HEBC in its latest Annual Report has urged the elaboration of a country strategy with the deep reconstruction of education system, taking the Fourth Industrial Revolution and the digital transformation into account. The trade unions have also adopted a critical position toward the government, but their membership is small (somewhat below 10%), they are still rather fragmented, and their voice is weak in the public debates. More recently, however, successful strikes for higher wages have helped to increase membership.

Citation:  
HEBC (2017): Annual Report 2016. Budapest ([http://www.hebc.hu/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/hebc\\_report\\_2016\\_values\\_to\\_be\\_sustained.pdf](http://www.hebc.hu/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/hebc_report_2016_values_to_be_sustained.pdf)).

## 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 protests against the government's austerity measures. Like the Croatian Employers Association and most other economic interest associations, however, the unions have focused on opposing government proposals and have lacked the will – and the capacity – to develop their own proposals. The Chamber of Trades and Crafts, which has been particularly vocal in making proposals concerning vocational education, has played a more constructive role.

## 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 offering cost–benefit analyses of the likely effects of such policies. Unions have not played an active role in policy formulation either. Even though union density is fairly high in Romania, union structure is fragmented and weakly developed.

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 of Disabled in Iceland (Öryrkjabandalagið), with 41 associated organizations and a staff of 13, and the Consumers' Association of Iceland (Neytendasamtökin), with a staff of 7 and 7,300 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. Its CEO, Guðmundur Ingi Guðbrandsson (2011-2017), was appointed extra-parliamentary minister of the environment and natural resources in 2017.

Citation:

<http://www.obi.is/is/um-obi/starfsmenn>

Neytendasamtökin. Skýrsla um starfið 2014 - 2016.  
[https://www.ns.is/sites/default/files/gogn/4.\\_skyrsla\\_um\\_starfsemi\\_neytendasamtakanna\\_sept\\_2014-\\_sept\\_2016.pdf](https://www.ns.is/sites/default/files/gogn/4._skyrsla_um_starfsemi_neytendasamtakanna_sept_2014-_sept_2016.pdf)

### 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 large staff that conduct high-quality studies and present 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.

Citation:

Svensson, T. and P-O.Öberg (2010),“Does Power Drive out Trust? Relations between Labor Market Actors in Sweden,” *Political Studies* 58:143-166.

Öberg, P-O, S. Oskarsson and T. Svensson (2011),“Similarity versus Homogeneity: Contextual Effects in Explaining Trust,” *European Political Science Review* 3:345-369.

## 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, which includes non-economic interest associations. 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. Some civil society organizations may find it more difficult than business organizations to get access to the government.

Despite occasional criticism of the role of experts and commissions, they remain important.

When laws are passed without having been prepared through corporatist committees, the interest organizations have to lobby more – by making direct contact with civil servants and politicians – so as to influence policies, possibly arranging demonstrations. The fact remains, however, that the administration needs input from outside when legislation is prepared. In other words, there is a common interest in continuous dialog.

Citation:

Peter Munk Christiansen og Lise Togeby, *Magten i Danmark*. Copenhagen: Gyldendal.  
Jørgen Grønnegård Christensen og Jørgen Elklit (eds.), *Det Demokratiske system*. 4. udg. 2016.

## Finland

Score 8

Most associations' policy-relevant positions are based on expert knowledge and feasibility analyses. In this sense, associations clearly contribute to the general quality of decision-making. True, exaggeration and one-sided arguments are in the very nature of interest organizations and the ensuing negotiation process, but the prevailing style of policymaking grants access to various and often competing interests. The contribution of interest associations' expert knowledge is therefore on the whole a valuable asset that enhances the quality of policymaking. Interest associations also have a high profile in public discourse, and often help shape public opinion. The fact remains, however, that the function of interest associations is to promote certain interests at the potential expense of others.

## Germany

Score 8

As of May 2017, the government's official list contained 2,325 registered associations (Bundestag 2017), which marked another increase. One-third of those can be considered non-economic 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. Policy proposals produced by non-economic interest groups can be described as reasonable, but their suggestions often appear

Citation:

<https://www.bundestag.de/blob/189456/130ebb7895b22f6a58da1dc805ceaadb/lobbylisteamtlich-data.pdf>

## 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 small research departments and propagate their opinions through publications (Caritas, Mouvement Écologique, CEFIS, SOLEP, MECO, etc.) and conferences, by offering comments on draft bills, or by 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; these groups include La Société Luxembourgeoise de l’Evaluation et de la Prospective (SOLEP), Luxembourg 2030, and 5 vir 12. These groups have considerable impact, considering the government’s practice of consulting all social partners and the overall small size of Luxembourg.

Citation:

2030.lu, [www.2030.lu/en/home/](http://www.2030.lu/en/home/). Accessed 21 Dec. 2017.

Centre d’étude et de formation interculturelles et sociales, [www.cefis.lu](http://www.cefis.lu). Accessed 21 Dec. 2017.

“Luxemburg.” *Verbände und Interessengruppen in den Ländern der Europäischen Union*, edited by Werner Reutter, VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2012, pp. 417 – 444.

Mouvement Ecologique, [www.meco.lu](http://www.meco.lu). Accessed 21 Dec. 2017.

Société Luxembourgeoise de l’Evaluation et de la Prospective, [www.solep.lu](http://www.solep.lu). Accessed 21 Dec. 2017.

“Sozialalmanach.” Caritas.lu, [www.caritas.lu/Ce-que-nous-disons/Sozialalmanach](http://www.caritas.lu/Ce-que-nous-disons/Sozialalmanach). Accessed 7 Dec. 2017.

## 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), and 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 at a later stage, as policies are implemented.

During the cabinet formation process from April to October 2017, many non-

economic associations – representing the arts, education, the elderly and the care sector – inundated negotiators with policy memos and demands. For example, the citizen initiative led by Hugo Borst and Carin Geamers contained 10 policy recommendations, and was later underwritten by practically all relevant stakeholder associations and received support in parliament.

Citation:

F. Hendriks and Th. Toonen (eds), *Schikken plooiën. De stroperige staat bij nader inzien*, Assen, Van Gorcum, 1998

J. Woldendorp, *The Polder Model: From Disease to Miracle? Dutch Neo-Corporatism 1965-2000*, Free University Amsterdam, 2005

Woldendorp, J.J. (2014). Blijvend succes voor het poldermodel? Hoe een klein land met een kleine economie probeert te overleven op de wereldmarkt. In F.H. Becker & M. Hurenkamp (Eds.), *De gelukkige onderneming. Arbeidsverhoudingen voor de 21ste eeuw (Jaarboek voor de sociaal-democratie, 2014)* (pp. 211-227). Amsterdam: Wiardi Beckman Stichting/Uitgeverij Van Gennep.

Actiz, *Oproep Agenda voor Zorg aan het nieuwe kabinet: investeer in vernieuwende zorg?* (acts.nl, consulted 3 November 2017)

Hugo Borst and Carin Geamers, “Manifest :Scherp op ouderenzorg,” (scheropouderenzorg.nl, consulted 3 November 2017)

## New Zealand

Score 8

There is a rich tradition of consultation with societal groups during policy formulation. The degree of consultation with groups and individuals and the way in which their proposals have been dealt with is reported in regulatory impact statements. Recent such statements claim that consultation has had a substantive impact in several cases. Still, resource shortages prevent some interest associations from developing specialist policy know-how that would give them durable impact in the consultation process.

Citation:

Regulatory Impact Statement Information Release: <http://www.treasury.govt.nz/publications/informationreleases/ris> (accessed November 30, 2015).

## 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, feature close links to academia and other experts and profoundly influence public discourse. They often serve as a substitute for political opposition. 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. Some of them now cooperate with Most-Híd.

## Slovenia

**Score 8** Slovenia's vibrant third sector has been quite active in monitoring government activities. Despite a decline in public funding, 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. 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 (Intermón Oxfam and other Spanish groups that benefited from the larger budgets in this area in the late 2000s) have gained technical competence, and increasingly rely 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.

Finally, social protests triggered by the crisis have made a mark in recent years, though this is increasingly less the case as the crisis wanes. Platforms and networks have been able to gain media attention and even shape public policy by demanding more transparency, better regulation of mortgages, and changes in areas such as health and education. Social movements promoting (or in some cases opposing) Catalonia's right to become an independent state also have experts that conduct research on issues related to independence.

Citation:

November 2017, Ecologistas en Acción: "Caminar sobre el abismo de los límites"

[https://docs.google.com/viewer?url=https://www.ecologistasenaccion.org/IMG/pdf/informe\\_abismo-limites.pdf](https://docs.google.com/viewer?url=https://www.ecologistasenaccion.org/IMG/pdf/informe_abismo-limites.pdf)

September 2015, Societat Civil Catalana: “Dèficits de qualitat democràtica a Catalunya”  
[http://www.societatcivi.lcatalana.cat/sites/default/files/d\\_ocs/Deficits-qualitat-democratica-C\\_atalunya%20.pdf](http://www.societatcivi.lcatalana.cat/sites/default/files/d_ocs/Deficits-qualitat-democratica-C_atalunya%20.pdf)

## 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 that 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 without much consideration of 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.

## United States

**Score 8** Public-interest or civil society 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 in part due to their media and communication skills. This holds true for groups such as the Environmental Defense Fund, Common Cause and the National Taxpayers’ 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. Citizens’ groups do not receive public support for their policy development or representational activities.

## Belgium

**Score 7** There is a wide range of civil society groups with influence on policy formation in Europe, and Belgium performs well in this regard. A number of noneconomic interest associations receive state funding, including environmental, cultural, religious/philosophical, sports/leisure and minority (such as individuals with handicaps) groups.

The largest groups can both make proposals and influence policy. Consociationalism also implies that some socially important decisions are made smoothly. The

decisions to legalize same-sex marriage in 2003 and euthanasia in 2002 followed intense but quite dispassionate debates. The contrast with France or the United States over similar issues is all the more striking.

The main reason why this can happen is again related to the predominance of political parties. Some 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 long-standing ties to a political group. It implies that there is a strong incentive for noneconomic interest associations to propose policies, and further to ensure that these proposals are well founded, as there is a high probability that the proposals will be debated in parliament.

Obviously, the negative aspect of this structure is dependence on public funding. On the positive side, some groups are able to coalesce into broader umbrella organizations (such as around environmental protection) that are 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 the return to democracy. 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 take long-term perspectives into account. 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 organizational strength of associations, mostly as a result of social inequalities. In addition, numerous think tanks are directly connected to economic interest groups.

## Czech Republic

**Score 7** Interest associations have grown considerably in the Czech Republic since 1990. As of April 2017, there are over 129,947 autonomous, self-organized groups, associations, foundations and organizations registered in the country, although not all of them are active. Between 2011 and 2017, new NGOs emerged focusing on areas such as corruption, city planning, LGBT rights, food safety and participatory budgeting on the local level. Many of them have the resources and expertise to formulate relevant policy proposals.

## Israel

**Score 7** Noneconomic associations and NGOs have become increasingly influential in recent years, with over 39,000 nonprofit organizations registered with the Ministry of Justice. Along with professional consultancy firms, they fill the gap left by state's privatization policies. Both social and environmental interest groups often formulate relevant policies and cooperate with government and academic bodies. The majority of organizations are focused on religious matters (24%), education (19%), culture (16%) and welfare (15%). The civil society sector in Israel is one of the biggest in the world (in a relative sense), accounting for 5.5% of GDP and 13.6% of the jobs in Israel.

In 2014, the Ministry of the Interior advocated the removal of four representatives of civic and environmental bodies that traditionally sit on a supreme national planning committee. Following 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 the regular formulation of policy recommendations on general social issues.

The Knesset recently passed highly controversial legislation that requires non-governmental organizations to publicly declare their foreign government funding. Left-wing and civil rights groups have argued that the so-called NGO transparency bill is harming organizations that promote democracy and democratic worldviews. The bill is regarded as part of a growing trend of legislative attempts to erode the strength of democratic institutions in Israel.

Citation:

ACRI. Anti-NGO Legislation in the Israeli Knesset. February 2016, <http://www.acri.org.il/en/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/Anti-NGO-Bills-Overview-Updated-February-2016.pdf>

“Collaborative discourse in the Civil Society” March 2016, Civic Leadership in Israel, (Hebrew)

[http://migzar3.org.il/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/report-2016\\_web-1.pdf](http://migzar3.org.il/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/report-2016_web-1.pdf)

Kalian, Gil “The non-profit sector in Israel is smaller than thought,” Calcalist 16/3/2016, <http://www.calcalist.co.il/local/articles/0,7340,L-3683649,00.html> (Hebrew)

Nisan, Limor, “Civil society and the third sector in Israel,” IDI paper for the 10th Caesarea conference, June 2010: <http://www.idi.org.il>

“The transparency law has passed finally” Knesset website 12.7.2016, <http://main.knesset.gov.il/News/PressReleases/pages/press120716.aspx> (Hebrew)

## Austria

Score 6

Along with economic interest groups, organized religious communities, particularly 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.

It must be emphasized, however, that not all draft proposals are subject to consultation procedures. A ruling majority can push a legislative agenda through its members in parliament, without formal consultations with interest groups. This happens from time to time when the government is in a hurry to pass a bill.

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).

## 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 participated in the process of drafting 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 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 are mainly local, but their actions can have a nationwide impact on transport and industrial policy. Religious groups are not active in domestic politics or policymaking efforts.

## 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; however, most associations are reactive and prefer to object rather than suggest.

## Greece

**Score 6** Greek civil society is relatively underdeveloped. However, the receding welfare state encouraged civil society engagement and mobilized citizens. The number of volunteers increased, new organizations were formed, and older organizations became more active in providing social services to impoverished Greeks and

migrants. Also, new movements and organizations with politicized agendas appeared.

Most non-economic interest associations do not have the resources to become involved in policy formulation and the Greek state does not usually invite them to do so – though there has been some improvement. There are however exceptions regarding religious matters and migration matters.

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. Greece's constitution grants the Greek Orthodox Church a privileged position among all churches and dogmas, and the Greek Orthodox Church enjoys a tailor-made taxation regime which allows it to sustain a large amount of property.

Finally, there is a vast array of small and medium-sized NGOs which are active in providing social protection and legal assistance to refugees and migrants. NGOs are located in major cities and on the Greek islands of the Aegean where refugees and migrants continue to land. In the period under review, their role was enhanced with regard to implementing migration policy, as central and local authorities proved unable or unwilling to manage the inflow of migrants and refugee.

Citation:

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

## 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. While many of these associations prepare relevant policy proposals, their emphasis is on advocacy rather than analysis. The most influential of these associations, Social Justice Ireland, evolved from an association of members of Roman Catholic religious orders.

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 among other things with immigration policies, Comunità di S. Egidio), humanitarian (such as Emergency) and environmental groups (such as Legambiente and WWF) deserve special mention, and are able to provide well-articulated, expert analysis. An increasing number of single-issue movements are gaining ground in Italy and are contributing to policymaking in their respective areas.

There are also a series of foundations and think tanks in the field of international affairs (IAI, ISPI), social and economic problems (Censis, Eurispes) 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 access external support through international membership or regional federations, which helps them, on occasion, to formulate extremely well-informed policy papers. EU funds and other structures (e.g., the internship programs) have also helped them improve their policy capacities. Few organizations employ full-time staff, but many have academics as part of their leadership structure, thereby utilizing their expertise. In some cases, organizations are able to attract research support on a voluntary basis from like-minded academics and other volunteers. Nonetheless, many of them still need to become proactive, rather than reactive to events or government proposals. Having said that, these organizations often provide government with expert support and at times provide resources, support and direction for policy areas for which the government has little input. A case in point is that of support for policies associated with migration, asylum and the politics of integration.

## Mexico

Score 6

Against the background of corporatist authoritarianism in 20th century Mexico, economic interest groups in democratic Mexico could draw on many associational experiences. Moreover, since the early 2000s, there has been a considerable increase in the quantity and the sophistication of non-economic interest groups in Mexican civil society. Many talented graduates have found positions in NGOs and they are working to influence policy in Mexico via advocacy-oriented NGOs. Several tertiary-education institutes (e.g., ITAM, Colmex, CIDE) both teach and conduct public-policy research, and some are highly influential in the political sphere as think tanks and/or advocacy institutions. 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. Moreover, many grassroots organizations founded in the last ten years are aimed to influence local and regional policymaking. Finally, the degree of movement of personnel between NGOs, think tanks and government is high compared to other OECD countries. While the capacity of most of these organizations to propose policy reforms in complex policy settings is rather restricted, it has been growing steadily and their role influencing public opinion is more relevant every year. Examples of these associations include IMCO, Mexico Evalua and Mexicanos Primero, which have been able to affect the policy agenda of the government in the last two years on issues related to transparency, accountability and development effectiveness.

## Poland

### Score 6

Poland has a large 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. It currently has good access to the new government, but also asked for more national solidarity, peaceful cooperation and a friendlier approach toward refugees. A new social movement that managed to unite many Poles opposed to government efforts to dismantle democracy and judicial independence is the Committee for the Defense of Democracy (Komitet Obrony Democracji, KOD) which has organized public protests and large demonstrations in several Polish cities since December 2015. New organizations have come into existence since 2016 and especially young people are increasingly attending demonstrations.

## Romania

### Score 6

NGOs have significant analytical capacities, especially in areas such as environmental policy and social protection. However, many NGOs have suffered from a lack of resources and have been dependent on international financing. The Romanian Orthodox Church, which represents as much as 85% of the population, has been a powerful actor, but has promoted a relatively narrow agenda. When the amendment to the fiscal code in 2015 renewed public debate on the many tax exemptions and subsidies the church enjoys, the church used its political influence to defend its privileges.

## Switzerland

- Score 6** Noneconomic interest groups are very heterogeneous in Switzerland. Some, such as environmental groups, undertake cooperative efforts with academic bodies, offer reasonable proposals and feature considerable capacity for political mobilization.

## 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. However, this interest group unsuccessfully lobbied the president to veto legislation designed to make it easier for families to access assisted insemination services. The Non-Governmental Organizations' Information and Support Center facilitates cooperation between NGOs as they seek to represent their interests.

## Portugal

- Score 5** Despite the alleviation of austerity and initial signs of economic recovery, non-economic interest associations continue to have little impact. The focus in recent years on economic issues means that proposals by established groups engaged with other issues attract less visibility than before Portugal's bailout (e.g., proposals by the environmental group Quercus). Interaction with associations appeared to be largely instrumental and related to political or group objectives rather than policy-based.

## South Korea

- Score 5** The rise of civil-society organizations has been one of the last decade's most important political trends in South Korea. The massive peaceful protests against President Park were largely organized by civil-society groups that have proven their ability to mobilize the public and their competence in organizing peaceful protests on a massive scale. 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

expertise in specialized fields such as environmental policies, electoral reform, corporate reform, welfare policies or human rights. They provide reasonable policy proposals and are supported by a large group of academics and professionals. They also provide a pool of experts for the government. President Moon has appointed several former members of civil-society groups to government positions.

The majority of small NGOs remain focused on service provision and do not develop policy proposals. Previously, civil society and NGOs – especially those to the left of center – found it difficult to have any appreciable influence on decision-making under either the Lee and Park administrations. NGOs are expected to regain some of their previous influence under the Moon government.

## 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, assess potential impacts comprehensively, or 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

Civil society has an increasing role as an independent power actor in formulating proposals. From the late 1980s, when environmental groups defended specific causes much has changed. Funding from European and other programs helped in strengthening a civil society movement. New associations are gaining their footing, conducting research and studies and formulating policy proposals on a variety of issues. They aim at good governance.

A number of groups with a focus on politics, the crisis and associated issues have emerged since 2011. Some are connected with international associations and benefit from their knowledge and experience. These groups are putting forward proposals and lobbying on a variety of issues, including on hydrocarbon use, how to promote transparency and combat corruption, transparency in political-party financing, electoral system amendments, and transparency in lobbying. Their appeal is gaining momentum. Their noteworthy activity and the quality of their proposals have attracted media attention and are having an impact.

The Church of Cyprus, through its financial and organizational capacity, continues to

play a role in society. It addresses all kinds of issues, including education and the island's division. Its present financial difficulties and frequent negative views may be factors limiting its influence.

Citation:

1. Road safety NGO criticises Cyprus lack of motorway toilets, Cyprus Mail, 18 May 2017, <http://cyprus-mail.com/2017/05/18/road-safety-ngo-criticises-cyprus-lack-motorway-toilets>
2. Commitment against corruption by candidates to the parliament 2016 (in Greek) <http://transparencycyprus.org/archives/4195>

## Japan

Score 4

Civil society organizations with a public-policy focus are rare in Japan. The Non-Profit Organization Law of 1998 made the incorporation of such associations 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 has only few well-resourced public-policy-oriented think tanks. 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.

Following the 3/11 disasters, and more recently in the context of the controversy over the government's security-law extension, civil society groups have taken an increased role in expressing public concerns and organizing mass rallies. High levels of engagement on the part of activists notwithstanding, it is difficult for such actors to create professionally operating, sustainable organizations. As a case in point, the Students Emergency Action for Liberal Democracy (SEALDs) group gained considerable attention during the 2014 – 2015 protests against a reinterpretation of the constitution's so-called peace clause, but has since disbanded.

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/japans-civil-society-and-its-fight-against-nuclear-energy/>

N. N., After creating new waves in Japan's civil movement, SEALDs dissolved, The Mainichi, 15 August 2016, <http://mainichi.jp/english/articles/20160815/p2a/00m/0na/025000c>

## 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 dialog with the relevant ministries, which supports sustained involvement in decision-making and has contributed to further capacity development.

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 development 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. In 2015, they secured a controversial change to the Law on Education, leaving schools vulnerable to charges of ethical breaches in teaching.

The Civic Alliance is an umbrella group of NGOs that serves as a platform for common issues. In 2017, the alliance galvanized a group of influential NGOs to call for increased transparency and participatory opportunities for NGOs in the government's budget planning process. The NGOs are demanding the type of access and consultation already in place for other social partners, such as the National Tripartite Cooperation Council (NTSP).

## Hungary

### Score 3

The Orbán government has created a big, lavishly financed pro-government network of fake civil society associations and foundations. In public life they have figured allegedly as independent and autonomous organizations, although they clearly support government positions and provide it a democratic façade. A series of scandals have arisen as it has become clear that these organizations have received financing from state-owned enterprise, but only some illegal-indirect party financing has become public. Szerencsejáték Zrt (Gambling or Gaming) has been the main sponsor, but the latest scandals have been around the Hungarian Electricity Works (MVM), which has given HUF 508 million to CÖF (Civil Union Forum), and HungaroControl has given HUF 320 million to the Unions for the Nation Foundation (Szövetség a Nemzetért Alapítvány), which in turn supports the House of Citizens (Polgárok Háza), itself a common venue for Fidesz events, including Prime Minister Orbán's annual address to the nation. By contrast, Hungary's genuine civil society has suffered from decreasing financial support and the pressures of legislative limitations. This has clearly infringed upon their capacity to formulate relevant policies.

## Turkey

### Score 3

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. In November 2017, 104,174 associations with more than 10 million members were active. Most are professional, sport or religious organizations. A total of 5,054 foundations are active nationwide. Most foundations are social solidarity organizations, 22 are foreign foundations and 167 are religious organizations. Among others, TESEV, TESAV, TEPAV, SETA, ASAM can be regarded as semi-professional think-tanks which conduct research and publish reports on various policy issues. SETA is a very influential pro-government policy research organization.

Most civil society organizations are not professionally organized, and lack financial and human resources. The number of pro-government and pseudo-CSOs (i.e., GONGOs) benefiting from public and EU funding has increased recently. Several CSOs lack the staff, resources and visibility to carry out face-to-face fundraising. Turkey ranked 128 out of 135 countries in the World Giving Index 2014 (WGI), but has not been included in subsequent indexes. The government has excluded opponents from government decision-making processes. Instead, the government has created its own loyal civil society groups, such as TÜRGEV – a foundation led by President Erdoğan's son, which has gained political influence in the executive and expanded its financial resources.

Local and global environmental pressure groups such as Greenpeace have increasingly demonstrated against dam and hydroelectric-energy projects throughout Turkey, but their protests are regularly suppressed by the security forces and subjected to criminal investigations. The Turkish Foundation for Combating Soil Erosion for Reforestation and the Protection of Natural Habitat (TEMA) is the most established environmental organization in Turkey with 500,000 volunteers.

The Association for Support of Women Candidates (KA.DER) has for years promoted the equal representation of women and men in all walks of life. KA.DER sees equal representation as a condition for democracy and calls for equal representation in all elected and appointed decision-making positions. It conducts several EU- and UNDP-sponsored projects and advocate its objectives.

The initiative Oy ve Ötesi Girişimi (Vote and Beyond) in collaboration with the Unions of Bars of Turkey, several bars and the Checks and Balances Network monitored the local and presidential elections in 2014 and two parliamentary elections in 2015 with tens of thousands of volunteers spanning the spectrum of political affiliations and ideological backgrounds. Upon receiving training, these volunteers acted as independent election observers and reported the accuracy of the official election results.

In the wake of the failed coup in July 2016 and the government's declaration of the state of emergency, hundreds of foundations and CSOs that were allegedly part of the Gülenist movement were shut down, their assets confiscated and their members detained. Arguably, some religious orders and communities have replaced the Gülenist movement, and extended their own networks under the name of various solidarity associations. The state of emergency has extremely diminished the influence of civil society on governmental actions.

Citation:

"Yıllara, Nevilere ve İllere Göre Dernek ve Üye Sayısı," <https://www.dernekle.gov.tr/tr/AnasayfaLinkler/yillara-nevilere-ve-illere-g%C3%B6re-dernek-ve-uye-sayisi.aspx> (accessed 1 November 2017)

"VAKIFLARIN TÜRLERİNE GÖRE DAĞILIMI (28.07.2017)," <https://www.vgm.gov.tr/Documents/webicerik195.pdf> (accessed 1 November 2017)

"TEMA Vakfı 2016 yılının çevre olaylarını değerlendirdi," 4 January 2017, [http://www.tema.org.tr/web\\_14966-2\\_1/entitalfocus.aspx?primary\\_id=1681&target=categorial1&type=2&detail=single](http://www.tema.org.tr/web_14966-2_1/entitalfocus.aspx?primary_id=1681&target=categorial1&type=2&detail=single) (accessed 1 November 2017)

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