

SGI Sustainable Governance
Indicators 2009

International Cooperation

External adaptability report



Indicator International coordination activities

Question Does the government participate in the international coordination of joint reform initiatives?

30 OECD 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 government actively participates in coordinating joint reforms, as often as possible.*
- 8-6 = The government often participates in coordinating joint reform initiatives.*
- 5-3 = The government selectively and sporadically participates in joint reform coordination.*
- 2-1 = The government does not participate in coordinating joint reform initiatives.*

Sweden

value 10 Sweden has a long tradition of active participation in various international conventions, forums and activities. The government has been particularly active in the fields of the environment and human rights. One recent example of such activity is the “Midnight Sun Dialogue on Climate Change” held in June 2007, when Minister for the Environment Andreas Carlgren hosted environment ministers from the European Commission and 27 countries for an informal ministerial conference. Another example is when former Prime Minister Gören Persson invited government representatives, experts, researchers and survivors to take part in the Stockholm International Forum on the Holocaust, an intergovernmental conference held in January 2000. The conference was aimed at contributing to international cooperative efforts on Holocaust education, remembrance and research. However, due to its declaration of neutrality, Sweden does not fully participate in NATO or in missions of the U.N. Security Council.

Canada

value 9 Canada is a policy shaper in a variety of policy areas. As a net energy exporter, Canada has been active on the world stage in addressing new and emerging energy challenges. In the area of international development, Canada’s role in Africa has been growing in recent years, and its aid flows have increasingly focused on this region. For example, the Canada Fund for Africa, whose resources are estimated to be CAD 500 million, was created in 2002 to provide practical support for African efforts in the wake of the New Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD). Canada is also active in Afghanistan, where it plays an important military and

developmental role. Furthermore, in recent years, Canada has actively encouraged its NATO partners to increase their contributions to the mission there. Canada has also been involved in international discussions concerning security, defense, peace, multiculturalism, trade and economic development.

Canada is currently involved with numerous international forums and organizations, such as APEC, the Commonwealth, G-8, the Kyoto Protocol, La Francophonie, the OECD, the United Nations and the Organization of American States (OAS). The Harper minority government aims to recalibrate its established strategy on climate change in order to influence treaty-making in the post-Kyoto era. The primary goal of this recalibration is an international treaty in which everyone participates, including the big polluters: the United States, China and India.

Denmark

value 9

External influences obviously play an important role in a small and open country. Given the country's historically strong dependence on outside conditions, the international dimension has always played a role. At the same time, there has also been some degree of concern about how to protect and maintain political independence. For example, the issue of how the Danish welfare model is affected by international factors has always been of strong and particular concern. For this reason, the external influence on policy-making has always been two-sided, with focuses on what can be learned from other countries as well as on how foreign influences may constrain political freedom.

Over the years, these concerns have been very visible in debates in Denmark about the European Union and particularly those focused on the need for further international integration, and maintaining specific Danish positions has been important. As a result, the European Union is the largest external factor on Danish policy-making. In addition, on a number of occasions, Denmark has tried to assume a leadership or coordinating role when it comes to environmental issues.

Germany

value 9

As the biggest European Union member state, Germany takes part in all EU reform initiatives that have international effects. The German state and German businesses are active, and from time to time have been very successful, in setting standards and winning support for German models (e.g., the European Central Bank) and governing practices at the European and international levels. Joint EU reform initiatives tend to strengthen forces advocating for reform at home, especially in the areas of social security, family policy (e.g., child care initiatives designed to cope with the Lisbon agenda) and labor market issues. This situation has evolved somewhat in recent times. Some experts have argued that Germany's ability to

propagate its own institutional preferences at the EU level has fallen. However, others note that the country's primary goals for integration have been met, and that the country's policymakers thus have fewer outstanding goals to pursue on a European basis.

Italy

value 9

The government is in general quite ready to participate in the international coordination of reform initiatives. However, when it comes to the more practical development and implementation of initiatives, the government is sometimes distracted by internal problems. Italy is a promoter of international initiatives, especially in Central Europe, the Mediterranean and the western Balkans, and plays a lively role in the framework of the United Nations.

Concerning meeting and coordinating joint efforts in the field of international security and human rights, Italy has from January 2007 become a non-permanent member of the Security Council of the United Nations, and has also contributed to U.N. peacekeeping as part of several missions (the most recent in Lebanon, 2006). Outside the U.N., Italy has also contributed to peace missions in Afghanistan and Kosovo (both under NATO) and Iraq.

Italy has also contributed to the creation of an International Criminal Tribunal geared to help in judicial matters in the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda. The Italian government has often been an active player in respect to human rights, by influencing the agenda at the United Nations on the death penalty. In economics, as a member of the European Union, Italy has participated in the Lisbon strategy, but the reform process at home has so far been very slow.

Luxembourg

value 9

Luxembourg is regularly involved in international reform initiatives, particularly in the context of the European Union. This may seem surprising at first glance, given the small size of the country. But as a small country, Luxembourg is much more dependent on its international environment than are larger powers such as Germany, and therefore has an interest in actively shaping this environment. In addition, Luxembourg was one of the founding members of the European Community, and thus has a long tradition of active support for its further development. The country's activism has become especially visible under current Prime Minister Jean-Claude Juncker, who took office in 1995.

Recently, Luxembourg has been especially active on environmental issues. It supports an EU initiative to reduce value-added tax for products with reduced energy consumption, and it is in favor of a carbon tax for imports from countries that do not actively engage in fighting climate change.

New Zealand

value 9

Despite New Zealand's isolated geopolitical position, the country actively participates in international organizations and regimes. The country's major policy interests include the Antarctic Region, disarmament and proliferation, environmental protection, and human rights. New Zealand is a member of APEC, the Commonwealth of Nations, the OECD, the United Nations, and the WTO.

The government is very active in the international coordination of reform initiatives. For example, it has taken an active role in reducing greenhouse gas emissions, and has fervently promoted free trade. Having abolished most of its own import barriers, and as the only OECD country without agriculture subsidies, New Zealand now actively pushes for trade liberalization on all levels. This is done multilaterally by taking an active role in the WTO, in particular by pushing for freer trade during its Doha Round of negotiations.

New Zealand has also sought to deepen its economic relationships with Asian countries by striking bilateral free trade deals. Its free trade agreement with China will be a milestone in this sense. As the New Zealand dollar has shown signs of volatility, there has been ongoing debate over forming a currency union with Australia, the country's most important trade partner. New Zealand continues to harmonize laws and relationships with Australia, often adopting common standards in areas such as food safety and pharmaceuticals.

Norway

value 9

Norway is very diligent in adopting legislation passed on the level of the European Union. The country is not an EU member, but it still participates in most forms of EU policy coordination through membership in the European Economic Area (EEA), with the exception of certain reservations with respect to agriculture and fisheries. This relationship does not give it a role in EU decision-making or policy formulation, however.

Norway has been an active participant in and promoter of various international conventions, forums and activities. Areas of particular interest have been human rights, development and peace. Relative to its size, Norway is a large contributor to U.N. and NATO peacekeeping operations and to international organizations such as the IMF, the United Nations and the World Bank. Another example is Norway's participation in the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI) and the Kimberley Initiative on so-called blood diamonds. Norway actively encourages developing countries to join the EITI and is one of four contributors to the World Bank Special Trust Fund to assist in its implementation.

Australia

value 8

Australia's geographic isolation serves to limit its influence on international reform efforts. Nevertheless, its governments do seek to participate in international forums or organizations, including those focused on reform. The primary emphasis tends to be on the Asia-Pacific region, although Australia is also an active participant and instigator of various international conventions, forums and activities beyond the Pacific region. In the areas of security, defense, crime, the environment, human rights and economic development Australia has been a leader in furthering international cooperation. Furthermore, Australia has been particularly active in the World Trade Organization in seeking to end tariff protections among the affluent countries and to liberalize international trade.

Belgium

value 8

As a small country with an open economy, Belgium depends heavily on international institutional structures and coordination processes. It therefore favors greater coordination regarding tax policy in Europe and the setting of EU-wide goals for the reduction of carbon dioxide emissions and so on. As an EU member state, the Belgian government under Prime Minister Guy Verhofstadt participated in joint reform initiatives such as the EU Emissions Trading Scheme (ETS; see also "Environmental policy") and those implementing advanced security policies at EU airports.

The government also participated in the 2006 Congo mission. Though Belgium was seldom one of the driving forces behind these initiatives, Belgian diplomats are quite often called upon in various spheres of international politics when difficult compromises are to be reached.

When it comes to implementation at the domestic level, however, Belgium does not always fulfill its commitments on time. This is for the most part due to the complex interaction of the various levels of government in the Belgian federal system.

Hungary

value 8

Hungary is an active member of various international organizations, most notably the United Nations, NATO, the European Union and the Visegrad group, and has shown a clear commitment to multilateralism. Since becoming a member of the European Union, it has participated relatively smoothly in EU-level coordinated activities. It has also taken part in peacekeeping and police missions in conflict areas, including the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) mission in Afghanistan.

Japan

value 8

Japan's government often participates in internationally coordinated activities. The country is an active member of the G8 and has been supportive of the war against terror. A major, but still unsuccessful diplomatic drive in recent years has been to win a permanent seat in the UN Security Council. In general, Japan is very interested in a functioning international community, in part due to security goals such as access to energy and resources, which are more responsive to international cooperation than to military means. Another motive is competition with China for international status. Finally, Japan usually follows the lead of the United States, as in the case of military participation in Iraq.

Apart from multilateral activities, Japan has focused heavily on regional Asia-Pacific cooperation, although it has not always been easy to calibrate the country's own regional goals with U.S. interests. A persistent problem has been Japan's lack of conceptual leadership. While it has substantial resources, its capacity to inspire others and bring others together under one issue is quite limited.

Netherlands

value 8

Dutch public-sector reforms, such as the Open Method of Coordination, are widely considered to be exemplary in the context of EU-wide mutual learning procedures. However, this does not seem to result from the Netherlands' actively attempting to spread its own successful policies and political structures.

The Netherlands also actively participates in UN and NATO activities, in the Kyoto process, and in WTO initiatives aimed at bringing about a more equal distribution of wealth between poor and rich countries.

Slovakia

value 8

The Slovak government has actively participated in the international coordination of reform initiatives. Because the available executive capacities are limited, it has focused on a few multilateral initiatives. Areas of particular interest for the Slovak government include international security, economic development, human rights and peace in the Western Balkans and in Ukraine, including cooperation with eastern neighbors under the New Neighborhood Policy. Slovakia has soldiers in Iraq and has participated in fourteen military, police or civil missions with the United Nations, NATO, and European Union. Slovakia has supported the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) and is slated to join one of the two multinational Battle Groups.

South Korea

value 8

Korea has been an active participant a large number of international conventions, forums and activities, with defense, economic development and, more recently, the environment as areas of particular interest. In January 2007, Ban Ki-moon, a former foreign minister of Korea, became U.N. general secretary.

Since Ban's nomination for the position, the Korean government has worked hard to improve its profile in international organizations and provide leadership in international reform efforts. For example, Korea assumed the presidency of the Leading Group for Innovative Sources of Development Financing in March 2007.

Humanitarian food aid in North Korea and a joint project with Japan, China and the United States to resolve the problem of "yellow dust storms" from China are further examples of international coordination. Currently, the government participates actively in international reform initiatives in areas such as ecological conservation, youth exchange, economic aid and e-government.

Spain

value 8

The present Spanish government, which actively favors multilateralism, seeks to develop and strengthen multilateral relations while focusing on those issues most relevant for Spain. One main issue is the fight against terrorism. Spain has been actively involved in reform projects led by the United Nations, NATO, the EU Foreign and Defense Policy and the OSCE, and has played a significant role in the UN Committee on Human Rights' efforts in defending human rights.

At the same time, Spain plays a fundamental role as a bridge between the European Union and Latin America; part of such role requires the coordination of joint initiatives between the two regions. The most well-known initiative in this respect is the Alliance of Civilizations proposal, made by Spanish Prime Minister Jose Luis Rodriguez Zapatero in September 2004, which represents a new diplomatic focus for the country, given the attention to a new international security agenda that has emerged from an international system ever more interconnected.

Spain has been involved in initiatives within the European Union, (such as the debate over the European constitution), or within the scope of Mediterranean issues (such as the Sahara-Morocco conflict) and in Latin American (Ibero-American dialogue with the European Union). While the country's influence is great in comparison with other European countries, results are not considered very significant in terms of joint-reform initiatives.

United Kingdom

value 8

While adapting its domestic structures to international developments, the UK government, under Tony Blair's leadership, actively sought to shape such reforms

from the start within the European Union itself. More active in this regard than previous British governments, it influenced reform debates on issues such as the EU Constitutional Treaty, the allocation of EU budgetary resources, and the question of Turkey's accession to the European Union. Britain's approach was not, however, as multilateral as several of its European partners had hoped.

The British government has participated in initiatives targeting economic development in Africa, and it has played an important role in advancing international environmental reforms, such as the Kyoto Protocol. In terms of international security, Britain's St. Malo initiative to develop the European Security and Defense Policy proved crucial. The government was less visible internationally in reform initiatives concerning human rights and social progress. The OECD, EU Lisbon Strategy and the reform of international financial institutions are other areas in which the UK government is very active.

Austria

value 7

Active engagement in international organizations has always been a key trait of Austria's foreign policy. Although the primary venue for international cooperation is the European Union, Austria is also very active in other organizations, such as the United Nations, the OECD and the OSCE. Furthermore, another indication of Austria's active foreign-policy approach is the fact that Vienna is home to the headquarters of a number of international organizations, such as the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA).

As a small country, Austria's influence on international reform initiatives is limited. For this reason, Austria's foreign-policy agenda focuses on particular reform initiatives, such as those related to environmental policy.

Finland

value 7

The government's participation in internationally coordinated activities has been satisfactory. Although Finnish troops have participated in U.N. peacekeeping activities since 1956, participation in U.N. Security Council missions has been modest. Regional cooperation is an integral part of Finland's foreign policy and economic strategy, and is carried out in accordance with Finland's Strategy for Cooperation in the Neighboring Areas, confirmed by the government in 2004. Finland has given the newly independent Baltic states considerable aid and technical assistance, and supported their accession to the European Union.

As holder of the EU presidency in 2006, Finland strengthened the European Union's efforts to reinvigorate the Middle East peace process. During this period, the EU Commission also finalized its comparison of Croatian and Turkish legislation with EU legislation. Finland actively prepared the ground for negotiations on the EU's climate regime at summit meetings and in Permanent Partnership Council discussions.

Annotation: Finland Ministry for Foreign Affairs, “From Support to Partnership – Finland’s Strategy for Cooperation in Its Neighboring Areas.” (Helsinki: Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Department for Russia, Eastern Europe and Central Asia, 2004).

Iceland

value 7

The government is an active participant in international forums, but rarely initiates measures intended to shape or better international policies. After World War II, Iceland was a founding member of the United Nations, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. In 1949, it was also a founding member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). For the most part working cooperatively in international affairs, Iceland does not take the initiative in the international coordination of reform, but does take part in some activities on a national level, along with some minimal international participation. For example, until recently the country participated in peacekeeping in Iraq, and it participates in the work of the OSCE on a minimal level.

Annotation: The score is outside the range of the country experts because the lower score is justified in relation to the scores of the other countries.

Ireland

value 7

As a relatively small polity, Ireland’s principal role in the international coordination of joint reform initiatives occurs through its membership in the European Union, the OECD and the United Nations. Ireland’s policy of military neutrality prevents it from being a member of NATO. Ireland engaged actively in early UN debates on issues such as decolonization and nuclear non-proliferation.

Since the late 1960s, however, the European Union has been the focal point of Ireland’s participation in international joint reform initiatives, and Ireland’s membership in the European Union since 1972 has led to its participating in arguably the greatest single instance of international joint reform in the modern era.

Moreover, although Ireland may be characterized as being a frequent participant in international coordination activities, its relatively small size prevents it from being an active initiator of larger reform initiatives.

Portugal

value 7

Portugal’s modest size, resources and strategic importance limit its government’s active participation in international reform efforts.. At the same time, however,

Portugal has seized the opportunity to participate in as many inter-governmental organizations as possible and even to try to place Portuguese officials in leading positions, and its efforts have meet with a relative degree of success. One must also point to the regular involvement of Portuguese government officials in a wide range of EU initiatives, the country's active role in organizations of Portuguese-speaking countries, and its attempt to involve itself in UN peace missions and democratic monitoring activities all over the world, despite its limited size and resources.

As an EU member state (and one that recently held the organization's rotating presidency), Portugal necessarily participates in all reform initiatives within the EU framework. In addition, as a small nation, Portugal is keenly aware that the only way to maximize the effect of its international actions is by collaborating with other actors in the international community in a concerted fashion.

Turkey

value 7

The government frequently participates in the international coordination of joint reform initiatives. In its first term of office (during the period under investigation), the incumbent government changed the established "state policy" toward Cyprus and worked for the reunification of the island nation in the frame of the peace plan designed by then U.N. General Secretary Kofi Annan. Turkey in 2006 joined the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL), the scope of which was extended the same year. Turkish troops continued to participate in the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) mission in Afghanistan under NATO. After 9/11, Turkey played a leading role in establishing a dialogue between the Islamic world and Europe. The country convened the first meeting between the Organization of Islamic Countries (OIC) and the European Union, started an intercultural dialogue as part of the Ernst Reuter Initiative with the German foreign minister and inaugurated the "Alliance of Civilization Initiative" with the Spanish prime minister.

In the EU candidacy process, there has been legislative progress toward public administration reform. The government has put in a great effort to collaborate with international actors, mainly the European Commission, the OECD and the World Bank, for administrative reforms on a number of laws, such as the framework for public administration, a law over civil servants and new guidelines for associations and foundations.

France

value 6

As one of the most influential European Union member states, France is virtually automatically involved in many EU reform initiatives with an international reach, such as EU climate policy. The French government or president are often involved in the shaping of international policy that relates to French reform projects or fields in

which France has previously played an important role, such as security policy. In reality, such efforts have often been met with resistance by other EU member states. France's personnel policy has also been successful in recent years, when it comes to holding top positions within international organizations, such as at the European Central Bank (President Jean-Claude Trichet) or the World Trade Organization (Director-General Pascal Lamy).

Mexico

value 6

Mexican foreign policy is very open to multilateral initiatives. The central government has often participated in the international coordination of joint reform initiatives, and itself has a long experience with policy dialogues, policy recommendations, and structural adjustment negotiations with international organizations. Mexico takes particular pride in its OECD membership, because the current OECD director is a Mexican. The country also takes its World Bank membership and its role in various organizations dealing with inter-American affairs (such as the Organization of American States) quite seriously. Mexican policymakers are quite open to international advice and can be relied on to try to implement up-to-date agendas on "open government" and other such issues. If there is a problem, it is often an excessive enthusiasm for reform without sufficient awareness of the complexity of internal conditions. In recent presidential administrations, most activity has occurred in the economic realm, although the country has participated in bilateral reform efforts dealing with international security. The United States and Mexico have signed an important cooperation agreement in this sphere. However, this effort is exclusively oriented towards the United States, with no involvement from other countries. Other initiatives have proven scarce and difficult to implement.

Poland

value 6

Poland is an active member of the European Union, NATO, the Council of Baltic Sea States and the Visegrad Group, and has been strongly engaged in peacekeeping missions for the United Nations. Under the PiS government, Poland's influence in the European Union weakened. The position of EU ambassador representing Poland remained vacant in 2006 for some time, and the government alienated many other members of the European Union by its intransigence.

United States

value 6

As a world power, the United States will participate in international-coordination and joint reform initiatives to the extent that doing so is in its interests. That is, the

United States actively seeks and promotes international cooperation on its own terms. Examples include reforms of the U.N. Security Council, the U.N. Human Rights Commission, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. The United States is also an effective participant in the G-7/8 process.

On the other hand, the U.S. government has also shown itself to be uncooperative on a number of issues. The most notorious examples are Bush administration's refusal to join the International Criminal Court and to ratify the Kyoto Protocol on the internationally coordinated reduction of CO2 emissions, although it had already been signed by the Clinton administration. Internationally uncooperative behavior is also evidenced by the United States' having sometimes chosen to refrain from paying its membership dues to international organizations, such as the United Nations, the IMF and the World Bank, in response to policies of these institutions that the U.S. government disapproves of. U.S. participation in U.N. Security Council missions is relatively restrained. For this issue, the U.S. ranked 11th out of all OECD countries in 2007. In light of its leading military role in the world, this is a modest score.

Czech Republic

value 5

When it comes to international initiatives, the Czech Republic is a follower rather than initiator. The country's main international role is as a part of the European Union and NATO and as an ally of the United States and other NATO member countries. Attention is also paid to cooperation within the Visegrad Group, the alliance of the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia, which celebrated its 15th anniversary in 2006. The country's concern for international human rights is limited to conditions in only a handful of countries. The extent of the country's role in international environmental initiatives has led to a number of domestic conflicts, although these have only involved a part of the political spectrum. President Václav Klaus has taken a strong, and highly controversial, stand on global warming. He has downplayed the seriousness of the issue and has demonized environmentalists as a major threat to freedom.

Greece

value 5

Greece facilitates international cooperation in fields such as international security, economic development, social progress, human rights issues and environmental protection. However, Greece has not to date played a leading role in these fields. The country is more an imitator than an innovator in this respect. The Greek government rarely contributes substantively to the international coordination of joint reform initiatives, although it sometimes serves as a reluctant follower in such activities.

Switzerland

value 5

The Swiss government's political will and levels of engagement in internationally coordinated activities are rather low and selective. Swiss foreign policy activities are focused on international economic affairs, environmental issues, advocating international law, supporting peace talks and third world relations. Policymakers see the basic goals of their international activity to be the preservation of the country's independence, neutrality and sovereignty. The idea that reforms are defined commonly on the international level and then become in some way binding for Switzerland is alien to the Swiss political discourse.

Indicator **Exporting reforms**

Question **Does the government seek to spread its own reform priorities and build transnational reform coalitions?**

30 OECD 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 government acts mostly as a pioneer.*
- 8-6 = The government acts mostly as an early follower.*
- 5-3 = The government acts mostly as a late follower.*
- 2-1 = The government is rather inactive.*

Denmark

value 9 Denmark has occasionally served as a model country and shaped the reform agenda in other countries or in the European Union. For example, the “flexicurity” model of the Danish labor market has figured prominently in many EU discussions. However, closer scrutiny quickly reveals that exporting reforms is difficult, if not impossible, given the importance of institutional and political complementarities. Furthermore, when it comes to some environmental policy issues, Denmark has been a pioneer and model for others. At the same time, however, the fact that Denmark is a small country limits its capacity to steer events outside its borders and makes it necessary for it to be highly adaptive. The country has been rather successful at this, both politically and economically.

New Zealand

value 9 New Zealand is regarded as a role model for political and economic reforms among OECD countries. There is a constant inflow of visitors from other countries to New Zealand studying the domestic system. At the same time, former government ministers and academics frequently travel abroad to report on the costs and benefits of reforms successfully implemented in New Zealand. This relates not only to New Public Management ideas and economic and social restructuring policies, but also to aspects such as the country’s freedom of information legislation.

Since most major reforms took place in the 1990s, the current government cannot claim credit. However, it is also a political achievement to avoid falling back into old habits, in particular in times of budget surpluses and low unemployment rates. Hence, the incumbent government has stayed “on the right track,” and this persistence may be regarded as a difficult and perhaps pioneering achievement in its own right, as it shows that radical reforms are not necessarily reversed in the future.

Sweden

value 9

Swedish governments have a long history of exporting elements of the country's constitutional model and welfare state. Whether through international aid organizations or bilateral contacts, Sweden has exported its systems of taxation and public administration to countries in Africa and Latin America. This should not be understood as indicating that Sweden harbors ambitions to create transnational reform networks. Instead, it is meant to suggest that Swedish governments of all ideological orientations have appeared eager to export some of their policy solutions to other countries.

The only potential problem in this diffusion process is that Swedish systems do not always work for the governments of some countries with different institutional arrangements or policy orientations. In general, however, despite its small size, Sweden has exported an astonishing number of reforms, including those related to its ombudsman, taxation, welfare and work-place-regulation systems.

United Kingdom

value 9

In addition to being an active participant in coordinating international reform activities, Britain can be considered an exporter of reforms. The Lisbon agenda in the European Union and, more generally, the debate on the "third way" demonstrate how the British government has pursued a proactive role in spreading its own reform priorities over the last decade. In contrast, however, the British government has been notably less active with respect to the reform of international organizations such as the United Nations and the European Union, however.

United States

value 9

The U.S. government acts as a pioneer in that it uses the weight and strength of its economy as well as its financial, cultural and (sometimes) military power to export its own reform priorities through international channels and to build transnational reform coalitions. The U.S. government also acts through the leverage it has secured for itself in international organizations, such as the U.N. Security Council, NATO and other military alliances, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, the World Trade Organization (WTO) and many free-trade agreements it has entered into, the OECD and other such international institutions.

The conditions it ties to development aid also play a role. Its cultural policy abroad is also an important vehicle for exporting the American way of life, in general, and American political ideas, in particular. Of course, the United States also promotes change of other kinds in other countries, and often aggressively so.

The Bush administration has made a major project of promoting democracy, especially in the Middle East, although the effort may be partly an effort to broaden the rationale for the Iraq war. In the post-9/11 period, the United States has also been promoting the development of anti-terrorism programs in countries that are likely locations for terrorist training camps. Sometimes military power is used to impose an American conception of democracy on previously hostile autocratic nations.

Canada

value 8 Despite having been a pioneer on international issues in the late 1990s (e.g., bans on land mines and multiculturalism), Canada is currently not often viewed as being a pioneer in promoting domestic reform policies on the international stage. Nevertheless, Canada has recently been recognized as a leader in assessing new chemical substances and regulating substances that may be harmful to human health and the environment. In addition, Canada's historical openness toward immigrants has continued in recent years, and it remains an exceptional example among developed countries for its handling of this issue. These examples – and Canada's current engagement in Afghanistan – prove the international commitment of the two governments in the period under review, and together they justify Canada's being classified as a pioneer rather than a follower.

Norway

value 8 Norway's role in exporting reform varies between different policy fields. In general, it is reasonable to say that Norway's policymakers try to promote their solutions and approaches in areas where they have competence and experience, such as in the fields of development aid or fishery policy.

Norway spends a relatively large share of GDP on foreign aid, and a clearly stated aim for this aid is to spread democracy and social development. To this end, active measures are taken to strengthen civil society in developing countries.

Moreover, a large share of the country's bilateral aid (aid directly to foreign governments) is tied to measures such as education, health, strengthening of local institutions and fighting corruption. The social model of "flexicurity" is often viewed as an alternative to a pure laissez-faire market system, which can in principle be exported to developing countries to guarantee the joint pursuit of growth and social justice.

In the period under review, the government also actively sought out broader levels of international cooperation, including in such fields as environmental policy, but not entirely with the aim of spreading its own priorities. Norway could probably be termed more a cautious partner of cooperation than a follower.

Slovakia

value 8

As a small country, Slovakia's leverage in exporting reforms is limited. However, the economic and social reforms adopted under the Dzurinda government drew significant international attention. The Slovak government has propagated these reforms as templates for other EU members, both new and old. Some experts who adapted and implemented these reforms in Slovakia are now working as advisors in neighboring countries (e.g., Hungary, Czech Republic). The Slovak government has also been committed to passing on to other transformation countries its own experience with democratization, decentralization, the buildup of civil society, and the treatment of minorities. It has addressed these issues in Ukraine, Belarus and Southeastern Europe in particular.

Australia

value 7

The Australian government has actively promoted a number of its domestic policies internationally, particularly in Southeast Asia and the South Pacific. The system of targeted social protection is considered appropriate for countries in Southeast Asia which currently have little or no system of social welfare. Other programs and services deemed to meet international best-practice standards include immigration and resettlement, public service efficiency and integrity, anti-discrimination legislation and parliamentary procedures. However, efforts to export these practices are not clearly linked to domestic reform priorities. Rather, this tends to be a case of communicating existing domestic policies and institutions thought to work well.

Austria

value 7

The Austrian government acts more as a follower than as a pioneer in terms of reform policies. As an exception to the rule, however, Austria seeks to export its strict anti-nuclear position.

Luxembourg

value 7

Although Luxembourg has a long tradition of exporting reform ideas, during the current period of review, its activism in exporting reforms has been difficult to judge. One of the biggest success stories is Luxembourg's long-standing plea for fiscal moderation and moderate taxation throughout the European Union. Recent initiatives have taken place on a slightly smaller scale (see "International coordination"). It would therefore be a slight exaggeration to call Luxembourg a present-day policy pioneer.

Mexico

value 7

In its close relations with the World Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank and even the OECD, Mexico often behaves as a standard-taker. In only a few cases, together with other developing countries, has Mexico been able to imprint its own priorities on the international agenda. This has been most effective in multilateral forums working on topics connected to developing countries' problems. For example, Vicente Fox's administration was very interested in spreading its free-trade agenda to the rest of Latin America, even to the point of triggering a major confrontation with Venezuelan president Hugo Chavez in which diplomatic relations were nearly cut.

Netherlands

value 7

Governments of other states often utilize the Dutch system as a blueprint for their own reform activities. In Germany, for example, a number of local German governments assisted by the KGSt, the largest local government association in Germany adopted New Public Management strategies from model Dutch cities in the early 1990s. The Tilburg model to structure the city administration like a corporate group is one such example. Nevertheless, the Netherlands does not actively spread its reform priorities via supra- and international channels. In addition, although the country participates actively in the Lisbon Strategy, it follows its own course in most policy fields.

Spain

value 7

The Spanish government has acted both as a pioneer in certain policy fields and as an early adopter in others. There are, however, reform priorities for which Spain has lagged, especially concerning the challenge of global warming. Leading reform initiatives include the push for parity between women and men in politics, the law for the protection of the rights of women, and the law allowing homosexuals to marry and adopt children. In this sense, the Spanish government is engaged in a type of post-materialist policy-making that is relatively progressive in the West. Spain has also been a European (and probably worldwide) pioneer in the approach it has taken to deal with the problem of illegal immigration from sub-Saharan Africa.

Some examples of Spanish contributions to international reforms include the Spanish representative, Javier Solana, as Secretary General of the Council/High Representative of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (Mr. PESC), and different Spanish presidents who have sat as members of the European Parliament. Spanish influence is broadly recognized on Latin American matters through cultural

and historical links, and institutionally within the Ibero-American Summit of Heads of State and Prime Ministers. Prime Minister Zapatero in cooperation with Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan under the umbrella of the United Nations has proposed an initiative named the Alliance of Civilizations, building on historic regional connections. This initiative is an example of government interest on domestic issues that increasingly are tied to the international scene (with an emphasis on immigration).

Finland

value 6

During the period of this analysis, Finland's government was not actively working to spread its own reform priorities through international channels. Indeed, Finland has been a follower rather than a pioneer. According to a popular saying, Finland has acted in the EU in the role of a pattern pupil, incorporating new features rapidly and implementing policies that represent other partners' priorities.

Ireland

value 6

With its small and open economy, Ireland adapts to externalities more often than it exports its policy agendas so as to alter those externalities. In several areas of policy – including research and development, civil service and regulatory reform – Ireland's public policy objectives are typically stated with reference to "market leaders" in these policies in other countries. However, owing to Ireland's recent economic success, some of the newer EU member states have studied its corporate-taxation and labor market policies in the hopes of replicating its success. Although having your policies studied is not the same as actively spreading reform ideas, it does raise the awareness that the country has something to offer, which in itself may induce a more active export policy.

Japan

value 6

Japan is generally considered a follower in international relations. This is due to its heavy dependence on the United States for security, as well as its failure in overcoming its own war history. In recent years, Japan has sought a more proactive role. However, it is difficult to associate Japan's name with any major recent initiative. In 2005 and 2006, it became clear that Japan's goal of joining the UN Security Council would be difficult. In East Asia, Japan has lacked a clear vision, trying instead to carve a path between U.S. and Chinese influences. However, Japan contributes heavily to international initiatives, including to the UN budget.

Turkey

value 6

In exporting reforms, the incumbent government can be considered a “follower” and not always a prompt one. Perhaps a more relevant question is whether Turkey even has an agenda of building “transnational reform coalitions.” Rather, the government, sometimes willingly, sometimes reluctantly, has joined such coalitions yet only after a period of time.

In some aspects, Turkey’s experience as a nation has had a powerful impact on other states. The harmonization of an Islamic and national identity, the advent of a secular democracy and robust economic development has attracted much attention in the predominately Muslim Middle East. The AKP, particularly Prime Minister Erdogan and President Gül, have stated often that Islam and democracy are not contradictory but complementary. President Gül especially espoused this message prior to the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq, when he tried to establish closer cooperation between Turkey’s regional neighbors.

France

value 5

French economic policy has gone against the “mainstream” of international reform policy in recent years. French governments have only tentatively acted in step with EU guidelines. The “French model” is often insisted upon in matters concerning economic and financial policy. This severely limits the possibility of promoting the French model abroad as a success.

For years, the French have tried to relax the rigid regime of the European Stability Pact and have pushed for the politics of the European Central Bank (ECB) to be controlled by an “economic government.” The policies of President Nicolas Sarkozy at the time of writing have continued the conflict over this matter with the ECB and other EU member states. French policy in the last years has, at any rate, been more reactive and defensive than it has been proactive. During his election campaign and since taking office during the review period, Sarkozy has tried to have his ideas for EU financial policy reform brought about by using an active, if not activist, approach. Should these attempts prove to be successful (which is at the time of writing not the case) and lead to a change in the ECB’s strict policy on monetary stability, the above comments would be rendered moot.

Germany

value 5

In the 1980s, talk of “Modell Deutschland” was very popular in debates over international policy reform. However, Germany’s position as a role model declined in the 1990s, and today the opposite seems true. Experts say that Germany has not

played a leading role in exporting reform, because its own domestic reform efforts are in fact lagging in many important policy areas.

However, the country's embrace of environmental technology seems to be an important exception, and has become a widely accepted model in the international debate over climate change. Recent reform discourse in Germany has been deeply influenced by best-practice solutions found in other European states.

During the period of this analysis, the German government has tried to export its own national reform program (e.g., reduction of bureaucratic costs) to the European reform agenda. The government is optimistic then to "re-import" a European solution for what is effectively a German problem. The results of this strategy have been mixed.

Hungary

value 5

Due to weak international representation, and to the domestic lack of a clear-cut, consensual definition of strategic interests, Hungary has acted mostly as a policy-taker and late follower with regard to reform. In some cases, however, exporting reform has been tried. An attempt to export the Hungarian system of minority rights to neighboring countries failed after the nearby nations proved unwilling to adopt the policies. In cooperation with Austria and Croatia, Hungary has also tried to bring its reform experience to bear in the West Balkans.

Iceland

value 5

Iceland has rarely tried to export policy initiatives or reforms through its membership in international organizations. This is perhaps understandable in view of Iceland's small size. Iceland's post-1984 fisheries policy, by which fish catches have been regulated by quotas (ultimately made freely transferable), could have been a candidate for such export. However, this has not been tried. Iceland left the International Whaling Commission in 1992 because of disagreements about Icelandic whaling, but was reaccepted into the body in 2002. An attempt to field an Icelandic candidate for the U.N. Security Council, in preparation now for some time, is a first of its kind, and is intended to give Iceland a new role in influencing foreign policy debates. Additionally, Foreign Minister Ingibjörg Sólrún Gísladóttir, who came into power in June 2007, has discussed taking more initiative for the country as a mediator in international peace negotiations.

Italy

value 5

The abilities of the government to work actively through supranational and international channels to build coalitions and promote its policy goals are not very impressive. The government acts more often than not as a late follower in the reform

process. The Prodi II government did try to be more active within the EU framework than did the previous government.

Italy's participation has been much appreciated in international peacekeeping and in the protection of human rights, as the country has attempted to export, spread and build supranational consensus on the values of democracy and social justice. However, Italy is also a clear laggard in terms of economic reforms (the country's growth potential is just above 1 percent), fiscal policies (the country's debt-to-GDP ratio is the highest in the European Union), and environmental policies (particularly the Kyoto protocol).

Portugal

value 5

The incumbent government has adopted measures in some areas that can be viewed as internationally innovative as well as influential among specialized policy circles. In the area of e-government – and particularly the provision of public services online – Portugal has dramatically risen in the EU and international rankings, having innovative initiatives regarding taxation, administrative procedures and the overall availability of online information relevant to citizens. Some Portuguese initiatives aimed at reducing the levels of bureaucracy between citizens and the state, and particularly those facilitating the business environment, have also been at the forefront of practices across Europe.

Nevertheless, in all remaining areas, it is difficult to find cases in which Portugal's policies and good practices have been pioneering and internationally influential. In fact, generally speaking, the country is a follower in terms of international policies, although its relatively open outlook and EU membership usually make it an early follower.

South Korea

value 5

The Roh Moo-hyun government initiated some important international projects, such as the six-party talks aimed at resolving the North Korean nuclear issue. It also tried to spread its own reform priorities at the regional level, especially to other Southeast Asian countries. However, the government did not make sufficient efforts to spread its own reform priorities or play a mature role as a reform initiator in the international community.

There have been some efforts to present Korea's economic development since the 1960s as a role model for developing countries, using Korea's growing official development assistance as an incentive. For example, the Korean government's development agency (KOICA) gives grants to students from developing countries in order to study in Korea.

Switzerland

value 5

Switzerland has a very strong tradition of neutrality. The population accepted Swiss accession to the United Nations only very recently, in a popular referendum. The country is not a traditional exporter of reform ideas on the international level. However, there are some areas in which Switzerland is rather successful in spreading reforms and building transnational reform coalitions, in particular in offering its services as a moderator, and in supporting the ideas of human rights, democracy and the rule of law. The Swiss government and national proponents of an export-oriented economy are also traditionally interested in free trade and a liberal world market, and strongly support the WTO talks. The Swiss experience of being a multicultural nation with historical cleavages can be seen as a starting point for the promotion of peaceful settlement of multicultural conflicts around the world.

Belgium

value 4

Although not an active promoter of international reforms or an active exporter of domestic policy or institutional ideas, the “Belgian model” of accommodating interests of different communities in a nonviolent way is often called upon in international conflicts. Two examples include the conflict in Cyprus between the Greek and Turkish areas of the country, or the transition from apartheid to democratic rule in South Africa. However, the influence of the Belgian experience is usually indirectly offered through experts and academics. Given that the country is currently grappling with a myriad of structural problems, this experience is generally presented as practical, not pioneering experience. Taking into account the rather slow process of domestic adaptation to international developments, Belgium under the Verhofstadt government is best characterized as a late follower, and not a reform pioneer.

Czech Republic

value 4

The Czech Republic is not a very active promoter of reform agendas to other countries and primarily acts as a late follower. One exception to this general rule is the country’s support for a pro-Western agenda in some other former communist or authoritarian countries. Euroskeptics surrounding President Václav Klaus, who are critical of the deepening of European integration in general and of EMU in particular, have tried to spread their gospel within the European Union, but were not supported by the center-left government.

Greece

value 2 Recent Greek governments have been policy importers, rather than exporters. Governments have prioritized domestic reform and adaptation to EU agendas, as in the case of structural economic reform and social policy. However, the current government has not actively pursued activities that would spread its reform priorities through supra- or international channels.

Poland

value 2 The PiS government was not very active in exporting reforms. It has lacked a coherent foreign policy and an "exportable" domestic reform agenda. However, there have been some attempts at disseminating Poland's experience with transition to countries of the former Soviet Union. These activities have largely been undertaken by civic organizations. Public financial support has been limited.

This report is part of the Sustainable Governance Indicators 2009 project, which assesses and compares the reform capacities of the OECD member states.

More on the SGI 2009 at www.sgi-network.org

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