

**SGI** Sustainable  
Governance  
Indicators

## 2014 Adaptability Report

Domestic Adaptability, International Cooperation



## Indicator

## Domestic Adaptability

## Question

To what extent does the government respond to international and supranational developments by adapting domestic government structures?

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 government has appropriately and effectively adapted domestic government structures to international and supranational developments.
- 8-6 = In many cases, the government has adapted domestic government structures to international and supranational developments.
- 5-3 = In some cases, the government has adapted domestic government structures to international and supranational.
- 2-1 = The government has not adapted domestic government structures no matter how useful adaptation might be.

### Sweden

## Score 10

Following Sweden's EU membership, which came into force in the mid-1990s, there has been a sustained effort to adapt government, policy and regulation to European Union standards. The bulk of this adaptation relates to changes in domestic regulatory frameworks and policies, a development that does not impact the structure of government.

Estimates suggest that some 75% of the regulations that pertain to Sweden are today EU rules, not domestic rules. This pattern is probably typical of all EU member states. Most of the adaptation has taken place not at the policy level, but on the administrative level, for instance by integrating domestic regulatory agencies with EU agencies.

### Denmark

## Score 9

The most intrusive form of international/supranational cooperation Denmark takes part in is with the European Union. Since membership in 1973, an elaborate system of coordination within government administration has developed. It involves all affected ministries and agencies and often also interest organizations. In parallel, the European Affairs Committee in the People's Assembly (Folketing) has become an efficient democratic control of Danish EU policy. Denmark speaks with one voice in Brussels.

## Citation:

Peter Nedergaard, *Organiseringen af Den europæiske Union*. 4. udg. Copenhagen: Handelshøjskolens Forlag, 2005, chapters 20-23.

Finn Laursen, "Denmark: in pursuit of influence and legitimacy," in Wolfgang Wessels, Andreas Maurer and Jürgen Mittag (eds.), *Fifteen into one? The European Union and its member states*. Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2003, pp. 92-114.

## Estonia

### Score 9

The most important supranational organization that effects domestic policies is the European Union. Therefore, coordination of national interests in the European Union has been Estonia's main priority since it joined the union in 2004. After consultations with the parliament, the government adopts a framing policy document (e.g., "Estonian EU policy 2011–2015"), which defines the main principles and national objectives Estonia wants to pursue in the European Union. Generally, the formation and implementation of national EU policy is the responsibility of the government. For better coordination of national efforts, Estonia formed an interministerial Coordination Council on EU Affairs in 2012. Formerly, the Council and Secretariat in EU Affairs by the State Chancellery was coordinating administrative matters, but lacked proactive political planning competence. Thus, the establishment of the new coordination council is as an important step towards more coherent and efficient policymaking. The secretariat in EU affairs continues to provide administrative and legal support in preparing EU-related activities.

To follow democratic tradition of checks and balances, a European Union Affairs Committee exists in the national parliament. It forms political positions on the draft legislation of the European Union, provides political opinion and supervises the activities of the government in implementing EU policies.

Cooperation with other international organizations (e.g., WTO, OECD, NATO) is in the responsibility of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Vice-chancellor in European-Transatlantic cooperation is a member of the Coordination Council on EU Affairs.

## Finland

### Score 9

Most recent adaptations have been in the course of EU membership. Finland was among the first wave of EU member states to adopt the euro, and domestic government structures have in several instances been adapted to EU norms. The Grand Committee of parliament is now tasked with preparing and dealing with EU matters, and the EU secretariat, which is responsible for

the coordination of EU affairs, was transferred from the Ministry for Foreign Affairs to the Prime Minister's Office, as its responsibilities were assumed by the government secretariat for EU affairs. A coordination system exists to ensure that Finland maintains a coordinated position in line with its overall EU policy on issues under consideration in the European Union. This system involves competent ministries, the cabinet committee on EU affairs, the committee for EU affairs and its various EU subcommittees, which are sector-specific preparative organs and constitute the basis for the promotion of EU affairs at the level of civil servants.

## France

### Score 9

The French government has a good track record in adapting national institutions to European and international challenges. This can be attributed to the bureaucratic elite's awareness of international issues. This contrasts vividly with the government parties' weakened ability to adapt national policies to the challenges stemming from the globalization of the economy, as there is often fierce resistance from trade unions, most political parties and public opinion at large.

## Ireland

### Score 9

The key influence in this area is Ireland's membership in the European Union and, in the financial area, of the euro zone. In the 40 years since Ireland became a member of the European Economic Community, the country has adapted institutions at all levels of government to allow effective functioning in Europe.

In the financial and monetary area, Ireland's 2011 bail-out agreement with the Troika fundamentally altered the country's decision-making structures with regard to fiscal policy. The loss of sovereignty entailed in this agreement is seen in the close monitoring of the country's budgetary arithmetic and the targets set out in the agreement. Ireland has been successful in implementing this agreement, to the point where it is held up as an example of successful cooperation with the ECB–European Union–IMF.

## Latvia

### Score 9

Latvia has adapted domestic government structures to the requirements of EU membership, revising policy-planning and decision-making processes to develop national positions more effectively.

In order to ensure rapid policy decisions and policy coherence in the wake of the economic crisis, and to ensure its ability to meet commitments under the IMF and EU loan agreements, Latvia created a reform-management group for policy coordination. The group considers major policy reforms; in 2012, this included changes to the biofuels-support system, reforms in civil-service human-resource management, tax-policy changes, and reforms in the management of state enterprises. The group has proven to be a useful forum for the consolidation of support across sectors for major policy changes or structural reforms. The inclusion of non-governmental actors in the group serves to facilitate social acceptance of upcoming policy changes.

## Lithuania

### Score 9

Lithuania's policymakers have over time significantly adapted domestic government structures to international and supranational developments. A network of semi-independent regulatory agencies was developed during the preaccession period. After the completion of EU accession negotiations, Lithuania's system of coordinating EU affairs was gradually moved from the core government to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and decentralized to line ministries in the case of specific sectoral matters. The relatively fast absorption of EU funds in Lithuania indicates that Lithuanian institutions and procedures have been quite adequately adapted to the implementation of EU-funded programs. However, adoption of EU policy has largely taken place on a formal basis, rather than indicating substantial policy learning. Institutional adjustment has not led to significant structural policy reforms, with the partial exception of the country's higher-education reforms.

## Canada

### Score 8

Organizational change is constantly taking place within the federal government, and much of this change reflects international developments. For example, there have been many changes over time in the structural and reporting relationships between the various departments involved in international matters, which include the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), and the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT).

In the March 2013 federal budget, CIDA was merged with DFAIT. The rationale provided for this reorganization was that an enhanced alignment of foreign, development, trade and commercial policies and programs will allow the government to achieve greater policy coherence on top-priority issues, and will result in greater overall impact. The move finishes a process the

Conservatives began in 2006, when they rejoined the trade and foreign-affairs portfolios to emphasize that trade policy was a key part of their foreign-affairs agenda. Development advocates have expressed concern that the reorganization will lead to a less focused and effective foreign-assistance program.

## Italy

### Score 8

On the medium term, the most significant impact that international, and particularly supranational (EU-related) developments have had upon the structure and working of the government concerns the role of the minister of finance and of the Treasury. Because of budgetary requirements deriving from European integration and participation in the eurozone, the minister of finance has acquired increasing weight in the governmental decision-making process, exercising an effective gatekeeping role with respect to line ministry proposals.

Under the Monti government the structure of the government has been further streamlined by keeping the number of ministers and undersecretaries smaller than in the past (13 ministers with portfolio, six minister without portfolio and 29 undersecretaries). In practical terms and in response to the difficult requirements of the national and international economic situation, an informal troika composed of the prime minister, the finance minister and the minister for European affairs has played a crucial role in steering the implementation of the government program and guiding the most important decisions. Other ministers, perhaps with the exception of the minister of labor and welfare, have had a secondary role. The downstream adaptation of European integration requirements worked quite well. However, there is still no efficient structure across all political levels for upstream adaptation processes that articulate and transfer the national need for political action to – for instance – the European level.

## New Zealand

### Score 8

New Zealand has ample experience in drastically restructuring its public sector and reforming policymaking to adapt to new challenges. Major reforms were accomplished from the mid-1980s to the mid-1990s. However, this was done under a majoritarian regime, based on a first-past-the-post electoral system. Part of the reform package involved the change to a proportional electoral system, a move that was not initiated by the governing elite but rather the voting public. Today, given the existence of a multiparty system and a minority government, radical reform is much more difficult to achieve.



In retrospect, institutional reforms delivered somewhat less than was anticipated and have at times been disruptive. The government at the time of writing is concerned with driving efficiency and performance improvements into the system, and has decided to do this with relatively limited emphasis on a major restructuring of government agencies.

## Norway

### Score 8

Government structures have remained fairly stable over time. There are some ongoing efforts to improve the institutional framework, although not primarily in response to international developments. It is common for new governments to reallocate tasks across ministries.

Examples of adaptation include the country's early establishment of an Environment Ministry, the strengthening of the political leadership devoted to development cooperation, and the recent establishment of a Directorate of Integration and Diversity separate from the body dealing with immigration issues. In general, interdepartmental coordination has increased as a result of international activity, particularly so in relation to the handling of European affairs. A decision by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to create an anti-terrorism coordinator was never implemented.

## South Korea

### Score 8

International and supranational developments that affect Korea directly can trigger rapid and far-reaching change. For example, Korea has reacted to the global financial and economic crisis with decisive action and massive government intervention. Global standards play a crucial role for the Korean government. Reports and criticism issued by international organizations such as the OECD or the IMF, or by partners such as the United States or the European Union, are taken very seriously. Of course, there are many areas that show certain limitations to the full compliance, due to the informal practices and networks. The degree of adaptability, however, depends to a large extent on compatibility with domestic political goals. For example, the Korean government is relatively less responsive to global standards in the field of labor rights or the reduction of non-tariff barriers.

However, the Korean government declared its intention to increase overseas development aid in order to comply with the global standard in the near future.

## Spain

### Score 8

The Spanish government has largely adapted its domestic structures to agreements made at international and supranational level, although this adaptation has not always been implemented effectively. The most important impact has been produced by EU membership, with government structures adapted to significant developments such as the monetary union, the internal market, access to EU funds, the launch of the External Action Service and the different sectoral aspects of EU law (competition, environment, transport, justice and home affairs, etc.).

The coordination and adaptation of the Spanish government to the European Union is mainly the task of the Secretariat of State for the European Union (an efficient department within the less efficient Ministry of Foreign Affairs). For obvious reasons, and considering the economic predominance of the EU agenda, the Prime Minister's Economic Office (dealing with the structural reforms), the Ministry for Economy, and the Ministry for Finance also have important responsibilities in terms of cooperation among ministries on EU matters.

More generally, all line ministries have to some extent Europeanized their organizations, although most ministries lack units dealing specifically with the European Union, and interministerial coordination among them is weak. Links with subnational levels of government (since the European Union has a strong impact in many policy areas handled by the autonomous regions) are made through the network of intergovernmental councils or conferences (*conferencias sectoriales*), but this system has considerable room for improvement if it is to better address the effects of the European Union on policy formulation and implementation. The government has also responded to other international developments (such as NATO membership and the Kyoto Protocol).

## United States

### Score 8

As a world power and as the initiator of many international organizations, the United States has developed institutional structures – from the National Security Council to the United States Trade Representative – that are able to respond to its international obligations. Climate change negotiations, for example, have been firmly institutionalized in the Office of Global Affairs in the State Department. Similarly, the creation of the Department of Homeland Security was a domestic structural response to the challenges of international terrorism. Whether the policies of these units and agencies have



been successful or have facilitated multilateral cooperation has depended on the policy choices of each administration and the disposition of Congress.

The Obama administration, for its part, has continued to develop new institutional structures to adapt to policy challenges. In 2008, for example, President Obama established the White House Office of Energy and Climate Change Policy. The Obama administration has also emphasized multilateralism, although this has led to only minor structural changes. Congress does not adapt institutionally, because the committee system gives individual members large stakes in maintaining existing jurisdictions. Multilateralism is, therefore, more a matter of policy direction than of structural change. The United States has been less prone to adapt domestic policymaking structures to the requirements of the international trade regime, in some cases resisting compliance with fully adjudicated obligations under the WTO and the North American Free Trade Agreement. Given the domestic political orientation of most members, Congress has placed low priority on compliance with international trade agreements and regimes.

## Croatia

### Score 7

Croatia's accession to the European Union and NATO have been accompanied by substantial changes in domestic government structures which range from the reintroduction of RIA to the passage of the Societal Consultation Codex and the strengthening of capacities for policy coordination. As a result, the style and process of policymaking have changed. It remains to be seen, however, whether or not these changes will be sustained and survive accession. For instance, the shifting of the responsibility for EU coordination to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs after accession has raised concerns that the quality of EU coordination might decline.

## Germany

### Score 7

As in other EU countries, the influence of EU regulations is significant within Germany. The country's legal system is strongly influenced by EU law, but the federal government does not have a central policy lead for the management of EU affairs. Each federal ministry is responsible for all matters within its sectoral purview related to the adoption, implementation and coordination of proposals by the European Commission. Federal structures with their various layers of governments and mix of institutional actors present specific problems in terms of policy learning and adaptability

to international and supranational developments. The federalism reform of 2006 helped streamline these processes somewhat, but difficulties remain.

In order to address challenges posed by the financial crisis and other structural concerns, a constitutional debt limit was introduced as part of the 2009 federalism reform. Faced with significant complaints from the business sector regarding red tape, the federal government also launched a major program to reduce administrative burdens. The creation of a Better Regulation unit in the Federal Chancellery, along with the establishment of an independent advisory body, the National Regulatory Control Council (NRCC), has lately been of growing importance in terms of optimizing the country's regulatory culture, and can be seen as an example of policy learning. The NKRG Amendment Act (16 March 2011) substantially expanded the powers of the NRCC. Today, federal ministries are obliged to quantify measurable compliance costs associated with regulatory programs. However, policy learning in Germany rarely leads to institutional reforms that improve the government's management capacities.

## Iceland

### Score 7

Though not an EU member state, Iceland has, as a member of the European Economic Area (EEA) since 1994, integrated and adapted EU structures into its own law to a considerable extent. Under the EEA agreement, Iceland is obliged to adopt around 80% of EU law. Iceland is also responsive to comments made by the Council of Europe (CoEU), the Schengen Agreement states, and U.N. institutions. As one of the five full members of the Nordic Council of Ministers, Iceland is bound by every unanimous decision taken in the council. However, the council deals only with issues connected to Nordic cooperation. The structure and organization of Iceland's government accords well with international practice, and seems to be under constant review. The left-wing government (2009 – 2013) chose to streamline and rationalize the ministry structure in order to weaken the long-standing links between special-interest organizations and the line ministries, a long-overdue reform. Through a process of mergers, the overall number of ministries was reduced from 12 to eight. Among these, the Ministry of Interior was established by merging the Ministry of Communication and Municipal affairs with the Ministry of Justice; the Ministry of Industries and Innovation was established by merging the Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministry of Fisheries and the Ministry of Industry; and the Ministry of Welfare was established by merging the Ministry of Social Affairs with the Ministry of Health Affairs. A new center-right government formed in May 2013 partially reversed this reform by splitting up some of these mergers and increasing the number of ministers from eight to nine. Thus, as of the time of writing, the ministry structure was in a state of flux.

## Israel

### Score 7

Following OECD recommendations and external academic recommendations, the Israeli government has embarked on a series of wide-ranging administrative reforms. A 2012 progress report revealed that social and labor market reforms are progressing according to plans, and in general an improvement in regulations and labor policies have been received positively. The report pointed to an improvement in the dissemination of information as well as in government decision-making. In sum, the Israeli government has adapted its domestic government structures to international and supranational developments in many cases, and as of the end of the review period is following this course.

Citation:

"Progress report on the implementation of the OECD recommendations: Labor market and social policies," Ministry of industry, trade and labor official report (June 2012)

## Luxembourg

### Score 7

Luxembourg has made progress in implementing European legislation. In terms of the transposition of EU directives, Luxembourg's performance is moderate yet has improved over past review periods. Given the size of the country, there is limited scope for improved human resources within government administration. Usually a single civil servant is responsible for a number of tasks where in other member states an entire team would be available. European Social Fund (ESF) activities fall under the responsibility of only two civil servants who have other responsibilities in addition to European programs. Despite a lack of personnel, however, work expected by European and supranational institutions is completed. The government presented its national plan (Luxembourg 2020. Plan national pour une croissance intelligente, durable et inclusive) in April 2013, in which budgetary mechanisms are adapted.

Luxembourg often responds to international requests by launching an ad hoc group. The country has also done well in conforming national law to EU directives, sometimes transposing laws verbatim. This does not however guarantee that the law will be followed verbatim; differences of de jure and de facto understandings have emerged.

Citation:

Luxembourg (2010): Plan national pour une croissance intelligente, durable et inclusive. Programme national de réforme du Grand-Duché de Luxembourg dans le cadre du semestre européen 2013: [http://www.odc.public.lu/publications/pnr/2013\\_PNR\\_Luxembourg\\_2020\\_avril\\_2013.pdf](http://www.odc.public.lu/publications/pnr/2013_PNR_Luxembourg_2020_avril_2013.pdf)  
NOTE DU COMITE DE PREVISION, PREVISIONS MACROECONOMIQUES ET EVOLUTION DES FINANCES PUBLIQUES (2011-2015):

[http://www.mf.public.lu/publications/divers/previsions\\_fin\\_180412.pdf](http://www.mf.public.lu/publications/divers/previsions_fin_180412.pdf)

Internal Market Scorebook 26: [http://ec.europa.eu/internal\\_market/score/docs/score26\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/internal_market/score/docs/score26_en.pdf)

Hartmann-Hirsch, C. (2013), Europeanization, Internationalization of Family Reunion Policies: an Unusual Situation in Luxembourg, in: Geisen, Th./Studer, T./Yildiz, E. (Hrsg.), Migration, Familie und Gesellschaft. Beiträge zu Theorie, Kultur und Politik, Wiesbaden

## Malta

### Score 7

The capacity of government structures to adapt to change has increased since Malta began its accession process and joined the European Union. The government created an ombudsman office, restructured the attorney general's office, and introduced in each ministry a unit for EU Affairs and EU Program Implementation; overall these bodies have functioned well. Institutional learning however is in general piecemeal and driven by circumstances. In contrast, the committee for parliamentary scrutiny of EU legislation has been less than effective, as members of parliament serve on a part-time basis and simply do not have the resources to fulfill committee tasks. The impact on policy is that there is not enough coordination between ministries, and parliament has not managed to be a catalyst for change.

## Mexico

### Score 7

The Mexican governing elite is, in theory, very adaptable due to a high degree of contact with international organizations and policy institutes. One reason for its openness is that much of the upper civil service studied abroad, mostly in English speaking countries, and retains strong personal contacts from those days. Mexico' presidential system, with its directing authority at the center of the administration, also allows the country to make swift changes. Presidential initiatives can make a real difference. Third, Mexico is one of the few countries that shares a degree of inter-dependency with the United States and has, however reluctantly, learned much about policy from the U.S. However, while adaptability of the Mexican government is comparatively high in formal terms, implementation of new approaches and policies is often much weaker, particularly when it involves subnational entities.

## Poland

### Score 7

Government structures in Poland have been gradually adapted to international and supranational developments, most notably NATO and EU membership. Poland's successful EU presidency in the second half of 2011, its influence in EU budget negotiations, and its positive standing in the

European Union overall show that adaptation has been successful, as does the increasing and relatively high absorption of EU funds.

## Portugal

### Score 7

The European Union is extremely important to Portugal in all respects. Since joining the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1986, Portugal has become an integral part of Europe with all the implications arising from integration into a huge variety of legal and organizational frameworks. While the government of Portugal has not yet applied all of the EU laws and regulations, it is increasingly adapting EU policies. Obviously, since Portugal is part of the European Union, and dependent upon it for funds and trade, a situation that can only increase with the current bailout, so the country has had to adapt its structures accordingly. The policies regarding the environment remain particularly problematic.

## Austria

### Score 6

The Austrian government has adapted domestic structures to international developments, but with reservations. While the EU political agenda is generally accepted, the government has proved reluctant to implement specific policies, for example by defending the principle of bank secrecy. Contributing to this hesitancy is the fact that the government is often internally divided, for reasons both constitutional and political: First, the Cabinet consists of autonomous ministers who cannot be forced to accept a general agenda. The position of the chancellor as first among equals means there is no clearly defined leadership by a head of government. Second, governments since 1983 have been coalitions. Coalition parties tend to work on a specific party agenda, and have limited interest in the agenda of the government as such.

In many cases, one governing party tends to favor implementation of international and especially supranational (EU) policies more than the other. Alternately, some parties seek to mobilize populist sentiment against the international or supranational level, identifying their own party as the defender of Austrian interests against foreign encroachment.

## Belgium

### Score 6

Belgium is one of the founding states of the European Union and an active member of many international agreements. In some instances, Belgium has even played a leading role in international agreements (such as banning the production of land mines).

But this enthusiasm toward international and supranational developments has to be mitigated in practice, as Belgium is regularly criticized for not fully complying with rules agreed upon at the European Union, United Nations or NATO. For instance, critiques include the non-respect of the Geneva Convention, the non-ratification of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities or the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty, or Belgium's slower-than-average progress in abiding by EU environmental norms. This can partly be explained, again, by the persistent political tension between the country's Dutch-speaking and French-speaking camps, its complex and still evolving institutional structure, and the fact that, due to decentralization, all governmental entities maintain their own international relations regarding their (sometimes overlapping) competences.

## Bulgaria

### Score 6

Bulgarian institutions have shown a certain capacity to change and adapt. During the process of EU accession, the Bulgarian administration at national, regional and local levels underwent a very significant adaptive process involving changing structures and areas of activity. This included creating a governance structure of regional development councils with a capacity for preparing regional development strategies at the level of EU NUTS 2 regions where none had existed before in Bulgarian history. The EU accession and membership process also meant that new levels of coordination and common decision-making between ministries had to be created to develop national positions on the different EU policies being discussed. However, the main structures of government and their methods of operation have remained largely unchanged. In particular, the weakness of coordination capacity at the center of government has not been addressed. The tendency of the GERB government in 2009 – 2013 to rely largely on ad hoc adaptive measures was effective in the short term in some areas – for instance, the absorption of EU funds – but has not resulted in a sustainable long-term adaptation.



## Greece

### Score 6

In the case of Greece, international and supranational development in the period under review amounted to pressures on the government to help contain any spillover of the economic crisis from Greece to other eurozone countries and also to prevent any further deterioration in the Greek economy. Under pressure from the Troika, in 2011 – 2013 Greece started streamlining and recapitalizing its banking system, cutting down the size of central services of ministries, coordinating the fight against corruption waged by different Greek agencies, and strengthening the administrative capacity of the Prime Minister's Office which was ultimately responsible for the implementation of the program shaped by the European Commission, the ECB and the IMF to finance Greece's bailout.

## Japan

### Score 6

Japan's reform processes are usually driven by domestic developments and interests, but international models or perceived best practices do play a role at times. Actors interested in reform have frequently appealed to international standards and trends to support their position. However, in many cases it is doubtful whether substantial reform is truly enacted, or whether Japan rather follows international standards in only a formal sense, with underlying informal institutional mechanisms changing much more slowly.

## Romania

### Score 6

The significant scale and scope of the conditionality attached to Romania's EU membership has allowed the European Union significant leverage on the restructuring of the domestic institutions. The European Union's efforts to integrate Romania as part of the East-Central European region had to be balanced by stringent demands on a country that in spite of its population's sheer support for integration, was considered a reform "laggard." Nonetheless, after its 1995 application for membership Romania achieved significant progress in aligning its domestic institutions to European standards. Fearing that progress would slow down in the absence of conditionality as a mechanism of policy transfer, Brussels decided to extend conditionality to the post-accession stage. The Commission set up the Cooperation and Verification Mechanism (CVM) to set specific benchmarks in the areas of judicial reform and the fight against corruption. The most recent CVM report adopted a critical tone over Romania's recent developments and pointed at numerous areas in which the government is

falling short of the mark. However, instead of trying to remedy the shortcomings, the government began an aggressive counter-campaign that unfolded in two stages. Firstly, the prime minister emphasized trivial mistakes in the report and defended some of the corrupt ministers mentioned in the document. Then, he and several members of parliament called for the dismantlement of the “damaging” CVM mechanism.

Citation:

European Commission, 2013: Report from the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council Progress in Romania under the Co-operation and Verification Mechanism. COM(2013) 47 final, Brussels ([http://ec.europa.eu/cvm/docs/com\\_2013\\_47\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/cvm/docs/com_2013_47_en.pdf)).

## Switzerland

### Score 6

The Swiss government's adaptation to international and supranational developments has been idiosyncratic, in the sense that it has not joined the European Union. However, it has tried to adapt by concluding a number of bilateral agreements with the EU. Similarly, in the field of security policy, it has engaged in cooperation with other nations and the United Nations while insisting on neutral-country status. Whenever Switzerland agrees to cooperate with other countries or international organizations, it attempts to meet all the requirements of the agreement, including implementation of the necessary administrative reforms. However, there are serious concerns as to whether this model of adaptation is either sufficient or sustainable. Switzerland's policy is still predicated on the basis of sovereign nation-states negotiating with each other on an equal basis. Leading politicians continue to suggest that there is a balanced distribution of power between the European Union and Switzerland, giving Switzerland the free choice to stand alone, strike bilateral treaties or seek EU accession. However, these bilateral solutions have shown increasing structural problems as a consequence of EU enlargement and the decreasing homogeneity within the European Union. Hence, Switzerland's ability to continue these bilateral arrangements long into the future has been called into question. Conflicts between the EU and Switzerland escalated in 2012, with the EU demanding that institutional solutions be developed to address the bilateral system's weaknesses. Specifically, the European Union has called for self-executing rules enabling bilateral treaties to be updated, as well as independent institutions for the settlement of conflicts arising from the bilateral treaties. Switzerland has opposed these proposals. As of the time of writing, this disagreement had prevented the production of any further bilateral treaties, on which Switzerland is economically dependent. In the spring of 2013, it was unclear how this issue so vital to the country's economic future could be resolved.

## Turkey

Score  
value\_6

The EU accession process is the main driving force behind changes or adaptations in Turkey's domestic government structures. Almost all public entities maintain a unit for EU affairs; strategic planning units can be found in all ministries. The European Union and Turkey have developed several projects aimed at harmonizing legislation with the body of EU law and increasing Turkey's human resources capacity. Particularly, the EU Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance (IPA) and EU twinning programs are major mechanisms aimed at adapting central and local governmental structures to supranational developments, addressing issues of primary and secondary legislation, public administrative reform, education, justice and home affairs, health care, the environment, public works and so on. In the context of EU accession, the government was able to reform the National Security Council and limit the political role of the military. With respect to judicial reforms, the government created the Higher Council of Judges and Prosecutors, modeling it on similar criteria found in other EU member states.

Turkey is a signatory of several international conventions, which include binding provisions, and the Turkish government has attempted to comply with these international responsibilities. Yet the government falls short on many requirements, either legally or institutionally. On issues of child labor, general working conditions and environmental standards, Turkey still falls below international standards.

## Australia

Score 5

Most government structures are essentially driven by domestic imperatives and are largely insensitive to international and supranational developments. Indeed, only a few international events have been persuaded Australian governments in recent times to adapt domestic structures. The major exception is in relation to the treaties and conventions to which Australia is a signatory, particularly in the areas of human rights, anti-discrimination and transnational crime, where Australia has been a regional leader.

## Chile

Score 5

The modernization of the state is still in progress, but national institutions have already become quite solid. In general terms, the reformation of domestic government structures tends to relate more to national fiscal policy aspects, which implies that any innovations that might imply financial

changes (such as a budget augmentation for a certain ministry or for a department within a ministry) are very difficult or even impossible to realize. Neither the former nor the current government showed specific concerns regarding the adaptation of domestic government structures in accordance with international and supranational developments. Changes concerning topics that might be of future interest and do not directly affect current political challenges – like, for example, the extension of a department's staff or the creation of a new unit dedicated to topics of possible future interest – do not respond to international and supranational developments but more to fiscal–political reasons and political cycles.

## Netherlands

### Score 5

Government reform has been on (and off) the agenda for at least 40 years. To date, there has been no substantial reform of the original government structure, which dates back to the mid-19th century and the 1848 constitution. Although several departments have been switched back and forth between different ministries, the system of ministries itself has not been substantially reformed either. The Council of State, which is the highest court of appeal in administrative law, is still part of the executive, not the judiciary. The Netherlands is one of the last countries in Europe in which mayors are not locally elected but instead appointed by the national government. However, it appears that Rutte II means business and will further reduce the number of local and municipal governments from just over 400 to between 100 and 150 local governments with 150,000 or more inhabitants per district, as well as merging a number of provinces (Regeerakkoord).

Citation:

Regeerakkoord:

<http://www.rijksoverheid.nl/regering/regeerakkoord/bestuur>

## Slovakia

### Score 5

In the past, Slovakia has been characterized by a weak adaptation of domestic government structures to international and supranational developments, most notably at the EU level. Both the Radičová and the Fico government have initiated institutional reforms aimed at increasing the absorption of EU funds. Radičová presented a comprehensive analysis of the problems, but failed to push through the suggested changes because of resistance within the governing coalition. Fico faced less resistance and succeeded in centralizing the coordination of EU funds and in moving the Central Coordination Unit from the Ministry of Transport to the Government Office. A second major reform that has brought the domestic institutional

setup in line with EU priorities and goals has been the establishment in December 2011 of the Council for Budgetary Responsibility, an independent expert body in charge of monitoring the country's fiscal development. Like the approval of the European Financial Stability Facility (EFSF), the introduction of the new Council was backed by Fico when still in opposition.

## Slovenia

### Score 5

Upon EU accession, Slovenia developed a complex system of coordination of European affairs with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as the central coordinator. Both the Pahor and the Janša governments have left this system largely unchanged. The Janša government declared the increased absorption of EU funds to be one of its priorities. It abolished the Government Office of the Republic of Slovenia for Local Self-Government and Regional Policy and transferred the competencies relating to EU Cohesion Policy and regional development to the Ministry of Economic Development and Technology. However, this move was primarily driven by the attempt to reduce the number of government organizations and did not really improve the absorption of EU funds.

## United Kingdom

### Score 5

The organization of ministries in the United Kingdom is a prerogative of the prime minister, and traditionally the precise division of tasks between ministries apart from the classic portfolios of foreign policy, defence, the Treasury, and the Home Office has been subject to considerable change. There is little evidence for international and supranational developments playing an important role in these decisions, in comparison with considerations of political expediency on the national level. The United Kingdom has in some areas been an early, and sometimes enthusiastic, proponent of norms and practices that have been championed by international bodies. While there has been a Minister of State for Europe since the early 1990s, the responsibilities of the officeholder are more diplomatic than focused on the induction of international developments into domestic affairs. At parliamentary level, European integration led to changes of procedures to allow Westminster to intervene early in the European policy formulation process. In the cabinet reshuffle of 2012, Prime Minister Cameron created a Minister of State for Faith and Communities to work with religious and community leaders to promote faith, religious tolerance and stronger communities within the United Kingdom. The office was, however, based in the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) rather than the Home Office.

## Cyprus

### Score 4

The country's political and administrative structures have remained largely in place since independence. European Union accession has led to the creation of new bodies over the past 20 years, but without changing the overall state structure. As the whole of Cyprus constitutes a single region under the EU's Cohesion Policy, the impact of European innovations aimed at strengthening the role of regions has been very limited. Isolated policymaking adaptations have included new departments tasked with handling European Union issues, the implementation of e-government functions, and the creation of citizens' service offices. The country fell to rank 45 from 42 in a 2012 e-government index, indicating the limited pace of change.

#### Citation:

1. World UN ranking in e-government, <http://unpan3.un.org/egovkb/datacenter/countryview.aspx>
2. [http://ec.europa.eu/regional\\_policy/sources/docgener/informat/country2009/cy\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/sources/docgener/informat/country2009/cy_en.pdf)

## Czech Republic

### Score 4

Since the mid-1990s government activities in the Czech Republic have been strongly influenced by EU legislative framework. However, the main structures of government and methods of functioning have remained largely unchanged, even when serious problems have arisen in relation to the use of EU structural funds, which remain underdrawn at national and regional level, as well as lacking effective control. However, failures may be as much to do with the low level of competence of some government ministers and the officials they have appointed, who came to prominence through the right-wing coalition government's need to secure a majority. The minister of education, Josef Dobeš, from the small Public Affairs Party (Věci veřejné, VV), was finally replaced in March 2012 after failing to secure EU funding for projects which the European Union judged had missed the relevant program guidelines. Differences within the government, and outspoken support from President Klaus, enabled him to survive for some time after these weaknesses had become apparent.

## Hungary

### Score 3

The government under Prime Minister Orbán has paid little attention to the adaption of domestic government structures to international and supranational developments. In public, Prime Minister Orbán has stressed Hungarian independence and has argued that his government must fight for its freedom and national sovereignty against the European Union and the



International Monetary Fund. Major institutional reforms have even made domestic government structures even less compatible with international and supranational developments. The radical reduction in the number of ministries, for instance, has created huge problems in EU affairs, as the organization of ministries does not mirror those in most other EU countries. Hungary has also performed relatively poorly with regard to the absorption of EU transfers. By December 2012, Hungary had used only 43.02% of EU transfer funds, compared with an average of 45.1% for the EU-27.

## Indicator

## International Coordination

## Question

To what extent is the government able to collaborate effectively in international efforts to foster global public goods?

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 government can take a leading role in shaping and implementing collective efforts to provide global public goods. It is able to ensure coherence in national policies affecting progress.
- 8-6 = The government is largely able to shape and implement collective efforts to provide global public goods. Existing processes enabling the government to ensure coherence in national policies affecting progress are, for the most part, effective.
- 5-3 = The government is partially able to shape and implement collective efforts to provide global public goods. Processes designed to ensure coherence in national policies affecting progress show deficiencies.
- 2-1 = The government does not have sufficient institutional capacities to shape and implement collective efforts to provide global public goods. It does not have effective processes to ensure coherence in national policies affecting progress.

## Australia

## Score 9

Australia's comparatively small size and isolated geographic location has tended to work against the country's ability to influence international reform efforts. Nonetheless, there is a governmental culture of seeking to participate in international forums or organizations, including those focused on reform. Primary emphasis tends to be on the Asia-Pacific region, although Australia is also a strong advocate of reducing trade barriers for agricultural products worldwide. The government's predisposition towards participation in international cooperative efforts was heightened with the election of the Labor government in 2007 under the leadership of Kevin Rudd, a Mandarin-speaking former diplomat with a strong interest in international affairs. During the review period, the government was successful in obtaining a non-permanent seat on the U.N. Security Council for 2013 and 2014. The government has also promoted the idea of a regional economic forum to coordinate economic cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region.

## Denmark

### Score 9

For a small country, Denmark has a strong role in the provision of the global public good. Climate change and development aid are high on the domestic agenda and the government tries to play an active international role in these areas. Denmark also has a long tradition of working to strengthen the United Nations, often cooperating with other Nordic countries to do so. This policy is relatively uncontroversial, unlike European integration.

As an EU member state, Denmark's possibilities increasingly depend on the EU. Since the EU in recent years has adopted a relatively "progressive" environmental policy and has tried to exercise international leadership, there is no conflict in this area. When it comes to development aid Denmark, is among the countries that contribute the highest percentage of GDP to development aid, higher than most EU members. However, the EU is the largest contributor to development in the world when EU and bilateral development aid are added together. Denmark is also a global actor in other economic areas, including trade. Danish politicians are proud of projecting Danish values internationally.

Citation:

Carsten Due-Nielsen and Nikolaj Petersen, eds., *Adaptation and Activism: The Foreign Policy of Denmark 1967-1993*. Copenhagen, DJØF Publishing, 1995.

Martin Marcussen, *Den danske model og globaliseringen*. Frederiksberg: Samfundslitteratur, 2010.

## Norway

### Score 9

Norway is very diligent in adopting legislation passed on the level of the European Union. The country is not an EU member, but still participates in most forms of EU policy coordination through membership in the European Economic Area (EEA), with certain exceptions in the areas of 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, as well as to international organizations such as the IMF, the United Nations and the World Bank. The country participates 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 tasked with assisting in this program's implementation.

## Sweden

### Score 9

Sweden has maintained a rather high international profile on a number of issues requiring international collective action. These issues have traditionally included disarmament, human rights, international solidarity and more recently, climate change.

Sweden tends to look at itself as an international broker and coordinator, though it may exaggerate its capacity in this regard. Certainly, Sweden, together with several other smaller nations, exerts some degree of international influence.

During the Great Recession, for example, the Swedish government played a role in tackling the crisis by emphasizing European and international coordination.

#### Citation:

Ingebritsen, C. (2006). *Scandinavia in World Politics* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield).

## Finland

### Score 8

Typically, global public goods are best addressed collectively on a multilateral basis, with cooperation in the form of international laws, agreements and protocols. Finland is a partner to several such modes of cooperation and thus contributes actively to the implementation of global frameworks. Finland is committed to and has ratified the Kyoto Protocol to the United Framework Convention on Climate Change that came into effect in 2005. The Ministry of the Environment is responsible for coordinating further climate negotiations. Specifically, within the framework of the European Union, Finland is committed to bringing its national average annual emissions down to their 1990 levels by 2008 – 2012. The Finnish government also adopted a foresight report on long-term climate and energy policy in 2009. In 2012, the government signed a Memorandum of Understanding, through which Finland and the United States agree to continue their cooperation in preventing the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. Still, Finland is not to be regarded a main or even an important player in efforts to foster the provision of global public goals. Given a relatively high level of knowledge and research in Finland as well as adequate existing frameworks for policy coordination and monitoring, several relevant institutional capacities for fostering global governance do exist. They are, however, not utilized to their fullest extent.

## Germany

### Score 8

The German government actively collaborates in various reform efforts promoted by the EU and other transnational and international organizations.

In the context of the euro-area debt crisis, the German government has played a leading role in organizing and creating stabilization mechanisms. However, this role is heavily contested. Some critics (particularly in Southern Europe) argue that Germany's actions have been driven primarily by the defense of the country's national interests. Others (especially domestic voters and economic experts) contend that Germany has irresponsibly put its own future wellbeing and wealth at risk through massive guarantees for peripheral Europe.

All in all, there is no doubt that Germany is a very constructive partner in international reform initiatives and is ready to accept substantial costs and risks in order to realize global and European public goods.

## Luxembourg

### Score 8

Luxembourg is mainly involved in international reform initiatives in cooperation with the European Union. The legal framework for the launch of the European Citizens' Initiative was passed by parliament in 2012. Luxembourg is ranked highly within the European Union for the inclusiveness of its welfare benefits, as its programs are both generous and wide-ranging.

The country's Gini index highlights the positive effects of government transfer policies. Luxembourg however supports a number of labor market protection measures and unsustainable pension policies; both provide incentives to leave the labor market and to opt for replacement revenues. Attitudes of the insured and mainly those of residents and nationals are partly still those of consumers of welfare provisions; the system's main weakness is the "early exit" attitude which is expressed by too many in the active resident population.

Citation:

(1) Cf. Mutual Information System on Social Protection in the Member States of the European union, MISSOC data

Luxembourg 2020, National Plan for smart, sustainable and inclusive growth: <http://www.public.lu/catalogue-publications/rdi-luxembourg/politique/promramme-national-reforme-2012-en.pdf>

Plan national pour une croissance intelligente, durable et inclusive:

[http://www.odc.public.lu/publications/pnr/2013\\_PNR\\_Luxembourg\\_2020\\_avril\\_2013.pdf](http://www.odc.public.lu/publications/pnr/2013_PNR_Luxembourg_2020_avril_2013.pdf)

OECD (2012), Economic Surveys: Luxembourg. December 2012. Overview, Paris: [http://www.oecd.org/eco/surveys/Lux\\_overview\\_Eng%202012.pdf](http://www.oecd.org/eco/surveys/Lux_overview_Eng%202012.pdf)

<http://www.chd.lu/wps/portal/public/RoleEtendu?action=doDocpaDetails&id=6325>

## New Zealand

### Score 8

Given the isolated geopolitical position of New Zealand, the country participates proactively in many international organizations and in the international coordination of joint reform initiatives. Major areas include issues regarding the Antarctic region, disarmament and proliferation, environmental protection and human rights. New Zealand is a member of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum, the Commonwealth, the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), the United Nations and the World Trade Organization. Free trade is a central preoccupation within foreign relations, especially in the Asian region. Having signed the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN)-Australia-New Zealand agreement and a bilateral agreement with Malaysia in recent years, current efforts are directed at finishing negotiations with China and continuing negotiations with India, Korea and Russia. New Zealand is a candidate for the United Nations Security Council in 2015 – 2016.

#### Citation:

Annual Report 2011/2012 (Wellington: Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade 2012).

Statement of Intent 2012-2015 (Wellington: Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade 2012).

## Poland

### Score 8

Poland has taken an active role in international policy coordination, most notably in the European Union. As its successful EU presidency and its impact on EU policies toward its Eastern neighbors show, Poland has sufficient capacity to act on the international scene. While its capacities have been increased by a growing cooperation with Germany, they have on the other hand also suffered since Poland still does not belong to the euro zone.

## United Kingdom

### Score 8

The United Kingdom has long played a leading role in coordinating international initiatives, and the country's imperial legacy has contributed to its active stance on international commitments. It has played a leading role in recent years, for example, in efforts to eradicate poverty in Africa or to combat climate change. As a permanent member of the Security Council, the United Kingdom is very active in the UN and also plays a leading but sometimes polarizing role in NATO.



## United States

### Score 8

As a historically preeminent world power, the United States sometimes leads international efforts to pursue collective goods – sometimes, indeed, effectively controlling those efforts – and sometimes prefers unilateral approaches, withholding support from international forums. Its institutional structures and political traditions – especially the role of presidential leadership – accommodate all of these approaches. But the United States often cannot act effectively unless a national consensus or one-party control enables the president and Congress to agree on a strategy.

President Obama's strategy in the Middle East, for example, has been hampered by conflict with Congress over support for Israel. Most often, the United States not only collaborates in reform initiatives promoted by international forums, but actively works to shape their agenda. Examples include reform of the U.N. Security Council and the U.N. Human Rights Commission, as well as reforms of the IMF and World Bank – and most recently the reform of the international financial system. The United States is also an effective participant in the G-7/8 process. The most notable change under the Obama administration is the move toward broader international forums such as the G-20 that include emerging market countries such as China, Brazil and India. This trend is also visible in the Major Economies Forum for Climate Change. Altogether, this signals a departure from the focus on Europe and the transatlantic arena, and may also imply a reduced reliance on NATO.

## Belgium

### Score 7

Belgium hosts various supranational institutions, including the offices of the European Union. The country has always displayed enthusiasm toward joint reform initiatives. This can be illustrated by the large number of Belgian politicians involved in the highest levels of such organizations (e.g., Herman Van Rompuy, President of the European Council; Guy Verhofstadt, leader of the liberal group in the European Parliament; Jean-Pascale van Ypersele, one of three vice chairs of the intergovernmental panel on climate change). Moreover, the country's small size makes it heavily dependent on international coordination. It therefore supports international reform efforts, for instance, on tax systems, carbon dioxide regulation or, as of 2015, on the European equivalent of the American Foreign Account Tax Compliance Act. However, in implementation, Belgium does not always fulfill its commitments.

## Chile

### Score 7

The government is endowed with the institutional capacity to contribute actively to international efforts to foster the provision of global public goods. The government actively participates in the international coordination of joint reform initiatives. This is underlined by the fact that Chile represents one of the most active countries in Latin America in international policymaking initiatives. However, the impacts of national policies on these global challenges are not always systematically assessed and then incorporated into the formulation, coordination and monitoring of policies across government.

## France

### Score 7

France plays an active role in the international coordination of joint reform initiatives. The country contributes to the provision of global public goods. It has a long tradition of acting on an international level to prevent climate change, provide humanitarian and development aid and promote health or education programs. However, the French government often takes positions that advance French (economic) interests and does not present its initiatives as platforms on which support and consensus could be built. This limits the government's success in steering or influencing decision-making at the European level. Striking examples include the French government's attitude toward free trade discussions, in particular those concerning agricultural products.

## Israel

### Score 7

In 2010 the Ministry of Finance released a report reviewing Israel's process toward becoming a member of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). The path to membership was long and complicated, and presents many policy implications at the time of writing. Becoming an OECD member state provided a useful process of evaluating Israel's government makeup. The state, as part of its preparations, pursued the creation of government agencies designed to coordinate and enforce needed changes to government administration. Additionally, these changes had to be coordinated and monitored across all government departments. As such systemic changes do not happen immediately, the ministry report points out the need for continued monitoring as well as further reforms. Thus Israel's membership in the OECD should not be seen as exactly the equivalent of successful international coordination.

A 2011 report examined Israel's global cooperation in research and development (R&D), looking at the country's administrative and economic capabilities. The report found that while Israel is considered to be a leading R&D actor worldwide, more coordination, accessible information and standardization is needed. This is largely achieved through long-term, gradual reforms, but is also partly realized by the central government acting more decisively.

Citation:

Kaufman, Dan & Yael Marom, "Evaluation of international cooperation programs in R&D in Israel," the Jerusalem Institute for Israel studies (May 2011) (Hebrew)

"Israel in the OECD," Minister of treasury formal report (2010) (Hebrew)

"Progress report on the implementation of the OECD recommendations: Labor market and social policies," Ministry of industry, trade and labor official report (June 2012)

## Portugal

### Score 7

Although Portugal is small and not very influential as a nation, it is a member of the European Union, the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe, the Council of Europe, NATO, the World Trade Organization, etc., in which organizations it works with other nations to develop policies. It also applies the policies of these international organizations domestically, at least in terms of passing laws, and when it comes to the European Union it seeks to fully implement them. In this view, the government is largely able to shape and implement collective efforts to provide global public goods. Existing processes enabling the government to ensure coherence in national policies affecting progress are, for the most part, effective.

## South Korea

### Score 7

One of the main goals of the Lee government was to improve the prestige of Korea in the world and to build Korean soft power. The government has become considerably more active in international organizations. Korea has increased its contribution to the World Bank and the IMF, and is an active participant in the G-20. Korea is also increasing its efforts in development cooperation, and became a member of the OECD Development Assistance Committee (OECD-DAC) in 2009. In 2011, Korea hosted the OECD High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness in Busan. Yet the 2012 OECD-DAC peer review report of Korea was quite critical of Korea's shortcoming in meeting international standards for aid. For example, Korea's share of untied aid to the lowest-ranked developing countries was 27% in 2010 – much lower than the OECD average of 88%.

While the country participated actively in the Copenhagen conference on climate change in 2009, its actual commitments to reduce greenhouse gases remain weak. Moreover, the government has also shown little enthusiasm for G-20 initiatives proposing the international coordination of financial sector regulation and taxation.

Citation:

Kalinowski, Thomas and Hyekyung Cho. 2012. Korea's search for a global role between hard economic interests and soft power. *European Journal of Development Research* 24 (2):242-260. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1057/ejdr.2012.7>.

## Spain

### Score 7

In recent years, Spain has actively participated in the international efforts to provide global public goods (financial stability, economic development, security, environment, education, governance, etc.) as one of the leading EU member states, and as a permanent guest at the G-20 summits. It has also contributed to international forums and actions responding to challenges such as climate change (including the 2011 Durban and 2012 Qatar UN conferences), energy supply, illegal migration (in part through bilateral agreements in Northern Africa), global terrorism (mainly through transatlantic relations), and peacekeeping (with Spanish troops deployed as a part of UN, NATO and Common Foreign and Security Policy missions in Afghanistan, Lebanon, the Horn of Africa waters or Mali). The current economic crisis is having a significant impact on this international engagement in several ways. Firstly, undermining Spain's international reputation and credibility: the country is increasingly perceived as no longer being in a position to collaborate effectively in international governance. Secondly, overcoming the crisis and its consequences is the government's top priority; policy initiatives that do not bear directly on this goal are not receiving much attention from the executive. Finally, budget cuts are severely restricting the funding that was hitherto available for a wide array of policies and instruments designed to enhance Spain's influence abroad (in particular, regarding troops deployed, development cooperation and, more generally, contribution to global public goods). Notwithstanding this, in 2013 the Ministry for Foreign Affairs launched an initiative to renew external action strategy with more appropriate interministerial coordination.

## Austria

### Score 6

Within the European Union, the government is obliged to collaborate with EU institutions. This collaboration is rarely controversial. In other matters (e.g., within the framework of the WTO, the Bretton Woods institutions, and the United Nations), the Austrian government tends to play a rather low-key role,

usually trying to follow a general EU policy if such a policy exists. In some fields (e.g., environmental protection), the government tends to promise more on the international level than it is willing or able to implement at home.

## Ireland

### Score 6

The severity of the economic crisis that Ireland has faced since 2008 reduced the attention and resources devoted to its role in promoting the provision of global public goods. However, the commitment to maintaining a relatively high level of overseas development assistance has been honored and Ireland has also played its part in the development of the European response to climate change.

## Japan

### Score 6

In recent years, Japan has been actively involved in the new G-20 mechanism designed to meet the challenges of global financial turmoil. As its contribution to the multilateral effort, Japan implemented an economic stimulus program of considerable size. Nevertheless, Japan is less visible in international or global settings, which might be expected given its still-substantial global economic role. Frequent changes of prime ministers and other ministers in recent years have contributed to Japan's comparatively low profile. The fact that Japan changed its finance minister a few days before the important IMF/World Bank 2012 Annual Meeting in Tokyo, a move driven entirely by domestic factors, was symptomatic of the lack of sensitivity to Japan's multilateral responsibilities and opportunities.

The so-called Peace Constitution, and particularly its Article 9, makes it difficult for Japan to engage in international missions that include the use of force, although it can legally contribute funds. The new Defense Guidelines of 2010 potentially offer more flexibility for Japanese engagements overseas.

Japan has actively supported and contributed to regional Asia-Pacific initiatives. Plans for regional financial cooperation such as the Chiang Mai Initiative (CMI) have gathered momentum in recent years and have been quite markedly shaped by Japanese proposals. During the period under review, however, measures such as the establishment of the ASEAN+3 Macroeconomic Research Office in Singapore in May 2011, a body that will play a key role in the CMI, have to a large extent been shaped by Chinese rather than Japanese interests.

In global environmental efforts, particularly in the post-Kyoto Protocol negotiations, Japan has not played a leading role.

## Latvia

### Score 6

Latvia's contribution to shaping international actions takes place largely through its contributing to shaping the policies of the European Union.

Institutional arrangements for the formulation of Latvia's positions on issues before the European Union are formalized. The system is managed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, with particular sectoral ministries developing the substance of Latvia's various positions. The process requires that NGOs be consulted during the early policy-development phase. In practice, ministries implement this requirement to varying degrees. NGOs themselves often lack the capacity (human resources, financial resources, time) to engage substantively with the ministries on an accelerated calendar.

Draft positions are coordinated across ministries and approved in some cases by the sectoral minister, and in other cases by the Council of Ministers. Issues deemed to have a significant impact on Latvia's national interests are presented to the parliament's European Affairs Commission, whose decision is binding. The commission considers approximately 500 national positions per year.

## Lithuania

### Score 6

Lithuania actively engages in international policy cooperation. One of its top foreign policy priorities is the EU's Eastern Partnership, working through the framework of the European Neighborhood Policy. Since 2005, Lithuania has been part of the International Security Assistance Force in Afghanistan. The country's policymakers have managed to coordinate their involvement in these international fields quite effectively. However, the Lithuanian government has been less willing or able to contribute to such global challenges as climate change or trade liberalization.

## Netherlands

### Score 6

Ever since the Second World War, the Netherlands has been an avid protagonist and willing partner in all forms of international cooperation. However, research has shown that since the late 1970s, 60% of EU directives have been delayed (sometimes by years) while being transposed into Dutch law. The present-day popular attitude to international affairs is marked by reluctance, indifference or rejection. This has had an impact on



internal and foreign policy, as indicated by the Dutch shift toward assimilationism in integration and immigration policies; the decline in popular support for the 1%-of-government-spending-norm for development aid; the shift in the government's attitude toward being a net contributor to EU finances; and the rejection of the EU referendum. These changes have also negatively affected government participation and influence in international coordination of policy and other reforms. Since 2003 the Dutch States General have been more involved in preparing EU-related policy, but largely through the lens of subsidiarity and proportionality – that is, in the role of guarding Dutch sovereignty. On the other hand, the Dutch States General insisted on participating in the Afghanistan effort by sending police training groups (an issue that even toppled the Rutte I government).

It is only since the beginning of the banking and financial crisis that the need for better coordination of international policymaking by the Dutch government has led to reforms in the architecture of policy formulation. The sheer number of EU top-level meetings between national leaders forces the Dutch prime minister to act as minister of general and European affairs, with heavy support from the minister of finance. Other symptoms of improving international policy coordination for global public goods are the better integration of foreign policy, economic and trade policy, defense policy and development aid policy. The department of Foreign Affairs has four directorates-general devoted to interministerial coordination of these aspects of foreign policy. The Department of Economic Affairs explicitly focuses on trade and international economic activities. Diplomats will no longer have their own educational and career paths, but will be selected from promising talents in the General Administrative Service (Algemene Bestuursdienst), and with a view to “networking” with businesses and NGOs, and not just their fellow diplomats.

Citation:

[www.rijksoverheid.nl/regering/regeerakkoord/nederland-in-de-wereld](http://www.rijksoverheid.nl/regering/regeerakkoord/nederland-in-de-wereld)

WRR, 2010. Aan het buitenland gehecht. Over verankering en strategie van Nederlands buitenlands beleid, Amsterdam University Press

## Slovakia

### Score 6

Slovakia is well integrated into NATO and the European Union. It has participated in a number of peacekeeping missions, including Afghanistan, Cyprus, and Bosnia and Herzegovina and is widely seen as a reliable partner in the European Union. The Radičová and the Fico government alike have supported the euro rescue measures. While institutional capacities for international coordination have improved, there are still some deficiencies with regard to interministerial coordination. Because of its size, Slovakia's power to shape strategic global frameworks is limited.

## Turkey

### Score 6

In recent years, the Turkish government has stepped up its collaboration efforts with international actors, mainly the European Commission, the Council of Europe, the OECD and the World Bank; it has pursued further administrative reforms such as the Framework Law on Public Administration, the Law on Civil Servants or the Laws on Associations and Foundations; and has taken the initiative in extending such reforms to other countries.

Turkey has also enhanced its efforts in developing regional ties, focused initially on economic and security cooperation with neighboring countries (such as with Iraq and Syria, prior to the outbreak of civil war).

In the field of foreign and security policy, Turkey during the review period continued its participation in peacekeeping missions in Afghanistan and Kosovo. Furthermore, in the context of its new foreign policy doctrine, the government has tried to mediate in the Middle East conflict, in Lebanon, in the Balkans and in Iran over its nuclear program. As part of the ongoing civil war in Syria, as of May 2013 Turkey has hosted and assisted more than 325,000 Syrian refugees in state-run camps.

As member of the G-20, Turkish politicians participate in World Economic Forum meetings and other regional and international organization confabs to exchange opinions and initiate collaborative efforts worldwide. Turkey is also one of the co-sponsors of the U.N.-affiliated initiative, "Alliance of Civilizations."

## Canada

### Score 5

Canada's government definitely has the institutional capacity to contribute actively to international efforts to foster the provision of global public goods. Indeed, it has made many contributions in this area throughout its history.

However, the political will and the desire for Canada to be seen as a model global citizen appears to have weakened. The classic example is the issue of climate change, where Canada is an outlier and laggard in attempts to reduce greenhouse gases emissions through international agreement. In another controversial move, the Canadian government quietly pulled out of the U.N. anti-drought convention in 2013, making Canada the only country in the world not taking part in the convention.

## Croatia

### Score 5

Croatia has supported major global reform initiatives, especially in environmental affairs. However, neither the Kosor nor the Milanović government have paid special attention to improving the country's capacity to engage in global affairs or to assessing the global repercussions of national policies. President Josipović has been very active in improving cooperation with the other successor states of the former Yugoslavia.

## Estonia

### Score 5

Engagement in international development is mainly the responsibility of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Unlike the Coordination Council on EU Affairs (see "domestic adaptability"), there is an interministerial coordination group tasked with coordinating foreign policy issues that includes cabinet ministers. As in other areas, Estonia is good at adhering to international commitments but rarely takes the lead. Likewise, Estonia is not very good at assessing the impact of national policies on the global challenge of human development. Assessment takes place in some policy areas (e.g., environment, energy, IT), but integrated coordination and monitoring across policy fields is non-existent. Given that policy collaboration is still in its infancy, one cannot speak about systematic communication between government and stakeholders. Yet, in some specific areas, such as development aid or combatting HIV/AIDS, various interest groups are active partners of government. In December 2012, Estonia became the headquarters for the EU Agency for large-scale IT systems as an independent European body (Regulatory Agency), which manages EURODAC, the Visa Information System (VIS) and the second-generation Schengen Information System (SIS II).

## Iceland

### Score 5

Iceland is an active participant in international forums, but seldom initiates measures intended to shape or improve international policies. Iceland was a founding member of the United Nations, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, and in 1949 was a founding member of NATO. In 2008, Iceland sought a U.N. Security Council seat, but lost to Austria and Turkey. For the most part, Iceland has worked cooperatively in international affairs without taking any significant initiative in the international coordination of reform. A few years ago, the country participated in peacekeeping efforts in Iraq, and it participates in the work of the Organization for Security and

Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) on a modest scale. In 2009, Iceland applied for EU membership. Negotiations were ongoing until early 2013, when a compromise within the coalition government led to a temporary freeze in the process, which was increasingly opposed by the Left-Green Movement. At that point, 11 chapters had been closed, 16 were open, a negotiating position had been delivered in two, and negotiating positions had not yet been delivered in four. Among this last group were two important chapters, those relating to fisheries and agriculture. The new coalition government (taking office May 2013) has withdrawn from the negotiations. As of the time of writing, a committee was to evaluate the status of the negotiations and of the country's relationship to the European Union in general. Subsequently, a national referendum on whether to withdraw the application or not was to be held.

Citation:

The Icelandic webpage on the negotiations: <http://eu.mfa.is/negotiations/status-of-talks/nr/7109>.

## Italy

### Score 5

The ability of the Italian government to take a leading role in international efforts is in general limited, partly for objective reasons such as the limited size of the country, but also because of a predominant focus of Italian politics on internal matters and frequent changes of political personnel which makes it difficult to have a strong and clear position in international efforts. There have been occasional exceptions when the government has been more active on a specific issue (such as the abolition of death penalty, or in the promotion of peace talks in the Middle East). Under the Monti government efforts have mainly focused on the European level and the Italian executive has contributed to the promotion of mechanisms of European economic and financial solidarity.

## Mexico

### Score value\_6

The Mexican government is increasingly confident of its role in the broader world. Mexico has traditionally been supportive of international initiatives, in the hope of reducing the bilateralism imposed by Mexico's close and asymmetrical relationship with the United States.

Mexico plays an active role in the OECD and in other intergovernmental agencies. It also remains an enthusiastic participant in multilateral organizations, including international financial organizations such as the World Bank, the Organization of American States (OAS) and the Inter-American Development Bank. Numerous policy or organizational

recommendations made by international bodies have been adopted in the Mexican policymaking process.

Thus, it has a supportive role in many international attempts oriented toward the provision of global public goods. Yet, whether this engagement in international affairs is sufficient to shape international efforts is questionable given the country's low level of international leverage in economic and security affairs.

## Romania

**Score 5** Romania's NATO and EU accession were celebrated as significant milestones and part of a reunification process with Western Europe following the collapse of communism. The Romanian government has been supportive of international efforts to provide global public goods. Thus Romania has sent troops as part of the NATO mission to Afghanistan and it has cooperated with international efforts to combat climate change. However, for capacity reasons, it has played a more modest role in shaping such international campaigns

## Slovenia

**Score 5** Slovenia has not been very active on the international scene. The Pahor and the Janša governments alike have been preoccupied with domestic political and economic issues and have not paid much attention to improving institutional capacity for shaping and implementing global initiatives. However, Slovenia unsuccessfully ran for membership in the UN Security Council in October 2011 and has sought to shape the European Union's policy towards the western Balkans.

## Switzerland

**Score 5** Swiss authorities have been somewhat reluctant to participate in the international coordination of joint reform initiatives. 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. In the course of the increasing polarization of Swiss politics during the past 15 years, with the associated decline in consociational patterns of behavior, there has even been increasing emphasis by right-wing politicians on the notion of a small, neutral and independent nation-state surviving on the basis of smart strategies in a potentially hostile environment. Large portions of the

population support these ideas. Popular skepticism toward integration has mounted over the course of the last seven years. Nonetheless, it would be wrong to repeat the cliché of Switzerland as a solitary lone wolf, as there have been various attempts to contribute to international cooperative ventures. Switzerland is a fairly active member of the United Nations, the IMF, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), the Council of Europe and most of the other important international organizations. Swiss foreign economic policy works actively to defend the interests of its export-oriented economy, as for instance in the context of the WTO. However, the country concentrates its efforts in areas where it can realistically have some influence, such as economic matters or technical organizations dealing with issues such as transport, ecology or development. This said, there is a clear gap between the government's stated goals in terms of international cooperation and the resources – institutional or otherwise – that it has at its disposal for these tasks.

## Bulgaria

### Score 4

While the capacity of Bulgarian government bodies to correspond with, coordinate and participate in international processes and initiatives has improved markedly over recent years, the fact remains that Bulgaria is still primarily reactive in terms of international efforts to foster the provision of global public goods. This is due both to a lack of capacity and to a risk-minimizing strategy of avoiding the commitments involved in taking proactive positions. More often than not, Bulgaria tends to take part in international efforts but wait for the international community to formulate policies, set goals and benchmarks. It then does its best to implement those domestically. Inasmuch as there is coordination and assessment going on, it is for these reactive purposes.

## Czech Republic

### Score 4

In general, the government is not a leader but a trustworthy and reliable partner in relations with the international community. However, in 2011 – 2013, the decision of the Czech Republic to oppose the Fiscal Compact in combination with the lack of a credible plan to implement the euro and inconsistent attitudes towards the European integration process resulted in the marginalization of the country in European structures without any alternative international orientation. In addition to the European Union, the Czech Republic is also a member of the Visegrad 4 (V4) group but, in the wake of the varying effects of the global economic crisis on Central and Eastern European countries, regional cooperation decreased in comparison

to the previous periods as each country focused on its domestic issues. The end of Václav Klaus's presidential term could mean a significant decrease in political euroskepticism and a more active role for the Czech Republic in the EU integration process.

## Cyprus

### Score 3

As a full member of the European Union, the Council of Europe, the United Nations and other international organizations, Cyprus could have seized many opportunities to contribute to the global public welfare. One such opportunity was the country's (successful) presidency of the European Council in 2012, which showed that active contribution was indeed possible. However, it appears that no specific plans or mechanisms exist to ensure this kind of contribution on a sustained basis. Rather, various ministry officials provide isolated contributions in the course of their participation in the meetings of international organizations. Cyprus remains too introverted for more expansive participation. Whenever Cyprus acts in international forums, the division of the island remains the focus of attention.

## Greece

### Score 3

In 2011 – 2013 Greece, through its membership of the eurozone and through EU summits and meetings of ministers, participated in international efforts to foster the provision of public goods. For instance, at international fora Greece particularly pressed the point that migration from the developing world into Europe is not solely a Greek problem arising from its geographical position between Europe and Asia, and that a global response to migration should be formed. Otherwise, owing to its own severe economic crisis, Greece was unable either to develop institutional capacities beyond its role as an EU member state towards fostering the provision of public goods or to devote resources to ensuring coherence in national policies in line with international policies.

## Hungary

### Score 3

The government under Prime Minister Orbán has acted in a self-centered fashion and has been almost exclusively inward-looking. It has had neither the interest nor the capacity to engage in global collective efforts and to contribute to them with its own initiatives. As it has repeatedly acted unpredictably and has used double-talk at international conventions, the country has essentially become isolated in the international scene. The



Hungarian EU Presidency in the first half of 2011 was however the exception that proves the rule. On the one hand, the Orbán government successfully took the initiative in some fields (e.g., the Danube or the Roma Strategy); on the other, it undermined its own international position by launching highly controversial domestic reforms. Thus, the presidency was characterized by a contrast between the anti-European adventurism of politicians and the Europeanized professionalism of the administrative staff.

Citation:

Ágh, Attila, 2012: "The Hungarian Rhapsodies: The Conflict of Adventurism and Professionalism in the European Union Presidency", in: *Journal of Common Market Studies* 52(s2): 68-75.

## Malta

### Score 3

Malta does not have the institutional capacity to contribute actively in helping to shape international efforts to foster the provision of global public goods. Since joining the European Union, however, Malta has improved its institutional capacity to try and ensure that national policies on these global and/or regional challenges are systematically assessed and factored, as much as possible, within the policy process. As some of these global public goods coincide with EU directives, Malta has been forced to improve its institutional capacity to avoid EU sanctions.

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