**Policy Knowledge**

**Question**

To what extent are citizens informed of government policymaking?

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

10-9 = Most citizens are well-informed of a broad range of government policies.

8-6 = Many citizens are well-informed of individual government policies.

5-3 = Few citizens are well-informed of government policies; most citizens have only a rudimental knowledge of policies.

2-1 = Most citizens are not aware of government policies.

**Finland**

Score 9

Democracy requires that the public and its representatives have the means to hold government accountable. In this respect Finnish democracy is effective, though not perfect. Information on government policies and decisions is widely available online and many policy fields are debated at great length on television or in other media. Newspaper readership is also very high in Finland. A weak spot, however, is the public’s evaluative and participatory competencies. Surveys on the extent to which citizens are informed of government policymaking indicate that the public’s interest in politics has increased, and that young people in particular are more interested in politics today as compared to the early 2000s. Trust in political institutions has also increased. Social media and the 2012 presidential campaign in particular have had a marked impact on younger citizens’ rates of participation in politics. Yet the degree of interest and participation probably varies significantly across policy issues. Whereas some issues are widely debated in the media and attract general attention, other less media-friendly or stimulating issues pass largely unnoticed.


**Ireland**

Score 9

Although turnout is not a guide to how well-informed voters are, it is worth noting that the turnout at the 2011 general election was 70.1%, which is the highest at any general election since 1987 and a big increase on the lowest turnout of 62.6% seen in 2002. Concern over the economic crisis and a desire to punish the politicians believed to have been responsible for the mismanagement of the economy may have been behind the increased turnout. The high turnout indicates interest in the political process and a belief in the value of voting. It is possible that the 6% drop in turnout
for the May 2014 local and European parliamentary elections relative to the comparable 2009 elections reveals some falloff in this belief. However, the fact that the turnout in the two referenda held in May 2015 reached 60% and that in one the government’s proposal (marriage equality) was carried, but in the other (lowering the minimum age of presidential candidates) was defeated points to a good understanding of the issues involved.

The proportion of Irish respondents claiming to have heard of various European institutions is consistently higher than the EU average. The level of personal familiarity with elected politicians is very high – it has been claimed that a majority of the electorate have actually been canvassed by at least one person seeking election to the national parliament. In addition, the quality of debate on policy issues is fairly high.

Norway

Score 9

The Norwegian public is generally well-informed about government policies, measures and operations. This is partly attributable to the country’s small size, but also to the population’s high level of education, the very high circulation of newspapers and the widespread access to Internet and television. Moreover, the Scandinavian tradition of transparency in government helps the free press to report accurately about public policies.

Sweden

Score 9

The Swedish population has a strong interest in politics. Election turnout is still very high by most international comparisons. The turnout in the 2014 general elections was 85.8%, which was an increase of 1.2 percentage points from the previous election. Swedish voters tend to decide very late for which party to vote, which may be interpreted as the voters’ desire to gather as much information on political parties as possible before they make their final decision.

The definition of high or low levels of political knowledge is obviously a relative measure. Official data on the knowledge level of Swedish voters is not available. It can, however, be assumed that voters here are not significantly more – or less – knowledgeable than their colleagues in comparable countries.

Recent studies suggest that if voters had been more knowledgeable on political issues this would have changed their party allegiance. Increasing levels of knowledge should reduce the support for the two major parties – the moderates and the Social Democrats – while most of the other, smaller parties would have benefited. This is a purely hypothetical study, as the perfectly informed voter does not exist.
Denmark

Citizens get most of their information on government policy developments through television, radio and newspapers, which are, of course, selective in their reporting. Computer access is widespread. Government documents are, as a rule, freely accessible via the internet, and published work is also often free. Documents can further be read in public libraries, of which there are many. Mail from the public will increasingly go to Digital Post mailboxes. These are now mandatory for businesses, and they are becoming mandatory for citizens. Already many public services require online applications using a so-called easy ID (NemID).

In addition to the formal access to information, there is the critical question whether the information available is in a form comprehensible by most citizens. In many policy areas the level of technicalities and complexities is rather high, which is a barrier for citizens to adequately assess government policymaking. This is partly solved via independent institutions like the Economic Council and the Panel on Money and Pensions which serve an agency role on the part of citizens in terms of assessing government policymaking.

Election campaigns serve the purpose of presenting and debating the policies of the government as well as the opposition. A very high turnout during national elections (87.74% of eligible voters turned out for the 2011 election and 85.89% for the 2015 election) suggests a high degree of interest and enough knowledge to consider voting important. In the EU context, Danes are considered among the most knowledgeable about EU issues (partly due to the use of referenda), but turnout at elections for the European Parliament are much lower than for national ones (turnout for EU elections in 2014 was 56.32%), presumably because the issues in the former are considered less important. The bread-and-butter questions of national Danish politics – jobs, health, education, pensions and so on – inspire citizens to seek information and take part in politics.

Citation:


Estonia

Score 8

The regular and active consumption of news via online portals and the public broadcasting services is a fundamental feature of Estonian society. According to the TNS EMOR market-research agency, members of the adult population in 2014 – 2015 spent a daily average of 3.5 hours listening to the radio, and about 3 hours watching television. The major online portals Delfi and Postimees each have more than 500,000 unique visitors weekly. Extensive media consumption suggests that citizens may be well informed on major policy topics. However, survey data, although fragmented and sometimes carrying limited validity, indicate that this is often not the case. In a 2012 national survey on gender-equality policy, about 40% of respondents were able to name relevant legal acts, and about half were aware of the Gender Equality and Equal Treatment Commissioner. A TNS EMOR survey on public attitudes toward health care services revealed that in 2015, more people than in previous studies were critical of their own state of knowledge regarding health care arrangements and services. Only about one-third of citizens were well informed about health care services, and only 13% could identify the tasks and responsibilities of the Estonian Health Insurance Fund.

Iceland

Score 8

Iceland’s citizens are well informed about government policy. In local surveys, most citizens demonstrate familiarity with public policies, especially with respect to policies that either interest or directly affect them. This is more true of domestic policies than international politics, because the complexity of Iceland’s political landscape is comparatively low. By international standards, it is relatively easy to develop a comprehensive overview of the politics, parties, and policy issues in Iceland. Extensive interpersonal networks between citizens and Iceland’s distance from other countries contribute to the domestic focus of Icelandic politics.

The immediate response of some voters to the 2008 economic collapse demonstrates an ability on the part of some to quickly adapt to changed circumstances. In surveys connected to the 2007 and 2009 parliamentary elections, the percentage of voters agreeing with the statement that Iceland was mainly governed in accordance with the popular will declined from 64% in 2007 to 31% in 2009. Furthermore, the defeat of the four traditional national parties in the 2010 local government elections followed a dramatic decline in public trust in politicians and political institutions. In the biggest municipalities, Reykjavik and Akureyri, non-traditional parties were elected to power. This trend was accentuated by the publication of the highly critical Special Investigation Committee report six weeks before the elections. Even so, in the 2013 parliamentary elections, the Progressive Party (Framsóknarflokkurinn) made the largest proportionate gains, increasing its vote share from 14.8% to 24.4%. This increase was due to the party’s election pledge to write off up to 20% of
homeowners’ mortgage debts at foreign expense. In the same election, the previous
governing coalition lost more than half of their combined seats. The current
government is led by the Progressive Party.

Public debate surrounding two national referenda, in 2009 and 2011, concerning the
so-called Icesave dispute, suggests strong public interest in the issue. Similarly, the
2012 national referendum on the constitutional bill secured a turnout of 49% of the
electorate, despite the disparaging attitude of the traditional political parties.
Declining levels of public trust in politicians and the associated increase in political
apathy coincide with a noticeable decrease in how well informed citizens are about
national and international affairs. In the 2014 local government elections, voter
turnout declined further. In 2006, voter turnout had been 78.7%. In 2010, it declined
to 73.5% and in 2014 it dropped to 66.5%. Turnout among people aged 18 to 25
years old is especially low. Most current electoral research indicates that a significant
proportion of young people do not vote due to lack of interest in politics.

Citation:
(Dissatisfied democrats: The Icelanders’ attitudes toward democracy). In Gudmundsson, H.S. and Ömarsdóttir, S. B.

Eythórsson, G & Kowalczyk, M (2013): Explaining the low voter turnout in Iceland’s 2010 local government

kjörsóknar? (What are the main reasons for the low voter turnout in the Local Government elections in 2014?).


Israel

Score 8

Compared to other countries, Israeli citizens show high levels of interest in politics.
In a 2014 survey, 61.5% of respondents characterized themselves as “very
interested” or “somewhat interested.” This figure, however, is a decrease of 4.6
percentage points from a survey conducted the preceding year. This illustrates a
decline in political interest amongst the populace, specifically amongst those of
Jewish nationality. Israel also has one of the region’s highest rates of Internet usage
(71% in 2013) and a lively, pluralistic, and independent news media. While Israeli
citizens continuously exhibit high levels of engagement, this does not automatically
translate to knowledge and information regarding policymaking.

In recent years, the government expanded its efforts toward policy transparency by
broadcasting parliamentary sessions and publishing special reports and yearly audits
as well as yearly plans online. In 2011, Israel joined the Open Government
Partnership and was recognized the following year by a United Nations survey for
making outstanding progress in the area of e-government. Equally contributive to
public discourse is the work by academia and NGOs offering their insights on policy initiatives and implementation through official reports, conferences and debates in social networks. Furthermore, the government also tried to increase transparency by expanding the authority of the Governmental Unit for Freedom of Information and financing its projects.

In 2015, the Knesset approved the creation of the Special Committee for the Transparency and Accessibility of Government Information, functioning as the parliamentary auxiliary for the implementation of the Freedom of Information law. However, as a special committee, it could be dissolved at any point.

Citation:


“The media and public trust in the political system,” Israel Democracy Institute, 2010, (Hebrew).


Luxembourg

Score 8

Citizens are expected to have a good command of the three official languages: Luxembourgish, French and German, in order to facilitate social inclusion. About 46% of residents are foreigners, and multilingualism is the “compétence légitime” in Luxembourg. However, knowledge of Luxembourgish has a prominent role in political participation, as most political debate and information distribution takes place in this specific national language. This may make it more difficult for non-speakers to participate in the political sphere. Foreigners have expressed a distinct wish to participate more substantially in policy development. This interest in Luxembourg’s public life and political commitment depends on political empowerment and active participation in social life. Hence, not only voting rights but also the distribution of multilingual political information is extremely important in promoting active political participation and enabling influence in decision-making.
New Zealand

The most recent comparative data set which includes information on New Zealand policy knowledge is the International Social Survey Program. In the 2004 edition, New Zealand respondents overwhelmingly (69%) felt that they had a good or very good understanding of important political issues. Only about 13% of respondents said that most people are better informed about government and politics. The 2007 edition of the survey however did not include this question. Regarding the question, “How interested would you say you personally are in politics?” there was a slight decline of political interest in New Zealand between 2004 and 2007. According to survey data from the New Zealand Election Study of 2014, approximately two-thirds of respondents expressed satisfaction with the state of their democracy.

While levels of party membership and voter turnout have been in sharp decline – voter turnout dropping from the 80s and low 90s percentiles for much of the postwar period to 74% in 2011 with a minor increase in 2014 to 78% – there is evidence to suggest that levels of political knowledge and engagement are not as worryingly low as figures might suggest. This said, participation rates among the young suggest that generational disaffection during the review period is at an all-time high.

From time to time, matters of constitutional importance or public interest are put to voters by way either of citizen- or government-initiated referendums. In 2015 – 2016, for example, the government conducted a two-stage referendum on whether New Zealand should replace its national flag.
Switzerland

Score 8

There is some debate as to whether citizens are well informed in Switzerland. One of the first studies on the issue, based on surveys conducted after popular votes, found that only one out of six voters had a high level of policy knowledge. Studies based on larger data sets and relating to more recent data have showed that about 50% of citizens have good knowledge on public policy issues (i.e., they know the issue at hand and can provide reasons for their decisions). A recent study concluded that roughly equal shares of the citizenry lack civic competences, have medium competence and have a high level of competence. The intensity of the campaign around a given issue is of crucial importance in terms of public knowledge of the content of a bill.

Another recent study found that just 42% of Swiss citizens knew how many parties were in the government (which at the time of the survey had not changed during the previous five decades). Moreover, 36% knew how many signatures were needed to trigger a referendum, and about 45% knew the number of EU member states.

In a 2007 comparative study called Citizenship and Involvement in Europe, Swiss citizens scored at the same level as their counterparts in the Netherlands, Denmark and Norway with regard to the importance attributed to politics and interest in politics in general. These four countries demonstrated the highest scores among the 11 countries under study. In another recent study on political interest and sophistication, Switzerland was ranked in sixth place (behind Denmark, the Netherlands, Sweden, Norway and Germany) among the 21 European countries examined in the European Social Survey.

An analysis in 2005 showed that citizens are relatively well informed and rational when making their decisions in direct-democratic votes. Either they consider arguments and counterarguments, or rely on reasonable heuristics. Thus, in general it seems fair to say that Swiss citizens are as well informed about policies as citizens in other mature and rich democracies.

Belgium

Score 7

There are few sources of data that allow one to assess the citizenry’s level of information with precision. However, it is possible to surmise that individuals’ policy knowledge must have increased under this government, if only because some measures are controversial, and controversy attracts media attention. The last legislative elections created a starkly divided outcome, with right-wing parties and the Flemish Christian Democrats in power at the federal level and in the Flemish government, and the Socialists and Walloon Christian Democrats controlling the Walloon government (together with a French regionalist party in Brussels). The
Green parties are in the opposition everywhere. This increased polarization, but should also improve accountability. Belgian citizens have access to an independent press, and government meddling with information is limited to the usual pressure to try and emphasize favorable news.

**Czech Republic**

**Score 7**

With the increasing accessibility of online information, information on government policies is increasingly available to all Czech citizens. However, due to the deteriorating state of the Czech media landscape and its increasing populist tendency, citizens are often poorly informed regarding important policy issues and have a limited ability to come to informed decisions. In terms of battling corruption, NGOs and advocacy groups remain organized and unified, pushing the government to act in line with its electoral promises and to implement the reforms outlined in the 2015 Anti-corruption Action Plan. In order to counterbalance the weaknesses in media reporting, civil society has focused more strongly on media monitoring. The most notable and recognized initiative is the independent website Demagog.cz, founded in 2012 by students of Masaryk University in Brno, following the examples of similar groups abroad, in particular in the United States. This website monitors statements by politicians in public debate and examines their accuracy. In September 2015, Demagog.cz published an Alphabet of Migration, explaining key concepts and arguments.

**Japan**

**Score 7**

There is a substantial amount of information about policies and policymaking available in Japan. For instance, ministries regularly publish so-called white papers, which explain the current conditions, challenges and policies being implemented in certain policy areas in great detail.

However, while there is plenty of official government information, this does not necessarily mean that citizens feel satisfied or consider the information trustworthy. According to the Edelman Trust Barometer, trust reached a low point after the 3/11 disasters. It has recovered somewhat since, but in 2015 stood at only 40%, well below the average of 50% for the 27 countries covered, and still five points lower than in 2014.

Edelman, op. cit.

**United Kingdom**

**Score 7**

The UK government provides considerable information to its citizens through detailed websites, both at the core-executive and the ministerial level. This flow of information has been enhanced in recent years. These websites contain general
information, progress reports and statistical data. As part of its online material, the government makes some effort to ensure that citizens use this information by targeting specific groups. For example, a digital voter registration toolkit was developed in conjunction with a single-parent charity, while the “Rockenrol” pack was designed to engage young people. The most important source of knowledge for citizens is TV broadcasting, followed by newspapers and radio.

According to an opinion poll by Ipsos MORI in 2010, 53% of those asked said that they had “a great deal” or “a fair amount” of knowledge about politics, while 47% answered that they had “not very much” knowledge or knew “nothing at all.” The share of those claiming knowledge has risen over the previous decade by about 10 percentage points, indicating a subjectively better understanding of politics by citizens in the United Kingdom. A telling figure is that the proportion of citizens voting in certain television talent competitions is higher than in many national elections.

Citation:

Australia

Score 6

Opinion surveys indicate Australians have a moderate level of understanding of government policies, and that their level of knowledge increases substantially during election campaigns when they pay greater attention to policy matters. Media coverage tends to be limited due to the lack of diversity in Australian media, which is potentially a contributing factor hindering citizens’ policy knowledge. On the other hand, voting in elections of all levels of government is compulsory in Australia, which on balance is likely to increase the general level of awareness of government and opposition policies. Furthermore, media coverage of policy platforms during election campaigns is substantial.

However, Australian citizens have shown a declining interest in political issues. In June 2014, more than a quarter of voters showed dissatisfaction with the democratic system and over 55% indicated that in their view there is no difference between the two big political parties. In the last election, three million voters (20%) either failed to enroll, did not show up or cast an invalid vote.

Citation:

Austria

Score 6

A minority of Austrian citizens are well informed, but the majority is informed only within rather narrow limits. In large part, this is because political parties (and the government) do not provide full information on decision-makers’ debates and
strategic thinking. However, a majority of Austrians show limited interest in politics, a characteristic perhaps reinforced by the comparatively minimal opportunity for direct participation within the political system.

One thread of political discourse in Austria has focused on increasing citizens’ direct role within decision-making processes, a discussion that helped lead to the popular referendum in 2013 over the future of the military draft. In this, a majority opted for keeping the draft system rather than creating a professional army. In spite of the non-binding character of this consultation, all political parties agreed that the result should be respected.

Canada

Score 6

Few citizens are well informed about government policies. Indeed, most citizens have only a rudimentary knowledge of key public policy issues, as revealed by public opinion polls. A 2013 comparative study of 10 countries found that Canada is ahead of the United States but lags behind European countries in terms of political knowledge. The same study also found a significant gender gap: Canadian women scored 30% lower on average than did Canadian men when tested on their knowledge of hard-news items. Canada is particularly falling behind with regard to young voters’ political literacy. A study by Milner (2007) showed that young Canadians’ political knowledge was only slightly higher than that of their American counterparts, and was low compared with that of European youths. It concluded that European nations are better at disseminating the information and skills needed to turn their young people into participating citizens. In a 2011 survey on youth voting by Statistics Canada, 11% of eligible voters between 18 and 24 years of age cited a lack of interest as a reason for not voting, while 12% declared a lack of knowledge as the primary cause for abstaining.

Citation:


Curran, James et al. (2013) Gender Matters Globally: An Examination of Gaps in Political Knowledge in a 10-Nation Comparative Study.

France

Score 6

Citizens’ interest in politics and their participation in the political process have been on the decline in recent decades. Obtaining their information primarily from television, most citizens are poorly informed. Television stations devote little time to any political topic and tend to prefer talk shows where people express their views,
rather than using prime-time hours for political information. Information follows mobilization, rather than the other way around. Information is often provided on a certain topic once a group of citizens or political activists have succeeded in attracting media attention.

One of the problems with government information is that politicians tend to hide the truth or to minimize harsh realities. Since the Socialist government’s economic policy U-turn in 1983, governments have tried to hide necessary measures or reforms behind a veil of euphemistic language. As an example, President Hollande’s tough budget policy has been renamed “budgetary seriousness” to avoid accusations of “austerity”; even the wording “rigueur” (the tight control of public spending), used by the Socialist Party government in 1983, is banned. This kind of action “by stealth” may initially be successful, but it does not enhance political awareness among citizens and it also fuels populist feelings. Since coming into office in 2014, Prime Minister Valls has adopted a more frank style, trying to clearly point out the challenges and needs for reform to the public. However, this style is contested within the ranks of the governmental party. Meanwhile, opinion polls suggest that French voters are well aware of the problems (i.e. the budgetary situation) and the need for reforms. In autumn 2015, 75% of respondents approved of a labor contracts reform and 57% wanted to allow more flexible contracts; concerning the very contested question of the 35 hour workweek, 71% said they would give companies the liberty to negotiate the working time with the local unions.

Germany

Score 6

Empirical analyses of German citizens’ level of political knowledge point to inconsistencies. On the one hand, the supply of independent political information is high. Germany has a diversified media-ownership structure and comparatively pluralistic and decentralized television and radio markets. Although the nationwide print-media market is dominated by five leading daily newspapers, the Internet has become an increasingly important medium for citizens to gather information. Broadcasters, radio stations and newspaper have adapted to the new circumstances by providing a great deal of their services online. Nevertheless, television news programs are the main source of information for most citizens. High-quality news broadcasts have comparatively large audiences. According to one survey, around half of the population watches a news program every day. However, a recent survey indicates a dramatic decline in public interest in politics and in parliamentary debates in particular. Only 25% of the public express interest in politics and follow debates regularly (compared to about 50% 30 years ago). According to the study, mostly younger cohorts were not able to mention any parliamentary debate they followed with interest. Furthermore, only about 50% of respondents knew that the grand coalition consists of the CDU/CSU and the SPD. In addition, decreasing confidence in parties and politicians is undermining the motivation to stay informed. Political knowledge is continually decreasing and the
informed evaluation of government policies seems extremely difficult for ordinary citizens. Compared to other European countries such as Great Britain, German citizens’ knowledge of politics is substantially lower.

Citation:

Italy

Score 6

Existing public opinion studies indicate that only a minority of citizens (about 35%) are significantly interested in politics and that about a similar percentage talks regularly about politics and follows TV programs featuring political debate. A large majority (85%), however, regularly follows the TV news where political news has a significant weight. While data show that the level of sophistication and knowledge about parties, personnel and composition of government is not low, data concerning levels of information about policies were not easily available. They probably vary greatly depending on the policy field.

On certain policies (concerning major economic and fiscal aspects, education, health care, foreign policy) which parties use to define their position, levels of information are fairly high. On other policies they drop significantly. As Italian politics are fast changing, not very stable and strongly personalized it should be difficult for the citizens to be well informed about the contents of government policymaking. Television – by far the main information source in Italy – can’t give in-depth information.

The government is trying to directly inform citizens about its ambitious reform agenda. While some media outlets are trying to discuss the government’s proposals, there is little citizen participation in the reform project.

Citation:

Latvia

Score 6

There is no local survey data indicating the extent to which citizens are informed of government policymaking decisions. Data from a study on NGO participation in policy planning, commissioned by the government office in 2012, show that NGOs (which are predisposed to participation) are able to: obtain the information and knowledge required to understand the motives, objectives, effects and implications of policy proposals; and make their opinions known through the existing system.
NGOs note that information is available to those who seek it out, but is not easily accessible to the general public.

Individuals are slow to engage with the political process. According to a 2013 survey by Latvia’s Civic Alliance, only 17% of the population feels that they can influence decision-making (up from 15% in 2011). The Enterprise Register estimates that just 25,000 individuals or 1.2% of the population are members of a political party. This is the lowest level of party membership in the EU.

The rise of social media and the increasing use of the Internet have placed new tools at the disposal of citizens wishing to participate in the political process. An e-petition tool lets any group of 10,000 or more citizens place issues on the parliamentary agenda. In its three years of operation, eight initiatives launched on this site have been successful in initiating parliamentary action. An initially successful social-media-style website that enabled citizens to engage in direct communication with members of parliament was shut down in 2014 due to a lack of financing.

Citation:


**Malta**

The level of information available for citizens on policies is relatively high and in general easily accessible. The government provides data on policy areas, and if a certain set of data is not available, it can be requested. The National Statistics Office and the Department of Information regularly make information available to citizens. Some of the more complete reports assessing government policy however come from the European Commission. Competition between media outlets has improved public access to information with leading media outlets hosting their own investigative television series. Although most citizens follow political party-controlled media in their evaluation of policy objectives, political debate is nevertheless widespread and enables citizens to examine different aspects of policy. Policy discussions happen in regular civil society forums and are reported on by the media. However, local opinion surveys are rarely used to evaluate policy proposals, but to identify issues that would be acceptable for future development.
Mexico

Score 6

Socioeconomically, Mexico is a very internally divided country, which translates into uneven policy knowledge across the population. Due in part to its poverty levels, Mexico has the lowest performing students in the OECD and up to a third of the population has little more than primary education. However, at the other end of the scale, literally millions of Mexicans attend universities, and hundreds of thousands of Mexicans have attended foreign universities. There is, therefore, a marked split between a highly educated “developed” Mexico, which is concerned with the finer details of politics and policy, and a less politically and intellectually sophisticated Mexico composed of people who are mostly trying to get by. There is a gradual tendency toward more sophisticated public debates. Nevertheless, most Mexicans share a distrust of government and political authority. However, there are many independent media outlets, which make it possible for citizens to get informed by other sources than the government. Furthermore, the use of social media is increasing rapidly, particularly among younger Mexicans. Finally, the high level of insecurity and violence has increased public demand for political information.

Netherlands

Score 6

Dutch respondents claim to spend slightly more time than the average European respondent political information. Nevertheless, the broader public does not seem to be well-informed on a wide range of government policies. This is due not to a lack of information, but many people find political information complicated and/or uninteresting, they often do not pay attention to it. The Netherlands Institute for Social Research (Sociaal-Cultureel Planbureau, SCP) found in a 2012 survey that 28% of respondents thought politics was too complicated for them to understand, while 60% thought it was too complex for most others. Verhoeven distinguishes four types of citizens regarding their degree of political involvement: “wait-and-see” citizens (25%), impartial citizens (17%), dependent citizens (23%) and active citizens (35%). Research by Bovens and Wille finds that differences in education levels have become increasingly salient factors when it comes to citizens’ competence in processing policy information, political judgments about the EU, issues of immigration and integration, and political leadership.

Citation:

Verhoeven, Burgers tegen beleid: een analyse van dynamiek in politieke betrokkenheid, dissertatie, UvA, 2009.

M. Bovens, and A. Wille, 2011. Diplomademocratie. Over spanningen tussen meritocratie en democratie, Bert Bakker

Continu Onderzoek Burgerperspectieven, Burgerperspectieven 2014/3 (www scp nl, consulted 27 October 2014)
Slovakia

Score 6

While the liberal legislation on access to public information has improved the availability of information about policymaking, the population’s overall policy knowledge has suffered from the public disenchantment with politics and the political elite. The Fico government has followed a very selective information strategy. As Prime Minister Fico has stated several times, his government does not attribute significant weight to broad inclusion of the public in policymaking processes. On the contrary, his main message to the public is that the government takes care of the people’s everyday worries as well as the national interests of Slovakia. By pursuing this kind of paternalism, the Fico government has discouraged citizens from political participation and seeking independent, alternative information.

Spain

Score 6

Although levels of interest in politics have traditionally been low in Spain as compared with other Western European countries, the recent crisis has somewhat changed Spaniards’ attitudes toward the policy process. The public now demands a higher level of knowledge, and the motives behind and implications of government policy decisions are now better explained in the media than was the case in 2008.

Recent research conducted by the official sociological institute CIS demonstrates that attentiveness to political information within Spain has improved. For example, the CIS Barometer 3114, published in October 2015, reports that 22.5% of Spaniards talk about politics very often when meeting with friends (up from only 14% in January 2008). According to the same polls, most Spaniards regularly follow politics by listening to the TV news. But even if those who extend their news-gathering habits beyond the TV are few when compared to the western European average, their number has increased during the crisis; in 2015, 19.2% of CIS survey respondents said they read the political sections of newspapers every day (compared to 16.5% in 2008), while 15.8% used Internet sites on a daily basis to obtain political information (compared to 6.5% in 2008). With regard to specific public services and policies, the empirical evidence also shows a recent increase in participation and thus knowledge. For example, a survey on public opinion and fiscal policy published by the CIS in 2015 indicated that 52.3% of Spaniards talk about public services very often or often (as compared to 44.2% in 2008).

Citation:
Bulgaria

Score 5

The distribution of knowledge about government policies in Bulgaria is highly uneven. Citizens who are active, especially through participation in non-governmental organizations or grassroots activities, seem to have a very strong grasp of current policies in their sphere of interest. The general public, however, seems distrustful and uninterested. Citizens’ knowledge of how the government is actually organized and works, the division of competencies and the way decision-making and implementation proceeds is also not high. However, general interest in how the government operates and how policies are formulated and implemented rose significantly in the wake of the protests in 2013-2014. In 2015, the focus of public attention has narrowed on issues more directly related to large social groups, such as proposed changes in the pension system or reforms in the energy sector.

Citation:

Chile

Score 5

Print-media discussion of policy-reform proposals and government programs is relatively widespread, including discussion of reform proposals and options presented by the ad hoc policy-reform commissions. This has been recently displayed following the proposal of education, pension, fiscal and labor reforms. New forms of public communication regarding government policymaking, in many cases through websites and social networks, are on the rise. Yet a large share of the population is excluded from such discussion due to low levels of education, limited understanding of in-depth analysis and/or its lack of exposure to media other than television. For instance, a study conducted by the National Cultural Council in 2011 (Consejo de la Cultura) indicated that 84% of Chileans of all ages did not have an adequate understanding of content they had read. This observation was confirmed by a 2015 PISA study on the reading comprehension of adolescents. Furthermore, Chile’s oligopolistic media structures distort the political options offered to citizens (e.g., policymaking regarding ethnic minorities and the associated conflicts). Disinformation and manipulations hinder public-policy discussions. In addition to these deficits in news coverage, citizens in general show low interest in policymaking. Policy interest within the socioeconomic elite is also generally fairly limited, at least as long as public policies do not substantially affect their lifestyle in a nearly completely privatized environment (discussions of fiscal redistribution, as took place during the 2014 fiscal reform, represent a notable exception). Those elements of the middle class that are interested in these debates tend to have access only to the low-quality information sources mentioned above, while members of the socioeconomically lower-class population often know only about the specific public-subsidy systems they use, and lack broader familiarity with public policies and public policymaking.
Cyprus

Score 5

The Cypriot public’s traditionally strong interest in politics and high rates of attachment to political parties, combined with very low rates of abstention in elections, have collapsed in recent years. Abstention rates in national elections doubled between 2006 and 2013, while only 25% of eligible young people registered to vote in 2014. The fact that only a meagre share of citizens trusts institutions, as shown by a mid-October 2015 poll, is no surprise. In the survey, a total of 64% of respondents said they distrusted the judiciary, along with 77% reporting distrust of the government and 84% who reported distrust of parliament.

The above phenomena indicate a generalized disengagement of citizens from Cyprus’ institutions and politics. Ongoing problems include the low quality of available information, a lack of in-depth analyses, politicians’ tendency to engage in populist appeals, and a prevalence of meaningless arguments and incessant finger-pointing – all while very serious problems persist.

The government’s initial efforts to keep the public informed during the crisis may have weakened opposition to specific policies and measures, as the public acknowledged their need. As time has passed, however, the increasing alienation and institutions’ declining credibility may lead to a tacit disapproval of policies, or even create a situation where large portions of the public no longer consider it worthwhile to inform themselves of what is happening. The scale of the problems experienced in peoples’ daily lives clearly contrasts with the macroeconomic portrayal of successful fiscal policies.

Citation:
1. Opinion poll, Kathimerini, 18 October 2015,

Lithuania

Score 5

Citizens have access to some government information, but the public in large part lacks the civic awareness and policy knowledge that enables an adequate understanding of government policymaking and facilitates participation. In 2011,
Transparency International indicated that 44% of citizens surveyed said there was too much information not made publicly available by state and local institutions. Only 34% of the population received information on the activities of municipalities and other local authorities in 2013.

Several initiatives aimed at improving the citizens’ access of information do exist, however. The Public Management Improvement Program is designed to achieve this goal by defining the scope and content of public information to be made accessible, and by centralizing the provision of information about the government’s performance. In addition, the Lithuania 2030 Strategy envisions the implementation of programs devoted to educating responsible citizens. Despite this, Lithuania still faces substantial challenges with regard to increasing its citizens’ participatory capacity. In its review of Lithuania’s open-government programs, the OECD recommended supporting the development of Lithuania’s civil society through capacity building and collaboration with the activities of the newly established NGO Council, with the ultimate aim of engaging citizens more deeply in government policymaking processes.

Citation:
Reference to the Public Management Improvement Program: http://www3.lrs.lt/pls/inter3/dokpaieska.showdoc?p_id=418407&p_query=vie%F0ojo%20valdymo%20tobulinimo%20programa&p_tr2=2
OECD, Public Governance Review Lithuania- Fostering Open and Inclusive Policy Making Key Findings and Recommendations. 2015.

Poland

Score 5

Despite recent attempts to improve access to government information, the average level of knowledge regarding government policy within the Polish public remains limited. Reasons include a tendency toward infotainment in many media outlets, the populist propaganda produced by opposition parties, and a general detachment from politics among the citizenry. Moreover, political parties, trade unions and most other professional associations do not properly perform their socialization function, and fail to improve their members’ policy knowledge.

Citation:

Portugal

Score 5

The economic recession and the bailout increased – or at least averted a decline in – citizens’ attention to and interest in policy matters. The proximity of an election during the review period is also likely to have contributed to political interest. In a
Eurobarometer survey carried out in May 2015, 55% of respondents in Portugal had a “strong” or “medium” level of interest in politics, a five-percentage-point increase vis-à-vis a similar survey in June 2014.

However, this greater demand for policy knowledge does not appear to translate into a corresponding increase in actual knowledge, with policy knowledge remaining limited and unevenly distributed. The factors that limit citizens’ policy knowledge include: insufficient and partial explanation of policy by the government; partial and insufficient explanation of policy alternatives by the opposition; the media system tends to focus more on short-term issues and scandals than on in-depth policy analysis; presentation of policy in terms that tend to be exclusionary for most citizens; and a weak civil society that is unable to socialize and educate citizens on policy issues.

All this was reflected in the campaigns leading up to the 4 October 2015 legislative elections, which were marked by a weak and generally superficial presentation and coverage of policy issues. This may help explain why official turnout fell slightly in the 2015 elections, though some estimates argued that it in fact increased marginally if the technical abstention noted in the “Voting and Registration Rights” section is taken into account.

Citation:

Romania

Score 5

The majority of Romanian citizens have very limited knowledge about government policies. This reflects both the low quality of media reporting and a far-reaching lack of trust in the political system.

South Korea

Score 5

Many citizens are poorly informed about the details of most government policies, particularly concerning economic and social issues. The quality of information available is often limited, because political questions are often personalized and interpreted as power struggles between ambitious individuals. The political spectrum remains very narrow, limiting the scope of political discussion and making it hard for
citizens to develop their own opinion. The low trust in government announcements and in the mainstream media provides fertile ground for the dissemination of rumors. There is also a difference between the generations. The generation that grew up during the Korean War filters information through an anti-communist lens. The generation socialized during the struggle for democracy is highly politicized and has a general mistrust of government. However, the younger generation is less politicized and less informed about political issues. Under the Park administration, the gap in the perception of major issues between Blue House and mass public has become wider, and many observers have commented on what they regard as a declining level of policy knowledge among the general South Korean public.

Turkey

Score 5

The government generally does not adequately inform citizens about the content and development of government policy. In his monthly TV appearance, the prime minister only shares government success stories. Government officials highlight policies as a promising objective, but do not offer follow-up details. While there are no surveys that review how citizens get information over government policy, it is evident that policymaking in Turkey is not transparent or participatory.

Citizens often learn of policies only after their implementation process has begun. The public’s level of knowledge about government affairs is low, as is the public’s level of satisfaction with the government; however, this has not until recently manifested itself in public unrest. According to a 2011 survey, the media is the public’s first source of information, including information on government policies; however, many people also believe the media is not entirely reliable. Even the participatory mechanisms set up to assist government policymaking do not work effectively. Civil-society organizations are not able to inform their members or society at large about ongoing developments. Policy plans are mainly kept secret or are subject to last-minute changes, and the parliament’s tendency to pass important measures as a part of omnibus legislative packages has been subject to increasing criticism, because it confuses the public.

Social media has become a widespread tool, even for the government in its public relations. Ministries and municipalities use social media frequently, though there are some fake accounts spreading disinformation. Academic studies concluded that people consider social media a mechanism able to influence views and developments in two directions: government can inform its citizens and the people can influence government policies. In other words, social media can facilitate input-output and implementation and feedback in governmental processes. Sometimes ministers, mayors and other decision-makers share their policies through social media. However, the recent restrictions and bans on social media on the one hand and its limited presence on the other make it ineffective. Furthermore, as is the case demonstrated in other countries, social media may inform people, but it also tends to
re-affirm biased views and opinions among the public. As a result, social media may underline or even exacerbate polarization tendencies in Turkey.

Citation:
Volkan Göçoğlu and Mehmet Devrim Aygun, Kamu Politikası ve Sosyal Medya İlişkisinin Toplumsal Hareketler Bağlamında İncelenmesi, Uluslararası Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi, 2015, 8(37): 880-901.

United States
Score 5
The U.S. public is generally severely uninformed, not only by the standards of academic elites, but also according to empirical data. While comparing citizens’ level of governmental knowledge across political systems is an imperfect science, as one knowledgeable observer recently put it: “The political ignorance of the American voter is one of the best-documented findings in political science.”

Two examples illustrate this: In spring 2013, nearly 90% of the public favored legislation requiring background checks for the purchase of guns. Republicans in Congress blocked Democratic proposals for such a measure. Yet, when asked whose approach to gun control they preferred, the public split almost evenly between President Obama and congressional Republicans. At the same time, about 40% of the public believed that Obama’s health care reform had in fact been repealed. Republican politicians have been promising to repeal it, but with Democratic control of the presidency and the Senate, it has never been a realistic prospect. Political scientists debate the issue of whether and how a generally uninformed public can discharge the tasks of citizenship effectively. A 2014 Ipsos MORI cross-national survey found U.S. citizens to show the second-highest level of inaccuracy among 14 countries with regard to factual knowledge about a variety of social issues.

Croatia
Score 4
Citizens’ policy knowledge in Croatia is limited. Most citizens show only minimal political interest. Moreover, the media situation makes it difficult to obtain detailed information on specific government policies.

Greece
Score 4
Before the economic crisis, voter turnout in Greek parliamentary elections was very high and steadily exceeded 70% of all those registered to vote, but in the most recent parliamentary elections of June 2012, turnout dropped to 62.5%. In the elections of
September 2015 turnout fell even further (down to 56.6%). This was symptomatic of the political estrangement felt by Greek voters who blamed Greece’s political elites for the ills the country has faced since 2010. Moreover, even before the crisis, citizens did not really obtain enough information on government policymaking, as the media leaned toward infotainment, while individual members of parliament rarely discussed substantive policy issues with their voters in the electoral districts which they represented.

In Greece there is a tradition of appealing to government ministers or members of parliament in order to obtain favors such as accelerating the award of a pension or facilitating the hiring of a family member in the public sector. However, since 2010 this practice has probably been curbed, as the government succeeded in achieving fiscal consolidation at all costs between 2013 and 2014. In the European Parliament elections of May 2014 most parties made unrealistic pledges to voters about alleviating austerity policy measures, thus obfuscating the policy knowledge citizens had. The same tendency was observed in the electoral campaign for the parliamentary elections of January 2015.

In Greece, a small number of individuals voice policy opinions to politicians either through writing letters on policy issues to the press or by participating in the open electronic consultation on new government measures which each ministry announces and sustains before drafting a bill of law. On the other hand, there is a strong tradition of organized interest groups voicing opinions on policy matters relevant to their material interests.

Since the onset of the crisis, citizens have acquired a more precise view of the reforms agreed on between the Greek government and the country’s creditors. Yet they have not been able to fully follow developments. The Memorandums of Understanding signed by the Greek government and the Troika – which have included government measures to be taken in economic, tax, income, pension and labor relation areas – were extensive, detailed and complicated. Citizens have had only rare glimpses at the precise content of policy measures, which are filtered through the distorting lens of polarized party conflicts between the pro-Memorandum and anti-Memorandum political parties. The situation became worse in 2015 as the new government tried in vain to convince the country’s creditors that its pre-electoral promises to follow Keynesian policies of fiscal expansion and to abolish taxes (e.g., the single landed property tax, ENFIA), were to be honored despite the dire condition of the Greek state’s finances. Citizens believed that all this was possible and that a tougher negotiating strategy on the part of the Greek government would bring the desired changes in austerity policy. They rewarded anti-Memorandum parties, such as Syriza and ANEL, with enough votes to form a new coalition government. Yet, most citizens were clearly misinformed about the rules of the game of EU politics as well as about the minimal say Greece had with regard to decisions on its fate and the country’s financial state; these promises of fiscal expansion and tax cuts were completely unrealistic.
Citation: The Ministry of Interior reports turnout in elections. The relevant percentage figures are available at the Ministry’s http://ekloges.ypes.gr/current/v/public/index.html#&ch=’main’&params=. Accessed on 03.11.2015.

Hungary

Score 4

Policy knowledge among the Hungarian public is rather weak. Reasons include political apathy, the biased and spin-filled information policies of the government, and the lack of transparency characterizing policymaking. Frustration with politics is palpable across much of society and is manifest in low voter turnouts and an apathetic civil society. The media on both sides of the political spectrum have concentrated on scandals rather than analyze issues, and have focused their reporting on persons rather than on policies. Still, the existing independent policy institutes – Policy Agenda, Political Capital and Policy Solutions – have provided detailed policy knowledge for the public at large, as have many professional NGOs.

Slovenia

Score 4

Slovenian citizens’ knowledge of government policymaking is rather limited. While both print and electronic media provide adequate information, certain segments of the population lack media literacy, and a majority of citizens is simply not interested in the details of policymaking. The recurring corruption and political scandals have led to frustration and disenchantment for a majority of the population. According to a Eurobarometer survey conducted in June 2015, only 7% of respondents trusted political parties (EU28 average 16%), and just 18% trusted the national government (EU28 average 31%).

Citation:
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