



Parties and Interest Associations Report

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

Sustainable Governance Indicators 2017

Indicator

Intra-party Democracy

Question

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

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

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

Denmark

Score 8

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

Newer parties, including the second biggest party currently in the parliament, the Danish People's Party and the new party The Alternative, may be more tempted to propose popular, even populist, policies. However, parties that have the ambition to be included in a future government have to moderate their views. The Danish People's Party provided the necessary parliamentary support for initiatives taken by the previous liberal-conservative minority government (2009 to 2011) and managed, in this way, to also promote some of their core issues (e.g., pension and immigration policy). Similarly, the Socialist People's Party for the first time became part of the government in 2011, although it had to leave the government in January 2014 because of internal disagreements over the policies pursued by the coalition.

The interest in taking part in a coalition government forces parties to be sensitive to the opinions of the electorate, especially their active members. Therefore, the internal party structure has to be democratic. Parties have annual meetings where policies are determined and leaders elected. They are open to the press and covered

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

Citation:

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

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

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

The Social Democratic Party: www.socialdemokratiet.dk

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

The Liberal Party: www.venstre.dk

The Unity List: www.enhedslisten.dk

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

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

The Social Liberal Party: www.radikale.dk

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

The Conservative Party: www.konservative.dk

Finland

Score 8

At the time of writing, four major parties hold seats in the Finnish parliament (Eduskunta). Although empirical research on intra-party democracy has so far mainly dealt with the Center Party (Kesk), there is little doubt that the findings of this research can be assumed to apply to the other major parties as well. Generally, the structure of internal decision-making systems within political parties has developed in two directions. While active party members operate in voluntary, subnational organizational units, national policy functions are decided by career politicians who constitute the party elite. This dualism places power in the hands of party elites, and most particularly the party chairs. This has led to a marginalization of party members from the executive functions within each party. As intra-party meetings are the highest decision-making institutions within political parties, the average party member participates in party meetings only indirectly by helping to elect delegates.

Citation:

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

Iceland

Score 8

In the 2013 parliamentary elections, 4 out of 15 parties gained more than 10% of the votes. These four parties constitute Iceland's traditional four-party system. These four parties all hold their national conventions, which are the supreme decision-

making forums for the parties, every second year. The conventions issue resolutions on major public policy issues, which oblige the MPs of the respective party to abide by these directives. Representatives from the regional and local party units of all parties have the right to participate in party conventions. The number of representatives attending is proportional to the number of party members in each unit. The nomination processes vary slightly among parties. Most parties have a tradition of primary elections in which only party members have the right to vote. For example, in the case of the Social Democrats, a signed declaration of support is required, rather than the stricter and more common requirement of party membership. The Progressive Party has different rules, under which most constituencies have a constituency board (Kjördæmisráð) that selects candidates to a constituency congress (Kjördæmisþing). The number of representatives of each local party unit is equal to the proportion of each unit's membership to the total membership of all units. At these congresses, candidates are elected one by one. Newer party Bright Future (Björt Framtíð), with six seats in 2013 and four in 2016, did not nominate candidates by primary elections before the 2016 election, but have since developed its procedures for internal decision making. Regeneraton (Viðreisn), a new liberal party founded in 2016, also does not hold primary elections. The Pirate Party (Píratapartýið), which won 3 seats in 2013 and 10 in 2016, has been the biggest party in opinion polls since the beginning of 2015. The party held primary elections in every constituency in the autumn 2016. Due to the limited time for election campaigning in 2016, the traditional parties skipped primary elections in some constituencies and used other nomination methods within the party organization.

Luxembourg

Score 8

Inner-party democracy has different levels of intensity within the four major political parties Christian Social People's (CSV), Democratic Party (DP), Luxembourg Socialist Workers' Party (LSAP) and Déi Gréng. The CSV has used its current oppositional role to pursue an internal modernization process while remaining faithful to its core principles. The party is engaging in internal structural reforms, while seeking to integrate more individual members and opinions into the process. However, since the end of 2013, a small group of CSV politicians known as the "Dräikinnegrupp" has demanded an even stronger reorientation. This group has focused on strengthening internal dialogue and moving toward a grassroots democracy and has called for a new culture of participation. The CSV adopted new internal governance statutes in December 2015.

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

Citation:

Bumb, Christoph. "Die Rebellen, die keine sein wollen." *Luxemburger Wort*, 12 Jan. 2015, www.wort.lu/de/politik/die-csv-zwischen-kritik-und-reform-die-rebellen-die-keine-sein-wollen-54b305830c88b46a8ce5138d. Accessed 21 Feb. 2017.

—. "Weg vom Image der "Staatspartei"." *Luxemburger Wort*, 8 Jan. 2015, www.wort.lu/de/politik/csv-auf-internem-reformkurs-weg-vom-image-der-staatspartei-54aea1440c88b46a8ce50af8. Accessed 21 Feb. 2017.

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

"Die Basis hatte ein Wörtchen mitzureden." *Luxemburger Wort*, 15 Mar. 2012, www.wort.lu/de/lokales/die-basis-hatte-ein-woertchen-mitzureden-4f61e50ae4b0860580ab7084. Accessed 21 Feb. 2017.

Hilgert, Romain. "Der linke Flügel der LSAP." *Land.lu*, 19 May 2011, www.land.lu/2011/05/19/der-linke-flugel-der-lsap/. Accessed 21 Feb. 2017.

Ismayr, Wolfgang. "Das politische System Luxemburgs." *Die politischen Systeme Westeuropas*, VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2003, pp. 415 – 444.

"LSAP-Präsidium strebt neues Mandat an." *LSAP*, 16 Mar. 2016, www.lsap.lu/lsap-prasidium-strebt-neues-mandat-an/. Accessed 21 Feb. 2017.

"No "radical renewal" for the CSV." *Luxemburger Wort*, 16 Feb. 2014, www.wort.lu/en/luxembourg/no-radical-renewal-for-the-csv-5300d522e4b0f989a09f27d4. Accessed 21 Feb. 2017.

Schumacher, Dani. "Die Partei und der Premier." *Luxemburger Wort*, 12 Oct. 2012, www.wort.lu/de/politik/eine-analyse-ueber-den-ist-zustand-bei-der-dp-die-partei-und-der-premier-54380a37b9b39887080751fe. Accessed 21 Feb. 2017.

Stoldt, Jürgen. "Welche Zukunft für die Volksparteien?" *Forum.lu*, Feb. 2015, www.forum.lu/pdf/artikel/8035_348_Stoldt.pdf. Accessed 21 Feb. 2017.

Trausch, Gilbert. *CSV: Spiegelbild Eines Landes Und Seiner Politik?: Geschichte der Christlich-Sozialen Volkspartei Luxemburgs im 20. Jahrhundert*. Saint-Paul Luxembourg, 2008.

Norway

Score 8

All political parties give special preference to their members in terms of internal decision-making. Party manifestos are approved at annual meetings, while regional party meetings nominate candidates for elections. Non-party members can be nominated as electoral candidates, but this is rare. In most parties, attempts are made to anchor major policy agendas in the views of party members and party representatives. Although there is some variation, membership in political parties has been in a decline for some time. Concerns have recently been raised about structural biases in nomination processes that favor active party members' preferences over those of average voters who rarely have the time to become active in political nomination processes. Some political parties have therefore begun experimenting with new modes of nominating and picking candidates.

Sweden

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

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

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

United States

Score 8 There are two major parties, the Democratic and Republican parties, operating at the local, state and federal levels in nearly all areas of the country. Unlike in parties in parliamentary systems, individual office holders (for example, members of Congress) decide their own positions on policy issues, subject to informal influence from party leaders. Thus, party programs or platforms, amounting to collective statements of party policies, do not exist. A national party platform is written every fourth year at each party's presidential nominating convention, but is rarely referred to after the convention. The occasion for intra-party democracy is therefore the nomination of party candidates for office. Party nominations are determined by primary elections and open caucuses conducted by the individual states, thus putting these decisions directly in the hands of ordinary party voters. The process for nominating presidential candidates was controversial in both parties, for different reasons, during the 2016 primaries. The Republican primary election produced a presidential candidate, Donald Trump, who was generally viewed by leading Republican figures, including some in office, as unqualified for the office.

Canada

Score 7

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

In April 2013, the Liberal Party of Canada elected a new leader, Justin Trudeau, through a very open voting process that allowed non-members to vote. The policy formation process is relatively open: new ideas are gathered from Liberal members and supporters through associations and clubs, then written up as policy resolutions that are voted on and prioritized first within provincial and territorial associations (PTA) and then at the Liberal Party's biannual conventions. All resolutions passed at the convention become official party policy. The Liberal Party currently forms the Canadian government, with Justin Trudeau as prime minister. How inclusive his leadership style is remains to be seen, although he already promised a "return to government by Cabinet."

Until his resignation in the aftermath of the October 2015 election, the Conservative Party was tightly controlled by party leader and then Prime Minister Stephen Harper. Decisions on policy and electoral strategy were generally made by a small number of senior officials close to him. While grassroots views and resolutions passed at party conventions provide input into the decisions of the elite, they are not binding. For example, many Conservative party members would like measures taken to restrict abortion, but Stephen Harper refused to act on this for fear of alienating the general public, which is content with the status quo on the issue. The Conservative Party of Canada has since chosen Rona Ambrose, a former cabinet minister, as interim leader. Ms. Ambrose was chosen following a vote under a preferential ballot process among the Conservative MPs and senators.

In March 2012, after the death of Jack Layton, the New Democrat Party (NDP) elected a new leader, Thomas Mulcair. Under Layton, the party had made major gains in the 2011 federal election, becoming the official opposition. The most recent NDP policy conference saw diverse views expressed on many issues, but any resolutions passed were not binding on the leadership in its development of a policy program. Unlike the Conservatives or the Liberal Party of Canada, the NDP is integrated with its provincial and territorial parties (except in Nunavut, the Northwest Territories, and Quebec), which means a member cannot support different parties at the federal and provincial levels. In the October 2015 election, the New Democrats only finished third and no longer form an official opposition. At the 2016 party convention, 52% of delegates voted for a leadership review and will hold a leadership election within 24 months of the vote. Mulcair will stay on as leader until a new leader is elected.

Greece

Score 7

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

After 2012, Syriza had been able to revive political party life, in the sense that its own party members and voters participated actively in meetings of local party cells and social movements (i.e., those which are closely associated with Syriza). However, after the Syriza-ANEL's U-turn in economic and social policy, dictated by Greece's Third Economic Adjustment Program, Syriza's vibrant intra-party life declined. In the period under review, Syriza's party organs functioned at a slow pace and were often rendered irrelevant by the Syriza-ANEL government's changes of tactics and strategy. The second ever party congress of Syriza, which took place in October 2016, provided a forum for government ministers and party cadres to lament the government policies which they followed, under pressure from the country's lenders and international organizations. It was however a very large political party event with representatives of local party cells of Syriza coming from all parts of Greece.

Among the other parties, New Democracy organized an open election for its new leader in January 2016 and was able to partly revive its intra-party life. The election of the new party leader was not disputed by anyone, and a young politician, Kyriakos Mitsotakis, won the presidency of the party.

To sum up, in the period under review, there has been improvement with respect to the inclusiveness and openness of the major parties.

Israel

Score 7

The eleven parties with Knesset seats since the 2015 elections demonstrate varying levels of intra-party democracy. The Israel Democracy Institute (IDI) issued a Party Democracy Index, a mechanism that allows voters to evaluate the degree of internal democracy practiced by political parties. In their assessment on the eve of the 2015 elections, the longstanding rightist Likud party and the Labor party were ranked on top. In fact, the three topmost parties, Likud, Labor and the Arab Joint List (AJL), all showed above average intra-party democracy. However, other parties demonstrated very low intra-party democracy, especially ultra-Orthodox parties and right-wing parties. New parties, mostly centrist parties, such as Yesh Atid (YA), Kulanu and Hatnua, displayed mid-range scores on intra-party democracy. Recently, a bill was

presented in the Knesset that calls for financial compensation to parties whose leaders are elected through primary elections. The bill has been discussed in a Knesset committee.

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

In other parties, such as YA, Kulanu and Israel Beytenu, some consultation with party members is conducted, but important decisions are taken by top ranking members. For example, according to the YA party's regulations, the party's leader and founder, will remain leader until the end of the 20th Knesset. Moreover, in all three parties, the regulations authorize the party's leader to decide the most important personnel issues (e.g., the list of electoral candidates). He or she also holds considerable power within the party's institutions, thus retaining significant influence on party policy.

The exceptions are nondemocratic parties, such as Agudat Israel, Degel Hatora, Shas and Ra'am. While the former three are ultra-Orthodox parties, the latter is an Arab party (which ran in the 2015 election in alliance with three other parties: Hadash, Balad and the Ta'al).

Citation:

Kenig, Ofer and Shapira, Assaf, "Primary Season in Israel," Israel Democracy Institute, 2012. "Likud's Constitution," Likud Website (Hebrew). "The Party Democracy Index," Israel Democracy Institute, 2013. <http://en.idi.org.il/projects/government-structure/political-reform/the-party-democracy-index/> "The Party's Institutions," Labor website (Hebrew). "Yesh Atid Party's Regulation," Yesh Atid Website (Hebrew). "Our principles", Habayit Hayehudi Party website, <http://www.baityehudi.org.il/our-principles/> (Hebrew), <http://baityehudi.org.il/englp/our.htm> (English). "The Party Democracy Index," Israel Democracy Institute, 2015. http://www.idi.org.il/%D7%A1%D7%A4%D7%A8%D7%99%D7%9D-%D7%95%D7%9E%D7%90%D7%9E%D7%A8%D7%99%D7%9D/%D7%9E%D7%90%D7%9E%D7%A8%D7%99%D7%9D/the_party_democracy_index_2015/ "The Kulanu Party Regulation: Wide authority to the Chairman, Will decide on his own if to join the coalition." Haaretz Newspaper website: <http://www.haaretz.co.il/news/elections/.premium-1.2510097> (Hebrew)

Kenig, Ofer and Rahat, Gideon, (2016), "Additional Budget allocation for Parties who Practice Primary Elections", IDI online magazine, 19.6.2016. http://www.idi.org.il/%D7%A1%D7%A4%D7%A8%D7%99%D7%9D-%D7%95%D7%9E%D7%90%D7%9E%D7%A8%D7%99%D7%9D/%D7%9E%D7%90%D7%9E%D7%A8%D7%99%D7%9D/democracy_incentivisation/ (Hebrew)

Lithuania

Score 7

Lithuanian parties usually restrict decision-making to party members. Although in many cases, all party members can participate in important decisions, their capacity to influence the most critical party decisions is insufficient. Some political parties are

more democratically structured than others: in 2007, the Social Democratic Party of Lithuania, the Lithuanian Christian Democrats and the Homeland Union were found to be the most democratic in terms of internal decision-making. The latter two parties have since merged to form a single party whose leader is directly elected by all party members. By contrast, some other political parties are primarily used as a platform for their leaders to express their own political interests. Following the success of non-party candidates in the 2015 municipal elections, the Lithuanian Farmers and Greens Party brought together a group of non-party candidates for the 2016 parliamentary elections. Many of these candidates won against the established political parties. Following the formation of the new coalition cabinet, only one out of 14 ministers is formally a member of Lithuanian Farmers and Greens Union, two are members of the Social Democratic Party of Lithuania, while 11 are independent and received invitations to the cabinet of “professionals” after the elections. This arrangement complicates the line of accountability between the newly formed cabinet and their parliamentary majority.

Citation:

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

Cyprus

Score 6

Against reform plans, no progress was made concerning any party member’s (in some cases friend’s) ability to elect party bodies and officials, and select candidates for public office. ‘Consensus’ and other practices cancel or limit the exercise of these rights. The same applied to mayoral candidates, guided by political expediency or dictated by party alliances goals. Thus, attempts by party leaders to avoid or influence intra-party elections undermined the powers of grassroots party bodies and members.

The leadership of the Democratic Rally (Δημοκρατικός Συναγερμός, DISY), the first party that extended rights to all party members, sought recently to avoid internal procedures. Proposed ‘consensus’ or ‘strong’ candidates in both intra-party and public-office elections were favored with the approval of party bodies and members. In the 2013 presidential elections, the candidate was selected by DISY’s Supreme Council (1000 members). DISY’s electoral programs are drafted and approved by its governing bodies, while its choices rely on opinion polls and advice by communications consultants. The party’s leader follows a more centralized and personalized management approach than before.

The Progressive Party of the Working People (Ανορθωτικό Κόμμα Εργαζομένου Λαού, AKEL) adheres to the principle of democratic centralism, with nomination and selection rights given to party members and friends. Nominations starting at the party-cell level, go through selection and ranking procedures prior to final decisions by the Central Committee (CC), in a process that lacks transparency. The party congress (1,200-1,400 party cadres nominated by party cells), elects the CC (105

members), which in turn elect the secretary general. AKEL's presidential candidate selection starts with a party-cell vote. A final vote lies with a special electoral congress. Electoral programs are approved by the party's governing bodies.

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

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

Citation:

View: DISY's festival of democracy was fooling no one, Cyprus Mail, 8.4.2016, <http://cyprus-mail.com/2016/04/08/our-view-disys-festival-of-democracy-was-fooling-no-one/>

France

Score 6

Parties are usually both centralized and organized hierarchically. There are few registered political activists. These are all serious limitations to the inclusiveness of citizens in the selection of leaders and of policy options. However, there are some countervailing forces. One traditional point is the practice of accumulating elective mandates. Many politicians are not selected by a party; they are individuals who have made their breakthrough locally and impose themselves on the party apparatus. This means that national politicians have a concrete and ground-based knowledge of people's aspirations and claims. Another factor is the popular election of the president. Candidates' programs are inclusive; no policy sector is forgotten in their long to-do list. A third factor lies in recent changes in the selection of candidates for presidential elections and communal elections. Primaries have taken place, first within the Socialist Party, then in the neo-Gaullist conservative Union for Popular Movement (UMP). In both cases, both registered activists and voters sympathetic to the party are eligible to participate. Actually, this "opening" of the process contributes to a further weakening of the parties which are already very feeble organizations. On the other hand, the strong participation in the primaries (up to 4.4 million in the case of the conservatives, a multiple of the number of registered members) is a form of citizen participation in a crucial political party decision, which can be seen as a positive sign for open and democratic legitimation of the party's choice.

Germany

Score 6

During the period under review, party leaders of the coalition government were re-elected without facing major opposition for party leadership. No direct participation of party members regarding important policy decisions took place. The parties retain

traditional hierarchical decision-making processes and candidate-election procedures. Particularly important policy challenges have led to fierce debates within the SPD (e.g., TTIP negotiations) and the CDU/CSU (e.g., refugee policy). However, party members have had little direct influence in these debates. Decision-making is limited to representatives at the party congresses and firmly controlled by party elites. Direct party member voting has become more common in disputes on the selection of election candidates. For example, CDU members in Baden-Württemberg decided that Guido Wolf, rather than Thomas Strobl, would be the CDU candidate for minister-president in the 2016 Baden-Württemberg election.

Poland

Score 6

For the last decade, political parties have functioned under legislation that strictly defines the role of a political party and how parties are financed. Since most funding is public, the government mandates that parties themselves are governed by democratic principles. However, the reality is mixed, with some parties meeting democratic standards while others fall short. The conservative Law and Justice Party (PiS), led by Jarosław Kaczyński since 2003, and the Polish People's Party (PSL) have been characterized by a hierarchical mode of organization. By contrast, the Civic Platform (PO) has often experienced intra-party controversies. After its defeat in the parliamentary elections of 2015 it took the party some time to reorganize. After internal debates between several wings within the party, it was finally Grzegorz Schetyna, previous foreign minister in the Kopacz government who was elected as party leader in January 2016. In order to stimulate internal discussions and to increase a network also outside party membership, PO launched so-called citizens clubs that convene all over Poland. The other strong opposition party, Nowoczesna, does have democratic internal structures but is more fixed around its leader, Ryszard Petru.

Spain

Score 6

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

The PP, in office since December 2011, is characterized by its opaque internal decision-making processes. It is a heavily centralized party, although some of its regional branches enjoy significant independence – at least regarding decisions on

personnel. The PP seeks to speak with one voice (the voice of its president), a tendency illustrated through the nomination of Mariano Rajoy as the candidate for prime minister without any direct participation by party members and despite several polls showed that more than half of the PP's voters preferred a different candidate. The decisions on how to fill the rest of the electoral lists and which position will be represented by the party in most issues are restricted to a small core leadership. Actually, despite the PP announced that its next party conference (to be held in 2017) would introduce primary elections for the selection of representative candidates, it withdrew this idea later. The PSOE, which is the major opposition party, is considerably more participatory than the PP. As a less president-driven organization, internal debate on electoral programs is common and even public, frequently involving some of the regional branches (especially the powerful Andalusian and Catalan sections, the latter of which is formally an independent party). The manner in which the PSOE selects its leader and main candidates is also more open, with the participation of regional delegates or through the use of primary elections. Its leader Pedro Sánchez was endorsed as the party's candidate for prime minister in late 2015 and mid-2016 with no rival contender, and thus no need to organize primaries. However, following its poor 2016 election results, the party was embroiled in internal battles to force his resignation as secretary-general.

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

Citation:

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

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

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

Switzerland

Score 6

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

However, these oligarchic tendencies are arguably not the primary problem with regard to inclusion in Swiss parties. The decline in party membership and party identification – particularly in the case of the Radical and Christian Democratic

parties – along with the low level of party resources, may be even greater problems since party decisions are being made by an increasingly shrinking active party membership base.

United Kingdom

Score 6

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

The Conservative Party restricts decision-making to party members. In most cases, a number of selected delegates participate in the most important personnel and issue decisions. Central party influence over candidate selection has varied in recent years. David Cameron introduced a “priority list” with at least 50% women and significant representation from ethnic minorities, from which all target seats and Conservative-held seats were supposed to be selected. In the run-up to the 2010 election and in the wake of the parliamentary expenses scandal, this requirement was relaxed. After the general election, selection rules reverted to the post-2005 procedure. The party leader is elected by a poll of all party members, who choose from a shortlist of two candidates nominated by Conservative Party MPs.

The Labour Party also restricts decision-making to party members, although trade union influence remains strong. In most cases, a number of selected delegates participate in important personnel and issue decisions. Central party influence over local candidate selection has varied. Since 1988, there has had to be at least one woman on every shortlist. Since 2001, candidates require the approval of the central party’s head office prior to selection by their respective constituency Labour Party. Some political allies of the current leader, Jeremy Corbyn, favor a return to mandatory reselection, which would increase the influence of the left-wing within the party and is therefore highly contested.

The Labour Party’s selection process for party leader was changed prior to the election of Jeremy Corbyn. Previously the old electoral college voted for the party leader. The college consisted of the parliamentary Labour Party, constituency Labour parties, and the trade unions and affiliated organizations. Each group had one-third of the total vote. Since the procedural change, the choice is now based on a “one member, one vote” system. In addition, “registered supporters” can pay £3 to be entitled to vote as well. The winning candidate must secure at least 50% of the vote. Consequently, the election process can take several rounds, as the candidate with the fewest votes after each round drops out, and their second preferences are

redistributed to the remaining candidates, until the winning candidate has reached the required quorum. However, Corbyn won more than 50% in the first round. While the new procedure massively increased party membership and participation in the leadership election, the distribution of indicated preferences between party members, members of affiliated organizations and registered supporters varies considerably. Registered supporters appear to be much further to the left of party members or members of affiliated organizations. Furthermore, in the wake of the Brexit result and accusations that Corbyn had not campaigned effectively enough for “remain,” a repetition of the Labour Party leadership election, which result in another clear victory for Corbyn, has raised questions about the representativeness of the newly enlarged membership in the party leadership election. It has also accentuated doubts about the electability of the Labour Party, reflected in recent opinion polls.

The Liberal Democrats restrict decision-making to party members. In most cases, all party members have the opportunity to participate in the most important decisions and choice of personnel. Lists of candidates and agendas of issues are fairly open. The populist UK Independence Party also limits its leadership election to party members, but had difficulty choosing a successor to Nigel Farage with the first elected successor resigning after just 18 days.

Austria

Score 5

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

As voters have looked elsewhere, the right-wing (“populist”) Freedom Party (Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs, FPÖ), the center-left Greens, and the liberal New Austria and Liberal Forum (NEOS) as well as a variety of newer parties, sometimes with very short political life expectancies, have been the beneficiaries. The Austrian parties are usually linked to European party families and to party groups in the European Parliament.

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

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

Belgium

Score 5

Belgium maintains a multiparty political system, with more than a dozen parties that hold regular parliamentary representation. Party organizations also come in a broad variety of forms. Three parties obtained more than 10% of the national vote in the federal elections held in May 2014: the New Flemish Alliance (N-VA) obtained 20.3% of the vote; the French Socialists, whose then-leader Elio Di Rupo was the prime minister in the previous government, obtained 11.7% of the votes; and the Flemish Christian Democrats obtained 11.6% of the vote.

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

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

The actual competitiveness of these internal elections varies widely on a case-by-case basis. In most internal elections, the winner is elected by a crushing majority, suggesting that challengers are simply acting figures destined to give an appearance of internal democracy – or, quite frequently, there is only one candidate. But it does happen that some internal elections are highly competitive, and lead to surprising results (among others, the Greens typically have competitive internal elections, and

both the Christian Democrats and the Liberals have occasionally had tight contests). Overall, the process is thus mostly controlled by intermediate party elites.

Citation:

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

Czech Republic

Score 5

Since the 2013 parliamentary elections, two political parties have dominated Czech politics: the Czech Social Democratic Party (Česká strana sociálně demokratická, ČSSD) and the Movement of Dissatisfied Citizens (ANO party). The Communist Party (Komunistická strana Čech a Moravy, KSČM) has remained consistently in opposition, joined in 2013 by the vocal TOP09 (Tradice Odpovědnost Prosperita 09, TOP09). The Civic Democratic Party (Občanská demokratická strana, ODS) struggles to find a new face after its loss of power. Overall, with the exception of ANO, each party's internal party structure, both formally and in practice, are remarkably similar. Each has a structure of local and regional committees with supreme authority in a congress, organized at regular intervals or when demanded by representatives of a set proportion of the membership. A member has the right to stand for any position and to vote for delegates to the next level in the hierarchy. The national congress elects the party leaders. That is the practical means for expression of political differences. Other debates show little controversy and are dominated by figures from party leaderships. Ordinary members can raise their voice by commenting on party blogs, and leaderships usually establish some advisory committees with wider membership, but direct involvement from ordinary members is usually limited. ANO differs in that it is dominated by one personality. The billionaire founder Andrej Babiš was unanimously re-elected chair at the party's congress in March 2015 and has dominated the party in a similar way to his control over businesses that he owns.

Estonia

Score 5

Decision-making processes are similar across the major parties. Formally, each party member can propose issues, but in reality inner circles of 15 to 20 elite party members make most important decisions. All parties have an annual congress at which where delegates elect the party leader and other governing bodies. One such body is the board, which votes on political decisions, issues statements, and submits proposals to the party's parliamentary group and to the party's members in the government. The board also nominates ministerial candidates when the party is part of a coalition government. Another important decision-making body is the council, which manages the party when the general assembly is not in session. The council is comprised of board members and elected representatives from the various regions.

The council negotiates agreements with other parties in the parliament, including decisions on whether to enter into a government coalition. Like the board, the council can also submit proposals to the party's parliamentary group and the party's members in the government. As a rule, it is the council's responsibility to compose and agree upon the lists of candidates for general and European Parliament elections. Local political-party organizations compose electoral lists for municipal elections.

Ireland

Score 5

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

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

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

Fine Gael:

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

The Labour Party:

When the party became the junior partner in the 2011 coalition government, the party leader was automatically nominated as *tánaiste* or deputy prime minister. The leader of the party is elected at the national conference by vote of the party members. Following setbacks in the local and European elections in May 2014, the party elected a new leader in July, who then became deputy prime minister. The 2016 general election had a devastating impact on the Labour Party, which lost 30 seats in it leaving it with only seven seats in the parliament.

Fianna Fáil:

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

Sinn Féin:

The president of Sinn Féin has held office since 1983. We, therefore, have no recent precedent on which to base expectations about how the next party leader will be selected. Since the party entered politics in 1986, no vote of confidence in the party leader has been tabled. The Ard Fheis (National Delegate Conference) is Sinn Féin's ultimate policymaking body, where delegates – directly elected by members of local branches (cumainn) – vote on and adopt policies.

Italy

Score 5

With regard to intra-party democracy, Italy's major parties differ significantly. At one end of the spectrum lies the Forza Italia party (previously called the People of Freedom Party's or Popolo della Libertà), where decision making and leadership selection were both fundamentally dominated by its leader, Silvio Berlusconi. Requests to adopt primaries to designate candidates for leading positions at national and sub-national levels were recurrently aired but have always been stopped by Berlusconi. With the decline of Berlusconi, the party is largely in disarray. The situation is rather different in the main center-left party, the Democratic Party, where leadership has in past years been selected through primaries open not only to party members but to anyone willing to subscribe a declaration of support for the center-left coalition. A similar procedure was adopted for the selection of parliamentary candidates. Given the increasingly strong power acquired by the current leader of the party and prime minister, Matteo Renzi, the space for minority positions inside the party has increasingly narrowed.

The Five Star Movement (Movimento Cinque Stelle) of Beppe Grillo has introduced new mechanisms of online direct consultations for decisions and for candidate selection. At the same time, behind the scenes (and sometimes openly), the leader of the movement has maintained for himself a very strong steering role. Internal oppositions have found it very difficult to have a space for voicing their positions and cases of dissidents expelled from the party have been frequent.

Overall intra-party democracy in Italy's political system is not well developed. In particular, it seems difficult to balance an increasing personalization of leadership and the preservation of internal debate. Discussions about regulating the internal dynamics of political parties are recurrent, but have not been implemented.

Latvia

Score 5

The Law on Political Parties mandates that certain political-party decisions be made in the context of full-membership meetings or by elected officials of the parties. These include party officer elections as well as decisions on party governing statutes and party programs. Other decisions must be taken in accordance with party statutes,

but are not subject to regulation. Regulations allow for little input by party members. By comparison, commercial law provides more rights to shareholders than rights accorded to party members in their own party.

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

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

The Union of Greens and Farmers (Zaļo un Zemnieku Savienība, ZZS) is an alliance of two major parties and one minor one. The alliance parties operate together at the national level, but can pursue separate activities and agendas at the municipal level. Party decision-making resides with the board. ZZS is perceived to be beholden to one of Latvia's oligarchs, and decisions on candidates and issues often reflect this. Prior to the 2014 elections there was public evidence of internal debate within the alliance about a suitable prime-ministerial candidate.

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

The October 2014 elections brought two new parties to power, namely To Latvia from the Heart (No sirds Latvijai) and the Party of the Regions (Latvijas Reģionu apvienība). Both were established in the run-up to the 2014 elections. Both parties have actively used their parliamentary presence to enhance their visibility, but their intra-party decision-making mechanisms remain opaque.

Malta

Score 5

Political parties are increasingly coming under pressure to consult beyond party membership. This shift has been driven by voter volatility, with voters less constrained by party loyalties. Nonetheless, participation in elections for party leadership positions is restricted to elected delegates, as are the processes of creating

candidate lists and selecting agenda issues. However, in selecting their agenda, parties now consult civil society more widely. This explains the Labour Party's reference to itself as a movement, a sentiment now adopted by the Nationalist Party.

Mexico

Score 5

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

Portugal

Score 5

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

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

Both the PS and PSD hold direct elections of their party leadership by party members and have congresses whose delegates are also elected by party members. However, regarding policy issues and candidates other than the party leader, the rank-and-file members have little say. Instead, decisions are largely made by the party leadership, which – depending on the internal balance of power – may have to negotiate with the leaders of opposing internal factions.

In January 2015, the PS approved new statutes that would allow primary elections to choose political candidates and would let registered party sympathizers (not just members) to vote to choose the party leader. While current party leader António Costa gained the party leadership because of a primary election, this technique was not used to select candidates for the 2015 legislative elections, nor was it used for the 2016 party leadership election in May 2016, where Costa ran unopposed. The latter election reverted to the direct election model previously noted.

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

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

Australia

Score 4 Elected members and senators, but no other party members, are responsible for decision-making in both the major parties. Decisions regarding who should hold positions within the party, such as ministerial positions for the party in government, have largely been at the discretion of the elected leader in coalition governments. Labor prime ministers cannot choose their ministers freely, but instead have to allocate portfolios among a set of candidates selected by the factions.

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

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

Citation:

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

Bulgaria

Score 4 Three parties have obtained more than 10% of the popular vote in the last three general elections (2009, 2013 and 2014) in Bulgaria: Citizens for the European Development of Bulgaria (GERB), the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP), and the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS), which effectively represents the ethnic Turkish minority in Bulgaria. Of the three, the most democratic is the BSP, a party with more than a century of tradition. The party program is adopted at a congress of delegates elected by the party members. Electoral platforms and candidate lists are prepared in a relatively centralized manner, but local party organizations do have an input and the party has several factions that vie for influence over the party's central decision-making institution. The other two parties are leader-dominated. Regardless of the internal democratic mechanisms envisaged in their statutes, most decisions are concentrated in the hands of the leader and a few members of his circle. While in GERB, which has a larger support and membership, the influence of different groups and constituencies can be effective, the specific characteristics of the DPS make its decision-making process very opaque and highly concentrated. As a result, disagreements on strategic issues within the DPS are resolved not through internal deliberation, but by splintering of the minority groups from the party. The most

recent example dates from late 2015 and early 2016, when the splinter group established an entirely new party, the Democrats for Responsibility, Freedom and Tolerance (DOST).

Chile

Score 4 Chile has a presidential governmental system. As the president determines the government's policy agenda, presidential elections are much more relevant in terms of policy direction than are congressional ballots. Therefore, in campaigns for the presidency, government programs are presented by the presidential candidates and not by their coalitions or parties. These global program proposals tend to be limited to descriptions of policies' intended public effects rather than technical details or any detailed discussion of content. The primary elections (primarias) for the 2013 presidential elections demonstrated that candidate selection and issue agendas are largely controlled by the parties' leaders.

Croatia

Score 4 Croatian parties are characterized by a rigid structure. The degree of intra-party democracy is generally low, as participation of members is limited and selection procedures and debates are largely controlled by the party leadership. In the HDZ (Croatian Democratic Union), no internal elections took place until April 2016. Since then, the party's chairmen have been elected directly by party members. The SDP (Social Democratic Party) is somewhat more open, but does not tolerate the existence of open political blocs. MOST held its first intraparty elections in January 2017, more than one year after having been catapulted into parliament.

Hungary

Score 4 Intra-party democracy has been a rarity in Hungary. In the two most popular parties at the moment, Fidesz and Jobbik, the president of party is almost almighty. Fidesz is completely controlled by its president, as Orbán decides on core personnel, candidacies and positions within the party. In the case of Jobbik, the move from an extreme right party to the center in order to become a mass party has brought a change. By pushing this transformation forcefully, Gábor Vona has become the strong leader of Jobbik. Among the left parties, MSZP and Együtt are democratically organized and have a weak leadership, whereas DK is dominated by former prime minister Gyurcsány. LMP and PM show a reasonable degree of intra-party democracy which reflects their origins as social movements.

Citation:

Ágh, A. (2016): The Decline of Democracy in East-Central Europe: Hungary as the Worst-Case Scenario, in: Problems of Post-Communism 63(5-6), 1-11.

Japan

Score 4

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

Japan’s two major parties are the LDP and the currently far weaker Democratic Party (DP). The LDP has traditionally revolved around individual politicians, their personal local-support organizations and the intraparty factions built by key party leaders. Ordinary party-member involvement is usually limited to membership in a local support organization and is based on mutual material interests: While members want political and hopefully tangible support for their communities, the politician at the group’s head wants public support for his or her (re-)election.

The LDP has become more centralized in recent years, with the influence of factions declining. Party congresses offer little real opportunity for policy input by delegates. However, delegates from regional party branches have participated in party leader elections since the early 2000s, with some branches basing their eventual choice on the outcome of local primaries. While the LDP has also paid some lip service to increased intraparty democracy, it has shied away from major internal reforms.

The DP was formed in 2016 from the Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ) and the smaller Japan Innovation Party. It is somewhat less institutionalized in terms of internal groupings and support organizations, but basically follows a similar pattern. The DPJ was the first party to issue open calls for the recruitment of parliamentary candidates. While insider circles are still very important, the DP has also allowed party members and other registered supporters to take part in a few leadership elections over the years. Renho, the new female party president elected in September 2016, was chosen by lawmakers and party rank and file.

Citation:

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

Ching-Hsin Yu, Eric Chen-Hua Yu and Kaori Shoji, Innovations of Candidate Selection Methods: Polling Primary and Kobo under the New Electoral Rules in Taiwan and Japan, *Japanese Journal of Political Science* 15 (2014), 4, pp. 635-659

Netherlands

Score 4

Intra-party democracy in the Netherlands does not exist. The dominant political view is that government interference in private organizations like political parties is incompatible with the role of the state in a liberal democracy. A law for internal

party democracy is appropriate for countries with a history of non-democratic governance (e.g., Germany, some states in southern Europe, and in central and eastern Europe). However, in the Netherlands with its strong democratic tradition it is considered superfluous.

In all recent major political parties, political professionals now dominate decision-making with regard to candidate lists and agendas, and the selection of party leaders. Briefly characterized, the landscape looks like this:

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

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

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

Citation:

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

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

New Zealand

Score 4

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

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

system has been used to elect the last two party leaders, David Cunliffe in 2013 and Andrew Little following the 2014 election.

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

The Green Party's organizational structure is quite decentralized in comparison with the traditional larger parties. Decisions on policy and the selection of parliamentary candidates are made by the party membership, with less control exerted by the parliamentary caucus.

Citation:

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

Green Party: <http://www.greens.org.nz/> (accessed October 24, 2015).

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

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

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

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

Slovenia

Score 4

Slovenian party law leaves political parties with some organizational autonomy. Political parties are very heterogeneously organized, with some organized only on the micro level – that is, in each of the 212 municipalities – and others organized only on the macro level. Access to decision-making processes is normally restricted to party members. Whereas party members have the formal right to participate in decisions, the party leadership controls the candidate lists and the policy agendas. The details of internal party decision-making are not widely known to the public, as most decisions are made behind doors that are firmly shut. In the period under review, a number of members, including members of parliament, left the right-wing Slovenian Democratic Party (SDS), led by former Primer Minister Janez Janša, criticizing the lack of intra-party democracy. Similarly, the Initiative for Democratic Socialism, part of the United Left (ZL), experienced strong conflicts between leadership and delegates.

Citation:

Krašovec, A., L. Johannsen (2016): Recent developments in democracy in Slovenia, in: *Problems of Post-Communism* 63(5-6), 313–322.

South Korea

Score 4 There is almost universal agreement among political scientists, political observers, politicians and the general public that political parties are one of the weakest links in South Korean democracy. However, in 2015, both the governing and opposition parties decided to introduce an open-primary system to pick congressional candidates. This was expected to provide new challengers with a fairer and more transparent environment. However, in reality, “strategic” party nominations still played a strong role in both parties’ candidate selections during the 2016 parliamentary elections. For example, the governing party conspicuously favored candidates who supported President Park. The nomination feuds within each party clearly exposed the serious shortcomings of South Korean democracy. Indeed, political parties clearly stand out as among the most undemocratic groups in South Korean society. Though 30 years have passed since democratization, South Korean political parties are still not institutionalized, and remain controlled by small groups of elites. Control of the ruling party by the president is the most critical issue in this regard.

Romania

Score 3 In 2016 intra-party democracy remained weak, as demonstrated by the consistent unilateral decisions made at the executive level. Party leaders consistently display a lack of accountability to their fellow party members, and often implement executive-level decisions without consulting the party grassroots. Early in the year ALDE made the unilateral decision to exclude the current leader of the ALDE senate group. Later in the year, Ionut Negoii, leader of the Alliance of Liberals and Democrats Youth Organization resigned complaining that his party leadership is catering to the interests of PSD leadership and their personal entourage by bypassing the opinions of its youngest members and rewarding servilism through the promotion system. Another indication of weak intra-party democracy was the decision by the PSD local and central leaders to forgo the party’s Code of Ethics to allow former premier Victor Ponta to run for a parliamentary seat in the December 2016 elections.

Slovakia

Score 3 All Slovak parties are elite projects that are dominated by a few party leaders. In the last elections in March 2016 new parties entered the parliament: the extreme right ĽSNS, the populist Sme Rodina and the center party Siet’. The nationalist party SNS (former coalition partner of Smer in the 2010-2016 government) could renew its parliamentary presence while two standard parties – the former government parties SDKU-DS and KHD – remained outside. These parties have a huge personnel and

leadership problem. Smer remains strongly centered around Fico, who has led the party since its founding in 1999. The inner circle of the party and the number of party representatives with influence are rather limited. Rank-and-file members have little influence on decision-making. In 2016, however, criticism has been raised from within the party, and the approval of a new party program could not be achieved at the program conference in September and had to be postponed. Dominated by Radoslav Procházka, Siet' practically collapsed before it developed proper organizational structures.

Citation:

Malová, D., B. Dolný (2016): Economy and Democracy in Slovakia during the Crisis: From a Laggard to the EU Core, in: *Problems of Post-Communism* 63(5/6): 300-312.

Terenzani, M. (2016): Smer is in an Identity crisis, in: *Slovak Spectator*, September 28, 2016 (<http://spectator.sme.sk/c/20288741/smer-is-in-an-identity-crisis.html>).

Turkey

Score 2

The Political Parties Law (Law No. 2820) does not encourage intra-party democracy. Nor do the bylaws of the major parties provide any incentive to pursue intra-party democracy. Although the Justice and Development Party (AKP), the Republican People's Party (CHP) and the Peoples' Democratic Party (HDP) do not discriminate on the basis of ethnicity or religious orientation with regard to membership, contestation within the parties is limited, at best. Dissenting voices are generally unable to find an institutional path by which to engage in effective debate. Competition usually revolves around party members' ability to create local power centers through which they compete for the attention and goodwill of the party leader.

Membership, party congresses and executive boards are not democratically managed in most political parties. Süheyl Batum, former deputy of the CHP, was dismissed from the party in 2014, but returned to the party through a court decision in early 2015. Sinan Ogan, a leading politician of the MHP, was dismissed from the party after he speculated that the party may fail to meet the 10% threshold in the election. Later, he returned to the party by a court order, but the party annulled that decision. Tuğrul Türkeş, the son of the founder of the MHP, was also dismissed when he agreed to take part in the government formed in August 2015. Several deputies of the AKP allegedly closer to illegal Gülenist networks either resigned or faced being dismissed in 2013 and 2014.

In 2014, the ruling AK Party retained its internal regulations – unique in comparison to other parties – limiting deputies and officeholders to three terms. Before the renewed parliamentary elections of November 2015, that time Prime Minister Davutoğlu announced that they lifted this rule. The AKP's intra-party democracy arbitration committee does facilitate intra-party bureaucracy only.

The AKP determines its candidates through a somewhat complex process involving a so-called tendency survey, interviews by special commissions, and the supreme board's final say. However, candidates are ultimately chosen by the party's leadership, which consults "significant" public opinion leaders. The CHP chose 301 out of 550 candidates through primary elections before the June 7 elections, however, most of the delegates were determined by the trusteeship of the party's central executive committee during the provincial and township congresses. Some 41 candidates were placed near the top by the party's leader. The MHP and the HDP also follow somewhat centralized nomination procedures.

Citation:

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

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

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

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

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

Indicator

Association Competence (Business)

Question

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

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

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

Australia

Score 9

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

Denmark

Score 9

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

Given the corporatist tradition in Denmark, the major interest organizations are regularly involved in policymaking, the most recent example is the reform of the unemployment insurance scheme approved in autumn 2015. This tends to educate them to moderate their policy proposals. Interest groups know they will lose influence if they propose policies that are seen as unreasonable; they realize that they

have an interest in getting things to work. The trade unions also learned at some point that demanding very high raises in salaries will produce inflation and job losses and thus be counterproductive. They too have a tradition of being quite responsible and negotiating in good faith.

Citation:

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

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

Norway

Score 9

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

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

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

In addition to traditional corporatist actors, several consultancy firms have been launched in recent years that seek to influence policymaking. Some, but not all, of these firms disclose their list of customers.

Sweden

Score 9

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

The major business interest organizations and unions are certainly very capable of analyzing the economic situation and presenting policy proposals. As organized interests, they obviously pursue their respective agendas, but overall, the expertise

and policy capacity of the major interest organizations is impressive. During the global economic crisis, for example, the interest associations showed a high degree of responsibility by not counteracting the crisis management of the government.

Citation:

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

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

United States

Score 9

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

Austria

Score 8

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

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

Belgium

Score 8 Belgium has a high level of trade-union membership and a strong tradition of social consensus implemented through strong and well-organized trade unions and employers' organizations. For instance, most proposals on wage regulation and employee protection are the result of routine negotiations between employers' associations and trade unions. Proposals are validated by the government and translated into law. This continuous mechanism of cooperation forces these actors to present realistic and well-argued demands (budgeted and framed in legal terms), even if some bargaining and bluffing occurs.

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

It should be noted that, in contrast to political parties, employers' associations and trade unions are still structured at the national level. However, there are some elements within Belgium's social organizations that appear resistant to change, given a general conservatism and a perceived need to protect the institution.

Citation:

http://www.lecho.be/tablet/newspaper_economie_politique/Il_reste_des_centaines_de_millions_d_euros_d_economies_a_faire_dans_les_services_publics.9776078-7320.art?utm_campaign=app&utm_medium=tablet&utm_source=IPAD

Canada

Score 8 Many business associations, employers' groups and trade unions develop policy proposals that identify the causes of problems, make use of scholarly research to support their analysis, propose technically feasible measures to attain policy objectives, take account of long-term interests and anticipate policy effects. Among the most competent associations in this respect are the Council of Chief Canadian Executives, the Canadian Chamber of Commerce, the Canadian Manufacturers and Exporters Association, the Canadian Labour Congress and the Canadian Auto Workers. Many of these associations have realized that they must identify their policy proposals with the overall societal interest rather than solely with the narrower interests of their members if they are to gain traction with the public and policymakers. The most successful associations are those that have mastered this art.

Finland

Score 8 Employers' and employees' organizations became involved in a series of comprehensive income-policy agreements in 1968 concerning wages, working conditions, and social-welfare programs and legislation. While this institutional arrangement for cooperation between government and associations has since eroded,

it created a framework for advancing responsible, considered and expert-based policy proposals on the part of the large economic-interest associations. Other mechanisms, including associations' participation as members and experts in the committee system, have worked in the same direction. As a consequence, this corporatist setting and the consensus style of policymaking has led to reasonable policies with a fairly broad support.

Germany

Score 8

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

Iceland

Score 8

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

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

Closely associated with the Confederation of Icelandic Employers is the Iceland Chamber of Commerce, which, in 2016, declared Iceland superior to other Nordic countries in most respects two years before the banks collapsed, has continued to dispense advice to the government.

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

After the 2008 economic collapse, the employers' association, the employees' union, the government, and the Federation of Municipalities signed an agreement intended to promote economic stability (Stöðugleikasáttmáli). The agreement proposed a

restructuring of the economy through wage and price freezes, among other issues. Then, in autumn 2015, the representatives of the government, employers and labor unions signed the so-called SALEK agreement, a framework for collective agreements in the labor market. This agreement applies now to approximately 70% of employees. Some public sector unions have so far refused to agree on SALEK.

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

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

Citation:

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

Israel

Score 8

Israel has a vibrant business community that often interacts with government departments and Knesset representatives in order to advance its agenda in Israel and abroad. At least three major business groups – the Federation of Israeli Chambers of Commerce, the Manufacturers' Association of Israel and the Chamber for Coordination Between Financial Organizations – actively pursue policy goals through legal, regulatory or project-based perspectives. All three take part in conferences, perform independent research and publish their agendas. Recent publications include a plan to induce business growth and create more jobs, an analysis of annual Israeli industry trends and recommendations for government financial policy. Business organizations also cooperate with academics and research institutions to produce research, and some business-oriented think tanks exist. In general, Israeli businesses are well represented in the political sphere, and most economic interest associations are highly capable of formulating relevant policy proposals. Social inequalities affect the minority population, with the Arab business sector seldom enjoying such close and productive ties with the government.

Citation:

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

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

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

"Gov't failing Israel's Arabs on high tech jobs", *The Israeli Chamber of Commerce website, Globes*, 10.12.2014: <http://www.globes.co.il/en/article-govt-failing-israels-arabs-on-high-tech-jobs-1000992586>.

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

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

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

Latvia

Score 8

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

Employers’ and business associations are continually engaged with the policy process on specific issues such as energy policy, formulation of the national development plan and tax policy. The Latvian Chamber of Commerce (LTRK) engages in ongoing dialogue with the government, and along with the slightly less influential Employers’ Confederation of Latvia (LDDK), forms a part of the tripartite council.

The Foreign Investors’ Council (FICIL) has a strong capacity for presenting well-formulated policy proposals. FICIL conducts an annual structured dialogue at the prime ministerial level. The actions that come out of these dialogues are subsequently implemented and monitored. The 2015 council meeting focused attention on improving insolvency regulations and economic-reform efforts in areas important over the long term, such as labor-force quality and education.

Citation:

1. The Foreign Investors’ Council in Latvia, Information available: <http://www.ficil.lv/index.php/home/>, Last assessed: 21.10.2014.

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

Luxembourg

Score 8

Given Luxembourg’s specific social partnership model, the government in general consults with unions, employers’ organizations and professional chambers over each draft bill. Furthermore, all opinions, as well as the modified draft bills, are published on the parliament’s website. The two employers’ organizations (the Chambre de Commerce and the Chambre des Métiers), as well as the Luxembourg business union (Union des Entreprises Luxembourgeoises, UEL) support a research unit, enabling them to produce opinions on draft bills, to organize conferences and to draft future government bills.

Trade unions share this approach. The impact of trade unions increased as a result of the Parliamentary Act of 15 May 2008 (“statut unique”), which created just a single employees’ union (Chambre des Salariés) in place of the previous two (one for manual workers and one for white-collar workers). All citizens working in Luxembourg, except public servants, are automatically members and contribute to this organization – a keystone of Luxembourg’s neo-corporatist policy tradition. Both social partners commission expert advice and policy briefings either abroad or in Luxembourg, and both prepare position papers on the basis of their own resources.

Citation:

Chambre de Commerce Luxembourg, www.cc.lu. Accessed 21 Feb. 2017.

Chambre des Salariés Luxembourg, www.csl.lu. Accessed 21 Feb. 2017.

“L’UEL lance son nouveau site «Compétitivité - Tableau de bord».” Union des Entreprises Luxembourgeoises, www.uel.lu/445-l-uel-lance-son-nouveau-site-competitivite-tableau-de-bord. Accessed 21 Feb. 2017.

“Mémorial A n° 60 de 2008.” Journal officiel du Grand-Duché de Luxembourg, 15 May 2008, legilux.public.lu/eli/etat/leg/memorial/2008/60#page=2. Accessed 21 Feb. 2017.

Netherlands

Score 8

For a long time, there was no lobbying culture in the Netherlands in the usual sense. Instead, prominent members of labor unions and business associations are regular members of high-level informal networks that also include high-level civil servants and politicians. Members of these networks discuss labor and other important socioeconomic policy issues. These processes have become institutionalized. For instance, there are tripartite negotiations in which employers, employees and the government are fixed discussion partners in the early stages of decision-making regarding labor issues. A similar process takes place for regular negotiations with economic-interest associations. The analytic capacities of business and labor associations are well-developed.

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

Citation:

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

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

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

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

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

Spain

Score 8

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

Citation:

"La empresa mediana española", informe de 2016 del *Círculo de Empresarios*

<http://circulodeempresarios.org/app/uploads/2016/06/Documento-Informe-Anual.pdf>

Julio 2016, informe de Fedea sobre la nivelación en el modelo de financiación autonómica

<http://documentos.fedea.net/pubs/fpp/2016/07/FPP2016-13.pdf>

Czech Republic

Score 7

The consultation process has become more open, thanks to the digital publication of legislative norms and regulations. The main employers' unions and the main trade unions both have considerable resources and expertise with which to develop coherent policies. Trade unions have considerable competence with regard to labor relations and economic policy more generally, and have the ability to lobby ministries and parliament and to influence government directly through tripartite consultation structures. During the economic crisis and in its aftermath the generational change and new European patterns of conduct by trade unions contributed to their growing public support. Employers also have access to

considerable resources, but have a different agenda, favoring a less regulated labor market and lower business taxes. However, in terms of access, employers have traditionally closer ties with the government. To strengthen their position, the trade unions where possible align their position with the European legislation.

Ireland

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

Citation:

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

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

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

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

<http://politicalreform.ie/>

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

Italy

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

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

Japan

Score 7 Japan's leading business and labor organizations regularly prepare topical policy proposals aimed at stirring public debate and influencing government policymaking. The three umbrella business federations – Keidanren (formerly Nippon Keidanren), the Japan Association of Corporate Executives (Doyukai), and the Japanese Chamber

of Industry and Commerce (Nissho) – as well as Rengo, the leading trade-union federation, try to impact policy by publishing policy papers and through their membership in government advisory committees. As the business sector's financial support of political parties has declined and major companies have globalized their operations, politicians may have become less willing to accommodate the views of these interest groups. While there is an obvious scramble for influence between Rengo and the business organizations, there is also growing competition among the business organizations themselves. For instance, Keidanren is dominated by large enterprise groups, and has been somewhat slow in demanding a further opening of the economy. The Doyukai is more characterized by strong independent companies, and has been outspoken in demanding a more open business environment.

Malta

Score 7 Economic interest associations have structures capable of formulating relevant public policies. The greater resources commanded by economic interest associations enable them to employ highly qualified personnel and consult qualified academics according to the policy issue involved. Trade unions, however, rarely depend on their own research departments, using existing studies or academic and specialist support. However, EU support funds have strengthened non-economic interest associations.

New Zealand

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

Citation:

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

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

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

The National Business Review: Roundtable and NZ Institute Morph Into New Libertarian Think-Tank: <http://www.nbr.co.nz/article/roundtable-and-nz-institute-morph-nz-initiative-ck-115751> (accessed October 9, 2014).

Slovenia

Score 7 In Slovenia, with its strong corporatist tradition, economic-interest associations are very well organized and possess relatively strong analytical capacities. Most economic and social policies are discussed in detail in the Economic and Social

Council, a tripartite body. Trade unions and employers' associations do not have their own research institutes, but cooperate with universities and think tanks. Trade unions' analytical capacities have suffered from the fragmentation associated with the coexistence of seven separate union confederations. The biggest business associations managed to stand united against the tax reform proposed by the government in September 2016.

South Korea

Score 7

The business associations, such as the Korean Employers Federation and the Federation of Korean Industries, and labor-union umbrella groups, such as the Federation of Korean Trade Unions and the Korean Confederation of Trade Unions, have some expertise in developing policy proposals. They are supported by think tanks that provide scholarly advice. However, these groups are relatively weak in comparison to businesses and company-level trade unions. Some individual businesses such as Samsung, LG and Hyundai have their own think tanks that produce high-quality research and are able to analyze and provide alternatives to government policies. Under the Park government, major business organizations supported by large conglomerates have had significant influence over the formulation of policies.

However, the Federation of Korean Industries (FKI) faces a period of serious crisis following the influence-peddling scandal involving President Park Geun-hye and her close friend Choi Soon-sil. The FKI, which as the country's largest business lobby counts the top 600 firms as members, has come under widespread public criticism for its role in alleged illicit and coercive fundraising proposed and controlled by Choi on behalf of two foundations, Mir and K-Sport.

Switzerland

Score 7

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

The influence of employers' organizations has declined as single firms or small groups have elected to engage in their own lobbying activities. Internal differences have also split these organizations.

United Kingdom

Score 7 Major business associations propose practical policy solutions, which are rooted in a realistic assessment of the circumstances in which they will be carried out. Until recently, the polarization between the major parties had diminished, especially in the field of socioeconomic policy matters. However, this is again widening. Even so, and especially with the Brexit decision, there is little incentive for business associations or trade unions to engage in wishful thinking if they want to be taken seriously in the national policy discourse. However, some economic interests do propose somewhat more provocative ideas.

The UK's forthcoming withdrawal from the European Union has led to some more assertive stances both from business (concerned especially about threats to its EU market access and curbs on skilled immigrant workers) and unions (notably around protections deriving from EU rules). Some business groups are, however, more concerned about what they perceive as excessive regulatory burdens associated with EU membership. Although British business associations are divided over Westminster's political ties to Brussels, access to the single market is at the very heart of Britain's economic interest, namely their world leading financial and insurance industries. Overall, the influence of economic interest groups is relatively low-key, though not insubstantial.

Bulgaria

Score 6 The capacity of the major employers' and business associations to make policy proposals is relatively well developed. These bodies can influence and propose policies in at least three ways: first, through their participation in the National Council for Tripartite Cooperation; second, through various EU-funded projects aimed at improving competitiveness and the business environment; and third, through their own capacity to perform research, formulate proposals and initiate public debates. All major associations have been relatively active in this regard throughout the period in review. This includes a growing tradition of cooperating with academic institutions and scholars, think tanks and other interest groups. The associations do not always work together or develop common policy analysis, and achieve unanimity only rarely, such as in the case of a common proposal for reforming the minimum social security thresholds in 2016.

In Bulgaria there are two trade union confederations, and they are also represented in the National Council for Tripartite Cooperation. In contrast to the employers' associations, the unions rely more heavily on their internal expertise in drafting and promoting proposals, cooperating comparatively less with academia. The range of topics on which trade unions take active positions and make proposals goes beyond the issues of the labor market – in effect, they behave like political parties.

Mexico

Score 6 This area is undergoing considerable change due to the rapid increase in the number of Mexicans with post-graduate qualifications with a large proportion having gained their qualifications abroad. Many of these graduates pursued public policy studies, which has meant that many relevant entry-level employment opportunities are poorly paid.

Until now, there were few voluntary associations and social movements in Mexico compared to other OECD countries. Nevertheless, the organizations' range of activities and interests has generally been wide, and they are usually autonomous and independent from government. With regard to economic interest organizations, there is clear asymmetry. Trade unions are not sophisticated organizations in Mexico, while employers' associations mostly are. This is partly a matter of money and partly of education.

Poland

Score 6 Poland has a relatively developed universe of interest associations. Business associations and trade unions have become increasingly professional over time. The unions, especially NSZZ Solidarność have quite friendly relations with the PiS government, while OPZZ opposed some legal initiatives, most notably the education reform. Leading business associations such as the Konfederacja Lewiatan and the Business Center Club (BCC) have the expertise and resources to carry out research and formulate elaborate reform proposals. Konfederacja Lewiatan monitors many draft bills, and its spokespeople maintain a strong media presence. There are also a number of smaller associations that organize internationally known events such as the European Forum for New Ideas (EFNI), which annually invites leading public intellectuals, academics and politicians, both Polish and European, to the EFNI conference in Sopot.

Slovakia

Score 6 In Slovakia, business associations and unions alike have some policy competence. Business associations are in a better position to provide full-blown policy proposals as they have more resources and some of them run or support think tanks. In the period under review, the National Union of Employers (RUZ), the Federation of Associations (AZZZ) and the Business Alliance of Slovakia (PAS) were quite active. On the occasion of the 2016 election campaign, they presented comprehensive analyses of reform requirements, including a "Decalogue of Requirements of

Entrepreneurs from Political Parties.” Compared to business associations, trade unions are less well equipped and have suffered from fragmentation. However, some trade unions, including those representing medical doctors, nurses and teachers, can analyze the impact of decisions and formulate relevant policies. KOZ SR, the main Trade Union Confederation representing almost 30 sectoral unions, has focused primarily on increasing the minimum wage and an assortment of less controversial issues such as workplace security.

Citation:

Liptáková, J. (2016): Economy grows, but policies lacking, in: Slovak Spectator, March 1, 2016 (<http://spectator.sme.sk/c/20105571/economy-grows-but-policies-lacking.html>).

Turkey

Score 6

The Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges (TOBB) is the most influential business association in Turkey, representing more than 1.2 million enterprises and members of various industry and business chambers. The Economic Policy Research Foundation of Turkey (TEPAV), affiliated with TOBB University in Ankara, provides extensive surveys in various fields. The pro-Western, Istanbul-centric Turkish Industrialists’ and Entrepreneurs’ Association (TÜSIAD) and the conservative, Anatolian-centric Independent Industrialists’ and Entrepreneurs’ Association (MÜSIAD), also have R&D units and sponsor reports on political reforms, education, health care, security and migration. The degree of direct impact of such proposals and amendments on legislation is unknown, but the government regularly claims to take such reports under consideration.

The Turkish Confederation of Businessmen and Industrialists (TUSKON), an umbrella organization founded in 2005 and representing seven business federations, 211 business associations and over 55,000 entrepreneurs from across Turkey, is believed to be close to U.S.-based preacher Fethullah Gülen and his global network of enterprises and schools. In November 2015, the Ankara police department launched a raid against the TUSKON headquarters as part of an investigation into the illegal, allegedly terrorist network, called “Parallel State Structure Terror Organization/Pro-Fethullah Terror Organization.” Moves against the confederation and its members intensified after the July 2016 failed coup .

Among labor unions, the ideological split between secular unions such as the Confederation of Public Workers’ Unions (KESK) and the Confederation of Revolutionary Trade Unions of Turkey (DİSK) and the more conservative-Islamic Confederation of Turkish Real Trade Unions (Hak-İş) tends to prevent common action. Moreover, it has become increasingly obvious over the last decade that religiosity has become a strategic resource in creating solidarity among union members, and in bolstering loyalty to the government. Turkey’s oldest trade union, Türk-İş, has for many years prepared monthly surveys on hunger and poverty thresholds and is included in the collective bargaining process.

Citation:

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

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

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

Estonia

Score 5

The Estonian Trade Union Confederation (ETUC) is comprised of 18 branch unions. In comparison to many western European countries, its policy formulation capacity is rather weak. The head office includes the secretariat (eight people) that prepares all kind of documents, including the draft law proposals, and organizes cooperation between the members of the confederation; there is no special research or analysis unit responsible for preparing concrete policy proposals. Trade unions are typically invited to contribute to policymaking processes initiated by the government.

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

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

Greece

Score 5

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

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

In 2015, it was difficult for interest associations, other than the pro-Syriza associations of public employees, to catch the attention of the Syriza-ANEL government. This was owed, first, to the fact that the government was extremely, if not exclusively, preoccupied with trying to alter austerity policy by renegotiating with Greece's creditors and, second, to the propensity of government ministers to

periodically and openly express anti-business sentiments, thus keeping business representatives at bay. However, recently there was some progress. In the period under review, the government tried to mend holes in relations between government and businesses, as it realized it needs the tolerance, if not the support, of business owners in order to revive the Greek economy.

Citation:

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

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

Lithuania

Score 5

Most Lithuanian interest associations, including employers' associations and trade unions, have a rather limited ability to formulate well-crafted policies. They typically lack skilled research staff, and do not engage in cooperation with academic bodies or individual experts. The Investors' Forum, which represents foreign investors in Lithuania, is one of the exceptions, as it has regular annual meetings with the government and provides policy recommendations based on its members' input. This association successfully advocated the adoption of a more flexible Labor Code as part of the new "social model." The Infobalt IT-industry association is also actively engaged in representing its interests in the e-governance policy area. Some economic-interest organizations, including the Lithuanian Confederation of Industrialists (which is represented on the Tripartite Council and the European Economic and Social Committee), have improved their policy-formulation capacities. Some business associations and even individual businesses support think tanks. In 2015, the University of Pennsylvania recognized the Lithuanian Free Market Institute as being among the most influential public-policy centers in Central and Eastern Europe and ranked it 11 in the region. The European Union provides support earmarked for strengthening the capacities of business associations and social partners, including trade unions.

Citation:

University of Pennsylvania. "2015 Global Go To Think Tanks." http://repository.upenn.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1009&context=think_tanks

Chile

Score 4

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

Cyprus

Score 4 Strong Cyprus trade unions, with high membership rates, and employers' associations have entertained relations characterized by a will of compromise to avoid industrial action. Their internal research or study teams have limited capacities and scope. They are mostly limited to producing proposals that defend or promote sectoral interests. The Pancyprian Labor Union (Παγκύπρια Εργατική Ομοσπονδία, PEO) is a rare case of a union that has founded a research institute on labor issues. It regularly produces studies on the economy and the labor market conducted by academics and others. Production of comprehensive proposals for structural changes with a broad or long-term perspective are extremely rare.

Affected by the crisis, the systems of benefits and labor relations are currently under review, in relation to the MoU. Actual debate focuses on what rights to reestablish and the kind of new labor relations.

France

Score 4 Business associations, mainly the largest employer's union (Mouvement des Entreprises de France, MEDEF) but also agricultural associations, are able to formulate policy proposals and contribute to agenda setting. They have their own research and study capabilities, and can successfully lobby government and parliamentarians. Weaker organizations such as the association of small and medium companies complain that their specific interests are marginalized by larger international groups and by the government. Trade unions are usually more reactive, mainly because their membership is low, at less than 8% of the workforce, the lowest percentage within the OECD, and split into several rival organizations. Government tries to stimulate social negotiations by extending social partnership agreements to the whole sector. In areas where interest groups are united and strong, as in agriculture and education, they may have substantial influence, amounting to co-decisions together with government. In other areas, the weakness of organized interests results in marginal involvement in decision-making, which may lead to friction on implementation. On the whole, President Hollande's relaunch of the traditional issue to rejuvenate "social dialogue" has produced limited results. Two important agreements (the 2013 labor market reform and 2015 supplementary pensions) are counterbalanced by failures (e.g., the 2015 modernization of social dialogue). A major problem is that two corporatist and "conservative" unions (CGT and FO), taking advantage of their footing in the civil service and public sector, have more or less rejected any change (e.g., they refused to sign the previously mentioned agreements).

Hungary

Score 4 The main domestic business associations have proved generally loyal to the government, particularly the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce and Industry. Some business associations, for instance the National Association of Entrepreneurs and Employers (VOSZ), have become rather critical of the government's incompetency and the lack of predictability in economic policy. Ferenc Dávid, its general secretary, has been the most outspoken critic of the government's economic policy. Moreover, the third Orbán government has been strongly criticized by the Hungarian European Business Council (HEBC). Representing Hungary's 50 most important export companies, HEBC has outlined an alternative economic and social program. The trade unions have also adopted a critical position toward the third Orbán government, but their membership is small, they are still rather fragmented and their voice is weak in the public debates.

Portugal

Score 4 A few employers' associations and trade unions are capable of formulating relevant policies. However, their proposals are largely reactive to government measures rather than being proactive in setting policy debate. While employers and trade unions have both expressed dissatisfaction at some austerity measures, these are generally reactions to specific government measures rather than ex ante and overall policy proposals.

However, President Cavaco Silva conferred with business associations - CIP, CCP, CAP and CTP - as well as with important businesses and even economists, before supporting the formation of the Costa government.

Croatia

Score 3 Trade unions have traditionally played a significant role in Croatia. Union membership rates are relatively high, and unions have been quite powerful in organizing protest against the government's austerity measures. Like the Croatian Employers Association and most other economic interest associations, however, the unions have focused on opposing government proposals and have lacked the will – and the capacity – to develop their own proposals. The Chamber of Trades and Crafts, which has been particularly vocal in making proposals concerning vocational education, has played a more constructive role.

Romania

Score 3

While trade unions played a strong role in politics during 2016 by staging multiple protests, they still did not have clear and coherent policy recommendations. In general, the government reacted with a soft response, meeting some of the protesters' demands, but certainly not accommodating in full the social actors' preferences.

Indicator

Association Competence (Others)

Question

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

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

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

Iceland

Score 9

Iceland has many active, non-economic interest organizations in various fields. Although many have a reasonable level of prominence, only a few have the capacity and competence to exert significant influence on public policy. The largest are the Organization of Disabled in Iceland (Öryrkjabandalagið), with 41 associated organizations and a staff of 12, and the Consumers' Association of Iceland (Neytendasamtökin), with a staff of 7 and 8,500 members. The Nature and Wildlife Conservation Organization (Náttúruverndarsamtök Íslands), with one staff member, is also influential. This group has managed to feature prominently in public debates about hydro and geothermal power plants, and expressed reservations about further construction of aluminum smelters around the country. Landvernd, the Icelandic Environmental Association, also has some influence.

Norway

Score 9

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

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

Sweden

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

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

Australia

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

Denmark

Score 8 There is a long corporatist tradition in Denmark, which includes non-economic interest associations. The major interest organizations are often members of committees and commissions preparing legislation. They provide information for the government and legitimacy for the policies adopted, thereby facilitating implementation. Some civil society organizations may find it more difficult than business organizations to get access to the government.

In recent years, there has been some criticism of the role of experts and commissions, but they remain important. The new liberal government has dissolved a commission on the Iraq war and another on pensions that had been subject to criticism.

When laws are passed without having been prepared through corporatist committees, the interest organizations have to lobby more – by making direct contact with civil servants and politicians – so as to influence policies, possibly arranging

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

Citation:

Peter Munk Christiansen og Lise Togeby, *Magten i Danmark*. Copenhagen: Gyldendal.
Jørgen Grønnegård Christensen og Jørgen Elklit (eds.), *Det Demokratiske system*. 3. udg. 2011.

Finland

Score 8 Most associations' policy-relevant positions are based on expert knowledge and feasibility analyses. In this sense, associations clearly contribute to the general quality of decision-making. True, exaggeration and one-sided arguments are in the very nature of interest organizations and the ensuing negotiation process, but the prevailing style of policymaking grants access to various and often competing interests. The contribution of interest associations' expert knowledge is therefore on the whole a valuable asset that enhances the quality of policymaking. Interest associations also have a high profile in public discourse, and often help shape public opinion. The fact remains, however, that the function of interest associations is to promote certain interests at the potential expense of others.

Germany

Score 8 As of October 2016, the government's official list contained 2,289 registered associations (Bundesanzeiger 2016). One-third of those can be considered noneconomic interest associations. Within the process of policy formulation, interest-group expertise plays a key role in providing ministerial officials with in-depth information necessary to make decisions. Citizen groups, social movements and grassroots lobbying organizations are increasingly influential actors, particularly at the local level. Policy proposals produced by noneconomic interest groups can be described as reasonable, but their suggestions often appear unrealistic.

Citation:

Bundesanzeiger (2016): Bekanntmachung der öffentlichen Liste über die Registrierung von Verbänden und deren Vertretern Vom 10.11.2016. available at:
<http://www.bundestag.de/blob/189476/aa391952a37ebc285ce3b29834e859d9/lobbylisteaktuell-data.pdf>

Luxembourg

Score 8 Interest groups have and can have an important impact on policymaking. However, drawing on academic knowledge within Luxembourg is limited. Some larger non-governmental organizations maintain small research departments and propagate their opinions through publications (Caritas, Mouvement Écologique, CEFIS, SOLEP,

etc.) and conferences, by offering comments on draft bills, or by proposing policies. Voluntary working groups that act essentially as think tanks, have become more popular during the review period and many have chosen the future of Luxembourg as their focus; these groups include La Société Luxembourgeoise de l'Evaluation et de la Prospective (SOLEP), Luxembourg 2030, and 5 vir 12.

These groups have considerable impact, considering the government's practice of consulting all social partners and the overall small size of Luxembourg. However, they make little use of academic resources.

Citation:

2030.lu, www.2030.lu/en/home/. Accessed 21 Feb. 2017.

Centre d'étude et de formation interculturelles et sociales, www.cefis.lu. Accessed 21 Feb. 2017.

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

Mouvement Ecologique, www.meco.lu/de/. Accessed 21 Feb. 2017.

Société Luxembourgeoise de l'Evaluation et de la Prospective, www.solep.lu. Accessed 21 Feb. 2017.

"Sozialalmanach." Caritas.lu, www.caritas.lu/Ce-que-nous-disons/Sozialalmanach. Accessed 7 Feb. 2017.

Netherlands

Score 8

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

Citation:

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

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

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

New Zealand

Score 8 There is a rich tradition of consultation with societal groups during policy formulation. The degree of consultation with groups and individuals and the way in which their proposals have been dealt with is reported in regulatory impact statements. Recent such statements claim that consultation has had a substantive impact in several cases. Still, resource shortages prevent some interest associations from developing specialist policy know-how that would give them durable impact in the consultation process.

Citation:

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

Slovakia

Score 8 Slovakia has a vibrant third sector and many competent interest associations whose analyses and proposals have featured prominently in the media. Think tanks are an integral part of civil society, feature close links to academia and other experts and profoundly influence public discourse. They often serve as a substitute for political opposition. Following the 2012 change in government, many experts from the Radičová government became active in NGOs or have cooperated with them, thereby providing important policy knowledge. Some of them now cooperate with Most-Híd.

Slovenia

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

Spain

Score 8 Non-economic interest associations have always been relatively weak in Spain, and it has been difficult for them to influence political decision-making with relevant policy proposals. Furthermore, the lack of a strong, organized civil society is a

disincentive for the government to take these associations' views into account during policy formulation (since the process would become much more complex, without necessarily adding social legitimacy as a compensation). Thus, there is no virtuous circle encouraging social, environmental and religious groups to improve their policy competence. Even the strong Catholic Church lacks a research unit capable of formulating policies, although it remains influential on education and moral issues. Leading environmental groups (e.g., Ecologistas en Acción or Greenpeace España) and some NGOs devoted to human rights (such as Amnesty International) or development aid (Intermón Oxfam and other Spanish groups that benefited from the larger budgets in this area in the late 2000s) have gained technical competence, and increasingly rely on academic expertise and specialized publications to influence public opinion and policymakers within their areas of interest. Women's associations are weak as autonomous organizations, but influential within the political parties (especially in the PSOE). The LGBT movement has successfully defended homosexuals' rights.

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

United Kingdom

Score 8

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

There is an abundance of NGOs with often-narrow policy agendas that tend to be pushed forward without much consideration of the wider ramifications of the pursuit of their issue. By the same token, the diversity of such bodies allows a wide range of proposals to obtain a hearing.

Belgium

Score 7

There is a wide range of civil-society groups with influence on policy formation in Europe, and Belgium performs well in this regard. A number of non-economic interest associations receive state funding, including environmental, cultural,

religious/philosophical, sports/leisure and minority (such as individuals with handicaps) groups.

The largest groups can both make proposals and influence policy. Consociationalism also implies that some socially important decisions are made smoothly. The decisions to legalize same-sex marriage in 2003 and euthanasia in 2002 followed intense but quite dispassionate debates. The contrast with France or the United States over similar issues is all the more striking.

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

Obviously, the negative aspect of this structure is dependence on public funding. On the positive side, some groups are able to coalesce into broader umbrella organizations (such as around environmental protection) that are able to hire stable staff with policy expertise.

Canada

Score 7

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

Citation:

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

Chile

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

Czech Republic

Score 7 Interest associations have grown considerably in the Czech Republic since 1990. As of June 2016, there are over 127,500 autonomous, self-organized groups, associations, foundations and organizations registered in the country, although not all of them are active. Between 2011 and 2016, new NGOs emerged focusing on areas such as corruption, city planning, LGBT rights, food safety and participatory budgeting on the local level, many of them effectively and competently. Their continued effort has been successful on a number of issues. In 2016, significant progress was made on anti-corruption and, as of November 2016, the government opened discussion on child adoption by same-sex partners (at this stage limited to the right to adopt children already present in the household).

Citation:

http://www.neziskovky.cz/clanky/511_538_543/fakta_neziskovky-v_statistika-poctu-neziskovych-organizaci/

Israel

Score 7 Noneconomic associations and NGOs have become increasingly influential in recent years, with over 39,000 non-profit organizations registered with the Ministry of Justice. Along with professional consultancy firms, they fill the gap left by state's privatization policies. Both social and environmental interest groups often formulate relevant policies and cooperate with government and academic bodies. Recent projects include the "Alaluf Committee" on poverty, as well as numerous conferences, roundtable events and publications. In 2014, the Ministry of the Interior advocated the removal of four representatives of civic and environmental bodies that traditionally sit on a supreme national planning committee. In light of widespread

protest, two representatives were reinstated, including one from the environmental lobby. While social and environmental organizations tend to advocate policy by publishing reports and policy papers, religious organizations are less prone to formulate policy recommendations regularly on arenas accessible to the public at large.

The Knesset passed a highly controversial bill that requires nongovernmental organizations to publicly declare their foreign government funding. The so-called NGO transparency bill targets left-wing and civil right groups. The bill is regarded as part of a growing trend of legislative measures to erode the strength of democratic institutions in Israel.

Citation:

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

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

„Shaked has publicized a Governmental law Proposal that will forced NGO Representatives to wear a special Badge in the Knesset” Haartz Website: <http://www.haaretz.co.il/news/politi/.premium-1.2765489> (Hebrew)

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

"The transparency law has passed finally" Knesset website 12/6/2016 <http://main.knesset.gov.il/News/PressReleases/pages/press120716.aspx> (Hebrew)

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

United States

Score 7

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

Austria

Score 6

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

It must be emphasized, however, that not all draft proposals are subject to consultation procedures. Recently, important bills (e.g., those regarding asylum regulations) have been passed without any formal consultation.

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

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

Croatia

Score 6 Many social-interest organizations in Croatia have the capacity to propose relevant policy proposals. For instance, experts from Citizens Organize to Oversee Voting (Građani organizirano nadgledaju glasanje, GONG), an association of various organizations for the protection and promotion of human rights originally formed in 1997, have taken part in the drafting of various laws on lobbying and elections. Green Action (Zelena Akcija) is another example of a social-interest organization with strong analytical capacity and the ability to promote its issues in the media.

Estonia

Score 6 The policy-formulation capacity of non-economic interest groups has substantially increased over time, and some of them are today able to propose concrete policy measures. The capability varies across fields of interest and with the scope of the intended impact. Most civil-society associations are small and possess limited financial and human resources. Therefore, their in-house capacity is very low, and most analyses have been carried out as single projects on a contractual basis. The level of capacity also depends on the formal policy agenda, as it is easier to add a new proposal to the existing agenda than to set the agenda. Therefore, social-interest groups lobbying on issues such as better socialization and care for disabled people or same-sex marriage have been quite good at formulating policy proposals, since relevant draft laws were already being considered by the parliament. Environmental groups in Estonia act mainly at the local level, working to affect community policies. However, local action can have a nationwide impact. For example, the corridor for the Rail Baltica high-speed rail system was revised based on input from community groups. Religious groups are not typically active in domestic politics or policymaking efforts.

France

Score 6 The number of, and membership in, non-business associations has been increasing. If the phenomenon of dependency on the financial support of public authorities exists, especially at the local level, there are non-economic associations that are combining pluralistic approaches, long-term perspectives and a public perspective. This can be seen in fields such as urban policy (where national programs and local public actors rely on the expertise and commitment of associations dealing with local issues), environmental policy or social policy (aid to people with different social problems or handicaps).

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

Ireland

Score 6 There is a strong tradition of interest associations and advocacy groups in Ireland, especially in the areas of health and social policy. While their influence was diminished by the financial constraints of the last six years, they continue to have an impact on policies relating to issues such as drug abuse, provision for people with disabilities, homelessness, asylum-seekers, and perceived inequalities and injustices in Irish society. While many of these associations prepare relevant policy proposals, their emphasis is on advocacy rather than analysis. The most influential of these associations, Social Justice Ireland, evolved from an association of members of Roman Catholic religious orders.

Citation:
For Social Justice Ireland, see
<http://www.socialjustice.ie>

Italy

Score 6 The landscape of non-economic interest organizations is increasingly rich and diversified. But only few of them are able to formulate articulated policy proposals and most operate in a reactive mode instead. Among the most professional associations, some religious ones (such as Caritas, which deals among other things with immigration policies, Comunità di S. Egidio), humanitarian (such as Emergency) and environmental groups (such as Legambiente and WWF) deserve special mention, and are able to provide well-articulated, expert analysis. An increasing number of single-issue movements are gaining ground in Italy and are contributing to policymaking in their respective areas.

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

Malta

Score 6 Malta has a large number of non-economic interest associations. Though typically short on resources, they access external support through international membership or regional federations, which helps them, on occasion, to formulate extremely well-informed policy papers. EU funds have also helped them improve their policy capacities. Few organizations employ full-time staff, but many have academics as part of their leadership structure, thereby utilizing their expertise. In some cases, organizations are able to attract research support on a voluntary basis from like-minded academics and other volunteers. Nonetheless, many of them still need to become proactive, rather than reactive to events or government proposals. Having said that, these organizations often provide government with expert support and at times provide resources, support and direction for policy areas for which the government has little input. A case in point is that of support for policies associated with migration, asylum and the politics of integration.

Mexico

Score 6 Since the early 2000s, there has been a considerable increase in the quantity and the sophistication of non-economic interest groups in Mexican civil society. Many talented graduates have found positions in NGOs and they are working to influence policy in Mexico via advocacy-oriented NGOs. Several tertiary-education institutes (e.g., ITAM, Colmex) both teach and conduct public-policy research, and some are highly influential in the political sphere as think tanks and/or advocacy institutions. Furthermore, there has been an increase in the number of national and international advocacy NGOs that, depending on the sector and the government in place, are also relevant in the agenda-setting process. Moreover, many grassroots organizations founded in the last ten years aim to influence local and regional policymaking. Finally, the degree of movement of personnel between NGOs, think tanks and government is high compared to other OECD countries. Nevertheless, the capacity of most of these organizations to propose policy reforms in complex policy settings is rather restricted.

Poland

Score 6 Poland has a large number of interest associations beyond business associations and trade unions. However, compared to other countries, there are comparatively few environmental groups. Most non-governmental organizations are relatively small,

and there are only a few interest associations that focus on, and are capable of, developing full-blown policy proposals. The Catholic Church, still the most influential interest group in Poland, pursues relatively narrow interests, and is largely preoccupied with stabilizing its influence within an increasingly secular society. It currently has good access to the new government. A new social movement that managed to unite many Poles opposed to government efforts to dismantle democracy and judicial independence is the Committee for the Defense of Democracy (Komitet Obrony Democracji, KOD) which has organized public protests and large demonstrations in several Polish cities since December 2015.

Romania

Score 6 NGOs have significant analytical capacities, especially in areas such as environmental policy and social protection. However, many NGOs have suffered from a lack of resources and have been dependent on international financing. The Romanian Orthodox Church, which represents as much as 85% of the population, has been a powerful actor, but has promoted a relatively narrow agenda. When the amendment to the fiscal code in 2015 renewed public debate on the many tax exemptions and subsidies the church enjoys, the church used its political influence to defend its privileges.

Switzerland

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

Greece

Score 5 Greek civil society is relatively underdeveloped. Non-economic interest associations do not have the resources to become involved in policy formulation and the Greek state does not invite them to do so. There was no change in these patterns in the period under review, except of course for the anti-government mobilization by former Syriza supporters who felt deceived by the government's U-turn regarding austerity policies in the summer of 2015.

There was also spontaneous and intensive grassroots mobilization of informal teams and social solidarity networks of Greeks in the winter of 2015-2016, as they strove to help Syrian, Iraqi, and Afghani refugees arriving on the Greek islands of the Aegean Sea. But this, of course, if anything, reveals the lack of relevant policy formulation and administrative capacity to handle such situations.

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

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

Citation:

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

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

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

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

Lithuania

Score 5

The capacity of nonacademic interest associations to formulate well-crafted and relevant policy proposals varies by group. Most lack skilled staff members and do not engage in cooperation with academic bodies or individual experts. Moreover, the lawmaking and regulatory impact assessment processes do not sufficiently ensure the participation of relevant stakeholders. Business interest groups tend to have stronger abilities to formulate policies than do social or environmental groups. The Lithuanian Catholic Church is an important player in Lithuanian politics, with its influence typically focused on a small number of policy issues. However, this interest group unsuccessfully lobbied the president to veto legislation designed to make it easier for families to access assisted insemination services. The Non-Governmental Organizations' Information and Support Center facilitates cooperation between NGOs as they seek to represent their interests.

Bulgaria

Score 4

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

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

Cyprus

Score 4

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

A number of groups with a focus on politics, the crisis and associated causes and problems have emerged since 2011. They aim at addressing issues in a comprehensive manner. Some groups have made proposals and lobbied on issues of a general nature, others have focused on very specific matters. Issues such as hydrocarbon use, corruption, transparency in political-party funding, the electoral law and responses to the economic crisis are top of these groups' agendas. They initially had a limited appeal. However their noteworthy activity and quality proposals have begun having an impact.

The Church of Cyprus, a financially and politically strong institution, continues to play a role in society. It addresses all kinds of issues, including education and the island's division. Its present financial difficulties and frequent negative views may be factors limiting its influence.

Citation:

1. A proposal for vote across party tickets, by Diafania tora /transparency now, http://www.diafaniatora.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/10/Horizontal_Voting_20141030.pdf
2. Commitment against corruption by candidates to the parliament 2016 (in Greek) <http://transparencycyprus.org/archives/4195>

Japan

Score 4

Civil society organizations with a public-policy focus are rare in Japan. The Non-Profit Organization Law of 1998 made the incorporation of such bodies easier but many bureaucratic and financial challenges remain. With a few sectoral exceptions, the depth and breadth of such organizations in Japan thus remains limited. Japan has very few well-resourced public policy-oriented think tanks. It should also be noted that some non-profit organizations are used by the government bureaucracy as auxiliary mechanisms in areas where it cannot or does not want to become directly involved.

Following the 3/11 disasters, and more recently in the context of the controversy over the government's security-law extension, civil society groups have taken an increased role in expressing public concerns and organizing mass rallies. High levels of engagement on the part of activists notwithstanding, it is difficult for such actors to create professionally operating, sustainable organizations. As a case in point, the Students Emergency Action for Liberal Democracy (SEALDs) group gained considerable attention during the 2014–2015 protests against a reinterpretation of the constitution's so-called peace clause but disbanded after the 2016 Upper House election. Despite the public attention, the movement did not have any visible impact on the security legislation or on the Upper House election, which resulted in a landslide victory of the conservative governing coalition.

Citation:

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

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

Latvia

Score 4

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

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

Religious communities have largely remained outside of the public-policy development process. The notable exception has been conservative groups advocating for "traditional Christian values." These groups have sought to limit LGBT and reproductive rights, and influence the school system. They have gained ground by changing their modus operandi from protest activities to active advocacy at the parliamentary level. In 2015, they secured a controversial change to the Law on Education, leaving schools vulnerable to charges of ethical breaches in teaching.

Portugal

Score 4 Despite the alleviation of austerity and initial signs of economic recovery, non-economic interest associations continue to have little impact. The focus in recent years on economic issues means that proposals by established groups engaged with other issues attract less visibility than before Portugal's bailout (e.g. proposals by the environmental group Quercus). Interaction with associations appeared to be largely instrumental and related to political or group objectives rather than policy-based. For example, in October 2016, taxi drivers protested against Uber in Lisbon.

South Korea

Score 4 The rise of civil-society organizations has been one of the most important political trends in Korea during the last decade. Some of the largest NGOs, such as the Korean Federation for Environmental Movement, the Citizen Coalition for Economic Justice and the People's Solidarity for Participatory Democracy, have built up considerable expertise in specialized fields such as environmental policies, electoral reform and human rights. They provide reasonable policy proposals and are supported by a large group of academics and professionals. The majority of smaller NGOs remain focused on service provision and do not develop policy proposals. However, civil society and NGOs – especially those to the left of center – found it difficult to have any appreciable influence on decision making under either the Lee and Park administrations. The number of conservative pro-government NGOs has increased; however, these typically see their role not in providing policy alternatives but in supporting and propagandizing on behalf of the government. Under the Park government, the Federation of Korean Industries funded far-right organizations and mobilized them to participate in government-directed demonstrations. Critics compared these incidents to the practices of the Rhee Syngman dictatorship in the 1950s.

Turkey

Score 4 The number of non-economic civil-society organizations has increased in the last decade, indicating a growing degree of public engagement within many segments of Turkish society. There are several initiatives to promote the capacity of civil society in Turkey, yet only a few leading, semi-professional associations have the financial and human resources needed to work and provide alternative proposals for social issues that are grounded in scholarly research. The number of pro-government and pseudo-CSOs (otherwise known as GONGOs) benefiting from public as well as EU funding has increased recently. Several CSOs lack the staff, resources and visibility to carry out face-to-face fundraising. Turkey ranked 123rd in the World Giving Index 2014 (WGI). The government has excluded opponents from participation in decision-making process, creating instead its own loyal civil-society groups such as

TÜRGEV, a foundation led by President Erdoğan's son that has gained political influence in the executive and expanded its financial resources. Religious orders and communities have extended their networks under the different names of solidarity associations.

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

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

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

In the wake of the failed coup in July 2016 and the government's declaration of the state of emergency, hundreds of foundations and CSOs that are allegedly part of the Gülenist movement were shut down, their assets confiscated and their principles and/or members detained. The state of emergency has extremely diminished the influence of civil society on governmental actions.

Citation:

CIVICUS, State of Civil Society Report 2016, <http://civicus.org/documents/reports-and-publications/SOCS/2016/summaries/SoCS-full-review.pdf> (accessed 1 November 2016)

Oy ve Ötesi Derneği, Seçim Sonuçları Değerlendirmesi 2015, <http://oyveotesi.org/1-kasim-2015-genel-secimleri/1-kasim-2015-secim-sonuc-degerlendirmeleri/>

Doğader, <http://www.dogader.org/index.php/aciklama/72-marpmarmara-vre-platformu-ve-tptke-vre-platformu-sekreteryalari-doder-de>

Ka.Der, Projects, <http://www.ka-der.org.tr/en-US/Page/Show/665/project.html>

Hungary

Score 3

Despite the harassment by the Orbán government, NGOs have been active and have partly compensated for the lack of other checks and balances. Due to a lack of funding, however, only some of them have had sufficient policy expertise to formulate relevant policies.

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