



Interministerial Coordination Report

GO Expertise, GO Gatekeeping, Line Ministries, Cabinet Committees,
Ministerial Bureaucracy, Informal Coordination

Sustainable Governance Indicators 2018

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Indicator

GO Expertise

Question

Does the government office / prime minister's office (GO / PMO) have the expertise to evaluate ministerial draft bills substantively?

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 GO / PMO has comprehensive sectoral policy expertise and provides regular, independent evaluations of draft bills for the cabinet / prime minister. These assessments are guided exclusively by the government's strategic and budgetary priorities.
- 8-6 = The GO / PMO has sectoral policy expertise and evaluates important draft bills.
- 5-3 = The GO / PMO can rely on some sectoral policy expertise, but does not evaluate draft bills.
- 2-1 = The GO / PMO does not have any sectoral policy expertise. Its role is limited to collecting, registering and circulating documents submitted for cabinet meetings.

Australia

- Score 9 The Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet is responsible for policy coordination, and as such evaluates and provides advice on all major line ministry proposals. The department has significant resources, and has authority to draw from, and consult with, appropriate sources across the whole of the government system.

Citation:
<https://www.pmc.gov.au/who-we-are>

Canada

- Score 9 Draft bills are vetted primarily by the Privy Council Office and to a lesser extent by Finance Canada and the Treasury Board. These central agencies are prestigious places to work, and indeed, central-agency experience is highly valued (some even say a prerequisite) for advancement to senior levels within the federal public service. Consequently, central-agency staff members are generally highly skilled and possess the comprehensive sectoral-policy expertise needed for the regular and independent evaluation of draft bills based on the government's strategic and budgetary priorities.

Chile

- Score 9 The president's advisory ministry (Ministerio Secretaría General de la Presidencia, Segpres) and the Government or Cabinet Office (Ministerio Secretaría General de

Gobierno, Segegob) have at their disposal the necessary instruments and capacities to monitor and evaluate the policy content of line-ministry proposals. Nevertheless, channels of evaluation and advice are not fully institutionalized, and may change with a new head of state.

Finland

Score 9

As a ministry in itself, the Prime Minister's Office has the capacity to evaluate proposed policy. The primary function of the Prime Minister's Office is to support the duties of the prime minister, who directs the work of government and coordinates the preparation and consideration of government business. The Prime Minister's Office monitors the implementation of the government program and coordinates Finland's EU policy. In addition, the Prime Minister's Office is tasked with coordinating communications between the government and various ministries, planning future-oriented social policies, and promoting cooperation between the government and the various branches of public administration. The Prime Minister's Office has four departments: European Union Affairs, Government Administration, Government Ownership Steering, and Government Communications. Additionally, it has three units: the Government Session Unit, Government Policy Analysis Unit and Government External Economic Relations Unit. The Prime Minister's Office has a secretary of state, a permanent undersecretary of state and some 550 employees arranged within several task-specific departments. In addition, the steering of the Team Finland network takes place within the Prime Minister's Office. Team Finland is a network tasked with promoting international trade and relations, improving the efficiency of business cooperation abroad, and increasing the ease with which Finnish customers can access international business services.

Citation:

<http://vnk.fi/en/frontpage>

<http://team.finland.fi/en/frontpage>

United Kingdom

Score 9

The primary coordinating role is undertaken by the Cabinet Office, which has expertise in all areas of government since Cabinet Office officials commonly worked in other departments before. According to its website, the Cabinet Office has over 2,000 staff, is responsible for the National Security Council and is central to "making government work better." The Cabinet Office's Economic and Domestic Secretariat is responsible for coordinating policy advice to the prime minister and the cabinet, and the attached Parliamentary Business and Legislation (PBL) Secretariat provides advice on legislation and supervises progress made by bill drafting teams. The head of the Economic and Domestic Secretariat is also responsible for the Implementation Unit and the operation of the Implementation Task Forces, which oversee the

implementation of government policies, and coordinates between ministers and public officials. Implementation Unit staff are policy experts from the civil service with good ministerial networks and excellent substantive expertise. The role of the Treasury in putting pressure on departmental spending also contributes to interministerial coordination.

Latvia

Score 8 The formation of the PKC, which reports directly to the prime minister, has ensured a mechanism enabling input from the government office on the substance of policy proposals from line ministries. The PKC evaluates all proposals to be addressed by the cabinet on a weekly basis, focusing on three issues: cross-sectoral impact, adherence to the government declaration and compatibility with long-term strategy documents (such as the National Development Plan and Latvia 2030).

Citation:

1. National Development Plan 2020, Available at (in Latvian): <http://www.nap.lv/>, Last assessed: 21.05.2013

2. Sustainable Development Strategy of Latvia until 2030, Available at: http://www.latvija2030.lv/upload/latvija2030_en.pdf, Last assessed: 21.05.2013

Mexico

Score 8 The presidential office offers positions of high prestige in Mexico. It is involved with the legislative process to a decisive degree. Due to the absence of a high-level career civil service, both the cabinet and the presidential office are staffed with presidential appointments. The independence of figures within the executive is thus questionable since everyone of influence in the presidential office is a political appointee. It is relevant to note that the majority of legislative proposals introduced by the executive failed in post-1997 Mexico – a successful proposal submitted as part the “Pact for Mexico” during the early years of the Peña Nieto administration notwithstanding. Political roadblocks rather than any lack of policy expertise are responsible for these problems.

New Zealand

Score 8 The policy-advisory group in the Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet (DPMC) currently consists of 14 staff members covering a broad spectrum of policy expertise. They are in constant contact with the prime minister and provide advice on all cabinet and cabinet committee papers. They also engage in coordinating interministerial cooperation. The policy-advisory group provides direct support to the prime minister on specifically commissioned initiatives, such as the prime

minister's "Tackling Methamphetamine" Action Plan. In 2015, a Legislation Design and Advisory Committee (LDAC) was established with the aim of improving the quality and effectiveness of legislation. The LDAC advises departments regarding the design and content of bills while still in the development stage.

Citation:

Annual Report for the Year Ended 30 June 2014 (Wellington: Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet 2014).

Policy Advisory Group: <http://www.dPMC.govt.nz/pag> (accessed October 24, 2015).

Legislation Design and Advisory Committee: <http://www.lDac.org.nz/> (accessed 30 November, 2015).

Norway

Score 8

The Office of the Prime Minister has a small to medium-sized staff of 30 to 50 people, about 10 of which are political advisers, with the rest being professional bureaucrats. The office is not tasked with evaluating policy proposals in detail, but rather works to coordinate activities, ensure that government policies are roughly aligned, and monitor whether policy planning is adequate and is following prescribed procedures. The office has sufficient expertise and capacity for these purposes, and is considered to be an elite department with very highly skilled employees. The tradition of coalition governments in Norway involves strong coordination activity among the government coalition partners.

South Korea

Score 8

South Korea's presidential system has a dual executive structure, with the president serving both as head of state and head of government. The prime minister is clearly subordinate to the president and is not accountable to parliament. The presidential office, known as the Blue House, has the power and expertise to evaluate draft bills. As the real center of power in the South Korean government, the Blue House has divisions corresponding with the various line-ministry responsibilities. The Prime Minister's Office has sufficient administrative capacity and nonpolitical technocrats to design and implement policies and strategies politically chosen by the Blue House. President Moon has promised to decentralize powers, and plans to hold a referendum to amend the constitution in this manner. As of the time of writing, a variety of potential reforms were being discussed, including increases to local autonomy and even a switch from a presidential to a parliamentary system.

Citation:

Government Performance Evaluation Committee, <http://www.psec.go.kr>

The Korea Institute of Public Administration (KIPA), <http://www.kipa.re.kr>

Spain

Score 8

Spain's Government Office (Ministry of the Presidency, Ministerio de la Presidencia) and Prime Minister's Office (PMO) (both the Private Office and the Economic Office) are tasked with evaluating line-ministry proposals from the political and technical points of view. From a functional and even physical point of view, these bodies are nearly one, and form the very powerful political core of the executive. In general, these different units have ample staff with specific policy expertise, whose task is to substantively assess draft bills and other important sectoral initiatives to ensure they are compatible with the government's strategic and budgetary priorities. The internal structures of the prime minister's Private Office and Economic Office vaguely reflect the various ministerial portfolios, although without achieving a comprehensive policy expertise that enables perfect oversight throughout the executive. Moreover, evaluations made by the advisers working there are not truly independent, since most staffers are insiders bureaucratically connected to their ministries of origin. For its part, the Government Office, which is also responsible for organizing the Council of Ministers' cycle of sessions, and whose head is the powerful deputy prime minister, has no sectoral-policy expertise, but also evaluates the substantive content of draft bills to some extent. Nevertheless, despite the extensive constitutional and political strength of the Spanish premiership, these units enjoy only limited administrative resources. Their relatively small size is perhaps explained by the hierarchical, single-party nature of the Spanish government, in which it is not particularly necessary to monitor sectoral ministers from the center.

Citation:

Funciones del Ministerio de la Presidencia y para las Administraciones Territoriales
<http://www.mpr.gob.es/mpr/funciones/Paginas/funciones.a.spx>

Sweden

Score 8

Interministerial coordination has been a significant problem in the Swedish system of government for a long time but has now been addressed in a comprehensive strategy. The previous government (2006 – 2014) implemented a major program ("RK Styr") in order to strengthen the coordination among departments. This goal was believed to be a necessary step to increase the capability of the GO to steer the agencies more effectively.

In formal and legal terms, the government and its departments act as a collectivity. All decisions in government are made collectively and there is no individual ministerial accountability. The Prime Minister's Office (PMO) plays a significant role in the coordination process. This is also the case for the finance ministry. Furthermore, when the incumbent government is a coalition government, as has been the case since 2006, policies must be coordinated not just among the relevant departments but also among the governing parties.

The practice of governing and coordination is much more complex. Each department has a fair amount of autonomy in their respective sector. Coordination among departments takes place at different organizational levels depending on whether the issue is a technical and administrative issue, or whether it is a more political matter. With the latter, political actors make the final decisions. When bills involving more than one department are drafted, coordination is achieved through meetings where drafts of the bill are discussed. There are instances where drafts have gone through a very large number of revisions as part of the coordination process. In pro-growth policies in the mid-2000s, for instance, the bill that eventually was submitted to the parliament (Riksdag) was the 56th version of the bill.

The lack of coordination has to some extent been resolved by increasing the centralization within the Government Office. The finance ministry has become a “primus inter pares” among the departments; a pattern that emerged in the wake of the financial crises in the early 1990s but that has remained ever since.

The PMO rarely coordinates policy content, which generally takes place during the process of deliberation or drafting of bills.

Citation:

Dahlström, C., B. G. Peters and J. Pierre (eds) (2011), *Steering from the Center* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press).

Jacobsson, B., J. Pierre and G. Sundström (2015), *Governing the Embedded State* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

Niemann, C. (2013), *Villkorat förtroende. Normer och rollförväntningar i relationen mellan politiker och tjänstemän i Regeringskansliet* (Stockholm: Department of Political Science, University of Stockholm).

Pierre, J. and G. Sundström (eds) (2009), *Den nya samhällsstyrningen* (Malmö: Liber).

Premfors, R. and G. Sundström (2007), *Regeringskansliet* (Malmö: Liber).

Belgium

Score 7

The Prime Minister’s Office contains a “strategic cell” that helps the prime minister evaluate and steer policy across all levels. Typically, this oversight function is shared with deputy prime ministers (one per coalition party, apart from the prime minister’s party) in a regular “core” meeting. Each of the advisers and experts in the cell specializes in one field. They assess only the most important issues, as the relatively small size of the team limits its ability to deal with all issues at hand. The fact that governments are always coalitions (comprised of at least four parties) also gives a central role to party advisers of the corresponding minister in the lawmaking process.

Denmark

Score 7

The Danish Prime Minister's Office (PMO) is relatively small. It normally has a staff of about 80, spread between three groups (i.e., academics, technical and administrative staff), the academic group being the largest.

The office is divided into two main sections, one dealing with foreign policy and the second with domestic political and economic issues. There is also a law division and an administrative division. The High Commissioner for the Faroe Islands and the High Commissioner for Greenland also fall under the PMO. The prime minister's portfolio tasks include the North Atlantic area (e.g., Greenland and the Faroe Islands), the press, constitutional law and relations with the Royal Family.

Given its small size, the PMO does not have the capacity to evaluate the details of all laws. But some officials are seconded from important line ministries to give the PMO a certain capacity. This capacity has been strengthened since the 1990s.

There is a strong tradition of so-called minister rule (ministerstyre). A minister is in charge of a certain area, but the cabinet is a collective unit and is supposed to have only one policy focus, for which the prime minister has the overall responsibility. Coordination takes place through special committees. Most important is the government coordination committee which meets weekly. Other committees are the committee on economic affairs, the security committee and the appointment committee. There is also a tradition of two-day government seminars once or twice per year where important government issues are discussed.

Citation:

Website of the Prime Minister's Office: http://www.stm.dk/_a_2570.html (accessed 16 October 2017).

Jørgen Grønnegård Christensen, Peter Munk Christiansen og Marius Ibseb, Politik og forvaltning, 4. udgave, Hans Reitzels Forlag, 2017.

Jørgen Grønnegård Christensen and Jørgen Elklit (eds.), Det demokratiske system. 4. udgave. Hans Reitzels Forlag, 2016.

France

Score 7

There are three main loci of policy evaluation once a policy proposal has been forwarded to the prime minister. The first is the Prime Minister's Office (PMO), the second is the President's Office, and the third, in cases of legislation or regulation, the Council of State. This hierarchical organization gives the prime minister the option of modifying ministers' draft bills. In important cases, this steering function is located in the President's Office. Both the president and the prime minister appoint adviser from all ministries as policy adviser in a given sector. All ministerial domains are covered. Several hundred people are involved in government steering,

checking, controlling and advising functions.

However, it would probably be overstated to consider these various checks a method of evaluation. The PMO mainly coordinates and arbitrates between ministries, takes into consideration opinions and criticisms from involved interests and from the majority coalition, and balances political benefits and risks. The President's Office does more or less the same in coordination with the PMO. More than offering a thorough policy evaluation, these two institutions serve as a place where the ultimate arbitrations between bureaucrats, party activists and vested interests are made.

Hungary

Score 7

The Orbán governments have steadily expanded both the competencies and the resources of Prime Minister's Office (PMO). The number of state secretaries and undersecretaries in the PMO has been further increased, and now stands at about 30. More than 1,500 persons are employed in the PMO and in its surrounding expert groups. The PMO is supported by five background institutes with about 200 employees. Three of them, the Veritas Institute (an institute of contemporary history), the Institute for Linguistic Strategy (for language guidelines for Fidesz media) and the Institute for National Strategy (Hungarians in neighboring countries) deal with "strategic" issues. The Institute of Systemic Change and Archives and the Institute of National Heritage focus on documentation (31-29 people respectively). However, the quantitative expansion of the PMO has come with a decline in expertise, as political loyalty has been the main principle of recruiting. In addition to the PMO, there is the prime minister's cabinet office. Under its head Antal Rogán, it has developed into a ministry with state secretaries and undersecretaries responsible for government communication.

Ireland

Score 7

The influence and effectiveness of the Irish prime minister's office (Department of the Taoiseach) is limited by a dearth of analytical skills. The department is focused on strategic policy issues and the delivery of the Programme for Government. The Department of the Taoiseach has steadily grown over the years from about 30 people in 1977 to just over 200 in 2017. The Department coordinates policy in specific policy areas (e.g., Northern Ireland, EU affairs and, the current hot topic, Brexit). Nevertheless, most policymaking continues to take place in the line ministries.

An expert group on strengthening civil-service accountability and performance reported to government in May 2014. Among the numerous recommendations it made, it proposed the establishment of an accountability board for the civil service, chaired by the taoiseach but including external members. This board would be tasked with reviewing and constructively challenging the performance of senior

management as well as monitoring progress on the delivery of agreed-upon priorities. It also recommended that the Irish Civil Service be given an appointed head. The government rejected the proposal for a head of civil service, but an accountability board with independent members was established in May 2015.

Citation:

The report of the Independent Panel on Strengthening Civil Service Accountability and Performance is available here:

<http://www.per.gov.ie/civil-service-accountability-consultation-process/>

Japan

Score 7

The Cabinet Secretariat has more than 800 employees with expertise in all major policy fields. These employees are usually temporarily seconded by their ministries. While these staffers possess considerable expertise in their respective fields, it is doubtful whether they can function in an unbiased manner on issues where the institutional interests of their home organizations are concerned. Moreover, the system lacks adequate infrastructure for broader coordination (including public relations or contemporary methods of policy evaluation).

Citation:

Izuru Makihara, The Role of the Kantei in Making Policy, nippon.com, 27.06.2013, <http://www.nippon.com/en/features/c00408/>

Markus Winter, Abe and the Bureaucracy: Tightening the Reins, The Diplomat, 16 June 2016, <http://thediplomat.com/2016/06/abe-and-the-bureacracy-tightening-the-reins/>

Lithuania

Score 7

Under Prime Minister Kubilius, the Government Office was reorganized into a Prime Minister's Office, and given the task of assisting in the formulation and execution of government policies. This reform increased the capacities of the core government to assess the policy content of draft government decisions, at the expense of its capacity to review their legal quality. However, this latter function was moved to the Ministry of Justice. Shortly after taking power, the Butkevičius government reversed this organizational reform, reorganizing the Prime Minister's Office once again into a Government Office. Under Prime Minister Skvernelis, the Government Office was again reorganized to better support the formulation of strategic reforms and centralize quality control of draft legal acts.

The recent development of evidence-based decision-making instruments such as a monitoring information system, a budget-program assessment system and an impact-assessment system has increased the capacity of the core government to monitor and evaluate draft government decisions based on the government's political agenda. However, the degree of effectiveness has varied by instrument, as well as with the

relevance and quality of the empirical evidence available for decision-making. After assessing the coordination of regulatory policy in Lithuania, the OECD recommended establishing an integrated strategic plan for better regulation, a high-level coordination body, and a better-regulation unit within the central government.

Citation:

OECD, Regulatory Policy in Lithuania: Focusing on the Delivery Side, OECD Reviews of Regulatory Reform, OECD Publishing, Paris, 2015 http://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/governance/regulatory-policy-in-lithuania_9789264239340-en.

United States

Score 7

The closest comparison to a government office or prime minister's office in the U.S. system is the White House staff, along with other units of the Executive Office of the President (e.g., the Council of Economic Advisers, the Office of Management and Budget, and the National Security Council).

Because of the separation of powers, Congress or particular congressional committees sometimes compete with the president to shape policymaking in executive agencies. In response to these challenges, presidents have gradually established a large executive apparatus designed to help assert presidential control over the departments and agencies as well as enable the independence of presidential policy decisions. The total professional staff in the presidential bureaucracy vastly exceeds that of a parliamentary system's GO or PMO, with roughly 2,500 professionals and a budget of \$300 million to \$400 million. Indeed, the White House has often not allowed the departments and agencies to play a major substantive role in the drafting of bills. In recent presidencies, it has increasingly dominated executive-branch policymaking. President Obama went even further than previous presidents, appointing a number of high-level presidential adviser, or so-called czars, to oversee executive-branch policymaking in specific areas.

The Trump White House is by all accounts vastly inferior in expertise and organization to that of any prior modern president. Trump has not seriously attempted to maintain orderly processes or to rely on experienced or expert judgment. Insiders have regularly described a state of "chaos," with White House staff often preoccupied with preventing destructive behavior by the president. The Office of Management and Budget still has a large permanent staff that can analyze bills, but the president's use of such expertise is accidental or haphazard.

Germany

Score 6

The Chancellery is organized into six directorates, with various numbers of subgroups that are again subdivided to better "mirror" the line ministries ("Spiegelreferate"). However, only four directorates with their sub-directorates

(Referate) mirror the respective line ministries and may evaluate the ministerial draft bills. During the last Merkel government and especially in the last two years before the 2017 federal election, party politics dominated. The Social Democrats as well as CDU and CSU ministers for the most part developed and drafted their policies independently of the chancellor and the Chancellery. No coordination nor cooperation between the line ministries took place. In general, the Chancellery does not autonomously evaluate important draft bills or assess them according to strategic and to budgetary government guidelines. In addition, it appears that its capacities are generally lower than those of the line ministries. With respect to European politics and international tasks, the Chancellery seems to coordinate with partners and to function quite effectively.

However, during the recent refugee crisis, in 2015 the cabinet decided upon a new coordination concept. The head of the Chancellery, Peter Altmaier, became responsible for general coordination and a new staff position was introduced. The Ministry of the Interior remained in charge of operational coordination and its existing steering group was strengthened. However, in all other policy areas the powers of the Chancellery remain astonishingly limited.

Greece

Score 6

The center of government has traditionally struggled to coordinate and evaluate government legislation. As with previous governments, in the period under review, under the Syriza-ANEL government, draft legislation has rarely been subjected to substantive and systematic evaluation. In fact, ministers have often been able to insert last-minute amendments into legislation in order to favor selected interest groups, organizations or municipalities.

Under Syriza-ANEL there have been several offices and/or committees that have been entrusted with steering the individual ministers and government initiatives in sectoral policy. As was the case before 2015, a primary role is played by the Prime Minister's Office (PMO). A second relevant organ, which collects, registers and circulates documents is the General Secretariat of Coordination of Governmental Tasks, which is also very close to the prime minister. A third such organ is the Office of the Vice-President of the Government, which oversees policy in some crucial sectors such as public debt management. It is unclear if these organs, all of which are monitored more or less by the PMO have clearly demarcated areas of competences and sectoral expertise.

In fact, in the period under review, interministerial coordination was largely carried out by a small informal circle of government ministers and advisers to the prime minister who met daily. This was a practice common to previous governments as well.

Iceland

Score 6 The Prime Minister's Office has the fewest staff members of any of the country's ministries and a limited capacity for independently assessing draft bills. The left-wing cabinet (2009-2013) merged a number of ministries together, reducing the total number of ministries from 12 to 8. A primary justification was that some ministries lacked broad-based expertise and the merger would make this expertise more widely accessible, which has in some cases been achieved. The Gunnlaugsson center-right cabinet (2013-2016) partially reversed this reform in 2013 by appointing separate ministers to head the Ministry of Welfare's subdivisions of Social Affairs and Housing, and Health Affairs. Furthermore, a separate minister of environment and resources was appointed at the end of 2014. These changes increased the number of ministers from 8 to 10. After the 2016 elections a cabinet comprising three parties was established – the Benediktsson cabinet coalition. This led to an increase in ministerial posts from 10 to 11. The Ministry of Interior was split in two so that separate ministers took care of justice, and communications and local government affairs. The increase from 8 to 11 from 2009 to 2017 indicates that political parties tend to behave as interest organizations of politicians. The draft constitution from 2011/2012 stipulates that the number of cabinet ministers must not exceed 10.

Israel

Score 6 The Prime Minister's Office (PMO) relies on sectoral policy expertise. Its need for a staff of independent and professional analysts originally led to the establishment of the National Economic Council, the National Security Council and the Policy Planning Department that advises the prime minister directly. The 2012 Kochik committee viewed these as positive but insufficient steps, and recommended that the PMO's consulting mechanism be strengthened.

Recent changes have shifted this system somewhat. The PMO's planning reforms have de facto given it the capacity to advise other ministries regarding their policy proposals and bills. This is practically done via collaboration with (and to some extent supervision of) the ministries' vice directors of strategic planning and economy, who are officially the heads of the ministerial planning units.

Citation:

Arian, Asher, "Politics in Israel: The Second Republic," 2nd Edition 2005 (Hebrew).

"The committee to investigate the Prime Minister's headquarter," Official report (April 2012).

Transparency report of the planning and strategy units and their interaction with private consultation firms," Knesset Committee Protocol, 21.11.2016,

<https://oknesset.org/committee/meeting/13867/?page=2>

Italy

Score 6

The Prime Minister's Office (PMO) as a rule evaluates all draft bills before they are submitted to the Council of Ministers for approval. This scrutiny however mainly deals with legal aspects (which largely concern compatibility with European laws) as the PMO itself does not have the systematic sectoral expertise that would allow it to conduct a detailed policy scrutiny. This means that intervention by the PMO is in general more reactive than proactive. The office gets more deeply involved in issues when problems emerge during the policymaking process. Important draft bills are in general scrutinized by the office with regard to the effects a bill may have on the cohesion of the majority coalition. A detailed scrutiny of the financial implications of each bill is conducted by the Treasury, which has a kind of preventive veto power. The previous prime minister, Renzi, had a dominant role in government. Both Renzi and his personal political staff had significant influence in steering the cabinet. In contrast, the current prime minister, Gentiloni, has adopted a softer leadership style when guiding the cabinet. The PMO's staff has not changed significantly and its limited size does not allow it to fully control the technical aspects of legislation. As a result, corrections to legislative proposals are often necessary during parliamentary approval.

Luxembourg

Score 6

The Prime Minister's Office (PMO) employs around 40 civil servants, mostly trained in law, economics and political science. As a result, the PMO does not have sufficient resources to assess all the activities of government ministries. Due to the limited capacities of all ministries, including the PMO, there is no management body or special committee designated to manage interministerial coordination. After the inauguration of the new government in December 2013, interministerial coordination presented some difficulties.

Senior civil servants in the ministries prepare a "pré-conseil" or pre-briefing for the weekly meeting of ministers (conseil de gouvernement). All draft bills must be adopted at both stages before being introduced to parliament as well as revised within these two interministerial meetings. In addition, the Inspectorate General of Finance (Inspection générale des finances, IGF) evaluates draft bills and participates in numerous committees.

Citation:

"Budgeting in Luxembourg: Analysis and recommendations." OECD Journal on Budgeting, Supplement 1, vol. 2012, 2013, www.keepeek.com/Digital-Asset-Management/oecd/governance/oecd-journal-on-budgeting-volume-2012-supplement-1_budget-v12-sup1-en#.WL7foKw2to5#page81. Accessed 21 Feb. 2017.

"Conseil de gouvernement." Le portal de l'actualité gouvernementale, www.gouvernement.lu/1719191/conseil-gouv. Accessed 21 Feb. 2017.

“Gouvernement.” Le portal de l’actualité gouvernementale, www.gouvernement.lu/1719075/gouvernement. Accessed 21 Feb. 2017.

“Inspection générale de la sécurité sociale.” Ministère de la Sécurité Sociale, www.mss.public.lu/acteurs/igss/index.html. Accessed 21 Feb. 2017.

Inspection générale des finances, www.igf.etat.lu. Accessed 21 Feb. 2017.

Netherlands

Score 6

The Dutch prime minister is formally in charge of coordinating government policy as a whole, and has a concomitant range of powers, which include deciding on the composition of the Council of Ministers’ agenda and formulating its conclusions and decisions; chairing Council of Ministers meetings, committees (onderraad) and (in most cases) ministerial committees; adjudicating interdepartmental conflicts; serving as the primary press spokesperson and first speaker in the States General; and speaking in international forums and arenas (e.g., European Union and the United Nations) on behalf of the Council of Ministers and the Dutch government as a whole.

The prime minister’s own Ministry of General Affairs office has some 14 advising councilors (raadadviseurs, with junior assistants) at its disposal. The advising councillors are top-level civil servants, not political appointees. In addition, the prime minister has a special relationship with the Scientific Council of Government Policy. Sometimes, deputy directors of the planning agencies play the role of secretaries for interdepartmental “front gates.” To conclude, the Prime Minister’s Office and the prime minister himself have a rather limited capacity to evaluate the policy content of line ministry proposals unless they openly clash with the government platform (regeerackoord). Of course, personal skills and experience make a difference, but structural capacity remains weakly developed. For example, the prime minister has been unable to anticipate and prevent serious political problems in key departments, such as the Ministry of Justice and Security, and Ministry of Defense, where several cabinet ministers had to resign.

Citation:

<http://www.rijksoverheid.nl/regering/bewindspersonen/jan-peter-balkenende/taken>

http://www.nationaalarchief.nl/selectielijsten/BSD_Coordinatie_algemeen_regeringsbeleid_stcrnt_2009_63.pdf

Additional reference:

R.B. Andeweg and G.A. Irwin (2014), *Governance and politics of the Netherlands*. Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

M. Rutte, *De minister-president: een aanbouw aan het huis van Thorbecke*, Lecture by the Prime Minister, 12 October 2016 (rijksoverheid.nl, consulted 8 November 2016)

“‘Onvermijdelijke’ aftreden Van der Steur op de voet gevolgd,” NOS.nl, 26 January 2017, consulted 10 October 2017.

“Jeanine Hennis stapt op als minister van Defensie.,” NRC-Handelsblad, 3 October 2017

Poland

- Score 6 The policy expertise of the Chancellery of the Prime Minister was strengthened under the Tusk government. Under the PiS government, the quality of the staff has declined as the main principle is political obedience, not expertise or professionalism.

Portugal

- Score 6 The Prime Minister's Office (PMO) has limited policy expertise. While it is able to assess bills, it lacks in-depth policy assessment capabilities within most policy areas. Under the preceding Passos Coelho government, policy assessment largely centered on budgetary implications, notably in terms of reducing costs and/or increasing revenue. This was particularly true during the bailout period, but persisted into the post-bailout. Under the Costa government, budgetary implications have remained important, as the government has sought to maintain its euro zone commitments. However, this government also evaluates how policy proposals might impact its parliamentary entente with its governing partners, the Portuguese Communist Party (PCP), the Left Bloc (BE) and the Greens (PEV).

Austria

- Score 5 Two aspects of Austria's governance system limit the efficiency of interministerial coordination. First, members of the cabinet ("Ministerrat," which is officially translated as the Council of Ministers but is essentially a cabinet) all enjoy the same legal status. The federal chancellor, who chairs the cabinet, is only first among equals. He or she has no formal authority over the other members of the council. Secondly, with the exception of the years between 1966 and 1983, Austria has been governed by coalitions since 1945. This further reduces the authority of the head of government, as another member of the government – typically the vice-chancellor, is head of another part in the coalition. The result is a significant fragmentation of strategic capacities. Responsibility within the government is distributed among highly autonomous ministers and among political parties linked by a coalition agreement but nevertheless competing for votes.

The Federal Chancellery does have a department called the Legal and Constitutional Service (Verfassungsdienst), which is responsible for checking the constitutionality of policy proposals coming from the various ministries. Another instrument of oversight is the evaluation of policy effects (Wirkungsorientierte Folgenabschätzung, WFA) that as of 2013 must be integrated into every policy proposal. Under this policy, every draft law has to include an evaluation of its effects in financial, social

and other terms, thus enabling other members of government to evaluate its consequences. The cabinet is de facto a collective leadership, complicated by the conflicting interests of coalition partners.

The new coalition government (between the ÖVP and FPÖ) will not be able to change the structural conditions of the system. Any strengthening of the position of the chancellor will not be in the interest of the vice-chancellor. The new coalition (like the outgoing) will be based on a balance between two equally strong partners.

Czech Republic

Score 5 The Government Office is relatively small and has little sectoral policy expertise. To partially compensate for this weakness, it also uses the services of consultants on the basis of commercial contracts.

Estonia

Score 5 The GO and prime minister's support structures primarily provide consulting services, monitor governmental processes and provide technical (judicial) expertise. There is no capacity to perform substantial evaluation of line-ministry proposals. Two OECD governance reports (2011; 2015) have pointed out that national policymaking lacks coherence and interministerial cooperation. Despite the action plan for the implementation of OECD recommendations (2014), no significant improvement has been achieved so far. The 2015 OECD report recommends that the government sharpens its focus and concentrates, at maximum, on five policy priorities. The current government of Ratas has defined four priorities in the "Basic Principles of the Government Coalition" for the 2016 – 2019 period. This step was not, however, accompanied by another also recommended by the OECD: to give the GO more discretion in (re)allocating organizational, financial and human resources for the implementation of key priorities. However, in March 2017, the cabinet discussed increasing the strategic coordinating role of the prime minister and GO with draft law amendments expected in 2018.

Malta

Score 5 Government ministries in Malta enjoy almost complete autonomy, with limitations only in the form of budgetary constraints imposed by the Ministry of Finance and cabinet approval. The Prime Minister's Office (PMO) relies largely on the attorney general's office to evaluate draft bills, while consulting specialists on non-legal issues. Before going to the Attorney General's Office, draft laws and policies are scrutinized in cabinet. The employment of more sectoral policy experts has added to this improvement.

In March 2013, the government appointed a minister, as part of the PMO, to oversee the implementation of the government's manifesto and more recently introduced a specific strategy to implement the government's program. This strategy operates on a three-year planning cycle in conjunction with the budgetary cycle implementation program. In this context, every policy measure in the budget is assigned to a ministry. The ministry then has full responsibility for the policy and draws up an action plan, which is monitored on a monthly basis by the OPM; areas of concern are flagged and brought to the attention of the public service and cabinet. The PMO has more recently demonstrated a greater ability to respond to policy implementation failures. Malta's EU presidency has also contributed strongly toward ministerial coordination. Great efforts are also being made to upgrade the capacity of the public service through the recruitment of graduates with specialized training. In collaboration with the University of Malta, MCAST and other bodies, the government has recently established the Institute for Public Service (IPS) to coordinate training at all levels. However, a number of policy failures indicate that more time is required for these reforms to bear fruit.

Citation:

Sansone, K Justice to be transferred to OPM - Labor MP is Commissioner Against Bureaucracy Times of Malta 18/06/13

<http://www.timesofmalta.com/articles/view/20151029/local/over-32m-in-government-consultancies-in-one-year.590017>

Romania

Score 5

The organization of the Government Office underwent some changes in the period under review. Until January 2017, it featured two bodies involved in interministerial coordination, the General Secretariat of the Government (GSG) and the Prime Minister's Chancellery (PMC). Whereas the GSG focused on the formal coordination, the PMC, consisting of about 15 state counselors with different backgrounds, provided the policy expertise. In January 2017, Prime Minister Grindeanu dismantled the PMC and transferred its responsibilities to the GSG. Once appointed, its predecessor, Prime Minister Tudose, re-established the PMC and the old dual structure. These changes have infringed upon the government office's capacity to do comprehensive evaluations of draft bills.

Citation:

OECD (2016): Public Governance Scan Romania. Paris (<https://www.oecd.org/countries/romania/public-governance-review-scan-romania.pdf>).

Slovakia

Score 5

Slovakia has a strong tradition of departmentalism and collegial cabinets, and these two features have deepened under the current coalition, comprised of three very different parties, which was formed after the parliamentary elections in April 2016.

The Government Office focuses on the legal and technical coherence of draft bills, but lacks the capacity and sectoral expertise to evaluate their policy content.

Citation:

Blondel, J., F. Müller-Rommel, D. Malová et al. (2007): *Governing New Democracies*. Basingstoke/ London: Palgrave.

Switzerland

Score 5

The Swiss political system does not have a prime minister or a prime minister's office. The government is a collegial body. However, there are several instruments of interministerial coordination and various mechanisms by which ministries' draft bills are evaluated. Departments engage in a formal process of consultation when drafting proposals, the Department of Justice provides legal evaluations of draft bills, and the Federal Chancellery and Federal Council provide political coordination.

Due to the double role of the Federal Council as a collegial unit with the task of producing widely acceptable proposals, and individual federal councilors as heads of departments with the task of satisfying their parties' programs and their department policies, coordination becomes more difficult with the increasing political polarization between government parties.

Turkey

Score 5

The Prime Minister's Office (PMO) has established a General Directorate of Laws and Decrees and a General Directorate of Legislation Development and Publication. The directorates scrutinize bylaws prepared by ministries and public agencies, examining their congruity with existing draft bills, decrees, statutes, regulations and Council of Minister resolutions. The General Directorate of Legislation Development and Publication also examines the congruity between existing legislation, development plans and programs, and the government's program. The Directorate of Administration Development, which employs 13 experts and researchers, deals with standardization. These units are the primary government entities charged with drafting and coordinating new regulations. However, not all draft bills are the product of expert advice. Recently, the number of adjustments to draft bills made during the parliamentary-approval process indicated that standards were only partially upheld.

During the review period, the PMO had a total of 2,253 employees, a quarter of whom were experts or advisers, or able to provide similar services. A Sectoral Monitoring and Assessment Unit was established to provide advice to the PMO in 2011. In May 2015, about 266 career employees from various public institutions were assigned to this unit. Critics argue that these senior civil servants lack sufficient resources, as well as incentives for effective action. Until the "cleansing" activities

of the government following the 15 July coup attempt, the unit was also alleged to be a “detention camp” for bureaucrats supposedly close to illegal Gülenist organizations.

Citation:

TC Başbakanlık 2016 Yılı Faaliyet Raporu, http://www.basbakanlik.gov.tr/docs/KurumsalHaberler/Basbakanlik_2016_Faaliyet_Raporu.pdf (accessed 1 November 2017)

Cinnah'taki toplama kampı, Taraf daily newspaper, 25 September 2015, <http://www.taraf.com.tr/cinnahtaki-toplama-kampi/> (accessed 27 October 2015)

Kamuda Paralel tasfiyesi, Akşam daily newspaper, 12 September 2015, <http://www.aksam.com.tr/ekonomi/kamuda-paralel-tasfiyesi/haber-442223> (accessed 27 October 2015)

Bulgaria

Score 4

The official government office in Bulgaria, the Council of Ministers' administration, plays a mainly administrative role. It prepares cabinet meetings but lacks the capacity for in-depth evaluation of the policy content of line-ministry proposals. Specialized directorates within the Council of Ministers' administration do review submissions from the line ministries, but deal less with substance than with ensuring that submissions are presented in the appropriate format. The prime minister's own political-cabinet staff is relatively small and has little expertise to evaluate the policy content of line-ministry proposals.

Slovenia

Score 4

Slovenia has a strong tradition of departmentalism and collegial cabinets. The Government Office focuses on the legal and technical coherence of draft bills but lacks the capacity and sectoral expertise to evaluate their policy content, especially since the recruitment of expert staff is limited and often subject to political pressures and political compromise. The change in the head of the Government Office in October 2016 – from Darko Krašovec, who had to resign after allegations of corruptions, to Lilijana Kozlovič, a member of parliament belonging to Prime Minister Cera's SMC party – did not change the situation.

Croatia

Score 3

Until 2014, the Prime Minister's Office lacked a central policy unit able to evaluate and coordinate the activities of the line ministries. At the beginning of 2014, a unit for public policy coordination and support to the prime minister was established in the Prime Minister's Office. The unit is tasked with coordinating and monitoring public policies performed by line ministries. However, the capacity of the staff to provide reliable applied policy analysis is limited.

Cyprus

Score 2

Under Cyprus's presidential system, competent line ministries draft bills and send them to the secretariat of the Council of Ministers. The secretariat supports the cabinet's work and forwards its decisions to concerned offices. Advice, limited to the constitutionality of drafts, is provided by the Attorney General's Office.

Under the law on fiscal responsibility there might be some GO control, but this mostly focuses on budgetary aspects. While no constitutional clause supports assignment of such powers, a body with expertise on the subject, the secretariat of the Council of Ministers, lacks such expertise.

Indicator

GO Gatekeeping

Question

Can the government office / prime minister's office return items envisaged for the cabinet meeting on the basis of policy considerations?

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 GO/PMO can return all/most items on policy grounds.
- 8-6 = The GO/PMO can return some items on policy grounds.
- 5-3 = The GO/PMO can return items on technical, formal grounds only.
- 2-1 = The GO/PMO has no authority to return items.

Australia

Score 10

All major policy proposals must pass through the Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet. In its role of coordinating government policy and ensuring a consistent and coherent legislative program, the department has the capacity to return any item that conflicts with the government's overall policy agenda. However, such an occasion rarely arises, since the department is involved at an early stage in assisting with the drafting of any significant policy initiatives, so it does not reach an advanced stage without department approval.

Chile

Score 10

The Government or Cabinet Office (Ministerio Secretaría General de Gobierno, Segegob) has the ability to return items. The president can overrule the advisory ministry if he or she holds a strong particular interest in a special item. But in the day-to-day course of operations, this rarely happens. Under the previous government, however, some proposals were blocked directly by then-President Sebastián Piñera.

France

Score 10

The Prime Minister's Office has strong powers vis-à-vis line ministers. Since the beginning of the Fifth Republic, the authority of the prime minister has been indisputable. President Hollande's reluctance to impose a strong line weakened the prime minister vis-à-vis the ministers during the term of the first prime minister,

Jean-Marc Ayrault. His successor, Prime Minister Manuel Valls, has imposed a return to strict discipline and forced dissenting ministers to resign. This turmoil has shown that beyond the formal rules, it is political leadership that enables the full application of the prime minister's powers. Returning to the tradition of the Fifth Republic, President Macron has fully restored the hierarchy and the gatekeeping role of the prime minister.

Hungary

Score 10

Under the Orbán governments, all important personal, political and policy decisions have been made by the prime minister and the small groups of his confidants. The gatekeeping role has long been played by the Minister of the PMO János Lázár and the head of the personal political cabinet of Orbán Antal Rogán. Rogán is a close ally of Árpád Habony, the closest adviser to Orbán, who has no official position and no public presence. As Orbán has tried to play a bigger role in the EU in the period under review, Lázár und Rogán have been joined lately by the Minister of Foreign Trade and Foreign Affairs Péter Szijjártó.

Iceland

Score 10

The Prime Minister's Office has no formal authority. Formally issues can only be approved in cabinet if a unanimous decision is reached by ministers. In practice, however, prime ministers can return items to cabinet despite this authority not being explicitly granted by law.

United States

Score 10

The comparable issue for the U.S. system concerns the ability of White House staff to control the presentation of issues, proposals, policy papers and decision memoranda to the White House or cabinet-based presidential-advisory committees. In fact, the president and his or her staff assign the responsibility for coordinating decision processes on major issues and may choose to emphasize White House or cabinet responsibility in varying degrees as he or she organizes the White House and establishes advisory arrangements. In recent presidencies, a strong and consistent trend has favored White House control. In the Obama administration, for example, the White House controlled policy management and thus the presentation of decision materials almost completely, with cabinet officials in subordinate roles. In the Trump administration, there are few initiatives from departments and agencies and actors have influence to the extent that they are assumed to reflect Trump's preferences.

Canada

- Score 9** In general, Canada's government office, the PCO, can both legally and de facto return items to initiating departments on the basis of policy considerations. Indeed, this happens frequently. On the other hand, as one deputy minister in Ottawa once observed, "He who writes the first draft, controls policy." To be sure, central agencies have significant influence within the machinery of government in Ottawa. However, there is ongoing dialog between central-agency staff and line-department officials. Things tend to be sorted out before items are "returned" to line departments. Moreover, unless draft legislation has a financial resources component to it, neither Finance nor Treasury Board officials are likely to take a strong interest.

Denmark

- Score 9** The prime minister has the discretionary power to take the actions deemed necessary. The tradition of "minister rule" (ministerstyre) implies that this possibility is rarely exercised. Moreover, the fact that most governments have been minority governments implies that consensus and negotiation is involved.

Citation:

Jørgen Grønnegård Christensen, Peter Munk Christiansen and Marius Ibsen, *Politik og forvaltning*, 4 th ed., 2017.

Ireland

- Score 9** The Department of the Taoiseach reviews draft memoranda designated for discussion by the cabinet. Its views are taken into account when these memoranda are revised. The taoiseach's office exercises tight control over the government agenda; as does the Department of Finance.

Most policy originates in the line departments, but the Department of the Taoiseach has grown in size and competence in recent years, and has the capacity to block most items. In 2010, the Department of the Taoiseach had a total of 179 civil service staff, as well as seven advisers serving the taoiseach directly (see O'Malley 2012). The Department of the Taoiseach has several different policy divisions. Though these have varied over the years depending on the taoiseach's priorities, divisions on the economy, the EU and Britain and Northern Ireland have been a constant. In 2017, there were also divisions on international affairs, social policy and public-sector reform, and economics, regulation and climate change.

Citation:

Eoin O'Malley, 'The Apex of Government: Cabinet and Taoiseach in Operation,' in Eoin O'Malley and Muiris MacCarthaigh (eds, 2012), *Governing Ireland: From Cabinet Government to Delegated Governance*. Dublin: IPA.

Eoin O'Malley and Shane Martin, 'The Government and the Taoiseach,' in John Coakley and Michael Gallagher, *Politics in The Republic of Ireland*. (Routledge, 2018).

Malta

- Score 9** Malta's system of government is based on the Westminster system, and the Prime Minister's Office (PMO) can return most items on policy grounds. In practice, policies are adopted or rejected following cabinet discussions. Although the PMO has not established procedures for sectoral policy overviews, it now employs a number of offices to achieve this, including the Policy Efficiency Unit and Internal Audit Offices. The NAO also monitors policies and gives feedback; government has pledged to implement all recommendations. Much also depends on the powers of persuasion of the prime minister among his cabinet colleagues. The cabinet has a great deal of leverage, and its members are the most likely to object to policy or a draft bill.

Mexico

- Score 9** The role of the presidential office is significant in Mexico. Because Mexico does not have a prime minister, there has been no real counterweight to the power of the presidency within the executive branch of government. Much of the power thus comes from the presidential office. Whatever the legal situation might be, it makes no sense to press ahead with items to be discussed in cabinet if the presidential office opposes them. Good relations between the presidential office and an individual member of cabinet matter more to the cabinet secretary than to the presidential office.

New Zealand

- Score 9** The key policy adviser in the Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet (DPMC) plays an influential role in policy processes and regularly intervenes to "pull" cabinet papers that are deemed to be inadequate in some way.

Citation:

Confidential information by a policy adviser in the DPMC.

Norway

- Score 9** The Office of the Prime Minister plays an important role in coordinating government policy and ensuring a consistent and coherent legislative program, especially in situations when line ministries are in disagreement. It is able to and often does return materials to departments for further elaboration, and frequently works directly with departments on draft proposals. Both the gatekeeping and general policy-oversight functions are shared with the ministries of Finance and Justice.

South Korea

Score 9 There is extensive coordination between ministries, the prime minister's office and the Blue House in the course of planning cabinet meetings. The president presides over regular cabinet meetings and can legally and de facto return any items envisaged for meetings as he or she wishes. In practice, this competence is limited only by the expertise of the Blue House and the relatively small size of the Blue House bureaucracy. Thus, the de facto ability to return issues depends on their political importance to the president.

Spain

Score 9 Materials earmarked for cabinet meetings (usually draft bills or appointments of top officials) are not frequently returned, but the Government Office (Ministerio de la Presidencia, GO) can do so, citing either formal or substantive considerations. The Prime Minister's Office (PMO) does not have the official mandate to return items on policy grounds but, given its political weight within the core executive, does so nonetheless.

The head of the GO (who is also the deputy prime minister), since 2011 Soraya Sáenz de Santamaría, can reject initiatives either in her political or legal position as chairperson of the committee that prepares Council of Ministers meetings (the Comisión General de Subsecretarios y Secretarios de Estado). The directors of the prime minister's Private Office and the Economic Office can de facto return items, but only by taking advantage of their proximity to the prime minister.

Nonetheless, the prime minister's Economic Office has also been, since 2012, officially responsible for coordinating economic matters. It does so through a specialized ministerial committee on economic affairs. This constellation grants the Economic Office some legal capacity to accept or return on economic policy or budgetary grounds items that have been submitted by a ministry.

A legal reform of the new general administrative procedure passed in October 2015 introduced the so-called Annual Normative Plan, along with the idea of "better regulation" as a guiding principle for Spanish lawmaking. The Royal Decree 286/2017, which regulates the Annual Normative Plan, reinforced the GO's role as a central gatekeeper able to monitor whether sectoral ministries sending legal proposals to the cabinet meeting have respected formal and policy considerations and that new proposals are compatible with previous plans.

Real Decreto 286/2017, de 24 de marzo, por el que se regulan el Plan Anual Normativo y el Informe Anual de Evaluación Normativa de la Administración General del Estado y se crea la Junta de Planificación y Evaluación Normativa

https://www.boe.es/diari_o_boe/txt.php?id=BOE-A-2017-3415

Sweden

Score 9

The GO or PMO always have the final say on policy decisions and can return items on political or technical grounds. The only exception to this rule is when there is minority government and the parliamentary majority makes a decision which is in conflict with the government's proposal.

However, given the distinct top-down nature of the work in the GO, items rarely proceed very far without an approving nod from upstairs, so it is not very common that policy items are returned in the final stage of the decision-making process. When this happens, it is usually because the timing of a given proposal is not politically advantageous or it is unclear how the policy will be funded. It can also be the case that the European Union adopts a policy that render a domestic policy moot. A final observation is that for the current government, which is a minority coalition government, policy progress must be coordinated not just among departments, but also among the governing partners and the opposition.

Citation:

Niemann, C. (2013), *Villkorat förtroende. Normer och rollförväntningar i relationen mellan politiker och tjänstemän i Regeringskansliet* (Stockholm: Department of Political Science, University of Stockholm).

Premfors, R. and G. Sundström (2007), *Regeringskansliet* (Malmö: Liber).

Turkey

Score 9

According to Article 112 of the constitution, the prime minister, as chairman of the Council of Ministers, is tasked with ensuring cooperation among ministers and with supervising the implementation of government general policy. The members of the Council of Ministers are jointly responsible for the implementation of policy. Each minister is responsible to the prime minister and is responsible for the conduct of affairs under his or her jurisdiction and the acts and activities of his or her subordinates. The prime minister ensures that the ministers exercise their functions in accordance with the constitution and the law, and can take corrective measures. Article 109 of the constitution, which gives the prime minister the power to appoint ministers, also makes his or her oversight power over ministerial proposals clear. However, ministries have been able to exercise greater influence during periods of coalition government. In those times, to prevent this, a special coordinating body composed of ministers from coalition parties sets the agenda for cabinet meetings. In contrast to that, since the presidential election in 2014, and the re-election of the AKP into power in 2015, the presidency evolved into another strong power center in the policymaking process, indicated by the regularity with which President Erdoğan has chaired cabinet meetings. During the review period, Erdoğan's de facto status as chair of the cabinet became de jure following his election as chair of the AKP in

May 2017. The Presidential Office has assumed primary authority for coordinating between ministries, with the PMO becoming a secondary authority.

There is also a hidden (discretionary) budget which is allocated by the prime minister and the minister of finance. Following the 2014 presidential elections, an additional presidential discretionary budget was also created. The total expenditure from these funds reached €471.3 million during the first eight months of 2017. These funds are not audited.

Citation:

Circular, 2012/15, 16 Haziran 2012, <http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/eskil-er/2012/06/20120616-6.htm> (accessed 27 October 2015)

Cumhurbaşkanlığı'na örtülü ödenek yetmedi, bütçe 546 milyona çıktı, T24, 16 September 2015, <http://t24.com.tr/haber/cumhurbaskanligina-ortulu-odenek-yetmedi-butce-546-milyona-cikti,309811> (accessed 27 October 2015)

"Erdoğan ve Yıldırım'ın kullandığı 1 yıllık örtülü ödenek 8 ayda bitti," 16 September 2017, <http://t24.com.tr/haber/erdogan-ve-yildirim-in-kullandigi-1-yillik-ortulu-odenek-8-ayda-bitti,441810> (accessed 1 November 2017)

United Kingdom

Score 9

During the coalition government 2010 to 2015, a complex mechanism had to be set up to ensure bipartisan approval and consistency among coalition partners. After the end of the coalition and the return to single party government in May 2015, the situation has returned to the pre-2010 status quo and remained so after the majoritarian government turned into a one-party minority government in 2017.

The Cabinet Secretariat, the most important political unit within the Cabinet Office, sets the agenda for cabinet meetings and prepares a forward program, which is agreed by the prime minister. The Cabinet Secretariat may contact ministerial offices to request that a minister makes a presentation, presents a paper or raises an issue orally. The prime minister is thus in a very strong position.

Citation:

Constitution Unit 2011: Inside Story: How Coalition Government Works (<http://www.ucl.ac.uk/constitution-unit/research/coalition-government/interim-report.pdf>). Royal Holloway Group 2012: A partnership of unequals: Positional power in the coalition government, in: *British Politics* 7 (4), 418-442.

Greece

Score 8

The Prime Minister's Office (PMO) can return all items on policy grounds, but the Syriza-ANEL government has created a rather complex set of posts of adviser and consulting organs surrounding the prime minister. The prime minister has the final word regarding what will be discussed in cabinet meetings. On different policy issues, the prime minister consults a small, informal circle of personal associates and governing party officials, meeting at the headquarters of the PMO almost daily. The

small, informal circle includes three ministers without portfolio who assist the prime minister in governing. Owing to the relative increase in Prime Minister Tsipras's credibility with Greece's lenders after he agreed to implement the August 2015 adjustment program, his powers to return items envisaged for the cabinet meeting have increased. In general, it is the Ministry of Finance, along with the PMO, which plays the role of gatekeeper, as Greece's finances are closely inspected by the country's lenders. However, in the period under review, relations between the minister of finance and the prime minister was a matter of much speculation by the media.

Italy

Score 8

Prime Minister Renzi resigned following the constitutional referendum defeat in December 2016. Subsequently, the position of prime minister has become more complex, as Renzi, the leader of the largest government coalition party, is not a member of the government. There is now a sort of dual leadership shared by Prime Minister Gentiloni and Renzi, the leader of the Democratic Party. This means that the initiating and gatekeeping of legislation require the agreement of both leaders, which is not always granted.

Luxembourg

Score 8

The prime minister has the authority to reject policy proposals or inspire new policy projects as well as sets the agenda for and presides over the meetings of the Council of Government. Decisions of the Council are taken by majority votes; in case of impasse, the prime minister casts the deciding vote. Moreover, in cases of urgency, the prime minister can take certain decisions alone, including suspending the execution of resolutions of the Council; reporting on these decisions during the next meeting of the Council. In general, the prime minister can withdraw a project or a draft bill without formal procedures. However, the prime minister is considered the first among equals (*primus inter pares*) and should avoid interfering where possible, particularly in issues that are the responsibility of ministers from other coalition parties. Consultative bodies, interministerial meetings and the Inspection General of Finance (*Inspection générale des finances, IGF*), which is affiliated with the budget ministry, function as arbiters in policymaking.

Citation:

„Initiative en matière législative.“ Le portail de l'actualité gouvernementale, <http://www.gouvernement.lu/1719156/initiative-legislative>. Accessed 28 Dec. 2017.

„GUIDE PRATIQUE DE LA PROCÉDURE LÉGISLATIVE ET RÉGLEMENTAIRE.“ Le Service information et presse du gouvernement luxembourgeois, 2015. data.legilux.public.lu/file/eli-etat-leg-recueil-procedure_legislative-20150301-fr-pdf.pdf. Accessed 28 Dec. 2017.

Portugal

- Score 8** The Prime Minister's Office (PMO) is able to return proposed legislation on the basis of policy considerations. In light of the understanding among the four parties that support the minority government, its decisions on returning policy additionally take political considerations into account. The priority given to budgetary consolidation has meant that the Ministry of Finance remains important in this process.

Belgium

- Score 7** Before implementation, each government project is submitted to the ministers' council, which meets weekly. The council is composed of a secretariat, which scrutinizes technically and politically each proposal before it is debated and prepares the ministers' council agenda, and 14 line ministers and the prime minister, who debate each proposal. Decisions are made on the basis of political consensus, not a majority vote.

Either directly or through the council's secretariat, the prime minister can block any item presented and either return it for redrafting or turn it down completely. This may be because a project does not fit the government agreement or conflicts with one of the coalition parties' agenda, but can be for any other reason as well. All government members must by contrast defend all accepted projects collegially. In general, the detailed government agreement, informally referred to as "the bible," provides an easy justification for the rejection of projects that might be politically difficult to handle; if a project does not directly relate to the governmental agreement, it is likely to be turned down either by the prime minister or through maneuvers by some other coalition parties in the "core."

Citation:

Reference: <http://www.premier.be/fr/conseil-des-ministres>

Finland

- Score 7** The Prime Minister's Office can return items envisaged for cabinet meetings on policy grounds. As the Prime Minister's Office coordinates the drafting of proposals, and also arranges the agenda for cabinet meetings, there is rarely reason for it to return items. The rule is that ministers can place items on the cabinet's agenda even against the wishes of the prime minister. The handling of conflicts can be delicate, especially in cases when the prime minister and minister represent different parties, and perhaps differing political interests which need to be reconciled. Yet controversial items are often discussed in informal meetings beforehand. A weekly

institutionalized unofficial meeting of the cabinet led by the prime minister, called the *Iltakoulu* (evening sessions), plays an important function in consensual decision-making. In addition to the ministers, evening sessions are attended by the parliamentary group chairpersons of the parties in government, the Chancellor of Justice, the State Secretary to the Prime Minister and the Director of Government Communications.

Israel

Score 7

Traditionally, the prime minister did not hold the power to return items to the Israeli general cabinet meetings. However, in 2012 it filed for an amendment to standard practice, which was then ratified by the government. This included expanding the prime minister's authority to delay the implementation of government decisions by resubmitting an issue to vote after it had been rejected, as well as authorizing him or her to cancel, postpone or summon meetings for government decisions. Since the passage of this amendment, the prime minister has returned several items, and his position has significantly strengthened.

Citation:

Barnea, Shlomit and Ofer Kenig, "Political nominations in the executive branch," IDI website June 2011 (Hebrew)

"Government bill amendment 868 from 12.8.2012," PMO official website: <http://www.pmo.gov.il/Secretary/sederyom/Pages/seder120812.aspx> (Hebrew)

Weisman, Lilach, "Expansion of the Prime Minister's authorities was approved; We must stop the madness," Globes website 12.8.2012: <http://www.globes.co.il/news/article.aspx?did=1000773448> (Hebrew)

Japan

Score 7

Present guidelines for policy coordination make the Cabinet Office the highest and final organ for policy coordination below the cabinet itself. This has de jure enabled prime ministers to return items envisaged for cabinet meetings on policy grounds. In practice, however, this rarely happens, as items reaching the cabinet stage are typically those on which consensus has been established. However, contentious policy issues can produce intercoalition conflicts even at the cabinet level.

Formal input into lawmaking processes is provided by the Cabinet Legislation Bureau. This body's official mandate is to make sure that bills conform to existing legislation and the constitution, rather than to provide material evaluation. Ministry representatives are seconded to the Bureau to provide sectoral competences, creating influences difficult to counter in the absence of independent expertise at the central level. The lack of minutes for some key 2015 meetings raised the question of whether the Cabinet Legislation Bureau had become politicized and thus less independent under Prime Minister Abe.

Citation:

N. N., Cabinet Legislation Bureau chief defends self over process of reinterpreting Article 9, The Mainichi, 17 March 2016

Richard Samuels, Politics, Security Policy, and Japan's Cabinet Legislation Bureau: Who Elected These Guys, Anyway?, JPRI Working Paper No. 99 (March 2004), <http://www.jpri.org/publications/workingpapers/wp99.html>

Latvia

Score 7

The government office has the ability to return materials submitted for cabinet consideration based on procedural considerations. Procedural evaluation includes assessing the quality of the accompanying annotation (often in the form of regulatory impact assessment) and ascertaining whether consensus-building procedures have been followed (i.e., whether agreement has been achieved among ministries) and whether public consultation procedures have taken place.

The prime minister has the right to decide when to put issues on the cabinet agenda. These assessments are informed by expert opinions from the PKC and the government office. Controversial issues are raised in informal political consultations (coalition council) prior to placement on the cabinet agenda.

Lithuania

Score 7

Draft government decisions advance primarily as a result of coordination between line ministries and other state institutions at the administrative and political levels. The Government Office has no power to return items envisioned for the cabinet meetings on the basis of policy considerations. However, the prime minister formally sets the agenda of cabinet meetings, thus serving a gatekeeping function. There have been cases in which prime ministers have removed highly politicized issues from a meeting agenda, or on the contrary included such items on an agenda despite the absence of interministerial agreement.

Romania

Score 7

Under the Grindeanu and the Tudose government alike, the government office has enjoyed the formal authority to return proposals to line ministries. Before and after the Grindeanu government, there has been a division of labor between the Secretariat General of the Government focusing on the technical issues and the Prime Minister's Chancellery being able to return items on policy grounds.

Citation:

OECD (2016): Public Governance Scan Romania. Paris (<https://www.oecd.org/countries/romania/public-governance-review-scan-romania.pdf>).

Cyprus

- Score 6 The constitution provides that the agenda of the Council of Ministers is set by the president “at his discretion,” implying power to withhold action on an item. Decisions are made by the Council of Ministers as a whole, with the president chairing the meeting and having only the right to take part in the discussion. The cabinet can decide to send a proposal back to a line ministry. When Council decisions are communicated to the president by the secretariat of the Council of Ministers, the president has the right to return a decision for reconsideration or to veto decisions on specific matters (security, foreign affairs, defense). If the Council of Ministers insists on their initial position on a matter returned for reconsideration, the decision must be promulgated through publication in the official gazette. Despite this constitutional option, no specific cases of discord between the president and the Council of Ministers have ever been reported. The extent to which decisions echo the views of dissenting parties in case of actual differences is unclear.

Czech Republic

- Score 6 The Government Office has primarily administrative functions. It supports the work of the various expert bodies attached to the government, including the Government Legislative Council, as well as the work of ministers without their own department. The government office takes part in the interministerial coordination process, but has no formal authority beyond that of any other participant in the discussion.

Estonia

- Score 6 Since the evaluation capacity of the PMO is very limited, policy considerations rarely serve as a reason to return the proposals. The coalition government program and political arguments between coalition partners tend to be more important in this context.

Germany

- Score 6 The Chancellery, and particularly its head, sets the agenda for cabinet meetings. However, real political power lies elsewhere. The cabinet’s agenda is negotiated in advance between the top politicians of coalition partners, and the cabinet mostly works as a certificating institution for policy matters decided by the heads of the political parties. Thus, the Chancellery will only in exceptional cases refuse items

envisaged for the cabinet meetings on the basis of its own policy considerations. Generally, the heads of political parties, rather than the Chancellery, act as gatekeepers.

Netherlands

Score 6

Given the nature of Dutch politics – a strong departmental culture and coalition governments – the Ministry of General Affairs has little more to rely upon in carrying out its gatekeeping functions than the government policy accord (regeerakkoord). Ministerial departments have considerable power in influencing the negotiations that take place during the elaborate process of preparing Council of Ministers' decisions. Each line ministry – that is, its minister or deputy minister – has a secretariat that serves as the administrative “front gate.” By the time an issue has been brought to the Council of Ministers, it has been thoroughly debated, framed and reframed by the bureaucracy between the ministries involved.

Gatekeeping in the Dutch system is one-directional; policy documents are moved from lower to higher administrative levels. The prime minister, through his representatives, does play a prominent role in coordinating this process. But given the limited scope of his monitoring capacities and staff, he can steer the course of events for only a fairly small number of issues. The euro crisis has provided the prime minister with a clear range of agenda-setting and policy-coordination priorities. Furthermore, pressure from the European Union on member states to improve the coordination of economic and fiscal policy has resulted in both the prime minister and minister of finance taking on a more prominent role in shaping the Netherlands' fiscal and economic policies. The European Semester arrangement forces the government to update its economic policies every half year in the Nationaal Hervormingsprogramma in response to EU judgment. Under both the Rutte I and II cabinets, this has been a major driver of better gatekeeping and policy coordination.

Citation:

Europa NU, Coördinatie nationale economieën (www.europa-nu.nl/id/vg9pni7o8qzu/coördinatie-nationale-economieën)
Ministerie van EZ, Nederlands Nationaal Hervormingsprogramma 2013
(ec.europa.eu/europe2020/pdf/nd/nrp2013_netherlands_nl.pdf)

Additional reference:

R.B. Andeweg and G.A. Irwin (2014), *Governance and politics of the Netherlands*. Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

M. Rutte, De minister-president: een aanbouw aan het huis van Thorbecke, Lecture by the Prime Minister, 12 October 2016 (rijksoverheid.nl, consulted 8 November 2016)

Poland

- Score 6** All draft bills are reviewed by the Chancellery's Council of Ministers Committee Department before their presentation in the Council of Ministers, and the prime minister is formally allowed to return items on policy grounds. However, a number of factors have limited the actual gatekeeping role of Prime Minister Szydło. First, the number of ministries has increased from 17 to 21 under the PiS government. Second, there is a core group of ministers who enjoy a special standing in the government, including Defense Minister Macierewicz, Minister of Justice Ziobro, Minister of Science and Higher Education Gowin and Minister of Development Morawiecki. Finally, PiS party chairman Jarosław Kaczyński serves as the ultimate gatekeeper in the PiS government.

Slovenia

- Score 6** In Slovenia, the Government Office has the formal power to return draft laws on policy reasons or any other grounds. In practice, however, the gatekeeping role of the Government Office is of limited importance, since most legislative projects are initially discussed between the coalition partners and subsequently undergo a complex process of interministerial coordination.

Austria

- Score 5** Although the chancellor chairs cabinet meetings, his or her office is not in practice able to control the meeting's agendas. The cabinet is a body of equals and must reach unanimity in its decisions. The chancellor is first among equals. In advance of each formal cabinet meeting, coalition parties internally coordinate issues within their party. In a second step, issues identified as potentially subject to opposition or veto by other coalition parties are sent for discussion to an informal group usually comprised of one cabinet member from each party. If agreement concerning a specific proposal does not seem possible, the item will not be placed on the cabinet's agenda.

The Chancellor's Office's only true gatekeeping privilege involves its capacity to oversee the constitutionality of policy proposals. The Legal and Constitutional Service of the Chancellor's Office is widely respected for pursuing a nonpartisan agenda. If this department identifies a proposal as a potential violation of the constitution, the proposal is either put aside or sent back to the originating ministry for revision.

Apart from constitutional matters, the chancellor's gatekeeping powers are restricted to his or her own party. As head of government, the chancellor can informally return

materials within his or her own party's cabinet faction, as can the vice-chancellor within his or her cabinet faction.

The chancellor's position may have been strengthened by the following recent development: The Treaty of Lisbon has reduced the numbers of national participants at the meeting of the European Council to one. Within the context of a coalition cabinet such as that currently in place in Austria, the single Austrian representative – the chancellor gains political visibility and this can be interpreted as eroding the political significance of the foreign minister.

Croatia

Score 5 The Prime Minister's Office has the political authority to return policy proposals it receives from ministries. However, its gatekeeping role is limited by its weak sectoral-policy expertise. Prime Minister Orešković tried to expand the role of the Prime Minister's Office in interministerial coordination by appointing Jakša Puljiz, Deputy Minister of the Ministry of Regional Development and EU Funds in the Milanović government, chief integration officer in charge of interministerial coordination. The government under Prime Minister Plenković has not followed up on this attempt to strengthen Prime Minister's Office's gatekeeping role.

Slovakia

Score 5 The Government Office (GO) has primarily administrative and technical functions. It mostly supports the work of the various advisory bodies of the government, including the Legislative Council and the Council for Solidarity and Development (which includes selected civil society actors), as well as the work of ministers without their own ministry. The GO takes part in the interministerial coordination process, but while it has the formal power to return draft laws on policy grounds, its gatekeeping role has traditionally been limited. In 2016, bodies tasked with monitoring the distribution of EU structural funds have become subsumed under the GO.

Switzerland

Score 5 There is no prime minister in Switzerland. The Federal Chancellery manages and prepares the agenda of the Federal Council, and can return items and postpone consideration of political issues if they are deemed to conflict with other policies.

Bulgaria

Score 4

In Bulgaria, neither the Council of Ministers' administration nor the prime minister and his political cabinet have formal authority to return materials on the basis of policy considerations. However, the prime minister has some informal influence on the preparation and formulation of legislation.

Indicator

Line Ministries

Question

To what extent do line ministries involve the government office/prime minister's office in the preparation of policy proposals?

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 = There are inter-related capacities for coordination in the GO/PMO and line ministries.
- 8-6 = The GO/PMO is regularly briefed on new developments affecting the preparation of policy proposals.
- 5-3 = Consultation is rather formal and focuses on technical and drafting issues.
- 2-1 = Consultation occurs only after proposals are fully drafted as laws.

Belgium

Score 10

Before implementation, each government project is submitted to the ministers' council, which meets weekly. The council is composed of a secretariat that scrutinizes each proposal before it is debated and prepares the ministers' council agenda, and 14 line ministers and the prime minister, who debate each proposal. Decisions are made on the basis of political consensus, not of majority vote.

Either directly or through the council's secretariat, the prime minister can block any item presented and either return it for redrafting or turn it down completely. This may be because a project does not fit the government agreement or conflicts with one of the coalition parties' agenda, but can be for any other reason as well. All government members must by contrast defend accepted projects on a collegial basis.

Citation:

<http://www.premier.be/fr/conseil-des-ministres>

United States

Score 10

In the U.S. system, this item relates to how the executive departments and agencies involve the president and the White House in their work. In fact, however, president and the White House are dominant within the executive branch, and can therefore prioritize issues they see as important to the president's agenda. This tends to happen in two general ways. If a department or agency is seeking significant legislation, then the White House is essentially in charge of policy development. It may allow a cabinet official to have major influence or even appoint him or her to chair a

committee tasked with formulating options for the president, or it may relegate the relevant cabinet officials to secondary roles.

If the agency is developing an important administrative regulation or other policy that does not require legislation, then the administration's generally numerous political appointees in the agency will respond to White House direction. If the matter is judged important for the president, the relevant White House experts may make the main decisions. In the Trump administration, agency policy development has been heavily shaped by Trump's desire to cut regulations and, especially, to reverse actions taken by the Obama administration. There has been little policy development shaped by long-term agency missions or priorities.

Australia

Score 9 The Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet (PMC) is always involved at an early stage in assisting with the development and drafting of any significant government policy and the resulting legislation. The PMC and the other relevant department have to both agree on a policy before it can be tabled in cabinet or considered by the relevant minister or ministers.

Canada

Score 9 Line departments and central agencies have interrelated or complementary capacities for the coordination of policy proposals, with ultimate authority lying with central agencies. Thus, line ministries in Canada have a relatively high level of responsibility to involve the government office, the PCO, in the preparation of policy proposals. On the other hand, it is well known that line departments are not always forthcoming with information that may cast their departments in a bad light.

Chile

Score 9 The Government or Cabinet Office (Ministerio Secretaría General de Gobierno, Segegob) and line ministries have a strong tendency to coordinate activity, and in practice the president or Government Office and the Ministry of Finance are nearly always involved in the preparation of policy proposals. No serving minister would ignore the president's opinion in the preparation and elaboration of a policy proposal.

Denmark

Score 9

The norms of “minister rule” and the “resort” principle (where ministers are in charge of certain areas) give the line ministries a fair amount of autonomy. It is also the line ministries that have the most technical expertise. Nonetheless, to achieve coherent government policy, interdepartmental coordination takes place. Since most governments are coalition governments this is particularly important. This is not a hierarchical coordination, but is rather based on negotiations. The prime minister has a special position given his/her constitutional prerogatives as the person who appoints and dismisses ministers. Major issues and strategic considerations are dealt with in the government coordination committee (regeringens koordineringsudvalg) involving the prime minister and other key ministers. The standing committees are also important coordination devices. In addition, there are ad hoc coordination meetings between the leaders of the parties constituting the governing coalition. The current three-party government formed in November 2016 is a minority government. The prime minister must maintain contact with the leaders of the other government parties, the Conservatives and Liberal Alliance, and the Danish People’s Party.

The Ministry of Finance also plays an important role whenever financial resources are involved. No minister can go to the finance committee of the parliament (Folketinget) without prior agreement from the Ministry of Finance. The position of the Ministry of Finance has been strengthened by the “budget law” adopted in 2012, establishing a clear top-down approach for the budget process.

Apart from coordinating the preparation of next year’s finances, the Ministry of Finance is also involved in formulating general economic policy and offering economic and administrative assessments of the consequences of proposed laws.

Citation:

Jørgen Grønnegård Christensen et al., *Politik og forvaltning*, 4. udg., 2017.

“Regeringen indgår aftale om ny budgetlov,” <http://www.fm.dk/nyheder/pressemeddelelser/2012/03/regeringen-indgaar-aftale-om-ny-budgetlov/> (Accessed 10 October 2015)

Finland

Score 9

The guiding rule in Finland is that each ministry is, within its mandate, responsible for the preparation of issues that fall within the scope of government and also for the proper functioning of the administration. Given this framework, rather than line ministries involving the Prime Minister’s Office in policy preparation, the expectation is that the Prime Minister’s Office involves ministries in its own policy preparations. In practice, of course, the patterns of interaction are not fixed. For one thing, policy programs and other intersectoral subject matters in the cabinet program are a concern for the Prime Minister’s Office as well as for the ministries, and efforts

must be coordinated. The government's analysis, assessment and research activities that support policymaking across the ministries are coordinated by the Prime Minister's Office (PMO). In addition, because decision-making is collective and consensual in nature, ministry attempts to place items on the cabinet's agenda without involving the Prime Minister's Office will fail. Finland has a recent tradition of fairly broad-based coalition governments; this tradition amalgamates ideological antagonisms and thereby mitigates against fragmentation along ministerial and sectoral lines.

Citation:

Jaakko Nousiainen, "Politiikan huipulla. Ministerit ja ministeriöt Suomen parlamentaarisessa järjestelmässä", Porvoo: Werner Söderström Osakeyhtiö, 1992, p. 163.

France

Score 9

Line ministers have to inform the prime minister of all their projects. Strong discipline, even at the public communication level, is imposed, and this rule is reinforced by the attitude of the media, which tend to cover any slight policy difference as the expression of political tension or party divergence. Not only the Prime Minister's Office (PMO) oversees the policy process but also his cabinet assistants, in each area, supervise, liaise and coordinate with their counterparts in line ministries about the content, timing and political sequences of a project. The secretary-general of the PMO (as well as his counterpart at the Elysée) operates in the shadow, but he is one of the most powerful actors within that machinery. He can step in if the coordination or control process at that level has failed to stem the expression of differences within the government. Traditionally the secretary-general is a member of the Conseil d'État and – in spite of the fact that he could be fired at any time for any reason – there is a tradition of continuity and stability beyond the fluctuation and vagaries of political life.

Hungary

Score 9

Under the Orbán governments, line ministries have mostly acted as executive agencies which are following orders from above and whose activities have been subject to detailed oversight by the PMO. In practice, however, ministers have been unable to oversee their portfolios, especially in the huge Ministry of Human Resources (EMMI) with its ten state secretaries and 20 deputies. The regular involvement of the PMO has led to delays, disorientation and frequent policy failures.

Ireland

Score 9 The Prime Minister's Office is involved in legislative and expenditure proposals. The process is a highly interactive one, with much feedback between the line ministries, the prime minister's office and the office of the attorney general. The Department of Finance has considerable input into all proposals with revenue or expenditure implications. Any significant policy items have to be discussed in advance with the Department of the Taoiseach. The Cabinet Handbook lays out detailed procedural rules for the discussion of policy proposals and the drafting of legislation. It is publicly available on the website of the Department of the Taoiseach.

New Zealand

Score 9 If line ministries prepare a policy proposal, they are obliged to consult other ministries that are affected as well as the coordinating units, the Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet (DPMC), the Treasury and the State Services Commission. There are clear guidelines which not only de jure but also de facto govern the coordination of policy formulation in the core executive.

Citation:

CabGuide – Consultation: <http://cabguide.cabinetoffice.govt.nz/procedures/consultation> (accessed October 9, 2014).

Cabinet Manual: <http://www.cabinetmanual.cabinetoffice.govt.nz/3.28> (accessed October 24, 2015).

South Korea

Score 9 Executive power is concentrated in the president. Thus, line ministries have to involve the Blue House in all major policy proposals. The president has the authority to, and often does rearrange, merge and abolish ministries according to his or her agenda. For example, President Moon created a Ministry of SMEs and Startups; renamed the Ministry of Science, ICT and Future Planning as the Ministry of Science and ICT, and merged the National Security Agency and the Ministry of Public Administration and Security into a single Ministry of the Interior and Safety. He also (re-)established the National Fire Agency and the Korea Coast Guard abolished by his predecessor. However, while Moon has promised to decentralize power, there have as yet been few signs of any weakening in the role of the Blue House. The Blue House sometimes lacks sufficient knowledge and human-resources capacity to act effectively in certain policy areas. The Blue House gets involved with and coordinates certain policies through the exertion of political dominance rather than through administrative capability.

United Kingdom

Score 9 The Cabinet Office is at the center of policymaking. Since the May 2015 general election, all line ministries are required to prepare single departmental plans (SDP), building on a process already launched during the previous coalition government. As explained by John Manzoni, the Chief Executive of the civil service appointed in October 2014, these SDPs are intended to bring together inputs and outputs, clarify trade-offs, and to identify where departments and the cross-departmental functions need to work together to deliver the required outcomes.

The creation of implementation taskforces, working alongside cabinet committees, is intended to strengthen the central oversight of policy proposals.

Nevertheless, some of the political tensions around Brexit have complicated the coordination process

Iceland

Score 8 Due to a strong tradition of ministerial independence, ministries have considerable flexibility in drafting their own policy proposals without consulting the Prime Minister's Office. Yet, where a minister and prime minister belong to the same party, there is usually some Prime Minister's Office involvement. However, where the minister and prime minister belong to separate coalition parties the Prime Minister's Office has little or no involvement in policy development. After the publication of the Special Investigation Committee report in 2010, a committee was formed to evaluate and suggest necessary steps toward the improvement of public administration. In order to improve working conditions within the executive branch, the committee proposed introducing legislation to clarify the prime minister's role and responsibilities. In March 2016, new regulations on governmental procedures were approved (Reglur um starfshætti ríkisstjórnar), requiring ministers to present all bills they intend to present in parliament first to the cabinet as a whole.

Citation:

Reglur um starfshætti ríkisstjórnar. Nr. 292/2016 18. mars 2016.

Skýrsla starfshóps forsætisráðuneytisins (2010): Viðbrögð stjórnýslunnar við skýrslu rannsóknarnefndar Alþingis. Reykjavík, Forsætisráðuneytið.

Japan

Score 8 In Japan, the role of line ministries vis-à-vis the government office is complicated by the influence of a third set of actors: entities within the governing parties. During the decades of the LDP's postwar rule, the party's own policymaking organ, the Policy (Affairs) Research Council (PARC) developed considerable influence, ultimately

gaining the power to vet and approve policy proposals in all areas of government policy.

Under the LDP-led government in power since December 2012, Prime Minister Abe has tried successfully to make certain that he and his close confidants determine the direction of major policy proposals. The reform program does indeed show the influence of the Cabinet Office, with the ministries either following this course or trying to drag their feet. Abe's main instrument is the Cabinet Bureau of Personnel Affairs, which grants control over more than 600 appointments, or as many as half a dozen political appointees per ministry.

Still, ministries can try to regain former clout over their areas. For example, the METI industry ministry has become somewhat more assertive again in trying to influence industry, through still guided by the priorities of Abenomics.

Citation:

Leo Lewis and Kana Inagaki, Japan Inc.: Heavy meddling, *The Financial Times*, 15 March 2016, <https://www.ft.com/content/0118e3a6-ea99-11e5-bb79-2303682345c8>

Latvia

Score 8

Since its establishment in 2011, the PKC has become increasingly involved in line ministry preparation of policy proposals. PKC representatives are invited to participate in working groups. Involvement of the PKC is at the ministry's discretion. Informal lines of communication ensure that the PKC is regularly briefed on upcoming policy proposals.

Latvia has a "fragmented" cabinet government system. Consequently, ministers enjoy relatively substantial autonomy, weakening the power of the prime minister. As a result, ministers belonging to a different party than the prime minister will attempt to block the prime minister's office from interfering in sensitive policy issues whenever possible.

Luxembourg

Score 8

The Prime Minister's Office is not legally allowed to be involved in the preparation of bills or proposals by line ministries. Sensitive political proposals are often contained in the coalition program. There are no institutionalized mechanisms of coordination between line ministries and there is no unit dealing with policy assessment and evaluation. Informally, however, no sensitive proposal is presented to the Council of Ministers without being approved beforehand by the prime minister. An informal body of ministerial civil servants meets ahead of the Council of Ministers, to prepare the agenda and make adjustments if needed. Even though the prime minister has not held the influential finance portfolio since 2009, his central role in the governance process has not been weakened.

Citation:

“Arrêté grand-ducal du 28 janvier 2015 portant constitution des Ministères.” Journal officiel du Grand-Duché de Luxembourg, 30 Jan. 2015, data.legilux.public.lu/eli/etat/leg/agd/2015/01/28/n1/jo. Accessed 28 Dec. 2017.

“Gouvernement.” Le portal de l’actualité gouvernementale, www.gouvernement.lu/1719075/gouvernement. Accessed 28 Dec. 2017.

Le gouvernement du Grand-Duché de Luxembourg. Le Service information et presse du gouvernement luxembourgeois, 2013. www.gouvernement.lu/3723809/SIP_Gouvernement_2016_EN. Accessed 28 Dec. 2017.

Netherlands

Score 8

Generally, line-ministry legislative or white-paper initiatives are rooted in the government policy accord, EU policy coordination, and subsequent Council of Ministers decisions to allocate drafting to one or two particular ministries. In the case of complex problems, draft legislation may involve considerable jockeying for position among the various line ministries. The prime minister is always involved in the kick-off of major new policy initiatives and sometimes in the wording of the assignment itself. After that, however, it may take between six months and four years before the issue reaches the decision-making stage in ministerial and Council of Ministers committees, and again comes under the formal review of the prime minister. Meanwhile, the prime minister is obliged to rely on informal coordination with his fellow ministers.

Citation:

R.B. Andeweg and G.A. Irwin (2014), Governance and politics of the Netherlands. Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Norway

Score 8

Responsibility for the preparation of policies lies with line ministries. As a matter of routine, line ministries will involve the Office of the Prime Minister, the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Justice, when addressing potentially controversial matters and for the purpose of coordinating with other policies. This interaction often involves ongoing two-way communication during the planning process. Initiatives lacking support by the Office of the Prime Minister would not win cabinet approval.

Spain

Score 8

Both the Government Office and the Prime Minister’s Office (PMO) are regularly briefed on new developments affecting the preparation of policy proposals by line ministries. Although these offices are formally autonomous, the legal and political hierarchy within the Spanish government facilitates and even encourages this pattern

of consultation with the prime minister's entourage. Consultation with the GO tends to focus on drafting or technical issues, while the PMO is more interested in political and strategic considerations.

The process is firmly institutionalized and takes place weekly, since representatives of all ministries gather at the cabinet meeting preparatory committee (Comisión General de Subsecretarios y Secretarios de Estado), which is held every Wednesday and chaired by the GO head and the deputy prime minister. Advisers from the PMO also participate in this committee and in the important specialized ministerial committee on economic affairs (see "Cabinet Committees") that also assists the Council of Ministers. However, even if the primary joint role of the GO and the PMO is horizontal coordination, their administrative resources are limited, and the deputy prime minister and prime minister's advisers cannot be briefed on the whole range of government activity. Therefore, they normally focus on each ministerial department's most important sectoral developments, as well as the prime minister's particular interests.

Citation:

Ley 39/2015, del Procedimiento Administrativo Común de las Administraciones Públicas
www.boe.es/diario_boe/txt.php?id=BOE-A-2015-10565

Estonia

Score 7

Two different forms exist to communicate line ministries' proposals to the GO. Firstly, all policy initiatives are discussed in coalition council. Second, the cabinet informally examines all substantial issues at its weekly meetings. No binding decisions are made in the meetings, the main function being to exchange information and to prepare for formal government sessions. The new coalition appears to be more coordinated despite ideological differences.

Israel

Score 7

The PMO has undergone continuous structural reforms since the mid-2000s. Several committees, including Trajtenberg and Kuchik (both established in 2011), issued recommendations regarding PMO working dynamics with other line ministries, while also taking into account the country's highly fragmented party system (in which ministers are nominated according to political alliances) and the overly centralized budgeting process.

In recent years, the PMO has become more involved in ministries' preparation of policy proposals through various channels. For example, the PMO's chief of staff heads a forum of the director generals of all line ministries, with the goal of advancing policy agendas and interministerial cooperation. The PMO is also

involved in the preparation of policy proposals through its professional councils and roundtable initiatives. Its oversight capabilities, demonstrated by its yearly publication of government working plans, result in further involvement. However, the Kuchnik committee noted that the PMO tends to overreach and control policy formation more than is advisable when facing comparatively weaker ministries. In the last few years, special emphasis has been placed on the heads of planning units, and on giving them control of, or at least strong involvement in, all policy, budget and bill proposals.

Citation:

“About: The governance committee,” PMO website (Hebrew)

“Governmental planning guide,” PMO website (september 2010) (Hebrew)

“Strengthening government’s governability, planning and execution – Continue discussion,” PMO website 25.12.2011 (Hebrew)

Koren, Ora, “Line ministries will submit budget drafts – and will not be able to blame the treasury,” TheMarker website 13.11.2012 <https://www.themarker.com/news/1.1863220> (Hebrew)

“The committee for reviewing the PMO,” official state publication (2012): <http://www.kucik.co.il/uploads/sofi.pdf> (Hebrew).

“The system,” Policy planning PMO website (Hebrew)

Working Plan Book 2017-18, PMO Office, March 2017: <http://www.plans.gov.il/pdf2017/> (Hebrew)

“Failures of the public sector and directions for change,” Public sharing – The committee for economic and social change (2011) (Hebrew)

Italy

Score 7

The Prime Minister’s Office is regularly kept informed of the development of policy proposals generated by line ministries. With regard to the policy proposals of particular political relevance for the government, the consultation process starts from the early stages of drafting and is more significant, involving not only formal but also substantive issues. In the fields less directly connected with the main mission of the government, exchanges are more formal and occur only when proposals have been fully drafted. Moreover, given that the Gentiloni government was only formed in the last year of the current parliamentary term without a well-articulated government program, control over line ministries is less strong than in previous governments. For example, several ministers respond more readily to their party leader than to the head of government.

Lithuania

Score 7

The government adopts multiannual political priorities, coordinates their implementation and regularly monitors progress. As a result, it focuses on policy proposals and strategic projects related to these annual priorities. The majority of

policy proposals are initiated by ministries and other state institutions, but the Government Office is kept informed with regard to their status and content. The fact that all policy areas are legally assigned to particular ministers, coupled with the fact that since 2000 governments have been formed by party coalitions rather than a single party, has meant that line ministries enjoy considerable autonomy within their policy areas. The Government Office is sometimes called upon to mediate policy disagreements between line ministries. Under the Skvernelis government, a new commission for strategic projects has been established to coordinate 41 IT, infrastructure and change projects. The commission is chaired by the prime minister, and includes a government chancellor; a prime ministerial adviser; and ministers for finance, foreign affairs, and transport and communication.

Mexico

Score 7 Given Mexico's presidential system, cabinet ministers are respectful of and even deferential to the presidential office. Moreover, cabinet ministers dismissed by the president after disagreements rarely find a way back into high-level politics, which promotes loyalty to the president and presidential staff. Accordingly, senior figures in the presidential office are very powerful, because they determine access to the president and can influence ministerial careers. President Peña Nieto has built his cabinet around two super-ministries and ministers, the finance minister and the minister of interior, and good personal relations with the president are important for cabinet members.

Portugal

Score 7 The Prime Minister's Office (PMO) is regularly briefed on new developments affecting the preparation of policy proposals.

Sweden

Score 7 The leadership of the GO and the PMO are primarily involved when policies are initiated; when final decisions are to be made; and if a disagreement emerges among the governing parties or ministers. However, the line nature of the GO organization – and the chain of command between the political and the administrative levels – means that the top leadership, apart from initiating and deciding on policy, does not routinely monitor its development. There are instead regular briefings and informal consultations. This informal coordination procedure nevertheless ensures that the PMO, in line with the finance ministry, play a crucial role in policy developments. Also, there are established but informal rules regulating procedures when there is disagreement among the non-political advisers on how to design policy. Essentially,

the political level of the department should only be consulted when its ruling is critical to policy formulation; otherwise policy design should rest with non-partisan members of staff.

When the government is made up of more than one party, as has been the case for most of Sweden's recent history, there are mechanisms in place when disagreement arises. Either the political leadership proactively intervenes in the policy-planning process to resolve disagreements or such disagreements are "lifted" to the political level for a ruling.

It should also be noted that line ministries frequently ask for advice from the executive agencies during the early stages of the policy process.

Citation:

Jacobsson, B., J. Pierre and G. Sundström (2015), *Governing the Embedded State* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

Niemann, C. (2013), *Villkorat förtroende. Normer och rollförväntningar i relationen mellan politiker och tjänstemän i Regeringskansliet* (Stockholm: Department of Political Science, University of Stockholm).

Page, E. C. (2012), *Policy Without Politicians: Bureaucratic Influence in Comparative Perspective* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

Premfors, R. and G. Sundström (2007), *Regeringskansliet* (Malmö: Liber).

Switzerland

Score 7

Switzerland's government consists of only seven ministries, each of which has a broad area of competency and is responsible for a large variety of issues. There are no line ministries. However, there are federal offices and institutions connected to the various ministries. These work closely with the minister responsible for their group. Since ministers must achieve a large majority on the Federal Council in order to win success for a proposal, there is strong coordination between offices. Indeed, political coordination among the high ranks of the administration can be rather intense, although the limited capacity and time of the Federal Council members, as well as their diverging interests, create practical bottlenecks.

Turkey

Score 7

The Prime Minister's Office (PMO) has a twofold role in the preparation of draft bills. It checks the congruity of laws from a legal point of view, and collects ministries' legal and political opinions along with opinions from civil society, interest and pressure groups, expert groups and institutions. Thus, the PMO is always directly involved in the preparation of policy proposals at a relatively early stage.

However, line ministries do not always provide all the information necessary for

draft bills, particularly in the case of information that may cast their ministry in a bad light. From time to time, policymaking is tarnished by issues of bureaucratic competition, including among politicians. The PMO's inability to foster interministerial cooperation has been a serious institutional shortcoming. A recent reorganization of the PMO and line ministries led to some performance declines. Conflicting announcements regarding policy proposals made by the PMO and line ministries have been a sign of weak coordination.

The Ministry of Development was assigned as the primary consultation body in preparing policies according to the decision on the implementation, coordination and monitoring of the government's program. After the parliamentary election of 1 November 2015, government proposals to restructure the ministries and increase their number were made. Several new public units such as the National Mine Institute were additionally established. It remains to be seen whether this kind of institutional fragmentation of policymaking will hinder or enhance the effectiveness of policy coordination and accountability.

During the review period, it is assumed that the president worked closely with the line ministries, although there is little public evidence of this. It is unclear how the current system will be transformed into a presidential system.

Citation:

TC Başbakanlık Kanunlar ve Kararlar Genel Müdürlüğü Performans Raporu 2014, http://www.basbakanlik.gov.tr/Forms/_Article/PerfRapor2014.pdf (accessed 5 November 2014)
2017 Programının Uygulanması, Koordinasyonu ve İzlenmesine İlişkin Karar, Resmi Gazete, 19 October 2017, <http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/eskiler/2016/10/20161019-13.pdf> (accessed 1 November 2017)

Bulgaria

Score 6

Line ministries tend to prepare policy proposals independently and introduce them to the prime minister and the Council of Ministers when they are completed. The prime minister and the Council of Ministers' administration are consulted in advance only when the proposals cross ministerial lines and on issues related to legal compatibility with other proposed or existing legislation. Even in such cases, the involvement of the Council of Ministers' administration tends to focus mainly on technical and drafting issues and formal legal considerations. There are no official procedures for consulting the prime minister during the preparation of policy proposals.

Czech Republic

Score 6

The legislative plan of the government divides tasks among the ministries and other central bodies of the state administration and sets deadlines for the submission of bills to the cabinet. The line ministry has to involve, and take comments from, a range of institutions, including the Government Office and the Government

Legislative Council. This consultation process primarily focuses on technical issues and the harmonization of legal norms.

Germany

Score 6 The preparation of bills is mainly the prerogative of the line ministries (Ressortprinzip). Over the course of regular policy processes, the Chancellery is most of the time well informed, but is not strongly involved in ministerial initiatives. Most disputes between ministries and the Chancellery are discussed and resolved in the often-weekly meetings between the state secretaries and the Chancellery's staff. Prior to the elections in September 2017, the line ministries and their respective policies became more independent of the chancellor and the Chancellery subgroups (Spiegelreferate)

Greece

Score 6 Since the onset of the crisis in 2010, the PMO has gradually acquired more power and resources to supervise line ministries, the policies of which were streamlined to fit the fiscal consolidation effort of Greece.

However, during the period under review, the PMO's coordination of line ministries was further enhanced, as Greece overcame the hurdle of the Second Review of its Economic Adjustment Program. Greece accomplished this task only in mid-2017, after long delays. The same tendency toward closer coordination of line ministries occurred in the second half of 2017, as the government began negotiations with representatives of Greece's lenders on the Third Review of the Economic Adjustment Program. However, the PMO is not the only authority with which line ministries consult. In fact, as the implementation of the Third Economic Adjustment Program for Greece unfolds, line ministers often turn to the Ministry of Finance for technical and drafting issues, in case legislation under development in individual ministries runs into financial constraints imposed by its international lenders.

Citation:

Kevin Featherstone and Dimitris Papadimitriou (2013), "The Emperor Has No Clothes! Power and Resources within the Greek Core Executive," *Governance*, Vol. 26, Issue 3, pp. 523-545.

Poland

Score 6 Under the PiS government, the Chancellery has kept its enhanced formal involvement in the preparation of policy proposals by the line ministries. As its gatekeeping role has declined, however, so has its actual influence on the development of policy proposals.

Malta

Score 5 Since 2013, a sustained effort at coordination has been made in the Prime Minister's Office (PMO) and in line ministries. During the period under review, the government established an office within the PMO to coordinate the policies contained in the ruling party's electoral manifesto. In a new review strategy, ministries monitor the outputs of policies previously discussed with the cabinet; the OPM then monitors policies until they are implemented and supports the ministries in their implementation. Coordination meetings are also organized by the OPM bringing together the various ministries. Decisions taken by ministries have more than once been rescinded by the PMO, a practice less common in the past. The PMO may also seek to review its own policies with the help of the Management Efficiency Unit and occasionally employs consultants. Cabinet meetings have allowed experts to give direct advice to ministers, a departure from the past. From time to time, cabinet meetings are held in different regions for the purpose of consultations.

Citation:

http://www.maltatoday.com.mt/news/national/33324/prime-minister-holding-cabinet-meeting-in-mellieha-20140121#.V_uQfv196M8

http://www.maltatoday.com.mt/news/national/48377/cabinet_meeting_in_gozo_cost_taxpayers_7000#.V_uQpf196M8

<http://www.timesofmalta.com/articles/view/20160223/local/cabinet-meeting-in-birzebbuga.603449>

Romania

Score 5 Policy proposals are usually drafted within ministries. The Secretariat General of the Government provides administrative and legal support for policymaking. The Prime Minister's Chancellery usually becomes involved only after the compulsory public-consultation procedures are finalized. While the prime minister occasionally gets publicly involved in debating certain legislative proposals and may contradict line ministers, the final decision on the content of the policy proposal tends to be made by the line ministry.

Austria

Score 4 As all ministers are equal, the autonomy of line ministries is substantial. The chancellor cannot determine the outlines of government policy and does not have to be involved in the drafting of legislation. Normally, however, proposals are coordinated by the prime minister's office. Formally, the Federal Ministry of Finance can offer its opinion as to whether a proposal fits into the government's overall budget policy. The Ministry of Finance thus has a kind of cross-cutting power.

Croatia

- Score 4 Line ministries consult with the government's Legislation Office, but this consultation is mostly formal, focusing on technical and drafting issues. Ministries normally enjoy huge leeway in transforming government priorities into legislation, and there is no stable and transparent arbitration scheme that would give the Prime Minister's Office a formal role in settling interministerial differences.

Slovakia

- Score 4 In Slovakia, the government manifesto defines certain priorities that are elaborated in legislative plans. These additionally divide tasks and responsibilities among the line ministries and other central bodies, and set deadlines for the submission of bills to the cabinet. In their policy-development process, the line ministries legally must include a range of institutions and interest groups that are defined as stakeholders in their respective fields. Ministries are also obliged to consult with the Government Office and its legislative council as they develop bills. However, full responsibility for drafting bills has traditionally rested with the line ministries, and consultation with the Government Office is mainly technical. In its attempt to formalize his leading position within the government, Prime Minister Fico has increased the monitoring activities of the Government Office, especially those related to EU structural funds.

Cyprus

- Score 3 The structure of functions within the presidential palace has an ad hoc character, determined for the duration of a president's mandate. The tasks of the Council of Ministers' secretariat are limited, with no power or capacity to draft laws or review proposed policies. The Attorney General's Office is involved in the examination of policy proposals and draft laws, providing no more than legal advice. Ministries tasked with drafting laws can refer to policies formulated by the government, or to frameworks proposed by interministerial committees or issued by the cabinet. Draft laws are discussed only during the deliberation process in the Council of Ministers.

Under the law on fiscal responsibility, the budgetary aspects of policy proposals are controlled by the minister of finance to ensure compliance with general budget plans. The establishment of a central coordinating body for ensuring compliance with the government's strategic fiscal plan is foreseen.

Slovenia

Score 3

The Government Office is not directly and systematically involved in line ministries' preparation of policy proposals. Once the coalition agreement and government program have defined certain projects, full responsibility for drafting bills rests with the line ministries, interministerial or project teams. The Government Office is seldom briefed about the state of affairs. If it is, consultation is rather formal and focuses mostly on legal and technical issues.

Indicator

Cabinet Committees

Question

How effectively do ministerial or cabinet committees coordinate cabinet proposals?

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 large majority of cabinet proposals are reviewed and coordinated first by committees.
- 8-6 = Most cabinet proposals are reviewed and coordinated by committees, in particular proposals of political or strategic importance.
- 5-3 = There is little review or coordination of cabinet proposals by committees.
- 2-1 = There is no review or coordination of cabinet proposals by committees. Or: There is no ministerial or cabinet committee.

Belgium

Score 10

The Council of Ministers (conseil-des-ministres), which is one of the central components of the government, meets every week. Each minister is responsible for drafting a proposal, which gets submitted to the council. The council's secretariat then checks whether the proposal can be debated, asking a number of questions: Is it complete and technically sound? Does it conflict with other past decisions? Is it contained in the governmental agreement? Proposals are debated by ministers only if they pass this first filter, a process that allows them to focus on the strategic aspects of the issue. However, the most important strategic considerations are mainly political.

Before reaching the Council of Ministers, projects are always discussed beforehand in formal or informal inter-cabinet meetings that include experts and senior officers from the relevant ministries. Most negotiation is performed at that stage and, if necessary, further fine-tuned in the "core" meeting in the case of particularly important or sensitive policy issues.

Finland

Score 10

Cabinet committees effectively prepare cabinet meetings. The government has four statutory cabinet committees: the Committee on Foreign and Security Policy (which meets with the president when pressing issues arise), Committee on European Union Affairs, Cabinet Finance Committee and Cabinet Committee on Economic Policy. Additionally, ad hoc cabinet committees can be appointed by the government plenary session. All these committees are chaired by the prime minister, who also

chairs sessions of the Economic Council, the Research and Innovation Council, and the Title Board. In addition, there are several ministerial working groups. The primary task of these committees and groups is to prepare cabinet meetings by helping to create consensus between relevant ministries and interests. In all, a large majority of issues are reviewed first by cabinet committees and working groups.

Denmark

Score 9

Policy preparation tends to take place in cabinet committees (regeringsudvalg) involving a smaller number of ministers. The number of such committees has varied over time. Currently, the following standing cabinet committees exist: the government coordination committee (chaired by the prime minister), the economy committee (chaired by the finance minister), the security committee (chaired by the prime minister), the appointments committee (chaired by the prime minister) the government's EU implementation committee (chaired by the minister of employment), and the Ministerial Committee for Public Renewal (chaired by the minister for public innovation).

This system was strengthened under the previous liberal-conservative government in the early 2000s and there are parallel committees of high-level civil servants.

Citation:

Jørgen Grønnegård Christensen et al., *Politik og forvaltning*, 4. udg., 2017.

Oversigt over faste regeringsudvalg, http://www.stm.dk/_a_1848.html (Accessed 16 October 2017).

New Zealand

Score 9

There are clear guidelines for policy formulation in the New Zealand core executive. All policy proposals are reviewed in cabinet committees. Full cabinet meetings therefore can focus on strategic policy debates and policy conflicts between coalition partners or between the government and its legislative support parties in the House of Representatives. In quantitative terms, from 1 July 2014 to 30 June 2015, the full cabinet met 39 times while cabinet committees met 121 times. A revised cabinet committee structure was implemented in October 2014 following the formation of the government after the 2014 general election. This resulted in the disestablishment of one cabinet committee, reducing the overall number from 11 to 10. Key committees include Economic Growth and Infrastructure, Social Policy and Cabinet Legislation.

Citation:

Annual Report for the Year Ended 30 June 2015 (Wellington: Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet 2015). Cabinet Office Circular CO 14) 8. Cabinet Committees: Terms of Reference and Membership, <http://www.dpnc.govt.nz/cabinet/circulars>, accessed October 24, 2016).

Spain

Score 9

Two powerful ministerial committees effectively prepare cabinet meetings in Spain: the Committee for Economic Affairs, and the Committee of Undersecretaries and Secretaries of State. The Committee for Economic Affairs normally meets on Thursdays (a day before the Council of Ministers meetings) to review and schedule economic or budgetary interministerial coordination. Since 2011, this committee has been chaired by the prime minister himself, with the help of the director of his Economic Office and is also made up of ministers and secretaries of state with economic responsibilities.

For its part, the Committee of Undersecretaries and Secretaries of State effectively filters out and settles issues prior to cabinet meetings. This committee of top officials meets every Wednesday to prepare the Council of Ministers' weekly sessions, which are held every Friday (see "Ministerial Bureaucracy" for further details). No cabinet member participates apart from the deputy prime minister, who serves as its chairperson. Spain's only Council of Ministers committee composed exclusively of cabinet members is the Foreign Policy Council (Consejo de Política Exterior), which meets only about once a year. Other ministerial committees (composed of several ministers and individual non-cabinet members such as secretaries of state) are regulated by Royal Decree 1886/2011 (as modified by RD 385/2013).

Citation:

Real Decreto 385/2013, de 31 de mayo, de modificación del Real Decreto 1886/2011, de 30 de diciembre, por el que se establecen las Comisiones Delegadas del Gobierno
https://www.boe.es/diario_boe/txt.php?id=BOE-A-2013-5771

United Kingdom

Score 9

The composition and terms of reference of cabinet committees are decided by the prime minister. The minister for the Cabinet Office also has an influential role. The importance of cabinet meetings and committees increased under the previous coalition government, because of the need to ensure fair representation of both coalition parties. In addition, a powerful coalition committee, chaired jointly by the prime minister and deputy prime minister, existed. The latter became redundant when the new Conservative government won power in May 2015. A number of other committees, such as a committee on banking reform, were also discontinued. However, the creation of implementation taskforces alongside conventional committees has meant a net increase in numbers. Since the change of prime minister in the summer of 2016, two noteworthy innovations are the establishment of the European Union Exit and Trade Committee and the Economy and Industrial Strategy Cabinet Committee, both of which are chaired by the prime minister. Additionally, a committee on social reform was created. This evolution is characteristic of the UK government's tendency to create new committees rapidly in response to shifts in political priorities, demonstrating the flexibility of the system.

Cabinet committees reduce the burden on the cabinet by enabling collective decisions to be taken by a smaller group of ministers. Since the Conservative government of Edward Heath (1970 – 1974), it has become an established norm that decisions settled in cabinet committees are not questioned in full cabinet unless the committee chair or the prime minister decide to do so.

Australia

Score 8 Committees serve a purpose in dealing with various matters, which include: highly sensitive issues, for example revenue or security matters; relatively routine issues, for example a government's weekly parliamentary program; business that is labor intensive or requires detailed consideration by a smaller group of ministers, for example the expenditure review that takes place before the annual budget, or oversight of the government's initiatives in relation to a sustainable environment. The prime minister usually establishes a number of standing committees of the cabinet (e.g., expenditure review, national security, parliamentary business). Additional committees, including ad hoc committees, may be set up from time to time for particular purposes, such as handling a national disaster.

Citation:

https://www.aph.gov.au/Parliamentary_Business/Committees/Joint

Canada

Score 8 Cabinet committees have both the legal and de facto power to prepare cabinet meetings in such a way as to allow the cabinet to focus on vital issues. The de facto power to sort out issues before they go to cabinet belongs to senior officials in the PMO and PCO, not to cabinet committees. Still, this allows the cabinet to focus on strategic policy issues.

France

Score 8 Coordination is strong within the French government, and is in the hands of the PMO and the President's Office, which constantly liaise and decide on issues. Coordination takes place at several levels. First at the level of specialized civil servants who work as political appointees in the PMO (members of the cabinet, that is political appointees belonging to the staff of the prime minister), then in meetings chaired by the secretary-general and finally by the prime minister himself, in case of permanent conflicts between ministers or over important issues. In many instances, conflicts pit the powerful ministers of budget or finance against other ministries. Appeals to the prime minister require either a powerful convincing argument or that

the appealing party is a key member of the government coalition, as it is understood that the prime minister should not be bothered by anything but the highest-level issues. A powerful instrument in the hands of the prime minister is his capacity to decide which texts will be presented to the parliament with priority. Given the frequent bottlenecks in the process, ministerial bills can end up indefinitely postponed.

The new government has introduced the practice of “government seminars” to ensure better cohesion and harmonization. The team spirit seems to have improved a lot in comparison with the past.

Italy

Score 8

A significant number of policy proposals require de jure scrutiny by a Council of Ministers committee or even the explicit consent of a plurality of ministers. In a number of cases, this is only a formal exercise and the Council of Ministers committees are not an important mechanism. It is more significant that a number of important issues are de facto dealt with through consultations among a few ministers (and their ministerial cabinets) before being brought to the Council of Ministers or are sent to this type of proceeding after preliminary discussion in the council. These consultations, which usually include the Treasury, typically avoid provoking conflicts in the council. In meetings of the Council of Ministers, discussion of policy proposals are typically very cursory. Most problems have been resolved before meetings of the Council of Ministers, either in formal or informal meetings.

Latvia

Score 8

Cabinet committees are an integral part of the official decision-making process. If ministerial agreement on draft policy proposals cannot be reached at the state-secretary level, issues are automatically taken up by a cabinet committee for resolution. The cabinet committee’s mandate is to iron out differences prior to elevating the proposal to the cabinet level. In 2015, cabinet committees considered 106 issues, of which 85 were sent on to cabinet.

The cabinet committee may be complemented by informal mechanisms such as the coalition council if agreement cannot otherwise be reached.

Citation:

State Chancellery (2014), Report, Available at (in Latvian): http://www.mk.gov.lv/sites/default/files/page/attachments/gada_parskats_2014.pdf, Last assessed: 22.11.2015.

Luxembourg

Score 8 There are no cabinet committees, in the strict sense. The Council of Ministers (Luxembourg's cabinet) has to rely entirely on the work of line ministries or interministerial groups, if more than one department is concerned. Generally, the Council of Ministers is well prepared, as only bills that have been accepted informally are presented. Moreover, bills must be scrutinized by experts at the Ministry of Finance and the inspector general of finance (Inspection générale des finances), which is comprised of senior civil servants and chaired by the secretary-general of the Council of Ministers. This informal body insures that coherence prevails. The Prime Minister's Office has assumed some horizontal competences on issues that concern more than one ministry, notably in the field of administrative simplification, ethical and deontological questions.

Citation:

"Gouvernement." Le portal de l'actualité gouvernementale, www.gouvernement.lu/1719075/gouvernement. Accessed 21 Dec. 2017.

Inspection générale des finances, www.igf.etat.lu. Accessed 21 Dec. 2017.

"Conseil de gouvernement." Le portal de l'actualité gouvernementale www.gouvernement.lu/1719191/conseil-gouv. Accessed 21 Dec. 2017.

"Système politique." Le portal de l'actualité gouvernementale, www.gouvernement.lu/482644/systeme-politique. Accessed 21 Feb. 2017.

Netherlands

Score 8 Council of Ministers committees (onderraad) involve a separate meeting chaired by the prime minister for the ministers involved. Each committee has a coordinating minister responsible for relevant input and documents. Discussion and negotiations focus on issues not resolved through prior administrative coordination and consultation. If the committee fails to reach a decision, the matter is pushed up to the Council of Ministers.

Since the Balkenende IV Council of Ministers there have been six standing Council of Ministers committees: international and European affairs; economics, knowledge and innovation; social coherence; safety and legal order; and administration, government and public services. Given the elaborate process of consultations and negotiations, few issues are likely to have escaped attention and discussion before reaching the Council of Ministers.

However, since the Rutte I and II cabinets have consisted of two or more political parties of contrary ideological stripes (the conservative-liberal VVD and the PvdA or Labor Party, in the case of Rutte II), political pragmatism and opportunism has tended to transform "review and coordination" to simple logrolling, or in Dutch

political jargon: “positive exchange,” meaning that each party agrees tacitly or explicitly not to veto the other’s bills. This tendency has negative consequences for the quality of policymaking, as minority views effectively win parliamentary majorities if they are budgetarily feasible, without first undergoing rigorous policy and legal analyses.

Slovenia

Score 8

Cabinet committees play an important role in the preparation of cabinet proposals in Slovenia and settle issues prior to the cabinet meeting. There are three standing cabinet committees: the Committee of State Matters and Public Issues, the Committee of National Economy and the Commission of Administrative and Personnel Matters. In addition, temporary committees are from time to time established for particular tasks. In its first three years in office, the Cerar government established eleven of them, including cabinet committees for youth issues, problems of the disabled, integration of migrants and protection against natural disasters.

Chile

Score 7

Ministerial or cabinet committees are not necessarily central when it comes to decision-making on policy matters. Depending on the topic, ministerial committees are more or less involved in preparing cabinet proposals, especially those of relatively significant strategic or financial importance. These proposals are normally coordinated effectively.

Hungary

Score 7

Given the dominant role of the PMO and the small number of ministries, cabinet committees have for long played a much less significant role under the second and third Orbán governments than under previous governments. In 2016, however, two important cabinet committees were created, the strategic committee led by János Lázár and the economic committee led by Mihály Varga. These committees have a clear profile, but an uncertain mandate, since it has not been decided whether they are advisory-preparatory or decision-making bodies. However, their function is certainly to relieve Orbán from the everyday burden of management and to create a new rivalry in the government between the two important personalities. In the period under review, György Matolcsy, the Governor of the National Bank has been the main player in economic policy, so Varga has been pushed to the second row. As part of its stronger emphasis on family policy, the government announced in the fall of 2017 the creation of a cabinet committee on family affairs.

Ireland

Score 7

Cabinet committees are established by the government and managed by the Department of the Taoiseach. Cabinet committees derive their authority from government. Membership of cabinet committees includes two or more members of the government, and may also include the attorney general and government ministers. Typically, committees have between four and 12 members. In 2011, the smallest cabinet committee was the Irish and the Gaeltacht Committee with four members and the largest was the European Affairs Committee with 13 members. This means that many government ministers will serve on multiple cabinet committees. In 2011, the Minister for Finance was a member of five out of eight cabinet committees. The essential job of cabinet committees is to coordinate policy initiatives, especially when substantive policy proposals concern multiple line departments.

In 2016, there were 10 cabinet committees. The most recent addition focuses on Brexit, while the others focus on the economy, trade and jobs; housing; health; social policy and public-sector reform; justice reform; European affairs; regional and rural affairs; infrastructure, environment and climate change; the arts, Irish and the Gaeltacht. When Leo Varadkar became the taoiseach (prime minister) in June 2017 he halved the number of cabinet committees.

Cabinet committees are chaired by the taoiseach or a senior official of the Department of the Taoiseach. Cabinet committees generally make policy recommendations, which are followed up by a formal memo to the government.

Citation:

For information about Cabinet Committee see:

http://www.taoiseach.gov.ie/eng/Taoiseach_and_Government/Cabinet_Committees

Niamh Hardiman, Aidan Regan and Mary Shayne 'The Core Executive: The Department of the Taoiseach and the Challenge of Policy Coordination, in Eoin O'Malley and Muiris MacCarthaigh (eds, 2012), *Governing Ireland: From Cabinet Government to Delegated Governance*. Dublin: IPA.

Lithuania

Score 7

Although Lithuania's government can create advisory bodies such as government committees or commissions, the number and role of such committees has gradually declined since the beginning of the 2000s, when coalition governments became the rule. Top-priority policy issues are frequently discussed in governmental deliberations organized before the official government meetings. The Strategic Committee is composed of several cabinet ministers, the chancellor, and a top prime-ministerial deputy who manages the government's performance priorities, policy and strategy. Another government committee, the Crisis Management Committee, advises the government on crisis management. A European Union Commission

continues to act as a government-level forum for discussing Lithuania's EU positions, but this is made up of relevant vice-ministers, and chaired by the minister of foreign affairs.

Mexico

Score 7 Mexico is unusual, because the constitution does not recognize the cabinet as a collective body. Instead, Mexico has four sub cabinets, respectively dealing with economic, social, political and security matters. As a result, Mexico in practice has a system of cabinet committees each of them normally chaired by the president. The full cabinet never or hardly ever meets. Mexico's cabinet, as a collective, matters less than in most countries. The cabinet is not a supreme executive body as it is in, say, Britain. For one thing, there are a number of heads of executive agencies, with cabinet rank, who are not directly subject to a minister. There is a trend of governments to increase this process, partially out of the logic of depoliticizing and cementing programmatic decisions and views in social and economic policy fields. Under the current administration, cabinet reshuffles have frequently taken place, often in response to unpopular policy outcomes or political pressure.

Portugal

Score 7 Most ordinary meetings of the Portuguese cabinet – the Council of Ministers – are used for policy decisions rather than strategic policy debates. Political issues and strategic policy considerations are by-and-large prepared by the Council's inner core of a few ministers, augmented by other ministers and staff when required.

Citation:

www.sg.pcm.gov.pt/media/8376/pa_2015_site.pdf

South Korea

Score 7 Formally, the cabinet is the executive branch's highest body for policy deliberation and resolution. In reality, the role of the cabinet is limited because all important issues are discussed bilaterally between the Blue House and the relevant ministry. However, bureaucratic skirmishing takes place on many issues. The Blue House's capacity to contain rivalries between the various ministries tends to be relatively high early in a given president's official term. However, coordination power becomes weaker in a lame-duck administration. Committees are either permanent, such as the National Security Council, or created in response to a particular issue. As many government agencies have recently been moved out of Seoul into Sejong city, the need to hold cabinet meetings without having to convene in one place at the same time has been growing, and the law has therefore been amended to allow cabinet meetings in a visual teleconference format.

Croatia

Score 6 The rules of procedure of the Croatian government provide for different kinds of cabinet committees and assign a major role in policy coordination to them. The prime minister and the vice prime ministers form the core cabinet (Uži kabinet vlade). In addition, there are various permanent and non-permanent cabinet committees that focus on particular issues. As there is little ex ante coordination among ministries, controversies are often pushed upwards, with cabinet committees playing an important role in resolving conflicts. However, the quality of coordination suffers from the fact that cabinet committees are absorbed by these disputes and other matters of detail.

Iceland

Score 6 Cabinet committees rarely prepare cabinet meetings, although the Budget Committee and some ad hoc committees are exceptions. However, the majority of items on cabinet meeting agendas are prepared by ministers often with two or more ministers coordinating the cabinet meeting. In the immediate aftermath of the 2008 economic collapse, cooperation between ministers increased, particularly between the prime minister, the minister of finance, and the minister of commerce. However, this change was temporary and intended only to facilitate the cabinet's immediate reactions to the 2008 economic collapse. In February 2013, new regulations were introduced permitting the prime minister to create single-issue ministerial committees to facilitate coordination between ministers where an issue overlaps their authority areas.

Records must be kept of all ministerial committee meetings, but these are not made public.

The number of ministerial committees to coordinate overlapping policy issues has been reduced since the preceding review period from 7 to 3. These committees include the Ministerial Committee on Public Finances (Ráðherranefnd um ríkisfjármál), with four ministers, and the Ministerial Committee on National Economy (Ráðherranefnd um efnahagsmál), with four ministers. The newly established Ministerial Committee on Coordination of Issues that concern more than one ministry (Ráðherranefnd um samræmingu mála er varða fleiri en eitt ráðuneyti) encompasses the former ministerial committees on Equality, On Solutions for the Debts of Families, on Arctic Affairs, and on Public Health Affairs. Even though this includes all possible issues, four are specifically mentioned: Equality, issues of refugees and immigrants, arctic affairs, and public health.

Citation:

Rules on procedures in ministerial committee meetings. (REGLUR um starfshætti ráðherranefnda. Nr. 166/2013 22. febrúar 2013).
<https://www.stjornarradid.is/rikisstjorn/radherranefndir/>

Israel

Score 6

According to the basic law provisions addressing the government, as well as prevailing standards of practice, the government is authorized to appoint cabinet committees (called ministerial committees) to handle different policy issues. Moreover, it is obligated to appoint a security- and state-focused cabinet that includes the prime minister, the minister of defense, the minister of justice, the foreign minister, the minister of state security and the minister of finance. Currently, 33 ministerial committees work to address a wide range of topics.

While most ministerial committees receive limited attention in the media, an exception is the ministerial committee for legislation, which handles the preparation and the first approval of legislative proposals. In other words, the committee's decisions regarding proposals determine how the coalition members will vote on the proposals in the Knesset.

The ministerial committees in Israel are increasingly fruitful. Under the previous government (2013 – 2015), their decisions accounted for 54% of all governmental decisions (the current government has not yet released updated information on this topic).

Citation:

Cabinet committees and their authorities," the ministry of Justice website 24.6.1996 (Hebrew)

Friedberg, Chen, "The Knesset's Committees – Foretold Failure?," The Ben-Gurion

Law Proposal –Amendments of 'Basic Law: The Government', 2015

'Decade of Ministerial Committees – comparative study' – January 2016,

Citizens' Empowerment in Israel (Hebrew):
<http://www.ceci.org.il/sites/citizens/UserContent/files/knowledge/govfunction/MinisterCommittees.pdf>

"Ministerial Committees." PMO's website (12.11.2015),
<http://www.pmo.gov.il/English/GovernmentSecretariat/Pages/MinisterialCommittees.aspx>

Research Institute for the Study of Israel & Zionism (January 2010) (Hebrew)

"The guidelines for government work," PMO's website (Hebrew)

Working Plan Book 2017-18, PMO Office, March 2017: <http://www.plans.gov.il/pdf2017/> (Hebrew)

'Transparency in the Ministerial Committee for Legislation' – February 2016, The Social Guard (Hebrew):
http://fs.knesset.gov.il/%5C20%5CCommittees%5C20_cs_bg_325109.pdf

Japan

Score 6

Government committees exist in a number of important fields in which coordination among ministries with de facto overlapping jurisdictions plays an important role. The most important is the Council for Economic and Fiscal Policy (CEFP), headed by the

prime minister. However, this has never been a “ministerial committee” in a strict sense. First, it has only an advisory function. Second, individuals from the private sector – two academics and two business representatives in the current configuration – are included. This can increase the impact of such councils, but it also means they are somewhat detached from political processes.

Prime Minister Abe again strengthened the role of the CEFPP and set up the Headquarters for Japan’s Economic Revitalization as a “quasi-sub-committee” of the CEFPP that encompasses all state ministers. While the cabinet has to approve considerations developed in the CEFPP or in the Headquarters, there is indeed a shift toward first discussing policy redirections in the committees, including discussions of basic budget guidelines.

There are currently four councils operating directly under the Cabinet Office, including CEFPP and the Council for Science, Technology and Innovation.

The creation of the National Security Council in 2013 was a similar case in which interministerial coordination was intensified in the interest of asserting the prime minister’s policy priorities.

The structure is becoming ever more complex and could lead to confusion. For instance, under the Headquarters mentioned above, the Japan Revitalization Strategy 2016 foresees creation of a “Public-Private Council for the Fourth Industrial Revolution.”

Citation:
Cabinet Office, Japan 2016 Revitalization Strategy, Provisional Translation,
www.kantei.go.jp/jp/singi/keizaisaisei/pdf/2016_hombun1_e.pdf

Malta

Score 6

While government officials do organize cabinet committees to assist in clarifying issues prior to full cabinet meetings, these do not necessarily correspond to line ministries but to individual issues. Occasionally ministers form cabinet subcommittees to coordinate policies between ministries. The chair of the subcommittee, however, would not be from the ministry from which the policy originated. Cabinet committees on EU affairs, including on the EU’s Common Foreign and Security Policy, have been appointed. In addition, an ad hoc cabinet committee oversaw the preparations and running of Malta’s presidency of the EU in 2017.

Citation:
Harwood Mark, *Malta in the European Union 2014* Ashgate, Surrey

Slovakia

Score 6 The importance of cabinet and ministerial committees has varied over time in Slovakia, with every government modifying the committee structure. The third Fico government have had only one cabinet committee composed exclusively of ministers, the Council for National Security. Other ministerial committees consisting of ministers and senior civil servants and chaired by the four appointed vice prime ministers or line ministers have played a major role in the preparation of government proposals, and have been quite effective in settling controversial issues prior to cabinet meetings. However, they are still neither formally nor systematically involved in the preparation of cabinet meetings, partly as these bodies usually reside at the line ministries.

Turkey

Score 6 The Ministry of Development was designated the primary consultation body for the preparation, implementation, coordination and monitoring of the government's program.

The Better Regulation Group within the PMO ensures coordination among the related agencies and institutions and improve the process of creating regulations. In addition, the government has created committees – such as the anti-terror commission under the Ministry of Interior, which includes officials from the ministries of Foreign Affairs and Justice, as well as other security departments. These are composed of ministers, experts, bureaucrats and representatives of other bureaucratic bodies (such as those on legislation techniques, legislation management and administrative simplification, and regulatory impact analysis) in highly important policy areas or when important or frequently raised issues were under consideration.

Other such committees include the Economy Coordination Board, the Money Credit Coordination Council, the Investment Environment Coordination Board, the Coordination Board for Combating Financial Crimes and the Counter-Terrorism Coordination Board.

In addition, the Reform Monitoring Group was renamed to Reform Action Group to coordinate policy measures in line with EU legislation. It has been extending its predecessor's tasks and mission. The new body is tasked with monitoring political reforms, preparing draft reform bills and playing an active role in securing proposals' parliamentary passage and in the subsequent implementation process. However, this body had convened only three times until December 2015, raising doubts about its impact on policymaking.

Citation:

Ömer Öz, Regulatory Oversight Bodies in Turkey. Better Regulation Group, The Prime Minister's Office of Turkey, 31 May 2011, <http://www.oecd.org/mena/governance/48710734.pdf> (accessed 5 November 2014).

Çözüm Süreci Kurulu Resmi Gazete'de, 1 October 2014, <http://www.bianet.org/bianet/siyaset/158881-cozum-sureci-kurulu-resmi-gazete-de> (accessed 5 November 2014).

'Reform Monitoring Group for EU reforms replayed with Action Group,' *Hürriyet Daily News* (7 November 2014)

2015 Programının Uygulanması, Koordinasyonu ve İzlenmesine İlişkin Karar, Resmi Gazete, 17 October 2014,

<http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/eskiler/2014/10/20141017-11-1.pdf> (accessed 27 October 2015)

Daily Sabah, PM asks other parties to support passing EU bills, 11 December 2015, <http://www.dailysabah.com/eu-affairs/2015/12/12/pm-asks-other-parties-to-support-passing-eu-bills>

Austria

- Score 5** During the last years of the SPÖ-ÖVP coalition cabinets, there had been no regular (or permanent) cabinet committees. In rare cases, ad hoc committees were established to deal with specific matters. As coalitions are typical in Austria, such committees usually consist of members of both coalition parties in order to ensure an outcome acceptable to the full cabinet. The new ÖVP-FPÖ cabinet will be free to establish regular cabinet committees.

Cyprus

- Score 5** Forming ad hoc interministerial committees is a regular practice. Their tasks focus on procedural and sector-specific matters (e.g., promoting road safety and combating fire hazards). The formulation of a general policy frameworks is also within their purview. They are supported by departments or technical committees mainly from within the ministries; in some cases, contributions from external experts are sought. The scope of work and the degree of efficiency in the committees' coordination are not easy to assess, as their reports are rarely made public. The ad hoc character of this practice makes it difficult to implement cohesive strategic planning.

Citation:

1. Fire Season Planning begins Ministerial Committee meets, *Cyprus Mail*, 31 January 2017 <http://cyprus-mail.com/2017/01/31/fire-season-planning-begins-ministerial-committee-meets/>

Czech Republic

- Score 5** There are about 20 committees whose activities are organized by the Government Office. In addition, there are a further 13 working and advisory bodies managed by individual ministries. Depending on the set of issues they are tasked to address, some are established on a temporary basis while others are permanent. The most important permanent committees include the Council for National Security, Legislative Committee and the Committee for the European Union. The committees discuss and approve policy documents, thereby filtering out issues and saving time in cabinet meetings, but they do so in an ad hoc fashion and are not systematically involved in the preparation of cabinet meetings

Germany

Score 5 As a rule of thumb, the cabinet functions as an institution that formally ratifies policy decisions that have been made elsewhere. In principle, line ministers are responsible for policies within their own jurisdiction. Therefore, they have a strong leeway to pursue their own or their party's interests, though each ministry must to some extent involve other ministries while drafting bills.

Formal cabinet committees do not play an important role in policymaking and are rarely involved in the review or coordination of proposals. Instead, the coalition committee is mainly responsible for coordinating policies (see Informal Coordination).

Greece

Score 5 There are cabinet committees tasked with overseeing specific policy sectors. However, these committees meet only when a major policy decision has to be made and are not subject to systematic organization. Substantive policy work is done at the line ministries and by the PMO before issues are presented to the cabinet. A small, informal circle of advisers and ministers close to the prime minister, at the headquarters of the PMO, are primarily responsible for the formulation and coordination of cabinet proposals. Ministerial committees often perform a more symbolic function.

A possible exception is the Council of Administrative Reform, which was established by the Syriza-ANEL government in November 2015. The council is composed of six major government ministers, including the minister of finance and the minister of economy and development, and is presided over by the prime minister. The scope of the council's tasks is wider than its title indicates. It is a governmental organ that pursues the reform plans of the incumbent government that are outside the remit of Greece's Third Economic Adjustment Program (e.g., social assistance, education and other policy sectors). Thus, in contrast to its first ten months in power (January – October 2015), the Syriza-ANEL government improved upon its coordination capacity in 2016 – 2017.

Citation:

Information on the new Council is available at the official site of the Ministry of Administrative Reconstruction: <http://www.minadmin.gov.gr/?p=12496>

Romania

- Score 5** In Romania, ministerial committees, composed of one minister, deputy ministers and public servants, feature prominently in interministerial coordination. By contrast, committees consisting only of ministers or with several ministers are rare.

United States

- Score 5** The question for the U.S. system is whether, on major issues, White House advisory processes prepare issues thoroughly for the president, and on lesser issues with interagency implications, whether interagency committees prepare them thoroughly for decision by the relevant cabinet members. The U.S. system of advisory processes varies considerably, even within a single presidential administration, but is largely under control of the president's appointees in the White House. The process is to a great extent ad hoc, with organizational practices varying over time and from one issue area to another, based partly on the personnel involved. Typically, important decisions are "staffed out" through an organized committee process. However, the ad hoc character of organization (compared with a parliamentary cabinet secretariat), along with the typically short-term service of political appointees – resulting in what one scholar has called "a government of strangers" – renders the quality of these advisory processes unreliable.

President Trump's White House has largely neglected the role of managing an organized, systematic policy process. After the first six months, a new White House chief of staff (John Kelly, a retired Marine Corps general) has brought some order to the president's immediate environment by controlling direct access to the president. There have, however, been no reports of a systematic, deliberate presidential decision process on any matter. Trump tweeted a declaration that transgendered persons would no longer be allowed to serve in the military, without first consulting with the Department of Defense (DoD) or the military branches. The DoD has apparently resolved to simply ignore that president's declaration.

Bulgaria

- Score 4** The Bulgarian cabinet does not resort to specific cabinet or ministerial committees as a way of coordinating proposals for cabinet meetings. However, there are many cross-cutting advisory councils that include several ministers or high-ranking representatives of different ministries and have some coordinating functions. These might thus be seen as functional equivalents to ministerial or cabinet committees. However, the role of the councils, which often have a rather broad membership, is quite limited in substantive terms.

Poland

- Score 4 The number and role of cabinet committees under the PiS government have been limited. However, it set up an Innovativeness Council, consisting of five ministers, in February 2016 and an Economic Committee at the end of September 2016. The latter is in charge of coordinating the finalization and implementation of the Strategy of Responsible Development.

Estonia

- Score 2 Estonia does not have a committee structure within government, or any ministerial committee. Ministers informally discuss their proposals and any other pending issues at weekly consultative cabinet meetings. No formal voting or any other selection procedure is applied to issues discussed in consultative meetings. The creation of cabinet committees was proposed by government in March 2017 with a draft law expected in 2018.

Switzerland

- Score 2 Not surprisingly, given the small number of ministries, there are no cabinet committees in Switzerland's political system. However, there is considerable coordination, delegation and communication at the lower level of the federal government. Every minister is in a sense already a "ministerial committee," representing the coordination of a large number of cooperating departmental units.

Norway

- Score 1 There is little use of formal cabinet committees within Norway's political system. The whole cabinet meets several times a week and generally works together as a full-cabinet committee.

However, there are meetings in subcommittees, such as the subcommittee dealing with security issues. There is also coordination between key officials representing the political parties that form the coalition government. The coalition partners have, for instance, created a subcommittee within the cabinet that coordinates issues on difficult or sensitive topics and a special subgroup for European affairs.

Sweden

Score 1

There are no standing cabinet committees in the Swedish system of government. Cabinet proposals are coordinated through iterations of sending drafts of bills to the concerned departments. This usually takes place at the middle level of the departments and thus does not involve the political level of the departments.

The cabinet is both a policy-shaping institution as well as the final institution of appeal on a wide range of issues. There is also a requirement that the cabinet has to be the formal decision-maker on many issues. This means that the cabinet annually makes more than 100,000 decisions (mostly in bulk).

Indicator

Ministerial Bureaucracy

Question

How effectively do ministry officials/civil servants coordinate policy proposals?

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 policy proposals are effectively coordinated by ministry officials/civil servants.
- 8-6 = Many policy proposals are effectively coordinated by ministry officials/civil servants.
- 5-3 = There is some coordination of policy proposals by ministry officials/civil servants.
- 2-1 = There is no or hardly any coordination of policy proposals by ministry officials/civil servants.

Estonia

Score 10

Formal procedures of coordinating policy proposals are set in the rules of the national government. According to it, all relevant ministries must be consulted and involved in a consensus-building process before an amendment or policy proposal can be brought to the government. An online draft-bill portal (Eelnõude infosüsteem, EIS) is used for the purposes of inter-ministerial coordination and public consultations. In addition to this formal procedure, senior civil servants from the various ministries consult and inform each other about coming proposals; deputy secretaries general are key persons in this informal consultation process.

Finland

Score 10

Cabinet meetings are prepared by ministry officials and civil servants. Findings from a large-scale analysis several years ago into the internal politics and practices of the cabinet and ministries emphasized the existence of a cyclical culture of dependence between ministers and senior officials. One expression of this mutual dependence, according to the same analysis, was that ministers put greater trust in the advice of their subordinate civil servants than in the advice of ministerial colleagues. This pattern extends to all aspects of the cabinet's agenda. With regard to policy programs and similar intersectoral issues, coordination between civil servants of separate ministries happens as a matter of course. In specific matters, coordination may even be dictated. For instance, statements from the Ministry of Finance on economic and financial matters must be obtained by other ministries. On the whole, given the decision-making culture, civil servants in different ministries are expected to engage in coordination. An unwritten code of behavior prescribes harmonious and smooth

activity, and ministers or ministries are expected to subject projects that are burdensome or sensitive to a collective examination and analysis.

Citation:

Jaakko Nousiainen, "Politiikan huipulla. Ministerit ja ministeriöt Suomen parlamentaarisisessa järjestelmässä". Porvoo: Werner Söderström Osakeyhtiö, 1992, p. 128; Eero Murto, *Power Relationship Between Ministers and Civil Servants*, pp. 189-208 in Lauri Karvonen, Heikki Paloheimo and Tapio Raunio, eds. *The Changing Balance of Power in Finland*, Stockholm: Santérus Förlag, 2016.

Switzerland

Score 10

The federal government deliberates behind closed doors, and minutes of these meetings are not public. A leading expert on government decision processes has estimated that in most decision-making processes, "either the preliminary procedure or the co-reporting procedure leads to an agreement." The preliminary procedure consists of interministerial consultations at the level of the federal departments. After the departments have been consulted, the co-reporting procedure begins. The Federal Chancellery leads the process by submitting the proposal under consideration as prepared by the ministry responsible to all other ministries. These then have the opportunity to submit a report or express an opinion. A process of discussion and coordination ensues, designed to eliminate all or most differences before the proposal is discussed by the Federal Council.

Two instruments, the large and the small co-reporting procedures, are specifically designed to coordinate policy proposals between the ministries. These processes invite the ministries to take positions on political issues. The co-reporting procedure is largely a process of negative coordination, which highlights incompatibilities with other policies but does not systematically scrutinize the potential for synergy.

Denmark

Score 9

Coordination through the cabinet is collegial, and officials largely carry out interdepartmental coordination through negotiations between their affected ministries, often via interdepartmental committees or working groups. There is a certain degree of congruence between such interdepartmental committees and cabinet committees, with different ministries leading on different issue areas. The PMO plays an important role, especially for issues that involve the parliament. Other important ministries are the Finance Ministry, which prepares the annual budget, the Justice Ministry, which checks the legal aspects of all bills, and the Foreign Ministry, which gets involved in security, defense and development policies.

Citation:

Jørgen Grønnegård Christiansen, Peter Munk Christensen and Mariun Ibsen, *Politik og forvaltning*. 4. udgave. Copenhagen: Hans Reitzels Forlag, 2017.

Luxembourg

Score 9 Senior ministry officials and interministerial meetings are important for the preparation of draft bills and for cabinet meetings. There is both formal and informal coordination in the conception of new policy, in policy modification or in the conception of a pre-draft bill. As part of the process, interministerial ad hoc groups are formed. Normally, a pre-draft bill is already the result of consultation with social partners and civil society groups. Once the pre-draft bill is published, official consultation rounds start again.

Citation:

“Système politique.” Le portail officiel du Grand-Duché de Luxembourg, www.luxembourg.public.lu/fr/le-grand-duche-se-presente/systeme-politique/index.html. Accessed 28 Dec. 2017.

Thomas, Bernard, and Laurent Schmit. “Die Unentbehrlichen: Wie viel Macht haben hohe Beamte?” Forum.lu, Sept. 2013, www.forum.lu/pdf/artikel/7693_332_ThomasSchmit.pdf. Accessed 28 Dec. 2017.

New Zealand

Score 9 The cabinet process is overseen by the cabinet office on the basis of clear guidelines. Departmental chief executives typically meet with ministers prior to cabinet meetings to discuss the agenda and clarify matters. The amount and effectiveness of policy proposal coordination varies a great deal depending on the policy field. However, there is clearly coordination in the preparation of cabinet papers and demanding processes specified in cabinet office circulars.

Citation:

CabGuide – Officials’ Committees that support Cabinet Committees: <http://cabguide.cabinetoffice.govt.nz/context/definitions/officials-committees> (accessed October 9, 2014).

CabGuide – Role of the Cabinet Office: <http://cabguide.cabinetoffice.govt.nz/context/definitions/cabinet-office> (accessed October 9, 2014).

Portugal

Score 9 Since the mid-1980s, cabinet meetings have been prepared in advance by senior ministry officials such as junior ministers or directors-general (who are also political appointees), depending on the issue. Although the bailout period itself has come to a close, the continuing conditions of budgetary constraint means that this coordination is still carried out in conjunction with the Ministry of Finance. This latter entity closely monitors all state expenditure.

Australia

Score 8 There is generally a high level of coordination between line ministry public servants. In most cases, ministries must coordinate with the Department of Finance and the Treasury, since they are responsible for finding the resources for any new policy developments, and such developments must feed into the government's spending and budget cycle. Where there are legal implications, there must be coordination with the Attorney General's Department. Departments least likely to coordinate their activities across the government portfolio are Defense and Foreign Affairs and Trade, since their activities have the fewest implications across the other portfolios.

Coordination is especially effective when the political leadership is driving proposals, but less effective on policy matters initiated at the level of the minister or department, in part reflecting greater uncertainty among civil servants as to the support for the proposal from the political leadership. It also reflects differences in policy priorities and culture across departments, as well as inherent competition between departments for power, relevance and resources.

Canada

Score 8 Many policy proposals are coordinated by line ministries with other line ministries. However, due to issues of departmental mandates and authorities, this process is generally not as effective as the central-agency coordination process. On certain issues, the line department may be unwilling to recognize the role or expertise of other line departments, or have fundamental differences of perspectives on the issue, and hence may fail to consult and/or coordinate a policy proposal with others. The paramount role of central agencies in policy development means that departments have in fact little ability to effectively coordinate policy proposals.

France

Score 8 If a ministry wishes to get its proposals accepted or passed, there are no other options than to liaise and coordinate with other ministries or agencies involved. For instance, the Macron Law on the economy (2015) had to be co-signed by 13 ministers. In case this consultation has not taken place, objections expressed by other ministers or by the Council of State might deliver a fatal blow to a proposal. All ministries are equal, but some are more equal than others: for example, the finance minister is a crucial, omnipresent and indispensable actor. Usually the coordination and consultation process is placed under the responsibility of a "rapporteur," usually a lawyer from the ministry bureaucracy. The dossier is always followed as well by a member of the minister's staff who communicates with his/her counterparts and tries to smooth the

process as much as possible. In the most difficult cases (when ministers back up strongly the positions of their respective civil servants), the prime minister has to step in and settle the matter.

Italy

Score 8

Before every Council of Ministers meeting there is a preparatory meeting – the pre-consiglio – where the heads of all legislative ministerial offices filter and coordinate the proposals to be submitted to the Council of Ministers meeting. The head of the Department for Juridical and Legislative Affairs of the Presidency of the Council of Ministers chairs these meetings. Proposals on which there is no agreement will rarely make it to the Council of Ministers. Further informal meetings between ministerial officials take place at earlier stages of drafting. However, the bureaucracies of individual ministries are normally protective of their prerogatives and are not keen to surrender autonomy.

Latvia

Score 8

The official decision-making process mandates the coordination of policy proposals at the state-secretary level. New policy initiatives are officially announced at weekly state-secretary meetings, after the draft proposals are circulated in a transparent process providing all ministries with an opportunity to review and comment on the issues. The process is open to the public and input from non-governmental entities is welcomed. Ministry responses to draft proposals are collected and ministerial coordination meetings on particular drafts are held to achieve consensus on the substance of the proposals. In cases where consensus cannot be reached, the proposals move to cabinet committee for further consideration at the political level.

Issues can be fast-tracked at the request of a minister. Fast-tracking means that the usual procedures for gathering cross-sectoral and expert input can be circumvented, putting the efficacy of coordination at risk. In 2016, 27% of all issues before the cabinet were fast-tracked, a significant drop from 2015.

At a lower bureaucratic level, coordination occurs on an ad hoc basis. Ministries conduct informal consultations, include other ministry representatives in working groups and establish interministerial working groups to prepare policy proposals. These methods are widely used, but not mandatory.

Citation:

State Chancellery (2015, 2016), Reports, Available at: <http://www.mk.gov.lv/vk/gada-parskats/>, Last assessed: 20.10.2017.

United Kingdom

Score 8 The interministerial coordination of policy proposals is an official civil service goal. Single Departmental Plans (SDPs) set out departmental objectives and how these will be achieved. SDPs highlight areas of cross-departmental working, including where departments are working together to deliver shared objectives and are overseen by the Cabinet Office and the Prime Minister's Office. There are also some cross-departmental bodies established in response to the identification of specific objectives, such as the Work and Health Unit set up to improve the employability of disabled or ill people.

However, problems of capacity and capability in this area have been revealed by surveys undertaken within the civil service. Examples of civil service disruption are, on the one hand, the Civil Service Reform Plan of 2012 and, on the other hand, the coalition's spending cuts, which have hit parts of the ministerial bureaucracy very hard and led to considerable job cuts. Relations between the civil service and the government have been affected, but the situation does not seem to have had a great impact on the efficiency of policy-proposal coordination. As explained above, the Cabinet Office assures coordination at the level of officials.

There are concerns that the workload required to deliver Brexit will undermine coordination within government.

Chile

Score 7 Ministry staff and civil servants do not always play a dominant role in the drafting of policy proposals before those proposals reach ministerial committees. Depending on the ministry and the importance of the proposal, officials and civil servants are more or less effectively involved in the preparation and coordination process.

Iceland

Score 7 Ministry officials and civil servants play an important role in preparing cabinet meetings. Even so, no cooperation between ministries is presumed in cases when the ministers themselves are not involved. As a consequence of the strong tradition of ministerial power and independence, the involvement of too many ministries and ministers has been found to be a barrier to policymaking. Currently, coordination between ministries is irregular. The prime minister has the power to create coordination committees, but the number of active committees is currently low.

Japan

Score 7 The LDP-led government has worked more effectively with the bureaucracy than did the previous governments led by the Democratic Party of Japan (2009-2012). In 2014, the government introduced a Cabinet Bureau of Personnel Affairs, which is supposed to help the prime minister make appointment decisions regarding the 600 elite bureaucrats staffing the ministries and other major agencies. This significantly expanded the Cabinet Office's involvement in the process and its influence over the ministerial bureaucracy, including the personal influence of Chief Cabinet Secretary Yoshihide Suga, who has been in office since 2012. There are more political appointees in the ministries than before, and as Abe has been prime minister since 2012, the average stay of such appointees has become longer, giving them more expertise and clout within their ministries.

Lithuania

Score 7 The process of drafting laws and resolutions requires consultation with the ministries and state institutions affected by the issue. The coordination process is led by the ministry responsible for a given issue area. Coordination took place at different levels of the administrative hierarchy: coordination at the civil-servant level was followed by that of managers representing the ministries at the government level. Although policy issues used to be regularly discussed by ministerial representatives (junior ministers and ministerial chancellors), most of these meetings have been discontinued under the Skvernelis government.

Coordination is a lengthy, well-documented process. Joint working groups are sometimes established, while interministerial meetings are used to coordinate the preparation of drafts and resolve disagreements before proposals reach the political level. All draft legislation must be coordinated with the Ministry of Justice and/or the Government Office. However, the substance of coordination could be improved if the initiators of draft legislation were to use consultation procedures more extensively in assessing the possible impact of their proposals. The importance of coordination should be recognized not only during the planning phase, but also during the implementation, monitoring and evaluation phases of the policy process.

Norway

Score 7 Senior civil servants and political appointees play an important role in preparing cabinet meetings. This process follows fixed procedures, and matters must be appropriately prepared before being presented to the cabinet. This includes the creation of documentation alerting cabinet ministers to the essentials of a proposal,

thus allowing cabinet meetings to focus on strategic issues and avoid being distracted by routine business details. Most issues on the agenda have been prepared well before the meeting.

South Korea

Score 7

Civil servants from different ministries regularly coordinate on policies of common concern. This coordination and cooperation among related civil servants across ministries can be either formal or informal, hierarchical or horizontal. Unfortunately, attitudes in the ministries are shaped by a departmentalism that obstructs coordination. Different ministries use their policies to compete for support and approval from the office of the president. There is also a clear hierarchy delineating the ministries. Civil servants in important ministries, such as the Ministry of Strategy and Finance, consider civil servants from other ministries, such as the Labor Ministry or the Environment Ministry, as being “second tier.” Key issues given a high priority by the president can be effectively coordinated among concerned ministries.

Some attempts to improve coordination among ministries are being made. Various interministerial coordination mechanisms have been implemented on the basis of sector and theme, such as the interministerial coordination system for ODA. Moreover, it is expected that the efficiency of and communication between government agencies will be improved by the introduction of a new records-retrieval system. The National Archives and Records Administration (NIS) has announced that it will establish a search and retrieval service in consultation with the Ministry of Patriots and Veterans Affairs.

Citation:

“Korea’s Government 3.0: the Beginning of Open Government Data,” Korea IT Times, February 24, 2016
<http://www.koreaitimes.com/story/58369/koreas-government-30-beginning-open-government-data>

Spain

Score 7

The two most important senior bureaucratic positions in the 13 ministries are the secretaries of state, who play a role much like that of junior ministers in other European countries, but do not belong to the government in Spain; and the undersecretaries, who are career civil servants that typically act as department administrators. These figures meet every Wednesday in the so-called General Committee of Undersecretaries and Secretaries of State. This committee effectively prepares the Council of Ministers weekly sessions, which are held two days later, on Fridays. The Government Office (directed by a minister who is also the deputy prime minister), chairs the meetings of this preparatory committee in which all draft bills, all appointments and any other ministerial proposals are discussed and scheduled as

a part of the Council of Ministers' agenda. A provisional agenda (known as the "black index") is published by the GO a week before the cabinet meeting. The GO also collects and circulates all relevant documents for discussion by the line ministers. On Tuesday mornings, senior Prime Minister's Office (PMO) officials assess the relative importance of agenda items on the black index and identify where there are likely to be divergent positions. Thus, the Wednesday meetings of the preparatory committee perform an important gatekeeping function in returning problematic proposals to the appropriate line ministry and forwarding the remaining proposals to the Council of Ministers (now classified into two indexes: the green index, which covers ongoing administrative matters, and the red index, for issues which are more controversial either by nature or because a lack of ministerial consensus).

While policy proposals are efficiently coordinated at the highest level of the bureaucratic hierarchy, the tradition of interministerial coordination at mid-level administrative bureaucracy means efficiency is weaker here. To be sure, the role of high-ranking civil servants (normally the *subdirectores generales*) is crucial in the preparation of policy proposals within every line ministry, but their subsequent involvement in horizontal coordination with other ministries is very limited. In fact, and as a consequence of the strong departmentalization, every ministry tends to act within its area of competence or jurisdiction, avoiding proposals which may involve other ministries. Although many administrative interministerial committees formally exist, in practice these committees do not coordinate the drafting of policy proposals or decision-making between different ministries. As administrative committees do not tend to work efficiently, they have fallen by the wayside and now usually simply facilitate the exchange of information or try to settle jurisdictional conflicts.

Citation:

Ley 50/1997, de 27 de noviembre, del Gobierno
http://noticias.juridicas.com/base_datos/Admin/l50-1997.t1.html

Sweden

Score 7

As mentioned earlier, most of the daily coordination on policy matters does not involve the political level of the departments but is instead handled at the administrative level. However, as soon as coordination takes place on a political dimension, it is "lifted" to the political level.

Coordination within the GO remains a significant problem, although some measures have been implemented to address that problem. Many departments still find it difficult to coordinate policy across departmental boundaries. Departments that were formed through mergers of departments tend to display "subcultures" of the former departments.

Citation:

Jacobsson, B., J. Pierre and G. Sundström (2015), *Governing the Embedded State* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

Niemann, C. (2013), *Villkorat förtroende. Normer och rollförväntningar i relationen mellan politiker och tjänstemän i Regeringskansliet* (Stockholm: department of Political Science, University of Stockholm).

Ireland

Score 6

Responsibility for policy coordination lies with the Prime Minister's Office (Department of the Taoiseach). However, to be truly effective in this area the office would require greater analytical expertise across many policy areas than it has at present. Despite much rhetoric about "joined-up government," the coordination of policy proposals across ministries has traditionally been relatively weak, with conflicting policies pursued in different parts of the civil service. For example, employment creation can take precedence over environmental considerations and local planning processes often do not mesh with national housing policies.

While coordination across government is often an up-hill battle, the development of the cabinet committee system has somewhat improved matters. Hardiman et al (2012, p.120) conclude, "perhaps the most significant organizational change aimed at improving cross-departmental coordination has been the growing reliance on the cabinet committee system: 'Most of the major policy initiatives – health, environment, climate change, economic renewal – all will have gone through the cabinet committees. So that is a big change in the system of governance ... They provide a mechanism to manage complex cross-cutting issues' (Interview B, 1 Nov 2009)."

Another source of interdepartmental coordination stems from the practice of cabinet and junior ministers each appointing their own "special advisor." These advisers meet to debate policy proposals: O'Malley and Martin (2018, p265) comment that "the advisers collectively operate in effect as a lower-level cabinet."

Citation:

Niamh Hardiman, Aidan Regan and Mary Shayne 'The Core Executive: The Department of the Taoiseach and the Challenge of Policy Coordination, in Eoin O'Malley and Muiris MacCarthaigh (eds, 2012), *Governing Ireland: From Cabinet Government to Delegated Governance*. Dublin: IPA.

Eoin O'Malley and Shane Martin, 'The Government and the Taoiseach,' in John Coakley and Michael Gallagher, *Politics in The Republic of Ireland*. (Routledge, 2018).

Malta

Score 6

Civil servants from a ministry typically coordinate policy proposals with other line ministries before a policy is officially drafted. During the review period, a new system was established. The cabinet director general is in charge of administrative decisions and ensures that cabinet decisions are implemented in the different ministries. On Mondays, the chiefs of staff meet to draft memos for the cabinet. On Tuesdays, the cabinet meets and makes a decision. On Wednesdays, the permanent

secretaries meet to decide on how to implement the cabinet's decisions. A commissioner for the simplification and reduction of bureaucracy has been established to implement reforms across government. These have been introduced horizontally (e.g., delegating staff recruitment to departments and agencies) and vertically (e.g., engaging ministries to improve efficiency). The permanent secretaries have requested that all departments examine current processes and consider methods of simplification. One result is the introduction of push service delivery, whereby individuals do not apply for social benefits but rather receive them automatically. Every year a report is published and made available to the public on the simplification systems that have been introduced.

Occasionally interministerial committees help coordinate policy before the drafting process is started. Increasingly this has become normal practice as a number of interministerial committees were created to support Valletta's campaign to be the 2018 European Capital of Culture and prepare for the Commonwealth Heads of State Summit in Malta, an EU-Africa summit, and Malta's presidency of the EU in 2017. These activities have shown a marked increase in effective coordination by the ministries and civil servants.

Netherlands

Score 6

Since the 2006 elections, politicians have demanded a reduction in the number of civil servants. This has resulted in a loss of substantive expertise, with civil servants essentially becoming process managers. Moreover, it has undermined the traditional relations of loyalty and trust between (deputy) ministers and top-level officers. The former have broken the monopoly formerly held by senior staff on the provision of advice and information by turning increasingly to outside sources such as consultants. Top-level officers have responded with risk-averse and defensive behavior exemplified by professionally driven organizational communication and process management. The upshot is that ministerial compartmentalization in the preparation of Council of Ministers meetings has increased. Especially in the Ministry of Justice and Safety, the quality of bureaucratic policy and legislation preparation has become a reason for serious concern.

Citation:

R.B. Andeweg and G.A. Irwin (2014), *Governance and politics of the Netherlands*. Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

H. Tjeenk Willink, *Een nieuw idee van de staat*, *Socialisme & Democratie*, 11/12, 2012, pp. 70-78

"Is justitie politiek te managen?", in *NRC-Handelsblad*, 1 October 2015

Romania

Score 6

Much of the coordination takes place in interministerial committees, usually presided over by a minister and composed primarily of deputy ministers (political positions)

and top civil servants. In the absence of these committees, bills are subject to interministerial consultation by being sent for review to the ministries affected by each act. If ministries do not respond to the review request within five days, the non-response is considered tacit approval. Prior to government meetings discussing a particular legislative proposal, the Secretariat General of the Government organizes working groups between the representatives of ministries and agencies involved in initiating or reviewing the proposal in order to harmonize their views. While these procedures promote coordination, the capacity limitations of many ministries and the short turnaround time allowed for review undermine effective review and hence allow for only superficial coordination in many cases.

Slovenia

Score 6

The government rules of procedure establish clear mechanisms to ensure effective cooperation between the ministries. They require the consultation of all ministries that are concerned before the submission of bills to the cabinet. While senior civil servants are thus heavily involved in the coordination of legislation, the effectiveness of this coordination has suffered from the deteriorating quality and increasing politicization of the upper echelons of civil service. Under the Cerar government, a number of prominent and experienced high-ranking civil servants have been replaced by party loyalists with limited administrative experience and even less expert knowledge.

Austria

Score 5

Austria's federal bureaucracy is characterized by structural fragmentation. Each federal ministry has its own bureaucracy, accountable to the minister alone and not to the government as such. Each minister and his or her ministry is regarded as having a party affiliation according to the coalition agreement. Policy coordination is possible only when the ministers of specific ministries agree to establish such a specific coordination. As fitting in the government's ministerial structure of the government, individual ministers fear loss of control over their respective bureaucracies, and thus lasting and open contacts are possible only between the (politically appointed) personal staff of ministers belonging to the same political party.

Because the Austrian bureaucracy is organized along the lines of a (British-style) civil service system, the different ministerial bureaucracies are stable in their political makeup and therefore immune to short-term political influences. Specific ministries are generally dominated by one party over the long term (e.g., the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs (social democratic) and the Ministry of Agriculture and Environment (conservative)).

It has to be seen whether the new coalition government wants to change some of these de iure or de facto rules.

Belgium

Score 5 While ministries are not significantly involved in preparing cabinet meetings, each minister has a large team of close collaborators and advisers (the ministerial cabinet) to prepare projects, which are first submitted to the minister, and then to the Council of Ministers. For some decisions, responsibilities are shared among several ministers, a situation that happens regularly. In this case, ministerial teams must coordinate their actions in intercabinet meetings before being able to submit a proposal to receive the approval of each minister. Proposals may be submitted to the ministers' council only at this stage.

The bottom line is that top civil servants do not play a significant role – in most cases, they are at best informed of ongoing discussions and are simply asked to deliver data and information.

Cyprus

Score 5 The constitution limits the number of ministries (10+1), with each's broad area of responsibility governed much like a fiefdom. Ministry officials and civil servants participate in ad hoc bodies or seek coordination with other ministries, but the final decision is usually taken by ministers themselves.

New units formed as a result of recent reforms should lead to more interministerial interaction. Greater consultation between line ministries on policy matters and efforts to coordinate the implementation of policy decisions is needed.

Czech Republic

Score 5 As part of the interministerial coordination process, some coordination among line-ministry civil servants takes place. Senior ministry officials are generally a crucial link in collecting and discussing comments on proposed legislation. The definition of their roles and responsibilities should be improved through the new civil service law, which went into effect at the beginning of 2015 and regulates the legal status of state employees in administrative offices and represents a significant step toward establishing a stable and professional public administration.

Germany

Score 5 Ex-ante coordination between the line ministries' leading civil servants has not been particularly strong under past German coalition governments. In addition, an entrenched political practice ensures that no ministry makes any proposal that might be postponed or blocked by other ministries. The federal Ministry of Finance must be involved when budgetary resources are concerned, while complicated legal or constitutional issues necessitate the involvement of the federal Ministry of Justice. But generally, every ministry is fully responsible for its own proposed bills. All controversial issues are already settled before being discussed by the cabinet. The dominant mechanism for conflict resolution is the coalition committee.

Hungary

Score 5 Given the small number of ministries in Hungary, inter-ministerial coordination has, to some extent, been replaced with intra-ministerial coordination, especially within the Ministry of Human Resources (EMMI), the biggest super-ministry, and also in the Ministry of National Economy (NGM). In addition to policy coordination by the PMO, senior ministry officials meet in order to prepare cabinet meetings. There is also a special Inter-ministerial Coordination Committee for European Affairs (EKTB), a committee consisting of senior ministry officials tasked with coordinating EU-related issues that is also under the auspices of the PMO.

Israel

Score 5 Over the past decade, the government has sought to improve interministerial cooperation in order to overcome bureaucratic entanglements and political power struggles. In so doing, it has introduced roundtable meetings, director generals and vice director generals of ministries coordination forums, guidelines, and digital information platforms. However, experts say that ministries are essentially territorial in nature, and information sharing between ministries is difficult at best.

This lack of communication results at least partially from the government's highly centralized budget process, which makes public servants defensive of limited and strictly supervised resources. In 2016, a report by the State Comptroller suggested that the lack of communication regarding foreign affairs is a result of the transfer of duties from away from main ministries such as the ministry of foreign affairs to other ministries. The report also asserted that interministerial disagreements are delaying the publication of regulations necessary for the implementation of laws. A report from 2015 claimed that 175 laws had not been implemented because ministries had not yet established regulations regarding those laws. According to that report, 32% of regulations are not promulgated because of internal arguments between ministries.

Some of the communication difficulties between ministries results from the dominance of non-sectoral offices such as the PMO in policy development, as well as the use of ad-hoc interministerial committees in order to give momentum to policy proposals. An expert committee recently recommended the establishment of a mechanism for coordination and decision-making as a means of addressing the numerous entities involved in the implementation of national goals. The committee suggested accomplishing this by strengthening the PMO's authority, and emphasizing its role as a coordinator between other ministries.

Another recent step toward strengthening cooperation within ministries can be found in an executive-training program called "the leadership academy." Established in 2014, this identifies the promotion of communication as a primary goal.

Citation:

"About: Public sharing," Sharing official website (Hebrew) "Failures of the public sector and directions for change," The committee for social and economical change website (Hebrew)

Brada, Moshe, "Coordination between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Defense," The Knesset Research Center 2007: <http://www.knesset.gov.il/mmm/data/pdf/m01880.pdf> (Hebrew)

Bar-Kol, Yair, "Appointing a minister for interministerial cooperation," TheMarker 3.4.2013: <http://www.themarker.com/opinion/1.1983509> (Hebrew)

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Ravid, Barak. "Watchdog: Power Struggles Between Ministries Hindered Israel's Battle Against BDS," 24.5.2016 <http://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/1.721284>

"The committee to investigate the Prime Minister's headquarter," Official state report, April 2012 (Hebrew).

"The division of electronics and technologies," Accountant General website (Hebrew) "The guide for governmental sharing: A model for cooperation between ministries," official state publication, 2013: <http://www.ihaklai.org.il/Portals/0/Documents/articles/הגידה%20לדיון%20הלוועד%20ב%20דירשמה%20הלשמה2013.pdf> (Hebrew)

"The Leadership Academy- founding statement," November 2014, Civil Service Commission website: <http://www.csc.gov.il/Tenders/TendersServices/Documents/LeadershipAcademyDoc.pdf>

Zinger, Ronny. "175 lews are not implanted because ministries didn't set regulation for them" – Calcalist, 25.1.2016 (Hebrew): <http://www.calcalist.co.il/local/articles/0,7340,L-3679237,00.html>

Mexico

Score 5

Traditionally, there was little real distinction in Mexico between civil servants and politicians, though the relationship between them has significantly varied over time. The upper administration overly consists of presidential appointments, with only a limited number of career bureaucrats. Two exceptions are the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, where bureaucratic expertise has always played a major role. The reason for this is the importance of being a competent actor in multilateral arenas given the dominance of the United States and the experience of

macroeconomic turmoil due to continuous political interference in economics. Traditionally, the political system has been weighed toward presidential appointments. The cabinet today is much more heterogeneous, however, with some figures personally close to the president and others more independent. The politicization of the cabinet, which has increased under the three recent administrations, is constraining its ability to coordinate policy proposals given the centrifugal tendencies. On the other hand, the previously mentioned independent agencies are often characterized by higher levels of bureaucratic professionalism. Moreover, socioeconomic modernization has, albeit slowly, changed the administrative landscape, with technical expertise increasing in many sectors (e.g., social sectors) and the number of policy experts with an administrative background increasing in the upper administration; this trend continues in the current administration.

Poland

Score 5 Senior ministry officials play a substantial role in interministerial coordination. All meetings of the Council of Ministers, the Polish cabinet, are prepared by the Council of Ministers' Permanent Committee, which is made up of deputy ministers from the ministries. The Committee for European Affairs, which is in charge of EU coordination, also relies strongly on coordination by top civil servants. In contrast, bureaucratic coordination at lower levels of the hierarchy is still relatively limited, even though the joint administration of EU funds has helped to intensify interministerial exchange. Changes in personnel, especially in the security agencies, have secured the dominance of the government over administration.

Slovakia

Score 5 In Slovakia, senior ministry officials have traditionally been heavily involved in the interministerial coordination process at the drafting stage. In contrast, coordination at the lower levels of the ministerial bureaucracy has suffered from a strong departmentalist culture and the top-down approach taken in most ministries. Under the second Fico government, the role of senior civil servants in interministerial coordination decreased and coordination within the Smer-SD party gained importance. Since coming to power, SNS and Most-Híd have also weakened the role and independence of the civil service by seeking to provide positions to party members.

Turkey

Score 5 Ministerial undersecretaries, under the authority of a minister and his or her aide, executes services on behalf of the ministers. This is a political position that is achieved through merit and a successful political career. Deputy undersecretaries in the ministries also help to conduct ministerial affairs.

During the review period there was an increasing tendency to draft and adopt legislation without appropriate consultation. The creation of new ministries and agencies and the resulting fragmentation of responsibilities has complicated ministerial coordination, for example in the areas of budgeting and medium-term economic policymaking. The oversight bodies under the Prime Minister's Office are responsible not only for coordinating and overseeing legal proposals, but are also tasked with monitoring legislative implementation.

The 2016 Annual Activity Report of the Prime Minister's Office (PMO) stressed that although the PMO has the authority to coordinate ministries, its powers are not used effectively. The authority of the PMO over public administration should be improved and diversified.

Similar observations have been made by the Ministry of Development, the primary policy-coordination body. Accordingly, a serious problem is inefficient coordination due to institutional ambiguity and conflicts.

Citation:

Ömer Öz, Regulatory Oversight Bodies in Turkey. Better Regulation Group, The Prime Minister's Office of Turkey, 31 May 2011, <http://www.oecd.org/mena/governance/48710734.pdf> (accessed 5 November 2014).

TC Başbakanlık 2016 Yılı Faaliyet Raporu, https://www.basbakanlik.gov.tr/docs/KurumsalHaberler/Basbakanlik_2016_Faaliyet_Raporu.pdf (accessed 1 November 2017)

2015 Programının Uygulanması, Koordinasyonu ve İzlenmesine İlişkin Karar, Resmi Gazete, 17 October 2014, <http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/eskiler/2014/10/20141017-11-1.pdf> (accessed 27 October 2015)

Bulgaria

Score 4

While a comprehensive framework for coordination between ministry officials and civil servants exists, many issues are actually resolved at the political level. Within the ministries, a departmentalist culture prevails. This is especially true during coalition governments, when coordination between line ministries under ministers from different parties is virtually nonexistent.

Croatia

Score 4

The direct coordination of policy proposals by ministries is limited. There is no stable and transparent scheme for settling interministerial differences within the bureaucracy. The ministries in charge of drafting proposals rarely set up working groups that include peers from other ministries or government bodies. Deadlines for comments by other ministries are often too abbreviated, capacities for comments are sometimes inadequate, and comments made by other ministries are often not taken seriously.

Greece

Score 4

Greek bureaucracy is over-politicized and under-resourced. Political party cadres rather than civil servants coordinate policy proposals. Civil servants in line ministries often lack modern scientific and management skills. Policy proposals are usually assigned to ministerial adviser, who are short-term political appointees and can be non-academic experts, academics and governing party cadres. Top civil servants contribute to policy proposals by suggesting what is legally permissible and technically feasible, although even on those issues ministers often tend to trust their own legal and technical adviser. The remaining civil servants at lower levels of the bureaucratic hierarchy rarely, if ever, know of, let alone contribute to policy proposals. Moreover, there is little horizontal coordination among civil servants working in different ministries. Ministers assign the task of horizontal interministerial communication to their advisers.

Since Syriza's rise to power in January 2015, in coalition with the ANEL party, the politicization of Greek bureaucracy has been further exacerbated. This pattern continued during the period under review. Governing party cadres are continuously appointed to ministerial and various advisory posts. However, under pressure from Greece's lenders, the government attempted to re-organize senior civil servants. After a new law was passed by the Syriza-ANEL party in February 2016 and amended in 2016, the role of civil servants in formulating and coordinating policy proposals was supposed to be enhanced. However, in late 2017, the new law was only in the very first stages of implementation. More administrative reforms – in accordance with the Third Review of the Adjustment Program – are to be introduced including a very important one affecting permanent general secretaries and general directors of ministries with a five-year mandate.

Citation:

The new law on higher civil service is law 4369/2016.

United States

Score 4

In general, there is an expectation of interagency coordination at various levels of the bureaucracy. The quality of this coordination varies, and as with cabinet level coordination, it is adversely affected by the short-term service of political appointees, which results in underdeveloped working relationships across agencies. The overall or average performance has not been systematically evaluated, however. President Trump has failed to appoint or nominate people to occupy a large majority of the important political-appointee positions in the agencies. In addition, permanent staff have been departing. As a consequence, it would be impossible for interagency coordination to operate effectively at this stage of his presidency.

Indicator

Informal Coordination

Question

How effectively do informal coordination mechanisms complement formal mechanisms of interministerial coordination?

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 = Informal coordination mechanisms generally support formal mechanisms of interministerial coordination.
- 8-6 = In most cases, informal coordination mechanisms support formal mechanisms of interministerial coordination.
- 5-3 = In some cases, informal coordination mechanisms support formal mechanisms of interministerial coordination.
- 2-1 = Informal coordination mechanisms tend to undermine rather than complement formal mechanisms of interministerial coordination.

Finland

Score 10

Intersectoral coordination has generally been perceived as an important issue in Finnish politics, but rather few institutional mechanisms have in fact been introduced. One of these is the Iltakoulu (evening session). To a considerable extent, then, coordination proceeds effectively through informal mechanisms. Recent large-scale policy programs have enhanced intersectoral policymaking; additionally, Finland's membership in the European Union has of course necessitated increased interministerial coordination. Recent research in Finland has only focused tangentially on informal mechanisms, but various case studies suggest that the system of coordination by advisory councils has performed well.

Citation:

Eero Murto, Power Relationship Between Ministers and Civil Servants, pp. 189-208 in Lauri Karvonen, Heikki Paloheimo and Tapio Raunio, eds. *The Changing Balance of Political Power in Finland*, Stockholm: Santérus Förlag, 2016.

Hungary

Score 10

The strong formal role of Prime Minister Orbán and his PMO is complemented by informal coordination mechanisms. As the power concentration around Orbán has increased, informal decision-making plays an increasingly dominant role, and the formal mechanisms only serve to legalize and implement these improvised and hastily made decisions. Prime Minister Orbán travels with his personal staff and rules the country by phone calls as a "remote control" that terrifies medium-level

politicians and leads to big policy failures in implementations. If the prime minister is not available or not ready or able to decide, issues remain in the air without any decision being made. Orbán regularly brings together officials from his larger circle in order to give instructions. Many decisions originate from these meetings, which subsequently ripple informally through the system before any formal decision is made. These informal coordination mechanisms make rapid decision-making possible. Given the pivotal role of the prime minister, this system encourages anticipative obedience, but also creates a bottleneck in the implementation of decisions and precludes any genuinely efficient feedback.

Belgium

Score 9

Belgian governments have typically been broad coalition governments (the current government is more homogeneously right-wing, but still includes four parties), and mechanisms such as the council of ministers were established to enforce effective coordination. It is also important to note that party discipline is strong and party presidents are dominant figures able to enforce coordination both within and across government levels (subnational and national). In addition, some of the larger parties have well-organized study centers that provide extensive policy expertise.

The government agreement, signed at the government-formation stage, operates as an ex ante contract that limits possible deviation once the coalition operates. Once the government is formed, decisions are made collegially, and all government officials must defend the decisions made by the council of ministers. Thus, as long as governmental decisions remain within the boundaries of the government agreement, policy proposals are well coordinated.

Importantly, the last elections produced highly asymmetric coalitions at the federal and regional levels. The federal government must be composed of the same number of Dutch and French-speaking ministers. However, only one French-speaking party, the liberal-right MR, is part of that government. The coalition in Flanders is made up of all the Flemish parties in the federal government. In Wallonia, the coalition is composed of parties that are in the opposition at the federal level, including the Socialists (PS) and the Christian Democrats (CDH). The Brussels government is a six-party coalition with a partial overlap between the federal and regional coalitions. The capacity to coordinate policy between the federal and the regional governments is thus much more limited than it has been in recent times.

Moreover, the fact that the MR is the sole French-speaking party at the federal level, as well as a minority party in its electoral districts, puts it in an awkward position, limiting the capacity of the MR prime minister to dictate policy and behavior to coalition partners.

Japan

Score 9

Informal relations and related agreements are very common in Japan. Such interactions can facilitate coordination, but can also lead to collusion. In terms of institutionalized informal coordination mechanisms in the realm of policymaking, informal meetings and debates between the ministries and the ruling party's policy-research departments have traditionally been very important.

Informal, closed-door agreements on policy are again of considerable importance. The leadership has to navigate skillfully between the coalition partners, line ministries and their bureaucrats, and a more inquisitive public. The Chief Cabinet Secretary is a key actor in this regard. There is some evidence that cabinet meetings are essentially formalities, with sensitive issues informally discussed and decided beforehand. Ministries collect and make public few, if any, records of meetings between politicians and bureaucrats as they are supposed to do under the 2008 Basic Act of Reform of the National Civil Servant System.

The general trend toward greater transparency may have even strengthened the role of informality in order to avoid awkward situations. In a recent scandal involving Kake Gakuen, a schools operator, it emerged that the demarcation between official and informal documents was not clear-cut, allowing the government to sidestep formal procedures.

Citation:

Jiji News, Cabinet minutes show formality, no substance, The Japan Times, 5 October 2015, <http://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2015/10/05/national/politics-diplomacy/cabinet-minutes-show-formality-no-substance/>

N. N., None of Japan's 11 ministries kept records of contact between bureaucrats, politicians, The Mainichi, 24 February 2016, <http://mainichi.jp/english/articles/20160224/p2a/00m/0na/007000c>

N. N. Cabinet staff kept records of contact between legislators, bureaucrats 'voluntarily,' The Mainichi, 25 February 2016, <http://mainichi.jp/english/articles/20160225/p2a/00m/0na/014000c>

Enhancing government accountability (Editorial), The Japan Times, 13 August 2017, <https://www.japantimes.co.jp/opinion/2017/08/13/editorials/enhancing-government-accountability/>

Luxembourg

Score 9

There are many opportunities for informal coordination, given Luxembourg's small size, its close-knit society and government administration. Those in public administration responsible for early policy research and formulation, are well familiar with representatives of social organizations and members of civil society research institutions. In the small state, there are many opportunities for informal contact between public servants and experts from research institutions, business, and civil society. Senior civil servants are simultaneously responsible for various

projects, have an enormous workload and represent the government within different bodies, boards, and committees.

Citation:

“Participations de l’Etat.” Trésorerie de l’Etat. 2017. www.te.public.lu/fr/participations.html. Accessed 30 Dec. 2017.
“Die Osmose zwischen Staat und Unternehmen.” Luxemburger Wort, 24 November 2017. www.wort.lu/de/business/luxemburg-und-sein-finanzplatz-die-osmose-zwischen-staat-und-unternehmen-5a170a57c1097cee25b77bed. Accessed 30 Dec. 2017

New Zealand

Score 9

In addition to formal coordination, there are a number of informal channels between coalition partners, government and legislative support parties, and ministers and their parliamentary parties. Although media commentary tends to not draw a distinction between formal coalitions (e.g., Labour/NZ First 2017-) and non-coalition support parties (e.g., National 2008-17), the Cabinet Manual seeks to at least formally clarify which procedures should be used as a guideline in case of informal coordination. For instance, Cabinet Office Circular CO (15) 1 “National-led Administration: Consultation and Operating Arrangements” defines the relationship between government ministers and ministers from parties that are not officially part of the government: “Support-party ministers are not members of cabinet. From time to time, support-party ministers and other ministers outside cabinet may seek the prime minister’s agreement to attend cabinet when significant matters within their portfolios are being addressed.”

Citation:

Cabinet Office Circular CO (15) 1 (Wellington: Cabinet Office 2015).

Switzerland

Score 9

Given the small size of the federal administration and the country’s tradition of informal coordination, there is a continuing presence of strong and effective informal coordination. Informal coordination not only takes place among administrative units in the seven departments, but also between the respective administrations at the different federal levels (Mavrot and Sager 2017).

Citation:

MAVROT, Céline, and Fritz SAGER (2017). Vertical epistemic communities in multilevel governance. Policy & Politics: early online.

United Kingdom

Score 9

Informal coordination was a hallmark of the Labour governments under Tony Blair (1997 to 2007). However, informal coordination was reduced during the Labour government of Gordon Brown (2007 to 2010) and largely abolished under the coalition government (2010 to 2015), because of the need for avoiding tensions within the coalition. Having returned to one-party government in May 2015, it was

expected that informal forms of coordination would become more common again.

Cabinet committee discussions are regularly preceded or accompanied by bilateral meetings of relevant ministers supported by senior officials across government. These will often be chaired by the chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster or by other senior ministers.

The divisions within the governing Conservative Party, including among senior ministers, over the aims and likely “red lines” in negotiating the United Kingdom’s future relations with the European Union could complicate informal coordination, but – as examples of informal interministerial groups on subjects as diverse as flooding or the 2018 Commonwealth Summit show – it is working reliably in other areas.

Citation:

Collaborative Civil Service: <https://civilservice.blog.gov.uk/2016/04/28/a-model-for-a-more-collaborative-civil-service-the-estate-strategy-in-action/>

Australia

Score 8

Information coordination procedures exist at the level of the party, where informal consultations on policies take place on a regular basis to make sure that the party leadership supports the government’s direction; this occurs regardless of which party is in office. The federal system and the division of responsibilities between the federal government and the state and territory governments means that informal coordination is always an important component of any policy that may involve the states. These procedures are ad hoc, and take place at two levels, among ministers from different jurisdictions, and at the level of senior public servants.

Chile

Score 8

Informal coordination plays an important role in settling issues so that the cabinet can focus on strategic-policy debates. Existing informal mechanisms might be characterized as “formal informality,” as informal coordination mechanisms are de facto as institutionalized as formal ones in daily political practice. The functionality of this coordination mechanism did not change significantly during the review period.

Denmark

Score 8

The Danish administrative system is a mix of formal rules and norms and more informal traditions. As a few examples, officials hold informal talks in the halls of government, over lunch and during travel to and from Brussels. The informal

mechanisms can make formal meetings more efficient. Of course, important decisions must be confirmed in more formal settings. At the political level, informal mechanisms are probably more important than formal ones among officials. The fact that most governments have been coalition governments (and often minority governments) has increased the importance of information coordination mechanisms.

Citation:

Jørgen Grønnegård Christensen, Peter Munk Christiansen og Marius Ibsen, *Politik og forvaltning*, 4. udgave, Hans Reitzels Forlag, 2017.

France

Score 8

A crucial factor and essentially an invisible coordination mechanism is the “old-boy network” of former students from the *grandes écoles* (École nationale d’administration (ENA), École Polytechnique, Mines, ParisTech and so on) or membership in the same “grands corps” (prestigious bureaucracies such as Inspection générale des Finances, Diplomatie, Conseil d’Etat and so on). Most ministries (except perhaps the least powerful or those considered as marginal) include one or several persons from this high civil servant super-elite who know each other or are bound by an informal solidarity. These high civil servants (especially “énarques” from ENA) also work in the PMO or the president’s office, further strengthening this informal connection. The system is both efficient and not transparent, from a procedural point of view. It is striking, for instance, how much former President Hollande relied on people who trained with him at ENA and to whom he offered key positions in the political administration – ranging from ministerial positions or the chair of the central bank to many other high offices.

Ireland

Score 8

Every government in Ireland since 1989 has been a coalition government. The 2016 general election produced a Fine Gael-led minority government with nine independent deputies, a coalition which is dependent on the abstentionism of the main opposition party, Fianna Fáil, in votes relating to confidence and supply.

The impression conveyed by accounts of cabinet meetings is that the agenda is usually too heavy to allow long debates on fundamental issues, which tend to have been settled in various ways prior to the meeting. On the whole these informal coordination mechanisms appear to work effectively (see also Ministerial Bureaucracy on the importance on ministers’ special advisers).

During the 2011 to 2016 coalition government, the need for tight coordination was greater given that this government had to deal with the economic and financial crisis. An Economic Management Council (EMC) was introduced as a kind of “war

cabinet.” It was composed of four key cabinet members: the taoiseach and tanaiste (the two party leaders) and the two key economic portfolios, the Minister for Finance and the Minister for Public Expenditure (one from each party). The EMC also included these four ministers’ top officials and advisers, about 13 in total. The EMC was an inner cabinet that took key decisions – a level of formal tight coordination not previously seen in Ireland.

Citation:

The two most recent Annual Reports on the Programme for Government are available here:

http://www.taoiseach.gov.ie/eng/Publications/Publications_2014/Programme_for_Government_Annual_Report_2014.pdf

http://www.taoiseach.gov.ie/eng/Publications/Publications_2015/Programme_for_Government_Annual_Report_2015..pdf

Poland

Score 8

Informal mechanisms of coordination have played an important role under the PiS government. PiS chairman Jarosław Kaczyński has served as the gray eminence behind the scene. He has taken many important decisions himself, and the standing of government ministers has been strongly dependent upon their relationship with him.

South Korea

Score 8

Most interministerial coordination is both formal and informal in Korea. Informal coordination is typically, if not always, more effective. There is also a clear hierarchy structuring the ministries. Staffers at the newly created Ministry of Strategy and Finance see themselves as the elite among civil servants. However, the leading role of the Ministry of Strategy and Finance is defined by the president’s mandate.

In addition, informal coordination processes tend to be plagued by nepotism and regional or peer-group loyalties, particularly among high-school and university alumni. There has been both cooperation and competition between the ministries. Informal networks between the president and powerful politicians work very effectively in forwarding specific policies. However, these practices can also lead to corruption and an inefficient allocation of resources. For example, the recent Choi Soon-sil scandal took advantage of the prevalence of informal coordination and meetings.

Sweden

Score 8

Informal mechanisms of coordination among civil servants and higher-ranking politicians alike are common and important in the Swedish system, although they

may not always be effective. And yet, informal contacts between departments and agencies are believed to be integral to the efficiency of the politico-administrative system. Informal coordination procedures effectively filter many, but not all, policy proposals.

Citation:

de Fine Licht, J. and J. Pierre (2017), *Myndighetschefernas syn på regeringens styrning* (Stockholm: Statskontoret).

United States

Score 8

The U.S. government is highly prone to informal coordination, relying on personal networks, constituency relationships and other means. As with more formal processes, the effectiveness of such coordination is adversely affected by underdeveloped working relationships resulting from the short-term service of political appointees. The overall or average performance of informal coordination mechanisms has not been systematically evaluated. The Trump administration's lack of experienced personnel in key agency positions leads to an increased role for informal coordination, often based on various personal networks, such as people connected with Trump's family or businesses. These arrangements, however, are not sufficiently developed to make up for the lack of personnel and organization in the departments and agencies.

Canada

Score 7

Many, but not most policy proposals are coordinated through informal mechanisms, such as informal meetings with government members or across levels of government.

It is worth noting that Canada's federal system has no formal provisions that deal specifically with federal-provincial coordination. Pressing federal-provincial issues and other matters that require inter-governmental discussions are usually addressed in the First Ministers' Conference, which includes the prime minister, provincial premiers and territorial leaders, along with their officials. These meetings are called by the prime minister and have typically been held annually, but there is no formal schedule. The lack of any requirement for the conference to be held regularly is cause for concern, as it is critical for first ministers and the prime minister to engage in face-to-face discussions or negotiations, given the many policy areas that demand federal-provincial coordination. The previous prime minister, Stephen Harper, called the last First Minister's Conference in 2009, but it was a further six years before Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, following the election in 2015, meet with provincial leaders again.

To promote provincial-territorial cooperation and coordinate provincial-territorial relations with the federal government, provincial premiers and territorial leaders have met at the Council of the Federation twice a year since 2003.

Estonia

Score 7 Informal coordination has played an important role in ensuring efficient policymaking. In addition to contacts between high-ranking civil servants in ministries, the coalition committee and governing bodies of political parties have been key players in this regard. Getting support from coalition partners is generally the first step in successfully passing legislation.

Almost as important as the political support of coalition partners is the backing of local governments. Between 2016 and 2017, an administrative reform entered the final stage, which resulted in mergers of local governments (some of these forced by the central government). Because local governments and their associations cannot veto the policy process, their position can be ignored. Due to the ongoing reform, there has been much confusion and ill communication as well as opposition to central government initiatives. However, the amalgamation process is completing by the end of 2017 and the next steps of the administrative reform, aiming at clarifying the division of competences between the levels of government, can facilitate better coordination.

Fifteen county governments – the regional arm of the central government – will be disbanded in 2018 with their functions divided between agencies of the central government and municipalities. In principle, this ought to improve coordination.

Greece

Score 7 Most coordination mechanisms are informal and complement the more meager formal coordination mechanisms such as the infrequently convened cabinet and ministerial committees. Most informal mechanisms are ad hoc meetings among ministers convened at the Prime Minister's Office (PMO). Such meetings are followed up by person-to-person contacts between staff members of the PMO and advisers to ministers. In the period under review, informal coordination was frequent and was organized by close associates of Prime Minister Tsipras, such as ministers without portfolio, working at the PMO. Such ministers were assisted by several close associates of the prime minister, for example the General Secretary of the PMO and other Syriza party cadres who participated in daily briefings in the PMO. The Syriza-ANEL coalition government, after a long initial period during which various party officials around Prime Minister Tsipras experimented with reorganizing policymaking and government structures, has now settled into a more predictable pattern of informal coordination.

Iceland

Score 7 There is evidence that informal cooperation between ministers outside of formal cabinet meetings is increasing. These cooperative ministerial clusters were referred to in the Special Investigation Committee's 2010 report as "super-ministerial groups." The SIC report pointed out that examples of such cooperation immediately after the 2008 economic collapse demonstrated a need for clear rules on reporting what is discussed and decided in such informal meetings.

The SIC report also identified a tendency to move big decisions and important cooperative discussions into informal meetings between the chairmen of the ruling coalition parties. In March 2016, revised regulations on the procedures for cabinets were introduced but this only addresses formal cabinet meetings and not informal ministerial meetings. Therefore, we can conclude that the SIC report's call for clearer regulation has partly been addressed. However, informal meetings continue without proper reporting.

Citation:

The SIC report from 2010. Chapter 7. (Aðdragandi og orsakir falls Íslensku bankanna 2008 og tengdir atburðir (7). Reykjavík. Rannsóknarnefnd Alþingis).

Reglur um starfshætti ríkisstjórnar. Nr. 292/2016. 18. mars 2016. (Rules on procedures in cabinets).

Italy

Score 7 During the Renzi government, the prime minister – as leader of the dominant party of the government coalition – was able to steer the government using informal mechanisms of coordination, a close circle of friends and the undersecretary to the presidency. Under the Gentiloni government, with the leader of the Democratic Party now outside the government, these informal coordination mechanisms have become weaker. The Treasury has acquired a more important role in these informal coordination mechanisms. This weaker coordination can lead to hasty and ill-prepared decisions, which later need to be revised.

Latvia

Score 7 A coalition council that represents the political parties forming the governing coalition meets for weekly informal consultations. Despite its regular meetings with formal agendas, the council is not a part of the official decision-making process. Given that cabinet meetings are open to the press and public, coalition-council meetings provide an opportunity for off-the-record discussions and coordination. The council plays a de facto gatekeeping function for controversial issues, deciding when there is enough consensus to move issues to the cabinet. The coalition council can

play both a complementary role, creating an enabling environment for consensus-building, and a destructive role, undermining the legitimacy of the official decision-making process.

Lithuania

Score 7

Formal mechanisms of interministerial coordination still dominate the decision-making process, despite the emergence of new informal coordination mechanisms and practices at the central level of government. Political councils are created to solve political disagreements within the ruling coalition. In addition, the leadership of political parties represented in the government is often involved in the coordination of political issues. Informal meetings are sometimes called to coordinate various issues at the administrative level. Furthermore, the 2012 to 2016 government planned to develop a senior civil service strata, which could actively engage in policy coordination at the managerial level. However, these politically-sensitive provisions were later withdrawn from subsequent drafts of the Civil Service Law. Recent civil service reforms do not envision the creation of a higher civil service in the country.

Netherlands

Score 7

Very little is actually known about informal coordination at the (sub)-Council of Ministers level regarding policymaking and decision-making. The best-known informal procedure used to be the “Torentjesoverleg,” in which the prime minister and core of the Council of Ministers consulted with the leaders of the political parties supporting the coalition in the Prime Minister’s Office (“Het Torentje”). Coalition governments cannot survive without this kind of high-level political coordination between government and the States General. Given the weak parliamentary support of the Rutte I and II councils of ministers (October 2010 – February 2017), such informal coordination is no longer limited to political parties providing support to the governing coalition.

Under the present conditions, in which civil servants are subject to increasing parliamentary and media scrutiny, and in which gaps in trust and loyalty between the political leadership and the bureaucracy staff are growing, informal coordination and the personal chemistry among civil servants are what keeps things running. Regarding interministerial coordination, informal contacts between the senior staff (raadadviseurs) in the prime minister’s Council of Ministers and senior officers working for ministerial leadership are absolutely crucial. Nonetheless, such bureaucratic coordination is undermined by insufficient or absent informal political coordination.

Citation:

R.B. Andeweg and G.A. Irwin (2014), *Governance and politics of the Netherlands*. Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 154-163, 198-203, 220-228.

S. Jilke et al., *Public Sector Reform in the Netherlands: Views and Experiences from Senior Executives*, COCOPS Research Report, 2013

Norway

Score 7 Cabinet ministers meet frequently and keep in close touch with one other on issues of policy. Efforts have been made to encourage cross-ministerial relationships on the level of lower officials as well. There is extensive informal coordination between cabinet and parliamentary committees and party organizations.

Portugal

Score 7 Informal coordination mechanisms are central to government functioning and coordination. The horizontal informal links between ministries help compensate for the absence or rigidity of formal horizontal linkages. Informal coordination became even more important as the Socialist Party (PS) government depends on the PCP, BE and PEV to pass legislation in the parliament.

Slovakia

Score 7 Informal coordination has played a significant role in policy coordination under the third Fico government. For one thing, Fico has continued to capitalize on his weakening, but still rather strong role as party leader. For another, the new coalition decided to establish a complex system of coalition councils. The main coalition council, which coordinates the work of various sub-councils and consists of the chairmen of the three parties in government, meets at least once a month and adopts decisions unanimously. After the coalition crisis in August 2017, the leaders of the coalition partners agreed on measures for better communication, including regular Monday meetings, disclosing their proposals to each other no later than 24 hours before the cabinet session and forming a working group for improving communication between the three parties at the local and regional level.

Slovenia

Score 7 Slovenia's tradition of coalition governments has meant that informal coordination procedures have played a significant role in policy coordination. Under the Cerar government, the leaders of the three coalition parties meet frequently, making major decisions at coalition meetings that were often also attended by the ministers and

from time to time also by the leaders of parliamentary majority groups and coalition members of parliament. In press conferences and public statements after these meetings, very little information about the decisions made is provided to the public. The dominant role of the party leaders within their parties has also meant that a considerable amount of policy coordination takes place in party expert bodies.

Spain

Score 7

The relative weakness of formal coordination among ministry civil servants in Spain (see “Ministerial Bureaucracy”) is to some extent compensated for by helpful informal procedures. When administrative coordination is needed because interministerial problems are real and cannot be solved by the non-effective existing committees or by invoking vertical hierarchy, informal contacts, or meetings between officials of the various ministries involved are organized. Many policy proposals can in fact be coordinated in this fashion (ad hoc working groups are rare but may also be created). As Spanish senior civil servants are clustered into different specialized bureaucratic corps, informal mechanisms rely often on the fact that officials involved in the coordination may belong to the same corps or share a network of old colleagues. Nevertheless, the existence of specialized corps tends to aggravate Spanish administrative fragmentation, since every corps tends to control a department according to its specialization. Within the cabinet, these informal mechanisms are less necessary, since the stable Spanish experience of single-party governments with strong prime ministers has up to this point required less coordination than would coalition cabinets. However, informal coordination procedures do exist, with exchanges of views and occasional or urgent meetings of an inner core of ministers politically close to Prime Minister Mariano Rajoy.

Austria

Score 6

Previous coordination mechanisms – like weekly informal meetings within each cabinet faction and the cabinet as a whole, as well as the regular informal meetings between the chancellor and vice-chancellor – were sufficiently effective. They did not guarantee a smooth decision-making process based on consensus, but did allow the cabinet to make a realistic assessment of what collective decisions were possible or impossible. Informal coordination mechanisms were used to negotiate a compromise when a proposal from one party’s minister was unacceptable to the other coalition party.

It remains to be seen whether the new ÖVP-FPÖ coalition will introduce new permanent coordination mechanisms.

Czech Republic

Score 6 Informal coordination mechanisms have featured prominently in Czech political culture. Under the Sobotka government, the principles of coordination and problem solving within the government are described in the coalition agreement. Fundamental problems are solved by so-called coalition troika, consisting of the chairpersons of the governing parties. The most important body is the coalition council. It consists of the chairpersons of the coalition parties and a maximum of three other representatives of the respective coalition parties. Coordination mechanisms at the level of parliamentary and senatorial clubs are also important. The functioning of these mechanisms has been influenced by personal animosities over the period under review. The six ANO ministries were coordinating their agendas. This included participation in the Supervisor project – increasing transparency on spending. However, no ministries are controlled by Social Democrats or Christian Democrats.

Germany

Score 6 There are a number of informal mechanisms by which government policy is coordinated. The most important of these is the coalition committee, which comprises the most important actors (the chancellor, the deputy chancellor, the chairpersons of the parliamentary groups and the party chairpersons) within the coalition parties. Under the last Merkel government 2013 – 2017, the coalition committee met irregularly. Only at the peak of the refugee crisis did the coalition committee meet frequently. Even then, it was sometimes unable to resolve political conflicts and to develop coordinated policy responses.

Malta

Score 6 The government tendency toward informal coordination mechanisms has increased since Malta joined the European Union in 2004. Many directives from Brussels cut across departments and ministries, and this encourages ministries to talk to each other and work more closely together. Preparations for the EU presidency in January 2017 has raised this informal coordination to unprecedented levels. Currently, the PMO exercises an expanded coordinating role which has advanced progress on some domestic issues and policies. Overall, this is the result of establishing the Ministry for European Affairs and Implementation of the Manifesto. Furthermore, the principal permanent secretary has introduced frequent coordination meetings seeking to enhance the process.

Turkey

Score 6 Informal bodies, which are usually made up of senior party members and their personal networks, are typically used to sketch the framework of an issue in consultation with experts, while civil servants develop proposals, and finally the upper administrative echelons finalize policy. The higher levels of the ruling party in particular, in cooperation with ministers who have considerable experience in their fields, continue to form a tight network and contribute significantly to policy preparation.

However, the recent allegations of and fight against an illegal parallel structure within existing state structures linked to the network of U.S.-based cleric Fethullah Gülen placed significant strain on these informal mechanisms. As a consequence, a new generation of cabinet and administrative staffers with a high degree of loyalty and commitment to the party-state system is being groomed.

Informal coordination between the PMO and the Presidency has allegedly become more relevant since President Erdogan took over office, and especially after Binali Yıldırım became prime minister. Erdoğan regularly meets with line ministers and with the “small cabinet” to coordinate government policies. This type of informal coordination, however, cannot be considered constructive, but rather it has the potential to replace formal mechanisms of interministerial coordination.

Citation:

Bülent Duru and İlhan Uzgel, *AKP Kitabı-Bir Dönüşümün Bilançosu*, İstanbul: Phoenix Yayınevi, 2013.

Bulgaria

Score 5 Given the weakness of formal mechanisms of interministerial coordination and the fact that all recent governments have been either coalition or minority governments, informal coordination mechanisms have played a vital role in Bulgaria. However, the rules of coordination between government coalition parties or parties supporting the government are traditionally not communicated to the public. It is unclear to what extent informal coordination helps achieve a higher overall coherence of policies.

Israel

Score 5 Israel’s government system is greatly influenced by informal coordination mechanisms, such as coalition obligations and internal party politics. However, due to its highly fragmented party system, it is hard to determine whether they support or undermine formal mechanisms of interministerial coordination. While coordination between like-minded parties may be made easier by the situation, fragmentation may result in stagnation over disputed policies.

information gathering and consultation meetings. Discord between political actors rather than effective consultation dominated the field, with parties usually opposing government proposals.

Citation:

1. MPs reprimanded Two Laws declared Unconstitutional, Cyprus Mail, 6 September 2017, <http://cyprus-mail.com/2017/09/06/mps-reprimanded-two-laws-declared-unconstitutional/>

Romania

Score 2

In addition to the formal mechanisms of interministerial coordination, there has been an informal coordination of the government's work by PSD chef Dragnea, the "éminence grise" of the government. When Grindeanu became too independent, he was toppled by Dragnea. The informal coordination within the governing party thus undermined the formal coordination mechanisms within government.

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