



# Parties and Interest Associations Report

Intra-party Decision-Making, Association Competence (Employers & Unions), Association Competence (Others)

## Sustainable Governance Indicators 2019

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Indicator

## Intra-party Decision-Making

Question

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

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

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

### United States

Score 9

There are two major parties, the Democratic and Republican parties, operating at the local, state and federal levels in nearly all areas of the country. Unlike in parties in parliamentary systems, individual office holders (for example, members of Congress) decide their own positions on policy issues, subject to informal influence from party leaders. Thus, party programs or platforms, amounting to collective statements of party policies, do not exist. A national party platform is written every fourth year at each party's presidential nominating convention but is rarely referred to after the convention.

The occasion for intra-party democracy is therefore the nomination of party candidates for office. Party nominations are determined by primary elections and open caucuses conducted within each party in each state, thus putting these decisions directly in the hands of ordinary party members. The Trump nomination underscored the critical views of analysts about the dangers of relying on ordinary party members to select party nominees. Nevertheless, former supporters of Senator Bernie Sanders' unsuccessful pursuit of the 2016 Democratic presidential nomination have successfully pressured the Democratic party to reduce the role of party leaders in the 2020 presidential nomination contest.

### Denmark

Score 8

The political parties have a membership structure and are democratic organizations. Parties have annual meetings where policies are determined and leaders elected. They are open to the press and covered widely.

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

Newer parties (e.g., the second largest party currently in the parliament, the Danish People’s Party, or the Alternative) may be more tempted to propose popular, even populist, policies. However, parties that aspire to participate in future governments have to moderate their views. The Danish People’s Party provided the necessary parliamentary support for the previous liberal-conservative minority government (2009 to 2011) and the current three-party government, and has managed, in this way, to promote some of the party’s core issues (e.g., elderly and immigration policy). Similarly, the Socialist People’s Party participated in government for the first time in 2011, although it left the government in January 2014 because of internal disagreements over the policies pursued by the coalition.

Citation:

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

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

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

The Social Democratic Party: [www.socialdemokratiet.dk](http://www.socialdemokratiet.dk)

The Danish People’s Party: [www.danskfolkepart.dk](http://www.danskfolkepart.dk)

The Liberal Party: [www.venstre.dk](http://www.venstre.dk)

The Unity List: [www.enhedslisten.dk](http://www.enhedslisten.dk)

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

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

The Social Liberal Party: [www.radikale.dk](http://www.radikale.dk)

The Socialist People’s Party: [www.sf.dk](http://www.sf.dk)

The Conservative Party: [www.konservative.dk](http://www.konservative.dk)

## Finland

Score 8

At the time of writing, three major parties hold seats in the Finnish parliament (Eduskunta). Although empirical research on intra-party democracy has so far mainly dealt with the Center Party (Kesk), there is little doubt that the findings of this research can be assumed to apply to the other major parties as well. Generally, the structure of internal decision-making systems within political parties has developed in two directions. While active party members operate in voluntary, subnational organizational units, national policy functions are decided by career

politicians who constitute the party elite. This dualism places power in the hands of party elites, and most particularly the party chairs. This has led to a marginalization of party members from the executive functions within each party. As intra-party meetings are the highest decision-making institutions within political parties, the average party member participates in party meetings only indirectly by helping to elect delegates.

Citation:

Karina Jutila, "Yksillä säännöillä, kaksilla korteilla", Dissertation, University of Tampere, 2003; Rauli Mickelsson, "Suomen puolueet. Historia, muutos ja nykypäivä", Tampere: Vastapaino, 2007; Vesa J. Koskimaa, Intra-Party Power: The Ascendancy of Parties' Public "Face", in Lauri Karvonen, Heikki Paloheimo and Tapio Raunio, eds. *The Changing Balance of Political Power in Finland*, Stockholm: Santérus Förlag.

## Iceland

### Score 8

In the 2013 parliamentary elections, four out of 15 parties gained more than 10% of the votes. These four parties constitute Iceland's traditional four-party system. These four parties all hold their national conventions, which are the supreme decision-making forums for the parties, every second year. The conventions issue resolutions on major public policy issues, which oblige the members of parliament of the respective party to abide by these directives. Representatives from the regional and local party units of all parties have the right to participate in party conventions. The number of representatives attending is proportional to the number of party members in each unit. The nomination processes vary slightly among parties. Most parties have a tradition of primary elections in which only party members have the right to vote. For example, in the case of the Social Democrats, a signed declaration of support is required, rather than the stricter and more common requirement of party membership. The Progressive Party has different rules, under which most constituencies have a constituency board (Kjördæmisráð) that selects candidates to a constituency congress (Kjördæmisþing). The number of representatives of each local party unit is equal to the proportion of each unit's membership to the total membership of all units. At these congresses, candidates are elected one by one. The recently established party Bright Future (Björt Framtíð), which won six seats in 2013, four in 2016 and zero in 2017, did not nominate candidates by primary elections before the 2016 election, but thereafter developed its procedures for internal decision-making. Regeneration (Viðreisn), a liberal party founded in 2016, also does not hold primary elections. The Pirate Party (Píratarpartýið), which won three seats in 2013, 10 in 2016 and seven in 2017, was the largest party according to opinion polls from 2015 onward. The party held electronic primary elections in every constituency in autumn 2016. Further, the Pirate Party uses internet platforms to conduct open debates on many policy issues. Due to the limited time for election campaigning in 2016, the traditional parties skipped primary elections in some constituencies and used alternative nomination methods within the party organization. The time factor was even more important in the very sudden parliamentary elections held on 28 October 2017. After the cabinet coalition breakup

of 15 September 2017, there was little time for selection procedures. Therefore, all parties except the Pirate Party used the most effective nomination method – to just propose lists and put the decisions in the hands of the constituency congresses. The People’s Party (Flokkur fólksins) and the Centre Party (Miðflokkurinn), two parties that gained parliamentary seats for the first time in October 2017, did not have any open selection procedures either. Meanwhile, the Pirate Party held electronic pre-elections countrywide.

## Luxembourg

### Score 8

Inner-party democracy has different levels of intensity within the four major political parties: Christian Social People’s (CSV), Democratic Party (DP), Luxembourg Socialist Workers’ Party (LSAP) and Déi Gréng. The CSV has used its current oppositional role to pursue an internal modernization process while remaining faithful to its core principles. The party is engaging in internal structural reforms, while seeking to integrate more individual members and opinions into the process. However, since the end of 2013, a small group of CSV politicians known as the “Dräikinnegrupp” has demanded an even stronger reorientation. This group has focused on strengthening internal dialog and moving toward a grassroots democracy and has called for a new culture of participation. The CSV adopted new internal governance statutes in December 2015. After defeat in the October 2018 elections, the question of reform within the party was raised again. However, the party’s structures have probably since been further encrusted and intra-party reforms have not been sufficiently implemented.

The social democratic LSAP has expressed a clear determination to deepen its grassroots approach in the future. Internal party democracy for the liberal DP is limited by the power of a board of directors (“Comité directeur”), which makes most of the crucial decisions. Déi Gréng recently avowed a clear commitment to its grassroots movement, a principle it has followed since the party’s foundation. While CSV and DP tend to be top-down, the socialists and greens have adopted the opposite approach.

#### Citation:

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## Norway

Score 8

All political parties give special preference to their members in terms of internal decision-making. Party manifestos are approved at annual party meetings, while regional party meetings nominate their constituency's electoral candidates. Non-party members can be nominated as electoral candidates, but this is rare and happens mostly in small municipalities in local elections. In most parties, attempts are made to anchor major policy agendas in the views of party members and party representatives. Although there is some variation, membership in political parties has been in a decline for some time. In some instances, new initiatives were launched by party leaders without prior consultation with the party membership, but this is rather rare. Concerns have recently been raised about structural biases in nomination processes that favor active party members' preferences over those of average voters who rarely have or take the time to become active in political nomination processes. Some political parties have therefore begun experimenting with new modes of nominating and picking candidates. Compared to many other European countries, political parties remain strong organizations in Norway and the threshold for establishing new political movements is rather high.

## Sweden

Score 8

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

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

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

## Canada

**Score 7** There are currently three major political parties at the federal level in Canada: the Liberals, the Conservatives and the New Democrats.

In April 2013, the Liberal Party of Canada elected Justin Trudeau as their new leader, through an open-voting process that included non-party members. The policy formation process is also relatively open, new ideas are gathered from Liberal members and supporters through local groups, then written up as policy resolutions that are voted on and prioritized first within provincial and territorial associations and then at the Liberal Party's biannual conventions. All resolutions passed at the convention become official party policy. The Liberal Party currently forms the Canadian government and Prime Minister Justin Trudeau arguably has a more inclusive leadership style than his predecessor.

Until his resignation in the aftermath of the October 2015 election, the Conservative Party was tightly controlled by party leader and then Prime Minister Stephen Harper. Decisions on policy and electoral strategy were generally made by a small number of senior officials close to him. While grassroots views and resolutions passed at party conventions provide input into the decisions of the elite, they are not binding. For example, many Conservative Party members support restrictions on abortion, but this was not adopted as party policy for fear of alienating the general public. In May 2017, the Conservative Party of Canada chose Andrew Scheer, former Speaker of the House of Commons, as the new party leader in a tightly contested vote.

Unlike the Conservatives or the Liberals, the New Democratic Party is integrated with its provincial and territorial counterparts, except in Nunavut, the Northwest Territories and Quebec, making it difficult for members to support different parties at the federal and provincial levels. At the October 2017 convention, Jagmeet Singh was elected leader of the New Democrats. Singh is the first person of an ethnic minority background to be elected leader of a federal party. A wide range of views are expressed at New Democratic Party policy conferences, but all policy resolutions passed are non-binding on the party leadership.

Given their short time in office, it is too soon to evaluate either Scheer or Singh's leadership styles. Time will tell if they deviate from current party practice.

## Germany

**Score 7** The Basic Law stipulates intra-party democracy. Generally, party leaders of the coalition government were re-elected without facing major opposition for party leadership. No direct participation of party members regarding important policy decisions took place. The parties retained traditional hierarchical decision-making

processes and candidate-election procedures. However, at the end of October 2018, Chancellor Angela Merkel announced that she would not run for re-election as CDU party chair. Breaking with traditional procedures, a plurality of candidates stood for election as party chair and ultimately three candidates openly competed for the party leadership. In an open and nationwide campaign, the candidates tried to attract the votes of party members. In December 2018, a party convention elected Annegret Kramp-Karrenbauer as the new party chair. As a rule of thumb, the recent party leader will run for the chancellorship in the next national elections.

Particularly important policy challenges usually lead to fierce debates within the political parties. This was precisely the case for the SPD in the TTIP negotiations and the CDU/CSU concerning the refugee policy. However, party members have had little direct influence in these debates. Decision-making is limited to representatives at the party congresses and is firmly controlled by party elites.

## Israel

### Score 7

The eleven parties with Knesset seats following the 2015 elections demonstrate varying levels of intra-party democracy. The Israel Democracy Institute (IDI) has issued a Party Democracy Index, a mechanism that allows voters to evaluate the degree of internal democracy practiced by political parties. In this assessment on the eve of 2015 elections, the long-standing rightist Likud party and the Labor party were ranked top. In fact, the three topmost parties, Likud, Labor and the Arab Joint List (AJL), showed above average of intra-party democracy. However, other parties demonstrated very low intra-party democracy, especially ultra-orthodox parties and right-wing parties. New parties, mostly centrist parties, such as Yesh Atid (YA), Kulanu and Hatnua displayed middling intra-party democracy scores. In 2018, the Parties Act of 1992 was amended to allow candidates in a given (and large enough) party's primary elections to loan (and – in accordance with many conditions – to receive) funds from the state treasury for their campaign and to regulate how much a candidate can spend in a given campaign. The law also enforces supervision and oversight over a given party's primary elections and party register by the State Comptroller in order to ensure the propriety of the overall procedure.

The Likud, the Labor and the Jewish Home (JH) parties all choose their candidates through primary elections. In this internal election process, registered party members are given the right to choose Knesset candidates. The parties that use this method require a minimum membership duration in order to vote in the primary. The Labor, Likud and JH parties also have elective representative institutions that take part in decision-making processes such as the selection of the parties' representatives in the government, votes on whether their parties will join or leave a governing coalition, and debates over policy stances. In other parties such as the YA party, the Kulanu party and the Israel Beytenu party, some consultation with party members is conducted, but important decisions are made by top ranking members. For example,



according to the YA party's regulations, the party's leader and founder will remain leader until the end of the 20th Knesset. Moreover, in both parties, the regulations authorize the party's leader to decide on most important personnel issues, such as the list of electoral candidates. These figures also hold considerable power within the party's institutions, thus retaining significant influence over policy decisions.

Citation:

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## Lithuania

Score 7

Lithuanian parties usually restrict decision-making to party members. Although in many cases, all party members can participate in important decisions, their capacity to influence the most critical party decisions is insufficient. Some political parties are more democratically structured than others: in 2007, the Social Democratic party of Lithuania, the Lithuanian Christian Democrats and the Homeland Union were found to be the most democratic in terms of internal decision-making. The latter two parties have since merged to form a party whose leader is directly elected by all party members. In 2018, this party selected its candidate for president (Ingrida Šimonytė) during primary elections, which were open to members of the public in addition to party members. In 2017, members of the Social Democratic party of Lithuania directly elected the party’s chair for the first time in the party’s history. Gintautas Paluckas, the young deputy mayor of Vilnius, won the party election and started the process of renewing the party elite. Between 2001 and 2015, the party was dominated by members over the age of 50. As a result of Paluckas’ victory, the party leadership decided to split from the ruling coalition led by the Lithuanian Farmers and Greens Union. Most of the party’s members of parliament continued to support the Skvernelis government after forming the parliamentary group of the Social Democratic and Labor party and establishing a new political party.

Some other political parties are primarily used as a platform for their leaders to express their own political interests. Following the success of non-party candidates in the 2015 municipal elections, the Lithuanian Farmers and Greens Union brought together a group of non-party candidates for the 2016 parliamentary elections. Many of these candidates, campaigning as a movement rather than a political party, won against candidates of established political parties. Many of Prime Minister Skvernelis’ parliamentary group and government ministers are not party members.

Citation:

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## Spain

Score 7

Spain’s political landscape now includes four major parties that draw more than 10% of the popular vote at the national level: the center-right party PP, the social-democratic PSOE, the left-wing party Podemos and the liberal Ciudadanos party. The PP, traditionally characterized by opaque internal decision-making processes,

introduced a primary vote in 2018 for decisions on its leadership. The process was marked by some controversies, since only 58,000 party members voted (5% of the supposedly registered members).

The PSOE is a less president-driven organization, in which internal debate on electoral programs is common and even public, frequently involving some of the regional branches (especially the powerful Andalusian and Catalanian sections, the latter of which is formally an independent party). The manner in which the PSOE selects its leader and main candidates is quite open. Pedro Sánchez (who became prime minister a year later) won an election to the party leadership in 2017 against the wishes of the party machine.

Finally, both Podemos and Ciudadanos present themselves as more internally democratic than either the PP or the PSOE, insofar as they formally allow all party members and supporters to participate in personnel, program and controversial decisions. However, despite the rhetoric in these two new parties, closed party leaderships were able to fully control the most important decisions, including the appointment of their charismatic leaders to serve as prime-ministerial candidates.

Citation:

May 2018, El País, Podemos leaders win confidence vote, [https://elpais.com/elpais/2018/05/28/inenglish/1527492924\\_821506.html](https://elpais.com/elpais/2018/05/28/inenglish/1527492924_821506.html)

June, 2018, El diario, En qué se diferencian las 'primarias' del PP de las de PSOE, Podemos y Ciudadanos, [https://www.eldiario.es/politica/primarias-PP-PSOE-Podemos-Ciudadanos\\_0\\_784621699.html](https://www.eldiario.es/politica/primarias-PP-PSOE-Podemos-Ciudadanos_0_784621699.html)

## Cyprus

### Score 6

The extending of powers to party members and their friends that originated in the 1990s has suffered a backlash in the last five to eight years. Attempts to reach “consensus” and other practices cancel or limit the exercise of these powers. In recent presidential and parliamentary elections, the leadership within parties decided important issues, in breach of party procedures on candidate selection and other issues. Thus, grassroots bodies and members were in practice deprived their powers.

The Democratic Rally (Δημοκρατικός Συναγερμός, DISY) sought in recent years “consensus” and the leadership proposed “strong” candidates, avoiding in some cases established rules of procedure. This was the case in both intra-party and public-office elections. The nomination of the presidential candidate for 2018 was merely the formal approval of the previously announced candidacy of the incumbent president. DISY’s electoral programs are drafted and approved at a high level, with issues and proposals formulated on the basis of opinion surveys and communications consultant advice. Amendments to the party’s statutes in 2018 increased the leader’s powers and his highly personal management approach.

The Progressive Party of the Working People (Ανορθωτικό Κόμμα Εργαζομένου Λαού, AKEL) adheres to the principle of democratic centralism. Party members and their friends have nomination and selection rights, in a process that lacks transparency. The party congress (1,200 cadres) elects the Central Committee (CC, 105 members), which in turn elects the secretary general. AKEL's presidential candidate is selected by party cells, on proposals by the CC and a vote by an extraordinary congress. Electoral programs are approved by the party's governing bodies.

The Democratic Party (Δημοκρατικό Κόμμα, DIKO) applies a direct vote for its leadership. However, the CC (150 members) nominates the presidential candidate, while regulations set the procedures for nomination of candidates to other offices. The CC also approves the electoral program.

## France

### Score 6

Parties are usually both centralized and organized hierarchically. There are few registered fee-paying political activists. These are all serious limitations to the inclusiveness of citizens. Many politicians are not selected by a party; they are individuals who have made their breakthrough locally and impose themselves on the party apparatus. In the case of the Macron movement, the change is even more radical: candidates were selected from a pool of volunteers with most candidates lacking any prior political experience. In contrast, national politicians normally have a concrete and ground-based knowledge of people's aspirations and claims based on local experience. Another factor is the popular election of the president. Candidates' programs are inclusive; no policy sector is forgotten in their long to-do list. A third factor lies in recent changes in the selection of candidates for presidential elections. Primaries have taken place, first within the Socialist Party, then in the neo-Gaullist conservative Union for Popular Movement (UMP). In those cases, both registered activists and voters sympathetic to the party are eligible to participate. Actually, this "opening" of the process contributes to a further weakening of the parties which are already very feeble organizations. The strong participation in the primaries (up to 4.4 million in the case of the conservatives, a multiple of the number of registered members) is a form of citizen participation in a crucial political party decision, which can be seen as a positive sign for open and democratic legitimation of the party's choice. However, in spite of this apparent success, the primaries in France have confirmed the American experience: they are the most efficient instruments for weakening and destroying political parties. The socialist and conservative primaries have been profitable to the most radical candidates in both cases, deserting the moderate political space and thus permitting the landslide success of the centrist Macron. As a result, the traditional parties of government are deeply divided and weakened. Five years will not be too much for these parties to attempt to reconstruct themselves. As for the movement of the new president, La République en Marche, it remains purely a product of and for Macron. It has not yet been able to transform

itself into a political party capable of playing a proper role in decision-making and mediation between citizens and government in spite of being the largest political movement at present with 400,000 supporters (although most supporters are followers rather than activists).

## Italy

### Score 6

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

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

Northern League party activists and members selected their current leader, Matteo Salvini, through primaries in 2017.

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

## Switzerland

### Score 6

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

However, these oligarchic tendencies are arguably not the primary problem with regard to inclusion in Swiss parties. The decline in party membership and party

identification – particularly in the case of the Radical and Christian Democratic parties – along with the low level of party resources, may be even greater problems since party decisions are being made by an increasingly shrinking active party membership base.

## United Kingdom

### Score 6

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

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

The Labour Party also restricts decision-making to party members, although trade union influence remains strong. In most cases, a number of selected delegates participate in important personnel and issue decisions. Central party influence over local candidate selection has varied. Since 1988, there has had to be at least one woman on every shortlist. Since 2001, candidates require the approval of the central party’s head office prior to selection by their respective constituency Labour Party. Some political allies of the current leader, Jeremy Corbyn, favor a return to mandatory reselection, which would increase the influence of the left-wing within the party and is therefore highly contested. The Labour Party’s selection process for party leader was changed prior to the election of Jeremy Corbyn. Previously the old electoral college voted for the party leader. The college consisted of the Parliamentary Labour Party, constituency Labour parties, and the trade unions and affiliated organizations. Each group had one-third of the total vote. Since the procedural change, the choice is now based on a “one member, one vote” system. In addition, “registered supporters” can pay £3 to be entitled to vote as well. The winning candidate must secure at least 50% of the vote. Consequently, the election process can take several rounds, as the candidate with the fewest votes after each round drops out, and their second preferences are redistributed to the remaining

candidates, until the winning candidate has reached the required quorum. However, Corbyn won more than 50% of the vote in the first round. While the new procedure massively increased party membership and participation in the leadership election, the distribution of indicated preferences between party members, members of affiliated organizations and registered supporters varies considerably. Registered supporters appear to be much further to the left of party members or members of affiliated organizations. Furthermore, in the wake of the Brexit referendum result and accusations that Corbyn had not campaigned effectively enough for “remain,” Corbyn’s leadership of the Labour Party was challenged. Though in a repetition of the previous Labour Party leadership election, the election resulted in another clear victory for Corbyn. However, this raised questions about the representativeness of the newly enlarged membership and its effect on party leadership elections. Nevertheless, after Labour surprisingly managed to win 40% in the 2017 general election (only 2.4 percentage points less than the Conservatives) and thereby discredit the claim it had become widely unelectable after the change in leadership, Jeremy Corbyn has stabilized his control of the party.

## Belgium

### Score 5

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

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

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



The actual competitiveness of these internal elections varies widely on a case-by-case basis. In most internal elections, the winner is elected by a crushing majority, suggesting that challengers are simply acting figures destined to give an appearance of internal democracy – or, quite frequently, there is only one candidate. But it does happen that some internal elections are highly competitive, and lead to surprising results (among others, the Greens typically have competitive internal elections, and both the Christian Democrats and the Liberals have occasionally had tight contests). Overall, the process is thus mostly controlled by intermediate party elites.

Citation:

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

## Estonia

Score 5

Decision-making processes are very similar among the main parties. Formally, each party member can propose issues, but in reality, inner circles of 15 to 20 elite party members make the most important decisions. All parties have an annual congress at which delegates elect the party leader and other governing bodies. One such body is the board, which votes on political decisions, issues statements, and submits proposals to the party's parliamentary group and to the party's members in the government. The board also nominates ministerial candidates when the party is part of a coalition government. Another important decision-making body is the council, which manages the party when the general assembly is not in session. The council is comprised of board members and elected representatives from the various regions. The council negotiates agreements with other parties in the parliament, including decisions on whether to enter a governing coalition. Like the board, the council can also submit proposals to the party's parliamentary group and the party's members in the government. As a rule, it is the council's responsibility to compose and agree upon the lists of candidates for general and European Parliament elections. Local party organizations compose electoral lists for municipal elections.

## Greece

Score 5

Large parties (e.g., New Democracy and Syriza) continue to suffer from intense factionalism and party leadership's heavy-handed control of candidate lists and agendas. Syriza's party organs are regularly convened by the party leader (Prime Minister Tsipras) to discuss government policy since assuming power in 2015. New Democracy, under its new leader (Kyriakos Mitsotakis), has made some effort to encourage supporters to participate in defining the party's agenda. Nevertheless, major decisions remain with the leader and a close group of advisers. These phenomena are even more pronounced in small parties, including in the traditional

Communist Party (KKE) and also in Syriza's government coalition partner, the nationalist far-right party of Independent Greeks (ANEL). In these parties, a very small circle around the party leader has the final word in decision-making.

In the period under review, though the parties of the center and the center-left (PASOK and Potami, along with smaller parties) had agreed to merge in November 2017, a period of estrangement between the two dominant parties followed. The revival of intra-party life proved to be short-lived.

## Ireland

### Score 5

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

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

Specific party procedures for selecting party leaders and presidential candidates are detailed below. However, all the main parties now use a one member one voting system, meaning that each party member can vote once for the party candidate in their constituency. As such, party members are important gatekeepers to the selection of parliamentary candidates. While most candidates are selected locally, they need to be approved by the party's national executive, which reserves the right to veto any local choice or to add a new name to the ticket. Empirically, the national parties are more likely to add a name to the ticket than to veto someone selected locally. For example, for the 2016 general election, 15 of Fine Gael's 89 candidates and 16 of Fianna Fáil's 71 candidates were added to the ticket by the respective party's national constituency committees (see Reidy 2016). The 2016 "gender quotas," which threatens political parties with losing half of their state funding if the proportion of male or female nominated candidates falls below 30%, appears to have further strengthened the hands of the national party. Ready (2016, 71) states: "the requirement for parties to meet specific gender targets facilitated the party center exerting even more control over selection processes than at previous elections."

### Fine Gael:

The party leader is selected by an electoral college comprising: (1) the Fine Gael Parliamentary Party – weighting 65%, (2) ordinary Fine Gael members – 25% weighting, and (3) Fine Gael local representatives comprising city and county councilors and members of Udaras na Gaeltachta – weighting 10%. On 2 June 2017, Leo Varadkar beat Simon Coveney to become the new leader of Fine Gael. He was appointed taoiseach by President Higgins following a vote in Dáil Éireann on 14 June 2017.

**Fianna Fáil:**

The party has a pyramidal structure based on the local branches (cumainn). There are approximately 3,000 of these across the country. The party leader is elected by an electoral college comprising: ordinary members – weighting 45%, parliamentary deputies – 40% weighting, and other elected representatives – weighting 15%. Before the establishment of this electoral college, Micheal Martin was elected as leader of Fianna Fáil on 26 January 2011, in an election in which only members of parliament who were members of the Fianna Fáil party were eligible to vote.

**Sinn Féin:**

In February 2018, Mary Lou McDonald, after a special party conference in Dublin (Ard Fheis), succeeded Gerry Adams as leader of Sinn Féin. Since the party entered politics in 1986, no vote of confidence in the party leader has been tabled. The Ard Fheis (National Delegate Conference) is Sinn Féin's ultimate policymaking body, where delegates – directly elected by members of local branches (cumainn) – vote on and adopt policies.

In autumn 2018, Michael D. Higgins, the president of Ireland, was re-elected by a considerable majority, obtaining a record 822,566 first preference votes, to serve for a second seven year term

**Citation:**

Theresa Reidy (2016), 'Candidate Selection and the Illusion of Grass Roots Democracy,' in Michael Gallagher and Michael Marsh (eds) *How Ireland Voted 2016*. Palgrave.

**Latvia****Score 5**

The Law on Political Parties mandates that certain political-party decisions be made in the context of full-membership meetings or by elected officials of the parties. These include party officer elections as well as decisions on party governing statutes and party programs. Other decisions must be taken in accordance with party statutes, but are not subject to regulation. Regulations allow for little input by party members. By comparison, commercial law provides more rights to shareholders than rights accorded to party members in their own party.

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

Decision-making within the Unity Party (Vienotība, V) centers in the organization's board of directors, which engages closely with its parliamentary faction leadership and government representatives. There is active internal debate on policy issues, as

evidenced by press leaks detailing internal party correspondence and publicly visible debates on issues. Local chapters have considerable autonomy in personnel choices and in taking positions on local issues. There is also, however, evidence of party members' initiatives being suppressed or ignored by the board of directors. In early 2017, a group of disgruntled Vienotība members of parliament left Vienotība and joined an effort to establish a new party in advance of the 2018 elections. Vienotība has experienced upheaval, with a change in party leadership, several high-ranking party leaders either quitting the party or being expelled.

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

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

Three new parties emerged in anticipation of the parliamentary election in 2018 and gained substantial support. These were the nationalist-conservative New Conservative Party (*Jauna Konservatīva Partija, JKP*), the center-left-liberal Development/For! (*Attīstībai/PAR, AP*) and the populist "Who Owns the State?" (*Kam pieder valsts?, KPV.LV*). In their statutes, all three parties indicate a decision-making procedure in which power lies with the party's general assembly and is directed by the board of the party. In the case of JKP, there is also an intermediate body of party council. It remains to be seen how these guidelines will operate now that the parties have been elected to parliament.

## Malta

### Score 5

Political parties are increasingly coming under pressure to consult beyond party membership. This shift has been driven by voter volatility, with voters less constrained by party loyalties. Recently, the Nationalist Party (PN) decided to open to its members the second phase of voting for the party's leaders. However, these members are only allowed to vote after party delegates have made an initial choice from among the contenders. The result has been the election of a new leader who does not have the support of a number of the old stalwarts of the party. The Labor Party is presently utilizing a top-down approach in the selection of its deputy leaders. In selecting their agenda, the parties do now consult more widely with civil society. This explains the Labor Party's reference to itself as a movement, since it has

succeeded in bringing together groups from various identities. This is an approach the Nationalist Party is also attempting to adopt. Party committees collaborate with party leaders to select candidates.

Citation:

Are political parties becoming irrelevant? Malta Today 09/02/16

Replacing political parties. Times of Malta 01/01/18

<https://www.timesofmalta.com/articles/view/20180906/local/labour-approves-first-group-of-euro-parliament-election-candidates.688524>

## Mexico

### Score 5

In terms of candidate selection, it is normal for the presidential candidate of each of the major parties to participate in some kind of primary election. The selection of candidates in all parties for the 2018 elections was unusual. The Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) selected José Antonio Meade, a former finance minister, who was not a party member. The Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD) and the National Action Party (PAN) agreed to present a common candidate, Ricardo Anaya, following bitter internal debates because of the strange left-right-coalition. MORENA, a rather personalistic movement, selected former PRD-politician Andrés Manuel López Obrador.

Candidate nomination for other mandates vary from state to state and from municipality to municipality because of the federal system. PRI, the governing party, tends to be rather secretive, clientelist and hierarchical. Meanwhile, MORENA tends to be heavily reliant on the personality of its leader, AMLO. PAN is much more of a members' party, with a degree of internal democracy, but an exclusionary attitude toward non-party members. The question of which party is in government is also crucial. Incumbent parties tend to be more internally authoritarian because of their greater patronage resources. In general, the PRI is probably the most controlled and authoritarian of the major parties.

In terms of candidates to both chambers of Congress, all parties are dominated by a leadership elite which makes all relevant decisions. They can operate in this exclusionary way because they are in control of the delegates' votes. When the candidate lists are chosen, delegates will vote as their respective leaders indicate.

Citation:

Greene, K./Sánchez-Talanquer, M (2018). Mexico's Party System Under Stress. *Journal of Democracy*, 29, 4, October 2018: 31-42.

## Poland

### Score 5

For the last decade, political parties have functioned under legislation that strictly defines the role of a political party and how parties are financed. Since most funding is public, the government mandates that parties themselves are governed by

democratic principles. However, the reality is mixed, with some parties meeting democratic standards while others fall short.

In the 2015 parliamentary elections, only two parties – the governing Law and Justice Party (PiS) and the Civic Platform (PO) – received more than 10% of the votes. They differ strongly from one another in their internal decision-making processes.

The Law and Justice Party (PiS), led by Jarosław Kaczyński since 2003, is characterized by a hierarchical model of organization. Formal statutes and bodies notwithstanding, all important decisions are ultimately made directly or indirectly by Jarosław Kaczyński.

By contrast, the Civic Platform (PO), the second-biggest party in parliament, has experienced frequent intra-party tensions. Since January 2016 and the party's reorganization following its defeat in the parliamentary elections of 2015, Grzegorz Schetyna, former foreign minister in the Kopacz government, has led the party. In order to stimulate internal discussions and to increase a network also outside party membership, PO launched so-called citizens' clubs that convene all over Poland.

## Portugal

### Score 5

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

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

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

In January 2015, the PS approved new statutes that allow primary elections to choose political candidates and would let registered party sympathizers (not just members) to vote to choose the party leader. While current party leader António Costa gained the party leadership because of a primary election, this technique was not used to select candidates for the 2015 legislative elections, nor was it used for the 2016 and 2018 party leadership elections, which reverted to the direct election model previously noted.

The BE elects delegates that convene at the party's national convention to elect an 80-member national committee called "Mesa Nacional," which is elected proportionally. The Mesa Nacional then votes for the party's 21-member Political Commission. In its tenth convention, held in June 2016, the party changed its statutes slightly, albeit the change does not significantly alter the degree of internal democracy. Due to this change, it is now up to the Political Commission to elect a seven-member Secretariat. Until the ninth party convention held in November 2014, the BE had two national coordinators within the permanent commission. After this convention, the party returned to the model of a single coordinator, in this case Catarina Martins, who retained her position in the 10th convention. The party will hold its 11th convention 10 – 11 November 2018 and several proposals to change the statutes have been submitted. Though these proposals do not appear to significantly alter the degree of internal democracy.

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

## South Korea

### Score 5

There is almost universal agreement among political scientists, political observers, politicians and the general public that political parties are one of the weakest links in South Korean democracy. Parties are organized in a top-down fashion, and typically led by a few powerful individuals (who may or may not hold official party offices). Parties often disband, rename and regroup around these leaders without the comprehensive involvement of members. In general, ordinary party members have very little say outside the context of candidate-nomination processes. Organizing local party chapters remains illegal in Korea, making it almost impossible to build grassroots movements. Only some of the small parties not represented in the parliament, such as the Green Party, are organized in a bottom-up way. In 2015, both the governing and opposition parties decided to introduce an open-primary system to pick candidates for the parliamentary elections. This was expected to provide new

challengers with a fairer and more transparent environment. However, in reality, “strategic” party nominations still played a strong role in both parties. For the nomination of presidential candidates different parties adopted different nomination processes, ranging from open primaries (Democratic Party), a mixture of opinion polls and party delegates (Liberty Party), a mixture of open primaries and opinion polls (People’s Party), and a direct vote by party members (Justice Party). In this sense, voters had the choice not just between different candidates, but also between different selection systems. While the selection of presidential candidates is becoming more democratic, issue-oriented participation by party members remains anemic, and party organizations remain weak.

## Australia

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

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

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

Citation:

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

<https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2018/jan/23/mark-butler-factions-are-destroying-labors-capacity-to-campaign>

## Austria

Score 4 The Austrian party system is in an ongoing process of deconcentration. The traditionally dominant parties – the Social Democratic Party (Sozialdemokratische Partei Österreichs, SPÖ) and the conservative, Christian-democratic Austrian People’s Party (Österreichische Volkspartei, ÖVP) have experienced an almost



uninterrupted decline since 1980. In 1979, the two parties were able to win a combined total of more than 90% of votes. In 2013, the parties were down to a combined total of about 50%. In 2017, the combined total of both parties again rose to more than 58%.

For decades, the right-wing (“populist”) Freedom Party (Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs, FPÖ), the center-left Greens, and the liberal New Austria and Liberal Forum (NEOS) as well as a variety of newer parties, sometimes with very short political life expectancies, have been the beneficiaries. In 2017, this changed significantly, as the Greens failed to cross the 4% threshold and the FPÖ won a substantial share of the vote (26%). A party led by some green dissidents (Liste Pilz) succeeded in getting into parliament.

In general, all parties have spent little time developing intra-party democracy, and have focused instead on appealing to specific groups considered necessary to win elections.

In preparation for the 2017 general elections, the ÖVP changed its traditional procedure for nominating candidates. The party has transferred all authority for the nomination process to one person, the party’s candidate for the Chancellor’s Office, Sebastian Kurz. This must be seen as a significant decline in intra-party democracy. In contrast to the ÖVP, the other parties have followed their traditional procedures, ensuring that the different intra-party interests continue to be represented.

After losing its primary position in parliament and now in opposition, the SPÖ has started to reform its internal decision-making procedures, which will give party members a stronger role. This was exemplified in the decision about the new mayor of Vienna, Michael Ludwig. For the federal level, new rules are still being discussed and the new party leader, Joy Pamela Rendi-Wagner, was chosen by the traditional process. Within the ÖVP, which changed its party procedures before the general elections of 2017, the centralized procedures implemented by Sebastian Kurz are still undisputed and probably will be accepted as long as the chancellor (and party chairman) enjoys an overall popularity.

## Bulgaria

### Score 4

In the 2017 parliamentary election, only two parties gained more than 10% of the popular vote – Prime Minister Borissov’s Citizens for European Development of Bulgaria (GERB) and the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP). The BSP traditionally campaigns in elections as part of a formal coalition of parties, although the BSP is by far the largest carrier of votes within the coalition. The Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS) was close with 9.2% of votes. The United Patriots coalition also obtained more than 9%, but consists of three parties that are relatively equal in terms of voter strength and cannot be considered as a single entity.

The BSP is a relatively democratic party with an authentic internal opposition, and clear opportunities for different factions to influence party discussions and agenda, even though the faction around the party chair usually prevails. The party has actually changed leadership three times since 2001. Electoral platforms and candidate lists are prepared in a relatively centralized manner, but local party organizations do have an input and the party has several factions that vie for influence over the party's central decision-making institution.

GERB and DPS are leader-dominated parties, as are at least two of the three parties forming the United Patriots coalition. Regardless of the internal democratic mechanisms envisaged in their statutes, most decisions are concentrated in the hands of the party leader and a few members around the party leader. While in GERB the influence of different groups and constituencies can be effective, the specific characteristics of the DPS make its decision-making process opaque and highly concentrated in the hands one person – its one-time active leader and now honorary president.

## Chile

### Score 4

Chile has a presidential governmental system. As the president determines the government's policy agenda, presidential elections are much more relevant in terms of policy direction than are congressional ballots. Therefore, in campaigns for the presidency, government programs are presented by the presidential candidates and not by their coalitions or parties. These global program proposals tend to be limited to descriptions of policies' intended public effects rather than technical details or any detailed discussion of content. The primary elections (primarias) for the 2013 and 2017 presidential elections demonstrated that candidate selection and issue agendas are largely controlled by the parties' leaders.

## Croatia

### Score 4

Croatian parties are characterized by a rigid structure. The degree of intra-party democracy is generally low, members do not regularly participate in party activities and the party leadership maintains considerable control over selection procedures and debates. In the HDZ (Croatian Democratic Union), no internal elections took place until April 2016. While the party's chairman has been elected directly by party members ever since, the latter have not had the chance to choose between different candidates. The SDP is somewhat more open to internal debates but does not tolerate the existence of open political blocs. Most-NL held its first intra-party elections in January 2017, more than one year after having been catapulted into parliament.

## Czechia

### Score 4

The 2017 parliamentary elections transformed the Czech political landscape. On both what could broadly be understood as the left and the right, established political parties were challenged by populists and anti-establishment forces. Babiš's anti-establishment and populist Movement of Dissatisfied Citizens (ANO party), emerged as the strongest party (29.6% of the votes), attracting many voters of the Social Democrats (7.3%) and Communists (7.8%). The Pirate party (10.8%) drew young, educated left-leaning anti-establishment voters. On the right, the field is also fragmented, with the established Civic Democrats (Občanská demokratická strana, ODS, back up to 11.3%) alongside the conservative Christian Democrats (5.8%) and TOP09 (Tradice Odpovědnost Prosperita 09, TOP09, 5.3%) all having suffered losses, while the radical right Freedom and Direct Democracy (Svoboda a prima demokracie, SPD; new subject formed by Tomio Okamura, after disbanding his scandal-ridden Dawn of Direct Democracy, 10.6%) entered parliament.

The traditional parties had developed formal structures and means of participation in electing their leaders and voting at congresses on policies. In practice, active involvement by members was limited. This internal democracy was extended by the Social Democrats with their first-ever internal ballot of members over whether or not to join a coalition with ANO. The internal organization of the Pirate party is the most systematically inclusive as it enables both members and sympathizers to engage in agenda-setting and other activities, the majority of which take place online. The internal decision-making of the ANO party is the polar-opposite. The party is hierarchically organized, and its founder and leader, Andrej Babiš and a small group of his allies, dominate the decision-making process. The internal organization of SPD is even more restrictive, as the party leader Tomio Okamura controls both the decision-making and party finance in ways that involve intimidation and – according to investigative journalists – even extortion.

Citation:

Kmenta, J. (2017): *Boss Babiš*. Nymburk: JKM – Jaroslav Kmenta.

## Hungary

### Score 4

Intra-party democracy has been a rarity in Hungary. Although regulations for electing party leaders and for establishing candidacies for national, regional and local elections are formally in place, they do not play a dominant role in intra-party democracy. Fidesz is completely controlled by its president. Among the left parties, Hungarian Socialist Party (MSZP) is democratically organized with a weak leadership, whereas Demokratikus Koalíció (DK) is dominated by former Prime Minister Ferenc Gyurcsány. The other opposition parties are in a state of complex chaos and disorganization after the April elections. Gábor Vona, the former president

of Jobbik has left the party, his successor is a weak figure, and the party has gone through a painful split. Politics Can Be Different (LMP) is now subject to even greater chaos, both former co-presidents have gone, and the political profile of the party is unclear.

## Netherlands

### Score 4

The dominant political view is that government interference in private organizations like political parties is incompatible with the role of the state in a liberal democracy. A law for internal party democracy is appropriate for countries with a history of non-democratic governance (e.g., Germany, some states in southern Europe, and in central and eastern Europe). However, in the Netherlands with its strong democratic tradition, many consider it superfluous. However, prominent political scientists believe that the culture and informal mode of operation of political parties ought to be modernized to guarantee a sustainable democracy. Several recent reports show the vulnerability of Dutch democracy to (international) manipulation through weak controls over and accountability for party finance, political campaigning and candidate selection.

Political party membership reached an all-time low of 285,851 in 2015, although this increased to 317,000 in 2018 (2.5% of the electorate), owing to an increase in young voters joining the Green Left and Forum for Democracy. Approximately 10% of party members are considered active. Frequently party activism is used as a launching pad for a political career. Across all major political parties, political activists and (semi-)professionals now dominate decision-making with regard to candidate lists and political agendas. Political parties are not bottom-up movements. Rather, they are intermediaries between political elites and their electorates, with political party members as links. Intra-party democracy (e.g., party congresses, election of party leaders and intra-party referendums) sometimes prove to be counterproductive. One former minister of defense and Labor party member commented: “Party congresses don’t buy combat planes.” Party leadership succession, even in political parties with some tradition of intra-party democracy (e.g., Labor and D66), is not democratically regulated, but is often determined by opaque, “spontaneous” selection processes managed by party elites.

The functional loss of political parties as clear representatives of social groups reverberates across the political system at all levels. Particularly the mobilization and integration into politics of lower educated citizens has declined. Paired with the decline of the centrist parties (in particular the social-democratic PvdA and Christian democratic CDA), the rise of more extremist and fringe parties, increasing electoral volatility, parliamentary fragmentation, polarization on particularly cultural issues and strong anti-establishment sentiments create anxieties of a democracy in crisis.

#### Citation:

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Trouw, De partijdemocratie is in een doodsstrijd beland, 16 December 2016 (trouw.nl, accessed 3 November 2018)

T. van der Meer, Democratische doendenkers hebben het mis, Sociale Vraagstukken, 18 January 2017 (socialevraagstukken.nl, accessed 3 November 2018)

<https://www.rijksoverheid.nl/documenten/rapporten/2018/02/01/rapport-het-publieke-belang-van-politieke-partijen>

<https://www.staatscommissieparlementairstelsel.nl/documenten/publicaties/2018/06/21/tussenstand>

## New Zealand

### Score 4

As of early 2019, there are five political parties in the parliament. The two major parties, National (56 seats) and Labour (46 seats) dominate the electoral map. The NZ First party and the Green party come next, with 9 and 8 seats respectively.

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

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

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

## Citation:

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

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

NZ Electoral Commission ([elections.org.nz](http://elections.org.nz), 2017)

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

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

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

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

## Slovenia

### Score 4

Slovenian party law leaves political parties with some organizational autonomy. Political parties are very heterogeneously organized, with some organized only on the micro level (i.e., in one or several of the 212 municipalities) and others organized only on the macro level. Access to decision-making processes is normally restricted to party members. Whereas party members have the formal right to participate in decisions, the party leadership controls the candidate lists and the policy agendas. The details of internal party decision-making are not widely known to the public, as most decisions are made behind doors that are firmly shut. In the 2018 parliamentary elections, only two political parties managed to win more than 10% of votes.

## Japan

### Score 3

Generally speaking, parties in Japan are fairly insider-oriented, with policy and personnel decisions driven by leading politicians and their networks.

Japan's strongest party is the LDP (holding 61% of Lower House seats after the 2017 election). No stable second major party currently exists. While the Democratic Party (DP) once seemed a possible contender, it suffered another major blow before the 2017 election, when many of its Lower House members formed the Constitutional Democratic Party (CDP, 12%), an entity primarily devoted to opposing changes to the existing constitution, while others entered the newly formed conservative Party of Hope (11%). This latter party and the DP regrouped as the Democratic Party for the People in May 2018, but not all DP or Party of Hope parliamentarians have joined the new party.

The LDP has traditionally revolved around individual politicians, their personal local-level support organizations and the intraparty factions built by key party leaders. Local party chapters may play decisive roles in choosing a parliamentary candidate if there is no "natural" successor to the former incumbent. Ordinary party-member involvement is usually limited to membership in a local-level support organization for a politician and is mainly (but not solely) based on mutual material interests: While members want tangible support for their communities, politicians want secure "vote banks" for (re-)election.

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

Party politics before and after the 2017 Lower House election showed that major strategic decisions in some of the newer opposition parties are made more or less autonomously by individual party leaders.

Citation:

N. N., The cabals Japan's prime minister has tried to curb may curb him, *The Economist*, 19 April 2018, <https://www.economist.com/asia/2018/04/19/the-cabals-japans-prime-minister-has-tried-to-curb-may-curb-him>

Aurelia George Mulgan, Where is Japan's party system headed?, *East Asia Forum*, 10 October 2017, <http://www.eastasiaforum.org/2017/10/10/where-is-japans-party-system-headed/>

Tetsuya Kageyama, Democratic Party for the People launched with little sense of excitement, 8 May 2018, <https://mainichi.jp/english/articles/20180508/p2a/00m/0na/014000c>

## Romania

Score 3

Almost all Romanian parties have been characterized by weak intra-party democracy. In the case of the strongest party in parliament, the socialist PSD, its chairman Liviu Dragnea has enjoyed an unprecedented authority, not even reached by Ion Iliescu, Romania's first post-communist president. Despite being convicted for vote-rigging, Dragnea has been able to appoint and dismiss cabinets at will.

## Slovakia

Score 3

All Slovak parties are elite projects that are dominated by a few party leaders. In the parliamentary elections in March 2016 new parties entered the parliament: the extreme right ĽSNS, the populist Sme Rodina and the center party Siet'. The nationalist SNS, came back to parliament while the former governing parties SDKU-DS and Christian Democratic Movement (KDH) remained outside. Smer-SD remains strongly centered around Robert Fico, who has led the party since its founding in 1999 and has remained its head even after his resignation as prime minister in March 2018. The inner circle of the party and the number of party representatives with influence are rather limited. The two centrist parties established in 2017/18 – Spolu–Občianska Demokracia (Together – Civic Democracy) and Progresívne Slovensko (Progressive Slovakia) – are more inclusive and engage in open decision-making with their members.

## Turkey

### Score 2

The centralized structure of the Political Parties Law (Law 2820) and the bylaws of the major parties does not encourage intra-party democracy. Consequently, strong party discipline is a common feature of all political parties. Although the Justice and Development Party (AKP), the Republican People's Party (CHP) and the Peoples' Democratic Party (HDP) do not discriminate on the basis of ethnicity or religious orientation with regard to membership, contestation within the parties is limited, at best. Dissenting voices are generally unable to find an institutional path by which to engage in effective debate. Competition usually revolves around party members' ability to create local power centers through which they compete for the attention and goodwill of the party leader.

Membership, party congresses and executive boards are not democratically managed in most political parties. Three deputies were dismissed from the MHP in March 2017. Several deputies of the AKP allegedly closer to illegal Gülenist networks either resigned or faced being dismissed, especially in the aftermath of coup attempt in 2016. On the request of the president and AKP chair, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, the mayors of six provinces, including Ankara and Bursa, resigned in fall 2017. Erdoğan stated that “people do not take these offices as independent candidates but as candidates shown by parties.”

#### Citation:

“AKP’de ‘metal fırtına’: Erdoğan, “Gökçek dahil 6 belediye başkanının istifasını istedi” iddiası,” 2 October 2017, <http://t24.com.tr/haber/Erdoğan-gokcek-dahil-6-belediye-baskaninin-istifasini-istedi-iddiasi,455251> (accessed 1 November 2017)

“Turkey’s Erdoğan Calls on Mayors to Resign, Hurriyet Newspaper Says,” 19 October 2017, <https://www.usnews.com/news/world/articles/2017-10-19/turkeys-Erdoğan-calls-on-mayors-to-resign-hurriyet-newspaper-says> (accessed 1 November 2017)

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

P. Ayan-Musil, *Authoritarian Party Structures and Democratic Political Setting in Turkey*, Palgrave, 2011.

C. Erdoğan, *CHP (1919-2018) İdeoloji-Örgütsel Yapı Parti İçi Demokrasi ve Oligarşi*, Sokak Kitapları Yayınları, 2018.

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



Indicator **Association Competence (Employers & Unions)**

Question **To what extent are economic interest associations (e.g., employers, industry, labor) capable of formulating relevant policies?**

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

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

## Australia

Score 9 The major interest associations, which are run by the employers and business groups and the trade unions, have a history of proposing practical, plausible policies. The main explanation for this is that the government has a long history of involvement and policy consultation with most of the groups (for example, business groups are closely allied with the Liberal party, farmers' and rural groups are allied with the National party, and trade unions are allied with the Labor party). Many elected representatives have at some point in their career been a member of one of these groups, further cementing relations. There are also considerable formal and informal networks linking the various groups to the major political parties, further consolidating the development of practical and coherent policies.

Citation:

<https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2018/sep/16/in-the-family-majority-of-australias-lobbyists-are-former-political-insiders>

## Denmark

Score 9 Given the corporatist tradition in Denmark, the major interest organizations are regularly involved in policymaking. The most recent examples include initiatives focusing on the employment of immigrants and life-long learning. This policy setting enforces discipline on organizations. Although they promote their special interests, they also have to bring them into a realistic political setting to have influence. This

consensus tradition is also seen in the labor market, where organizations have a tradition of settling issues to avoid political interference.

Citation:

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

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

## Norway

Score 9

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

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

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

In addition to traditional corporatist actors, several consultancy firms have been launched in recent years that seek to influence policymaking. Some, but not all, of these firms disclose their list of customers. Interest associations, which do not employ their own staff to influence policymaking, can hire lobbying services from consultancy firms. However, weaker economic groups do not have the sufficient available resources and are unable to pay for professional support.

## Sweden

Score 9

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

The major business interest organizations and unions are certainly very capable of analyzing the economic situation and presenting policy proposals. As organized

interests, they obviously pursue their respective agendas, but overall, the expertise and policy capacity of the major interest organizations is impressive. During the global economic crisis, for example, the interest associations showed a high degree of responsibility by not counteracting the crisis management of the government.

Citation:

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

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

## United States

Score 9

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

Labor union staff capacity has declined over several decades, as a result of the declining proportion of the workforce organized by unions (now about 11%). It is still sufficient to formulate relevant policy proposals in areas of interest. In general, labor unions are the principal interest organizations that represent the interests of low-income people. Thus, the decline in union capability is a potentially significant weakness of the U.S. political system.

## Austria

Score 8

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

Democratic Party and the Austrian People's Party. Moreover, their influence is enhanced by their practice of acting in a coordinated, neo-corporatist way through the social-partnership network.

This may change as a consequence of the FPÖ's entry into coalition government with the ÖVP. As the FPÖ, in contrast to the ÖVP and SPÖ, has traditionally not strong links to economic interest groups, the new government may be less inclined to accept the interest groups' influence.

## Belgium

Score 8

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

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

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

## Canada

Score 8

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

## Finland

**Score 8** Employers' and employees' organizations became involved in a series of comprehensive income-policy agreements in 1968 concerning wages, working conditions, and social-welfare programs and legislation. While this institutional arrangement for cooperation between government and associations has since slightly eroded, it created a framework for advancing responsible, considered and expert-based policy proposals on the part of the large economic-interest associations. Other mechanisms, including associations' participation as members and experts in the committee system, have worked in the same direction. This corporatist structure is regularly criticized. Although not uncontroversial, this consensus style of policymaking has led to reasonable policies with fairly broad support.

Citation:

Voitto Helander and Dag Anckar, *Consultation and Political Culture. Essays on the Case of Finland*, *Commentationes Scientiarum Socialium*, nr 19, 1983, Helsinki: The Finnish Society of Sciences and Letters.

## Germany

**Score 8** Economic interest associations like trade unions or employers' associations in Germany are well-functioning organizations endowed with rich analytical and lobbying resources. They are definitely able to develop policy strategies and proposals and to present alternatives to current politics. Both trade unions and employers' association have their own economic think tanks supporting their policy proposals through substantive research on costs and benefits of different options. Furthermore, these organizations also invest substantial resources in lobbying for their positions among the general public and do so successfully. For example, the decision to introduce a general statutory minimum wage had been preceded by trade unions' extensive public lobbying.

## Iceland

**Score 8** The main interest organizations in Iceland continue to have considerable influence on public policymaking and engagement with political parties.

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

Closely associated with the Confederation of Icelandic Employers is the Iceland Chamber of Commerce, which continues to dispense advice to the government.

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

After the 2008 economic collapse, the employers' association, the employees' union, the government, and the Federation of Municipalities signed an agreement intended to promote economic stability (Stöðugleikasáttmáli). The agreement proposed a restructuring of the economy through wage and price freezes, among other issues. This effort was unsuccessful. Then, in autumn 2015, the representatives of the government, employers and labor unions signed the so-called SALEK agreement, a framework for collective agreements in the labor market. This agreement applies now to approximately 70% of employees. Some public-sector unions have so far refused to agree on SALEK. This situation continues to be the case at the time of writing, and a new labor market bargaining process is approaching and has already started in some cases.

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

The 2009 – 2013 cabinet failed to realize its goal of restructuring the management system for Iceland's fisheries, despite raising fishing fees significantly. However, the 2013 – 2016 cabinet lowered the fees already in 2013, against IMF advice. In autumn 2018, the minister of fisheries and agriculture announced a substantial reduction in fishing fees, and the corresponding bill was passed by parliament before the end of 2018.

Citation:

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

## Israel

### Score 8

Israel has a vibrant business community that often interacts with government departments and Knesset representatives in order to advance its agenda in Israel and abroad. At least three major business groups – the Federation of Israeli Chambers of Commerce, the Manufacturers' Association of Israel and a group for coordination between financial organizations – actively pursue policy goals through legal, regulatory or project-based perspectives. All three take part in conferences, perform independent research and publish their agendas. Business organizations also cooperate with academics and institutions to produce research, and some business-

oriented think tanks exist. In general, Israeli businesses are well represented in the political sphere, and most economic-interest associations are highly capable of formulating relevant policy proposals. However, there is a significant degree of social inequality in this practice, as the Arab business sector seldom enjoys such close and productive ties with the government.

The past few months were also very instructive as to the extent businesses are capable of affecting policy. In June 2018, the Knesset's Economic Affairs Committee approved a first reading of a bill that would impose greater restrictions and limitations on the advertisement of tobacco products, despite immense pressure and lobbying from tobacco companies. At the time of writing, the bill is currently with the Economic Affairs Committee again, being prepared for its second and third reading in the plenum. The tobacco companies are trying to minimize the damage the bill may potentially cause them, should it be approved and enacted, through large amounts of advertisement and employing corps of lobbyists. Indeed, the first meeting of the committee to deliberate the bill's second and third reading was attended by many lobbyists, representing both the tobacco companies, and anti-smoking and pro-public health organizations. The meeting dealt with the proposed law's name and several definitions in it, all the votes on those issues were approved without opposition.

Citation:

Israel. The Knesset. Protocol Number 827 from the Economic Affairs Committee. October 15th, 2018. (Hebrew). Retrieved from <https://main.knesset.gov.il/Activity/committees/Economics/Pages/CommitteeProtocols.aspx?ItemID=2074129>

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<https://main.knesset.gov.il/Activity/Legislation/Laws/Pages/LawBill.aspx?t=lawsuggestionssearch&lawitemid=2020202>.

Linder-Gantz, Roni. "The Advertisement Blitz: The Smoking Companies Are Out for a Final Battle." In TheMarker website. October 15th, 2018. (Hebrew). <https://www.themarker.com/news/health/premium-1.6554561>.

Linder-Gantz, Roni. "The Day the Smoke around the Tobacco Advertisement Cleared – and the MKs Chose the Side of the Public." In TheMarker website. June 26th, 2018. (Hebrew). <https://www.themarker.com/consumer/health/premium-1.6213257>.

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

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

The Industry Association Press Releases,  
<http://www.industry.org.il/%D7%94%D7%95%D7%93%D7%A2%D7%95%D7%AA-%D7%9C%D7%A2%D7%99%D7%AA%D7%95%D7%A0%D7%95%D7%AA>

"Israel Business Conference 2016," Globes, <http://www.globes.co.il/news/home.aspx?fid=8750>

"Netanyahu to open Globes Business Conference on Wed," Globes, 18.12.2018: <https://en.globes.co.il/en/article-netanyahu-to-open-globes-business-on-wed-1001265135>

## Latvia

Score 8

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

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

The Foreign Investors' Council (FICIL) has a strong capacity for presenting well-formulated policy proposals. FICIL conducts an annual structured dialog at the prime-ministerial level. The actions that come out of these dialogs are subsequently implemented and monitored. The 2018 council meeting focused attention on improving the business environment, the availability and quality of labor, and digital performance and competitiveness, and strengthening the rule of law and preventing economic crimes.

Citation:

1. The Foreign Investors' Council in Latvia, Information available: <http://www.ficil.lv/index.php/home/>, Last assessed: 02.01.2019
2. National Tripartite Cooperation Council, Agenda available at (in Latvian): <https://www.mk.gov.lv/lv/content/nacionalas-trispusejas-sadarbibas-padomes-sedes>, Last assessed: 02.01.2019

## Luxembourg

Score 8

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

Trade unions share this approach. The impact of trade unions increased as a result of the Parliamentary Act of 15 May 2008 ("statut unique"), which created just one



employees' union (Chambre des Salariés) in place of the previous two (one for manual laborers and one for white-collar workers). All citizens working in Luxembourg, except public servants, are automatically members and contribute to this organization – a keystone of Luxembourg's neo-corporatist policy tradition. Both social partners commission expert advice and policy briefings either abroad or in Luxembourg, and both prepare position papers on the basis of their own resources.

Citation:

Chambre de Commerce Luxembourg. [www.cc.lu](http://www.cc.lu). Accessed 25 Oct. 2018.

Chambre des Salariés Luxembourg. [www.csl.lu](http://www.csl.lu). Accessed 25 Oct. 2018.

“L'UEL lance son nouveau site «Compétitivité – Tableau de bord».” Union des Entreprises Luxembourgeoises. [www.uel.lu/445-1-uel-lance-son-nouveau-site-competitivite-tableau-de-bord](http://www.uel.lu/445-1-uel-lance-son-nouveau-site-competitivite-tableau-de-bord). Accessed 25 Oct. 2018.

## Netherlands

### Score 8

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

However, this state of affairs has changed somewhat in recent years. There is now a Professional Association for Public Affairs (BVPA) that boasts 600 members (four times the number of parliamentarians) and a special public-affairs professorship at Leiden University. The professionalization of lobbying is said to be necessary in order to curb unethical practices such as the creation of foundations or crowdsourcing initiatives as a means of pursuing business interests. The “quiet politics” (Culpepper) of business lobbying through organizations such as the Commissie Tabaksblat, the Amsterdam (later Holland) Financial Center (Engelen), or Dutch Trade Investment Board (Follow the Money) has proven more than successful in influencing public policies on corporate governance, in easing regulation of the banking and financial sector, and in keeping taxes for business low. There is convincing evidence that in terms of election programs and promises, over the long run, Dutch households have been systematically disadvantaged compared to corporations and business. For example, tax reductions and exemptions for business were systematically higher than for ordinary citizens. When CEO's publicly complained about political dissatisfaction and a lack of influence, the prime minister advised them to plead their case in the media more.

## Citation:

NRC Handelsblad 16 April 2011, De trouwe hulpstroepen van Mark Rutte

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

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

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

Otjes and Rasmussen, *Trade Unions and the Decline of Social Democracy*, Social Europe, 5 June 2017

T. Bolle, *Tijdens verkiezingen gepaaid en in het regeerakkoord genaaid*, 9 October 2018 (ftm.nl, accessed 3 November 2018)

NRC-Handelsblad, *Vooraf bedrijven krijgen hun zin, burgers niet*, 8 October 2018

W. Bolhuis, *Van woord tot akkoord: een analyse van verkiezingsprogramma's en regeerakkoorden, 1885-2017*, Universiteit Leiden

W. Bolhuis, *Elke formatie faalt. Verkiezingsbeloftes die nooit werden waargemaakt*, Uitgeverij Brooklyn, 2018

NRC-Handelsblad, *Catshuisberaad Premier tipt topcommissarissen: verschijn zelf vaker in de media*, 12 October 2018

## Spain

### Score 8

During the period under review, the main trade unions in Spain (UGT and CCOO) have strongly supported the reversion of austerity measures and other adjustment reforms implemented by the Popular Party (PP) government during the worst years of the crisis. However, this does not mean that trade unions are radicalized or incapable of formulating viable policies. The largest business association (CEOE) has the *Círculo de Empresarios* think tank, as well as the training centers linked to the several chambers of commerce. Other private economic groups include the *Círculo de Economía*, farmer's associations, the National Federation of Fishermen's Associations, some consumer associations, the Confederation of Cooperative Business, and diverse sectoral-lobbying actors (e.g., *Foro Nuclear* on the issue of nuclear energy). Big companies also fund liberal economic-policy think tanks (e.g., *Fedea*) that are autonomous but produce "business friendly" policy proposals. Other organizations such as *CEPES*, which addresses the social economy, are also very influential. Finally, *AFI* and *FUNCAS* are relevant economic think tanks. According to the 2018 GRECO report, the recommendation to introduce rules regarding how members of parliament should engage with lobbyists seeking to influence the legislative process has been only partly implemented.

## Citation:

FUNCAS (2018), *Spain's revised fiscal outlook*, [http://www.funcas.es/publicaciones\\_new/publicaciones.aspx](http://www.funcas.es/publicaciones_new/publicaciones.aspx)

Fedea (2018), *The social cost of unemployment*, <http://documentos.fedea.net/pubs/eee/eee2018-22.pdf>

GRECO (2018), *Fourth evaluation round, Spain*: <https://rm.coe.int/fourth-evaluation-round-corruption-prevention-in-respect-of-members-of/1680779c4d>

## Czechia

**Score 7** The main employers' unions and trade unions both have considerable resources and expertise with which to develop coherent policies. Trade unions have a significant competence with regard to labor relations and economic policy more generally; they can lobby ministries and parliament and influence government directly through tripartite consultation structures. In the aftermath of the economic crisis, the generational change and new European patterns of conduct by trade unions contributed to their growing public support. Employers also have access to considerable resources, but have a different agenda, favoring a less regulated labor market and lower business taxes. To strengthen their position, the trade unions align their position with European legislation.

## Ireland

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

Citation:

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

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

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

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

<http://politicalreform.ie/>

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

## Italy

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

Employers' associations (the most important of which being Confindustria) in general adopt a more innovative perspective, and are less defensive of the status quo. However, their policies are much more prudent on issues associated with increasing

economic competitiveness or reducing government subsidies. In recent years, two of the largest trade unions (CISL and UIL) have shown a somewhat greater willingness to negotiate with the government and employers' associations over measures designed to increase the flexibility of labor relations.

## Japan

### Score 7

Japan's leading business and labor organizations regularly prepare topical policy proposals aimed at stirring public debate and influencing government policymaking. The three umbrella business federations – Keidanren, the Japan Association of Corporate Executives (Doyukai), and the Japanese Chamber of Industry and Commerce (Nissho) – as well as Rengo, the leading trade-union federation, try to impact policy by publishing policy papers and participating in government advisory committees. As the business sector's financial support of political parties has declined and major companies have globalized their operations, politicians may have become less willing to accommodate the views of these interest groups.

While there is an obvious scramble for influence between Rengo and the business organizations, there is also a notable degree of competition among the business organizations themselves. For instance, Keidanren is dominated by large enterprise groups, and has been somewhat slow in demanding a further opening of the economy. The Doyukai is more characterized by strong independent companies, and has been outspoken in demanding a more open business environment.

Keidanren's resumption of its commitment to support donations to the LDP beginning in 2014 has prompted concerns that it may be too close to the government. In 2018, Keidanren proposed scrapping the guidelines governing the recruitment of new university graduates, with several ministers ultimately expressing support.

#### Citation:

N.N., On 70th anniversary, top business lobby looks at what distance to keep from politics, *The Mainichi*, 31 May 2017, <https://mainichi.jp/english/articles/20170531/p2a/00m/0na/021000c>

Kyodo/Jiji, Cabinet ministers express support for Keidanren proposal to scrap recruitment rules for college graduates, *The Japan Times*, 4 September 2018, <https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2018/09/04/business/cabinet-members-express-support-keidanren-proposal-scrap-recruitment-rules-college-graduates/>

## Malta

### Score 7

Economic interest associations have structures capable of formulating relevant public policies. The greater resources commanded by economic interest associations enable them to employ highly qualified personnel and consult qualified academics according to the policy issue involved. The larger trade unions have their own research officers and can also draw on the expertise of the Centre for Labor Studies (CLS) at the University of Malta which was established to facilitate the trade union sector. Trade unions also use existing studies or academic and specialist support. EU support funds and structures such as internship programs have strengthened non-

economic interest associations, allowing them to produce detailed research in their area of expertise. However, most NGOs remain reactive rather than proactive. In its 2019 budget, the government has earmarked some financial support for NGOs to help them overcome some of these problems.

## New Zealand

**Score 7** There are few well-organized and well-staffed interest groups in New Zealand. The largest and most prominent are the New Zealand Council of Trade Unions – total union membership was estimated at 413,000 in June 2018, an impressive 11.2% increase from a year before – Federated Farmers, the Chambers of Commerce and Business New Zealand. All are involved in policy formation and dissemination, and all seek to influence government policy. However, there is an underlying asymmetry. Business interests additionally rely on the work of the New Zealand Business Roundtable, an organization of chief executives of major business firms. In 2012, this merged with the New Zealand Institute to form the New Zealand Initiative, a libertarian think-tank that lobbies for pro-market economic and social policies.

Citation:

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

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

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

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

## Slovenia

**Score 7** In Slovenia, with its strong corporatist tradition, economic-interest associations are very well organized and possess relatively strong analytical capacities. Most economic and social policies are discussed in detail in the Economic and Social Council, a tripartite body. Trade unions and employers' associations do not have their own research institutes but cooperate with universities and think tanks. Trade unions' analytical capacities have suffered from the fragmentation associated with the coexistence of seven separate union confederations.

## South Korea

**Score 7** Business associations such as the Korean Employers Federation and the Federation of Korean Industries (FKI), as well as labor-union umbrella groups such as the Federation of Korean Trade Unions (FTKU) and the Korean Confederation of Trade Unions (KCTU), have some expertise in developing policy proposals. They are supported by think tanks that provide scholarly advice. However, these groups are

relatively weak in comparison to their most powerful members – that is, business conglomerates and company-level trade unions. Some individual businesses such as Samsung, LG and Hyundai have their own think tanks that produce high-quality research and are able to analyze and provide alternatives to government policies. Under the Park government, major business organizations supported by large conglomerates had significant influence over the formulation of policies. The FKI has faced a period of serious crisis following the influence-peddling scandal involving former President Park. Under the Moon administration, the influence of business groups has remained strong, if somewhat contradictory. Labor organizations have come to wield considerable power in formulating major social and economic policies, thanks to the Moon government's labor-friendly stance.

Citation:

Hankook Ilbo. Park attempted to build a hub of conservative groups by funding of FKI. November 9, 2017. <http://www.hankookilbo.com/v/22464dde0fa5497b9049eade8df88508>

## Switzerland

Score 7

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

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

## United Kingdom

Score 7

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

The United Kingdom's forthcoming withdrawal from the European Union has led to some more assertive stances both from business (concerned especially about threats

to its EU market access and curbs on skilled immigrant workers) and unions (notably around protections deriving from EU rules). Some business groups are, however, more concerned about what they perceive as excessive regulatory burdens associated with EU membership. Although British business associations are divided over Westminster's political ties to Brussels, access to the single market is at the very heart of Britain's economic interest, namely their world leading financial and insurance industries. Overall, the influence of economic interest groups is relatively low-key, though not insubstantial. International businesses, such as Airbus and certain Japanese investors, have been vocal during the Brexit debates.

## Bulgaria

### Score 6

The capacity of the major employers' and business associations to make policy proposals is relatively well developed. These bodies can influence and propose policies in at least three ways: first, through their participation in the National Council for Tripartite Cooperation; second, through various EU-funded projects aimed at improving competitiveness and the business environment; and third, through their own capacity to perform research, formulate proposals and initiate public debates. All major associations have been relatively active in this regard throughout the period in review. This includes a growing tradition of cooperating with academic institutions and scholars, think tanks and other interest groups.

In Bulgaria there are two trade union confederations, both represented in the National Council for Tripartite Cooperation. In contrast to the employers' associations, the unions rely more heavily on their internal expertise in drafting and promoting proposals, cooperating comparatively less with academia and external scholars. Most reports and proposals drafted by the trade unions go beyond labor relations, and relate to taxation, transfers, foreign investors and other political issues.

## Estonia

### Score 6

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

The Estonian Employers' Union (EEU) has been more active proposing policies and its analytic capacity has significantly increased in recent years. For example, the EEU was behind the Governance Reform Radar initiative and is closely linked to the State Reform Foundation, which has produced a detailed list of reform proposals. Similar positive change is also visible regarding the ETUC. Both organizations have a "policy impact" section on their websites. Meanwhile, support from the EU Social

Fund has played an important role in capacity-building. Both the ETUC and EEU make use of various measures (e.g., training programs, hiring analysts and requesting studies) envisaged in the 2014 – 2020 programming period.

Citation:

The Employers' Manifesto 2018. Race against the Clock. <https://www.employers.ee/wp-content/uploads/Manifest-ENG-compressed.pdf> (accessed 24.10.2018)

## Greece

Score 6

Interest associations often make relevant policy proposals in a few policy areas, such as macroeconomic policy, incomes and pensions, and labor relations. Probably the most efficient interest association in this respect is the Hellenic Federation of Enterprises (SEV).

The General Confederation of Workers of Greece (GSEE) counts on its thinktank, the Labor Institute (INE), for information and advice on policy matters. The thinktank of SEV is the Institute of Economic and Industrial Research (IOBE). Depending on the policy issue, this thinktank may retain some autonomy from the leadership of SEV and promote the policy views of its own staff. The rest of the interest associations, such as the national association of merchants (ESEE) and the association of artisans, craftsmen and owners of small enterprises (GSEVE), have relatively less well-resourced and smaller thinktanks. The same holds for the General Confederation of Civil Servants (ADEDY) which recently revived its own thinktank (ADEDY Polykentro)

In the period under review, the government did not systematically consult with economic interest associations, as it was preoccupied with implementing the last leg of the three-year long Memorandum of Understanding, signed between Greece and its creditors in the summer of 2015. Naturally, government ministers appeared at all major events staged by economic interest associations (e.g., annual conventions and specific conferences), but it is doubtful whether these brief exchanges between government officials and association representatives had any impact on policy formulation.

Citation:

The opinions expressed by INE, a thinktank of GSEE supporting labor unions, are available at <https://www.inegsee.gr/>

(in Greek only). For opinions mostly reflecting the views of Greek industrialists, see the website of the thinktank IOBE at [http://iobe.gr/default\\_en.as](http://iobe.gr/default_en.as) (English version of the website)

## Lithuania

Score 6

Most Lithuanian interest associations, including employers' associations and trade unions, have a rather limited ability to formulate well-crafted policies. They typically lack skilled research staff, and do not engage in cooperation with academic bodies or individual experts. The Investors' Forum, which represents foreign investors in



Lithuania, is one of the exceptions, as it has regular annual meetings with the government and provides policy recommendations based on its members' input. This association successfully advocated the adoption of a more flexible labor code as part of the new "social model." The Infobalt IT-industry association is also actively engaged in representing its interests in the e-governance policy area. Some economic-interest organizations, including the Lithuanian Confederation of Industrialists (which is represented on the Tripartite Council and the European Economic and Social Committee), have improved their policy-formulation capacities. Some business associations and even individual businesses support think tanks. In 2016, the University of Pennsylvania recognized the Lithuanian Free Market Institute as being among the most influential public policy centers in Central and Eastern Europe, ranking it 12th in the region. An accord signed by the government, business organizations, and trade unions in October 2017 encourages employee participation in trade unions and the formation of business associations as well as supports the capacity-building efforts of social partners.

Citation:  
University of Pennsylvania. "2016 Global Go To Think Tanks."  
[https://repository.upenn.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1011&context=think\\_tanks](https://repository.upenn.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1011&context=think_tanks)

## Poland

Score 6

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

Citation:  
Bender, B. (2017): Polnisches Puzzle. Organisation, Mitgliederentwicklung und politische Beteiligung von Gewerkschaften und Arbeitgeberverbänden aus vergleichender Perspektive. Polen-Analysen Nr. 208, Darmstadt/Bremen (<http://www.laender-analysen.de/polen/pdf/PolenAnalysen208.pdf>).

## Slovakia

Score 6

In Slovakia, business associations and unions alike have some policy competence. Business associations are in a better position to provide full-blown policy proposals as they have more resources and some of them run or support think tanks. In the

period under review, the National Union of Employers (RUZ), the Federation of Associations (AZZZ) and the Business Alliance of Slovakia (PAS) were quite active and made many policy proposals. Trade unions are less well equipped and have suffered from fragmentation. Some trade unions, including those representing medical doctors, nurses and teachers, can analyze the impact of decisions and formulate relevant policies. KOZ SR, the main Trade Union Confederation representing almost 30 sectoral unions, has focused primarily on increasing the minimum wage and an assortment of less controversial issues such as workplace security.

## Mexico

**Score 5** With regard to economic interest organizations, there is clear asymmetry. Trade unions are not sophisticated organizations in Mexico, while employers and business associations mostly are. However, these organizations tend to be dominated by a small group of empowered agents who guide most of their policy positions and decision-making processes. The collective interest of those supposedly represented by the association is seldom the one that prevails. A good example of this is the Employers Confederation of the Mexican (COPARMEX): it would be in their best interest to push for a tax consolidation (combined reporting) reform. However, because it is not in the interest of the most influential members of the organization (frequently owners of the largest companies in the country), this issue is almost completely out of the organization's agenda.

## Portugal

**Score 5** A few employers' associations and trade unions are capable of formulating relevant policies. However, their proposals are largely reactive to government measures rather than being proactive in setting policy debate. While employers and trade unions have expressed dissatisfaction at some policies these tend to be reactions to specific government measures rather than ex ante and general policy proposals. And, as most of the policies regarded austerity, to which the government is no longer committed, they have even less relevance today.

## Turkey

**Score 5** The Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges (TOBB) is the most influential business association in Turkey, representing more than 1.2 million enterprises and members of various industry and business chambers. The Economic Policy Research Foundation of Turkey (TEPAV), affiliated with TOBB University in Ankara, provides extensive surveys in various fields. The pro-Western, Istanbul-centric Turkish Industrialists' and Entrepreneurs' Association (TÜSİAD) and the conservative, Anatolian-centric Independent Industrialists' and Entrepreneurs'

Association (MÜSİAD), also have R&D units and sponsor reports on political reforms, education, health care, security and migration. The degree of direct impact of such proposals and amendments on legislation is unknown, but the government regularly claims to take such reports under consideration.

Among labor unions, the ideological split between secular unions such as the Confederation of Public Workers' Unions (KESK) and the Confederation of Revolutionary Trade Unions of Turkey (DİSK) and the more conservative-Islamic Confederation of Turkish Real Trade Unions (Hak-İş) tends to prevent common action. Trade unions and civil society representatives participated in drafting Law No. 6356 on trade unions, although the final output was ultimately determined by the government. Moreover, it has become increasingly obvious over the last decade that religiosity has become a strategic resource in creating solidarity among union members, and in bolstering loyalty to the government. Turkey's oldest trade union, Türk-İş, has for many years prepared monthly surveys on hunger and poverty thresholds and is included in the collective bargaining process.

:

"State of emergency no hurdle for business in Turkey: Erdoğan," 18 May 2017, <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/state-of-emergency-no-hurdle-for-business-in-turkey-Erdoğan-113283> (accessed 1 November 2017)

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

A. Şahin and A. Söylemez, "Sendikalara Yönelik Politikaların Belirlenmesinde Sendikaların Rolü ve 6356 Sayılı Sendikalar Kanunu," *Sosyal Ekonomik Araştırmalar Dergisi*, 17, 2017: 135-144.

Kolektif, *2000'li Yıllarda Türkiye'de Sendikacılık Zorluklar, Eğilimler, Olanaklar*, Epos Yayınları, 2017.

## Chile

Score 4

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

## Cyprus

Score 4

A decades-long spirit of compromise that had prevailed in industrial relations has been under tension since 2012. The actors have always based their demands or positions on sectoral interests. They generally either lack internal research teams or have teams with limited capacities and task scope. The left-wing Pancyprian Federation of Labour (Παγκύπρια Εργατική Ομοσπονδία, PEO) is a rare exception; its research institute regularly produces scientific studies on the economy and labor market.

The system of labor relations today features efforts by employers to further limit benefits and by trade unions to reestablish rights and benefits.

1. Unions demand better conditions for hotel workers, Cyprus Mail, 1 June 2018, <https://cyprus-mail.com/2018/06/01/unions-demand-better-conditions-for-hotel-workers/>

## France

### Score 4

Business associations, mainly the largest employer's union (Mouvement des Entreprises de France, MEDEF) but also agricultural associations, are able to formulate policy proposals and contribute to agenda setting. They have their own research capabilities, and can successfully lobby government and parliamentarians. Weaker organizations such as the association of small and medium companies complain that their specific interests are marginalized by larger international groups and by the government. Trade unions are usually more reactive in spite or because of their low membership, with trade union members accounting for at less than 8% of the workforce (the lowest percentage within the OECD) and split into several rival organizations. Trade unions' strategy is to counterweight their weakness at the company level by negotiating at the sector level or even at the national level, and organizing mass protests in the streets. In areas where interest groups are united and strong, as in agriculture and education, they may have substantial influence, amounting to co-decisions together with government. In other areas, the weakness of organized interests results in marginal involvement in decision-making, which may lead to friction on implementation. President Hollande's attempt to rejuvenate "social dialogue" has produced limited results. A major problem is the political split within the trade union movement. Two corporatist and "conservative" unions (CGT and FO), have taken advantage of their footing in the civil service and public sector, and have more or less rejected any change (e.g., they refused to sign the previously mentioned agreements) and have attempted to use mass mobilization to block reforms. Meanwhile, two other trade unions (CFDT and UNSA) have adopted more moderate positions and tried to balance advocacy for workers' interests with a constructive role in negotiating reforms.

## Hungary

### Score 4

While the main domestic business associations have proved generally loyal to the government, some business associations, first of all the National Association of Entrepreneurs and Employers, (VOSZ), have become rather critical of the government's lack of predictability in economic policy and legal regulations. Moreover, the Orbán government has been criticized by the Hungarian European Business Council (HEBC). Representing Hungary's 50 most important export companies, HEBC has urged the elaboration of a country strategy with the deep reconstruction of education system, taking the Fourth Industrial Revolution and the digital transformation into account. The trade unions have also adopted a critical position toward the government, but their membership is small (somewhat below 10%), they are still rather fragmented, and their voice is weak in the public debates.

## Croatia

**Score 3** Trade unions have traditionally played a significant role in Croatia. Union membership rates are relatively high, and unions have been quite powerful in organizing protests against the government's austerity measures. Like most other economic interest associations, however, the unions have focused on opposing government proposals and have lacked the will – and the capacity – to develop their own proposals. The Chamber of Trades and Crafts, which has been particularly vocal in making proposals concerning vocational education, has played a more constructive role. In November 2018, the Croatian Employers' Association (HUP) published a substantive public policy document on the sectoral and institutional reforms needed to keep Croatia from falling even further behind other Central European and South-East European EU member countries.

## Romania

**Score 3** While policymaking in Romania is often influenced in a particularistic fashion by individual business interests, business associations are rather weak and have played a minor role in proposing concrete policy measures, much less offering cost-benefit analyses of the likely effects of such policies. Unions have not played an active role in policy formulation either. Union density has decreased considerably since 1990, with union structure fragmented and weakly developed. Unions have become increasingly distrusted as various leaders have joined political parties and sought political careers, often by sacrificing the interests of the unions to their own personal objectives. Moreover, even where economic interest associations are capable of formulating relevant policies, this has been somewhat undermined by an unwillingness on behalf of the government to take these views into account, as was demonstrated by the recent tax reforms which prompted significant criticism from labor organizations.

## Indicator Association Competence (Others)

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

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

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

### Iceland

Score 9 Iceland has many active, non-economic interest organizations in various fields. Although many have a reasonable level of prominence, only a few have the capacity and competence to exert significant influence on public policy. The largest are the Organization of Disabled in Iceland (Öryrkjabandalagið), with 41 associated organizations and a staff of 15, and the Consumers' Association of Iceland (Neytendasamtökin), with a staff of five and 7,300 members. The Nature and Wildlife Conservation Organization (Náttúruverndarsamtök Íslands), with 1,400 members and one member of staff, is also influential. This group has managed to feature prominently in public debates about hydro and geothermal power plants, and expressed reservations about further construction of aluminum smelters around the country. Landvernd, the Icelandic Environmental Association with 5,000 members and six employees, also has influence. Its CEO, Guðmundur Ingi Guðbrandsson (2011 – 2017), was appointed minister of the environment and natural resources in December 2017 by the Left-Green Movement.

Citation:

Landvernd, <http://landvernd.is/en>. Accessed 22 December 2018.

Consumers' Association of Iceland (Neytendasamtökin), <https://ns.is/>. Accessed 22 December 2018.

The Organisation of Disabled in Iceland (Öryrkjabandalagið), <https://www.obi.is/is/english>. Accessed 22 December 2018.

### Norway

Score 9 The government and the opposition parties listen carefully to the opinions expressed by business, farm-sector and union leaders. Intellectuals and academics also receive attention. Environmental groups have a substantial influence on environmental

policy. The large organizations are professional in communicating their messages to politicians and to the public, and are sometimes able to set the political agenda.

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

## Sweden

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

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

Citation:

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

## Australia

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

## Denmark

**Score 8** In accordance with the corporatist tradition, major interest organizations are often members of committees and commissions preparing legislation. They provide information for the government and legitimacy for the policies adopted, thereby facilitating implementation. Some civil society organizations may find it more difficult than the larger labor market organizations to get access to the government. Despite occasional criticism of the role of experts and commissions, they remain important.

Citation:

Peter Munk Christiansen og Lise Tøgeby, *Magten i Danmark*. Copenhagen: Gyldendal.  
Jørgen Grønnegård Christensen og Jørgen Elklit (eds.), *Det Demokratiske system*. 4. udg. 2016.

## Finland

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

## Germany

- Score 8 As of November 2018, the government's official list contained 2,327 registered associations, which again marked a moderate increase. One-third of those can be considered non-economic interest associations. Within the process of policy formulation, interest-group expertise plays a key role in providing ministerial officials with in-depth information necessary to make decisions. Citizen groups, social movements and grassroots lobbying organizations are increasingly influential actors, particularly at the local level. Policy proposals produced by non-economic interest groups can be described as reasonable, but their suggestions often appear unrealistic.

Citation:

<https://www.bundestag.de/blob/189476/45b6af8b40d6db36f824ddf649be67e1/lobbylisteaktuell-data.pdf>

## Luxembourg

- Score 8 Interest groups have and can have an important impact on policymaking. However, drawing on academic knowledge within Luxembourg is limited. Some larger non-governmental organizations maintain small research departments and propagate their opinions through publications (e.g., Caritas, Mouvement Écologique, CEFIS and SOLEP) and conferences, by offering comments on draft bills, or by proposing policies.

The communication of interest groups is done in particular via social media and other communication platforms. For younger voters, important issues include refugee aid, the lack of affordable housing (i.e., the vacancy report project,



“Leerstandsmelder”), heritage protection (including the “Sauvegarde du Patrimoine” association) and environmental protection (e.g., refill initiatives). Public participation in traditional organizations is on the decline.

Citation:

Leerstandsmelder. <https://leerstandsmelder.de/luxemburg>. Accessed 25 Oct. 2018.

Refill Letzebuerg. <https://www.facebook.com/refill.lu/> Accessed 25 Oct. 2018.

Sauvegarde du Patrimoine. <http://www.sauvegardedupatrimoine.lu/fr/> Accessed 25 Oct. 2018.

## Netherlands

### Score 8

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

During the cabinet formation process from April to October 2017, many non-economic associations – representing the arts, education, the elderly and the care sector – inundated negotiators with policy memos and demands. For example, the citizen initiative led by Hugo Borst and Carin Greemers contained 10 policy recommendations, and was later underwritten by practically all relevant stakeholder associations and received support in parliament. Sometimes, as in a recent taxation debate between the association of social housing corporations and the government, “pondering” can veer into hard bargaining.

Citation:

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

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

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

Actiz, *Oproep Agenda voor Zorg aan het nieuwe kabinet: investeer in vernieuwende zorg?* (acts.nl, consulted 3 November 2017)

Hugo Borst and Carin Geamers, "Manifest :Scherp op ouderenzorg," (scheropouderenzorg.nl, consulted 3 November 2017)

NOS, Woningcorporaties: belastingmaatregel van tafel, anders huren omhoog, 6 October 2018

## New Zealand

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

Citation:

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

## Slovakia

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

## Slovenia

**Score 8** Slovenia's vibrant third sector has been quite active in monitoring government activities. Despite a decline in public funding, most interest associations have considerable policy knowledge, and many can rely on think tanks that involve various experts from the universities and research institutes in their work. Policy proposals developed by interest associations, although not numerous, have been featured prominently in the media. In period under review, interest associations have been heavily involved in two major political issues: the Magna corporation investment in Maribor and the building of a second train track to the port of Koper. Some associations have been unable to withstand pressure from the government and opposition to their positions.

## United Kingdom

**Score 8** The United Kingdom has a tradition of close scrutiny of policy proposals. The quality and realism of policy proposals determines the degree to which any interest group is taken seriously in the country's national political discourse and there are many NGOs that have had a tangible impact on policy thinking. Green interest groups in particular have helped to shape the policies of successive governments. There are vocal campaigners for rural interests, while both sides of the migration debate have been nourished by interest groups.

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

## United States

**Score 8** Public-interest or civil society associations' competence in proposing reasonable policy initiatives is unusually high in the United States. This high level of competence is in part due to associations' ability to attract highly qualified professional staff, and in part due to their media and communication skills. This holds true for groups such as the Environmental Defense Fund, Common Cause and the National Taxpayers' Union. From the standpoint of developing credible policies, these associations have the advantage of focusing on broad interests, rather than self-interested ones, as their central mission. However, they are subject to ideological biases and membership demands that tend to favor extreme views. Citizens' groups do not receive public support for their policy development or representational activities.

## Belgium

**Score 7** There is a wide range of civil society groups with influence on policy formation in Europe, and Belgium performs well in this regard. A number of noneconomic interest associations receive state funding, including environmental, cultural, religious/philosophical, sports/leisure and minority (such as individuals with handicaps) groups.

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

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

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

## Canada

### Score 7

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

#### Citation:

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

## Chile

### Score 7

A substantial number of autonomous, self-organized groups, associations and organizations exist in Chile. Civil society's organizational landscape has become increasingly differentiated since the return to democracy. Religious, environmental and social organizations, as well as NGOs, academic groups and professional associations often present substantive policy-reform proposals that contribute

positively to policy discussions and government reforms and take long-term perspectives into account. Various political foundations and think tanks play a decisive role as formulators of relevant policies. On the other hand, there are great disparities in the durability and organizational strength of associations, mostly as a result of social inequalities. In addition, numerous think tanks are directly connected to economic interest groups.

## Czechia

### Score 7

Interest associations have grown considerably in Czechia since 1990. As of April 2017, there are over 129,947 autonomous, self-organized groups, associations, foundations and organizations registered in the country, although not all of them are active. In the last decade, new NGOs emerged focusing on areas such as corruption, city planning, LGBT rights, food safety and participatory budgeting on the local level. Many of them have the resources and expertise to formulate relevant policy proposals.

The Prague 2018 municipal elections saw a host of new political issues emerging from NGOs successfully enter the municipal government: radical improvements in transport infrastructure, spending on education, safety, dignity and inclusiveness, effective and transparent governance. The group “Prague for itself” (Praha sobe) was able to draw the support of voters (16.54%) by clearly identifying these problems, proposing concrete policy solutions, and making clear that implementation will consider the benefits and costs of these policies for everyone. They emphasized the need to carry these policies out by experts while including citizens.

## Ireland

### Score 7

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

Citation:

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

## Austria

**Score 6** Along with economic interest groups, organized religious communities, particularly the officially recognized denominations, have a formalized role within the decision-making process. Like the economic interest groups, they are consulted before the cabinet approves the draft of a law. This is a critical stage of the process, as most cabinet-approved drafts are also approved by parliament.

It must be emphasized, however, that not all draft proposals are subject to consultation procedures. A ruling majority can push a legislative agenda through its members in parliament, without formal consultations with interest groups. This happens from time to time when the government is in a hurry to pass a bill.

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

## Croatia

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

## Estonia

**Score 6** The policy-formulation capacity of non-economic interest groups varies across fields of interest and with the scope of the intended impact. Most civil-society associations are small and possess limited financial and human resources. Therefore, their in-house capacity is very low, and most analyses have been carried out as single projects on a contractual basis. The level of capacity also depends on the formal policy agenda, as it is easier to add a new proposal to the existing agenda than to set the agenda. Therefore, social-interest groups lobbying on issues such as better socialization and care for disabled people or same-sex marriage have been quite good at formulating policy proposals, since relevant draft laws were already being considered by the parliament. Environmental groups are mainly local, but their actions can have a nationwide impact on transport and industrial policy. Religious

groups are only sporadically active in domestic politics. In recent years, the Estonian Evangelical Lutheran Church has actively criticized the legalization of same-sex partnerships. For example, in 2018, it recommended changing the country's constitution to define marriage exclusively as a union between one man and one woman.

## France

**Score 6** The number of, and membership in, non-business associations has been increasing. If the phenomenon of dependency on the financial support of public authorities exists, especially at the local level, there are non-economic associations that are combining pluralistic approaches, long-term perspectives and a public perspective. This can be seen in fields such as urban policy (where national programs and local public actors rely on the expertise and commitment of associations dealing with local issues), environmental policy or social policy (aid to people with different social problems or handicaps). This being said, only a few associations are equipped with the capacity to make relevant and credible proposals. Some groups (such as environmental groups and social workers) have a real proactive strategy; however, most associations are reactive and prefer to object rather than suggest.

## Israel

**Score 6** Noneconomic associations and NGOs have become increasingly influential in recent years, with over 47,000 non-profit organizations registered with the Ministry of Justice. Along with professional consultancy firms, they fill the gap left by state's privatization policies. Both social and environmental interest groups often formulate relevant policies and cooperate with government and academic bodies. According to official reports, the majority of organizations are focused on education and professional training (22%), religious matters (21.6%), and welfare (20.3%). According to a recent report by the Taub Center for Social Policy Studies in Israel, welfare NGOs account for 15% of all civil society organizations and their annual activity volume amounts to ILS 13.8 billion. The report also claims that donations made to these organizations increase Israeli welfare spending by ILS 3.45 billion, amounting to 28% of Israel's total annual social welfare expenditure.

In 2016, the Knesset passed highly controversial legislation that requires NGOs to publicly declare all foreign funding sources (if the funds account for most of their budget), and the purpose and use of the funding. It should be elaborated that in the law, "foreign" (or, the more accurately, "foreign state entity") is defined very widely, and includes foreign states, state authorities and international NGOs. Left-wing and civil rights groups have argued that the so-called NGO transparency bill harms organizations that promote democracy and democratic worldviews. The bill is

regarded as part of a growing trend of legislative attempts to erode the strength of democratic institutions in Israel.

In May 2018, new regulations regarding the submission of representative action came into force. The regulations dictate the payment of relatively high fees (with varying quantities according to the court's status) to be paid by a claimant to submit a suit and to cover the cost of the litigation process in its entirety (though payment of the latter fee is dependent on the ruling's result). The minister of justice, Ayelet Shaked, explained in the regulations' memorandum (i.e., before these were enacted) that the purpose of the new rules is to limit the submissions of "pseudo representative actions," meaning lawsuits that are not meant to achieve any result or compensation but rather to deter the party being charged, thus wasting public funds. Nevertheless, the regulations were still criticized by legal experts, and social activists and associations that use representative actions to fight social and consumer injustices. Recently, a lawsuit was presented to the Supreme Court demanding that the regulations be rescinded for the disproportional harm they cause to the right to access to courts. At the time of writing, the suit is still in litigation and the regulations are still in force.

Citation:

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

"Collaborative discourse in the Civil Society" March 2016, Civic Leadership in Israel, (Hebrew) [http://migzar3.org.il/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/report-2016\\_web-1.pdf](http://migzar3.org.il/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/report-2016_web-1.pdf)

Guidestar, the NGOs' website of Israel. By the Ministry of Justice. (Hebrew). Last seen: October 31st, 2018. <https://www.guidestar.org.il/home>

HJC 3646/18 Yedid Centers of Rights in the Community V the Minister of Justice (Hebrew) (Ongoing)  
Kalian, Gil "The non-profit sector in Israel is smaller than thought," Calcalist 16/3/2016, <http://www.calcalist.co.il/local/articles/0,7340,L-3683649,00.html> (Hebrew)

Madhala, Shavit, et al. Israeli Welfare Organizations: A Snapshot. Policy Paper 03.2018. Internet Edition. Jerusalem: the Taub Center for Social Policy Studies in Israel, 2018.

Memorandum of Ordinances of Courts (Fees) (Representative Action), 2017. (Hebrew). Full text: [https://www.nevo.co.il/law\\_html/law11/43143.htm](https://www.nevo.co.il/law_html/law11/43143.htm)

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

Regulations of Courts (Fees), 2007 (Hebrew)

Shamai, Barkat. "Starting Today: Significant Fees on Submission of Representative Actions." In Globes website. May 8th, 2018. (Hebrew)..

The Associations Act, 1980 (Hebrew)

"The Clinic for Representation Populations from the Periphery Presented a Lawsuit Against the Ordinances Dictating for the First Time a High Fee at the Time of Submitting a Request for the Approval of Representative Action." In the Center for Clinical Legal Education's website. Last seen: November 4th, 2018. (Hebrew).. [Here the statement of claim can be found]



The Obligation to Reveal as to Who is Supported by Foreign Statal Entity Act, 2011 (Hebrew)

“The transparency law has passed finally” Knesset website 12.7.2016, <http://main.knesset.gov.il/News/PressReleases/pages/press120716.aspx> (Hebrew)

## Italy

Score 6

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

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

## Malta

Score 6

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

## Mexico

Score 6

Against the background of corporatist authoritarianism in 20th century Mexico, economic interest groups in democratic Mexico could draw on many associational experiences. Moreover, since the early 2000s, there has been a considerable increase

in the quantity and the sophistication of non-economic interest groups in Mexican civil society. Many talented graduates have found positions in domestic and international NGOs, and work to influence policy in Mexico via advocacy-oriented strategies. Several tertiary-education institutes (e.g., ITAM, Colmex, CIDE) both teach and conduct public-policy research, and some are highly influential in the political sphere as think tanks and/or advocacy institutions, often through the personal linkages to the government and its administration. Furthermore, there has been an increase in the number of national and international advocacy NGOs that, depending on the sector and the government in place, are also relevant in the agenda-setting process. Moreover, many grassroots organizations founded in the last 10 years aim to influence local and regional policymaking. Finally, the degree of movement of personnel between NGOs, think tanks and government is high compared to other OECD countries. While the capacity of most of these organizations to propose policy reforms in complex policy settings is rather restricted, it has been growing steadily and their role influencing public opinion is more relevant every year. Examples of these associations include IMCO, Mexico Evalua and Mexicanos Primero, which have been able to affect the policy agenda of the government in the last two years on issues related to transparency, accountability and development effectiveness.

Citation:

El Universal (2018). Mexican NGOs to keep working on the development of civil society. <http://www.eluniversal.com.mx/english/mexican-ngos-keep-working-development-civil-society>

## Poland

### Score 6

Poland has a large number of interest associations beyond business associations and trade unions. However, compared to other countries, there are comparatively few environmental groups. Most non-governmental organizations are relatively small, and there are only a few interest associations that focus on, and are capable of, developing full-blown policy proposals. The Catholic Church, still the most influential interest group in Poland, pursues relatively narrow interests and is largely preoccupied with stabilizing its influence within an increasingly secular society. It currently has good access to the new government, but also asked for more national solidarity, peaceful cooperation and a friendlier approach toward refugees. A new social movement, the Committee for the Defense of Democracy (Komitet Obrony Democracji, KOD), has managed to unite many of the Poles who oppose the PiS government's efforts to dismantle democracy and undermine judicial independence. It has organized public protests and large demonstrations in several Polish cities since December 2015, and in 2016 it received the European Citizens' Prize awarded by the European Parliament. Additional organizations have come into existence since 2016, and young people especially are attending demonstrations in greater numbers, joining older people who experienced the socialist times. In October 2017, the National Freedom Institute was established with the official goal of helping NGOs with capacity-building. However, given the PiS's strict control of the institute, its influence is in fact likely to weaken the capacity of independent interest associations.

## Romania

Score 6 NGOs have significant analytical capacities, especially in areas such as environmental policy and social protection. However, many NGOs have suffered from a lack of resources and have been dependent on international financing. The Romanian Orthodox Church, which represents as much as 85% of the population, has been a powerful actor, but has promoted a relatively narrow agenda.

## South Korea

Score 6 The rise of civil-society organizations has been one of the last decade's most important political trends in South Korea. The massive peaceful protests against President Park were largely organized by civil-society groups that have proven their ability to mobilize the public and their competence in organizing peaceful protests on a massive scale. Some of the largest NGOs, such as the Korean Federation for Environmental Movement, the Citizen Coalition for Economic Justice and the People's Solidarity for Participatory Democracy, have built up considerable expertise in specialized fields such as environmental policies, electoral reform, corporate reform, welfare policies or human rights. They provide reasonable policy proposals and are supported by a large group of academics and professionals. They also provide a pool of experts for the government. President Moon has appointed several former members of civil-society groups to government positions. Highly competent international NGOs such as Transparency International and Save the Children are also playing an increasing prominent role in their respective fields. The majority of small NGOs remain focused on service provision and do not develop policy proposals. Previously, civil society and NGOs – especially those to the left of center – found it difficult to have any appreciable influence on decision-making under either the Lee or Park administrations. Under the Moon administration, NGOs have regained some of their previous level of influence. Unfortunately, this increased level of influence has to some extent undermined their ability to criticize the government. For example, People's Solidarity for Participatory Democracy, members of which occupy key positions of power in the Blue House and other government institutions, has been widely criticized for amateurism and power-motivated behavior.

## Spain

Score 6 Lobbying is still not regulated in Spain, and despite the entry into force of the new on access to information, it is still almost impossible for the public to find out who is influencing which decision-makers, with what means, and to what effect.

Non-economic interest associations are relatively weak, and it has been difficult for them to influence political decision-making with relevant policy proposals. Furthermore, the lack of a strong, organized civil society is a disincentive for the government to take these associations' views into account as it formulates policy (since the process would then become much more complex without necessarily adding social legitimacy as a compensation). Thus, there is no virtuous circle encouraging social, environmental and religious groups to improve their policy competence. Even the strong Catholic Church lacks a research unit capable of formulating policies, although it remains influential on education and moral issues. Leading environmental groups and some NGOs devoted to human rights (such as Amnesty International) or development aid have gained technical competence, and increasingly rely on academic expertise and specialized publications to influence public opinion and policymakers within their areas of interest. Women's associations are weak as autonomous organizations, but influential within the political parties (especially in the PSOE). The LGBT movement has successfully defended homosexuals' rights.

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

Citation:

Octubre 2018, Ecologistas en Acción: "La contaminación por ozono" <https://www.ecologistasenaccion.org/?p=107113>  
 Societat Civil Catalana (2017), report on deficits of democratic quality, <http://societatcivilcatalana.cat/sites/default/files/tercer-informe-en-ingles-dic-2017.pdf>

## Switzerland

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

## Greece

**Score 5** Greek civil society is relatively underdeveloped. After the onset of the economic crisis in 2010, the receding welfare state encouraged civil society engagement and mobilized citizens. The number of volunteers increased, new organizations were formed, and older organizations became more active in providing social services to impoverished Greeks and migrants. Also, new movements and organizations with political agendas appeared.

Most non-economic interest associations do not have the resources to become involved in policy formulation nor does the Greek state usually invite them to do so – though there has been some improvement. There are, however, exceptions regarding religious and migration matters.

The Greek Orthodox Church plays a preponderant role in formulating ecclesiastical matters and (to some extent) matters of education. For instance, religion is a compulsory subject in all grades of primary school and high school. Greece's constitution grants the Greek Orthodox Church a privileged position among all churches and dogmas, and the Greek Orthodox Church enjoys a tailor-made taxation regime which allows it to sustain a large amount of property. This pattern of heavy church influence on policy formulation is preserved regardless of the political profile (right-wing, centrist or left-wing) of the governing party or parties in power.

Finally, there is a vast array of small and medium-sized NGOs which are active in providing social protection and legal assistance to refugees and migrants. NGOs are located in major cities and on the Greek islands of the Aegean where refugees and migrants continue to land. In the period under review, their role probably declined as the Greek state took it upon itself to manage refugee camps on several Greek islands (albeit with very ambivalent, if not negative, results, as indicated by the living conditions in these camps).

Citation:

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

## Lithuania

Score 5

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

## Portugal

Score 5

Despite the alleviation of austerity and initial signs of economic recovery, non-economic interest associations continue to have little impact. The focus in recent

years on economic issues means that proposals by established groups engaged with other issues attract less visibility than before Portugal's bailout (e.g., proposals by the environmental group Quercus). Interaction with associations appeared to be largely instrumental and related to political or group objectives rather than policy-based.

## Bulgaria

### Score 4

The most active non-economic interest groups in Bulgaria are largely engaged in four fields: education (especially parents' associations), health (patients' organizations), minorities and the environment. While there are many associations, which often act in accord, they seem more activist than analytical in their efforts. Their proposals are rarely accompanied by attempts to encompass the relevant issues fully, assess potential impacts comprehensively, or argue in favor of or against specific proposals on analytical grounds. A case in point in 2018 was the protest against the planned reform of social support for people with disabilities. The demands of the demonstrators addressed only some of the problems within the government's plans, and failed to address the existing system's major structural weaknesses. The religious communities in Bulgaria have their channels of political influence, but are not broadly active in the public sphere.

## Cyprus

### Score 4

Civil society groups have an increasing presence in society. Funding from European and other schemes have substantially helped in strengthening what was a budding civil society movement in the 1990s. Research enables CSOs to formulate policy proposals on various issues, including ecology, trafficking and good governance.

More groups have emerged since 2011, with a focus on politics, the economic crisis as well as social and environmental issues. However, in many cases, proposals and lobbying by these groups, on issues such as hydrocarbons use, promoting transparency and combat corruption, electoral system reform, have lost their momentum. Despite the media attention that their activities and quality proposals gained, political forces continue to display little receptivity.

The Church of Cyprus continues to play an important role in society, fueled by its financial and organizational capacities. However, a survey in September 2018 showed that people's trust had hit its lowest point since 2015 (4.1 out of 10).

#### Citation:

1. Tensions rise during opposing demos at sea caves development, Cyprus Mail, 24 April 2018, <https://cyprus-mail.com/2018/04/24/tensions-rise-opposing-demos-sea-caves-development/>

## Japan

### Score 4

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

Following the 3/11 disasters, and more recently in the context of the controversy over the government's security-law extension, civil society groups have taken an increased role in expressing public concerns and organizing mass rallies. High levels of engagement on the part of activists notwithstanding, it is difficult for such actors to create professionally operating, sustainable organizations. As a case in point, the Students Emergency Action for Liberal Democracy (SEALDs) group gained considerable attention during the 2014/15 protests against a reinterpretation of the constitution's so-called peace clause, but has since disbanded.

#### Citation:

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

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

## Latvia

### Score 4

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

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

Religious communities have largely remained outside of the public-policy development process. The notable exception has been conservative groups

advocating for “traditional Christian values.” These groups have sought to limit LGBT and reproductive rights and influence the school system. They have gained ground by changing their modus operandi from protest activities to active advocacy at the parliamentary level. In 2015, they secured a controversial change to the Law on Education, leaving schools vulnerable to charges of ethical breaches in teaching.

The Civic Alliance is an umbrella group of NGOs that serves as a platform for common issues. In 2017, the alliance galvanized a group of influential NGOs to call for increased transparency and participatory opportunities for NGOs in the government’s budget planning process. The NGOs are demanding the type of access and consultation already in place for other social partners, such as the National Tripartite Cooperation Council (NTSP).

## Hungary

### Score 3

The Orbán governments have created a big, lavishly financed pro-government network of fake civil society associations and foundations. In public life they have presented themselves as independent and autonomous organizations, although they clearly support government positions and provide a democratic façade for the government. A series of scandals have arisen as it has become clear that these organizations have received financing from state-owned enterprises. By contrast, Hungary’s genuine civil society has suffered from decreasing financial support and increasing legal restrictions. This has clearly infringed upon their capacity to formulate relevant policies.

## Turkey

### Score 3

The number of non-economic civil society organizations has increased in the last decade, indicating a growing degree of public engagement within many segments of Turkish society. In November 2017, 106,861 associations with more than 11 million members were active. Most are professional, sport or religious organizations. A total of 5,083 foundations are active nationwide. Most foundations are social solidarity organizations, 22 are foreign foundations and 167 are religious organizations. Among others, TESEV, TESAV, TEPAV, SETAV, ASAM can be regarded as semi-professional think-tanks which conduct research and publish reports on various policy issues. SETA is a very influential pro-government policy research organization.

Most civil society organizations are not professionally organized, and lack financial and human resources. The number of pro-government and pseudo-CSOs (i.e., GONGOs) benefiting from public and EU funding has increased recently. Several CSOs lack the staff, resources and visibility to carry out face-to-face fundraising. Turkey ranked 128 out of 135 countries in the World Giving Index 2014 (WGI), but has not been included in subsequent indexes. The government has excluded opponents from government decision-making processes. Instead, the government has



created its own loyal civil society groups, such as TÜRGEV – a foundation led by President Erdoğan’s son, which has gained political influence in the executive and expanded its financial resources.

Local and global environmental pressure groups such as Greenpeace have increasingly demonstrated against dam and hydroelectric-energy projects throughout Turkey, but their protests are regularly suppressed by the security forces and subjected to criminal investigations. The Turkish Foundation for Combating Soil Erosion for Reforestation and the Protection of Natural Habitat (TEMA) is the most established environmental organization in Turkey with 500,000 volunteers.

The Association for Support of Women Candidates (KA.DER) has for years promoted the equal representation of women and men in all walks of life. KA.DER sees equal representation as a condition for democracy and calls for equal representation in all elected and appointed decision-making positions. It conducts several EU- and UNDP-sponsored projects and advocates its objectives. Like SETAV in general, KADEM (Women and Democracy Association) was founded with the patronage of Erdoğan’s family members and is used as a social policy instrument.

The Oy ve Ötesi Girişimi (Vote and Beyond) initiative – in collaboration with the Unions of Bars of Turkey, several bars, and the Checks and Balances Network – monitors local and presidential elections. The Computer Engineers Association also made an analysis of ballot box results with regard to inconsistency of electoral results.

According to the Audit Court’s reports, state institutions contributed a total of €500 million (TRY 3.7 billion) to associations, foundations, organizations and similar non-profit organizations in 2017. About €1.6 million (TRY 9.5 million) was allocated by the president and prime minister to such organizations.

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“Yıllara, Nevilere ve İllere Göre Dernek ve Üye Sayısı,” <https://www.dernekle.gov.tr/tr/AnasayfaLinkler/yillara-nevilere-ve-illere-g%C3%B6re-dernek-ve-uye-sayisi.aspx> (accessed 1 November 2018)

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“Türkiye’deki Düşünce Kuruluşları,” [http://insamer.com/tr/turkiyedeki-dusunce-kuruluslari\\_157.htm](http://insamer.com/tr/turkiyedeki-dusunce-kuruluslari_157.htm) (accessed 1 November 2017)

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

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

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

“Sayıştay açıkladı, devletin kasasından 3.7 milyar lira kayıp!,” <http://t24.com.tr/haber/sayistay-acikladi-devletin-kasasından-37-milyar-lira-kayip,716145> (accessed 1 November 2018)

### **Address | Contact**

#### **Bertelsmann Stiftung**

Carl-Bertelsmann-Straße 256  
33311 Gütersloh  
Germany  
Phone +49 5241 81-0

#### **Dr. Christof Schiller**

Phone +49 5241 81-81470  
christof.schiller@bertelsmann-stiftung.de

#### **Dr. Thorsten Hellmann**

Phone +49 5241 81-81236  
thorsten.hellmann@bertelsmann-stiftung.de

#### **Pia Paulini**

Phone +49 5241 81-81468  
pia.paulini@bertelsmann-stiftung.de

[www.bertelsmann-stiftung.de](http://www.bertelsmann-stiftung.de)  
[www.sgi-network.org](http://www.sgi-network.org)