



# Organizational Reform Report

Self-monitoring, Institutional Reform

Sustainable Governance  
Indicators 2020

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Indicator

## Self-monitoring

Question

To what extent do actors within the government monitor whether institutional arrangements of governing are appropriate?

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 institutional arrangements of governing are monitored regularly and effectively.
- 8-6 = The institutional arrangements of governing are monitored regularly.
- 5-3 = The institutional arrangements of governing are selectively and sporadically monitored.
- 2-1 = There is no monitoring.

### Finland

Score 10

The monitoring and evaluation of existing institutional models forms an important element of the Finnish political and administrative system. Earlier attempts to improve the proportionality of the electoral system and alter constituency sizes are examples of how evaluation and monitoring processes in Finland mainly focus on administrative and steering issues. A system of program management that introduced new measures for monitoring the government plan was implemented several years ago. This monitoring system has been adopted as well as improved by subsequent governments. The Stubb cabinet (2014 – 2015) made monitoring data publicly available. The same policy was followed by the Sipilä cabinet. For example, progress toward realization of the 26 main goals and five main reforms listed in the government plan were reported online and updated monthly. The Rinne government launched a joint communication model for its major reform projects, managed by the Government Communications Department. One of this body's central tasks is to provide an overview of the implementation of reforms.

Citation:

<http://valtioneuvosto.fi/en/implementation-of-the-government-programme/information>;

“Government Programme Monitoring Data,” <https://www.avoindata.fi/data/fi/dataset/hallitusohjelman-seurantadata>;

Valtioneuvoston kanslia, “Jyrki Kataisen ja Alexander Stubb in hallitusohjelmien loppuseuranta 2015,”

[http://valtioneuvosto.fi/documents/10184/321857/Hallitusohjelmien+loppuseuranta+032015.pdf/44d7de02-958c-](http://valtioneuvosto.fi/documents/10184/321857/Hallitusohjelmien+loppuseuranta+032015.pdf/44d7de02-958c-4b1c-8633-201038a0f2f5)

[4b1c-8633-201038a0f2f5](http://valtioneuvosto.fi/documents/10184/321857/Hallitusohjelmien+loppuseuranta+032015.pdf/44d7de02-958c-4b1c-8633-201038a0f2f5);

Toimintasuunnitelma strategisen hallitusohjelman kärkihankkeiden ja reformien toimeenpanemiseksi 2015-2019.

Päivitys 2016. Hallituksen julkaisusarja 2/2016.

“Government Communications Strategy.” Publications of the Finnish Government

2019:30

## New Zealand

Score 9 While New Zealand's political system does not provide codified mechanisms for routine reviews of its institutional arrangements, both National Party and Labour governments have repeatedly surveyed the system's performance in the past – through a number of different devices. For example, governments have used referendums to consult citizens directly on institutional issues, including on the electoral system (1993 and 2011), and established expert/stakeholder advisory groups in a number of areas, such as Open Government Partnership (OGP) processes (2016-) and data ethics (2019-).

## Sweden

Score 9 Institutional arrangements of governing obviously cover a wide array of arrangements. As indicated earlier, it is astounding in many ways to think that Sweden has transformed politically from a pre-democratic system to a democratic state, embedded in an international union such as the EU, with only a minimum amount of institutional and constitutional reform. Such a transformation testifies to the capacity of institutions to accommodate change. Given their institutional capacity to adapt to external change, institutional arrangements as such are rarely assessed.

The cabinet and government departments were reformed (i.e., merged and/or abolished) during the 1980s and 1990s, but today most observers seem to agree that this type of reform rarely solves any problems. Instead, the main institutional monitoring and reform takes place at the agency level where the number of agencies has decreased by about 25% over the past five to six years. While some agencies have been abolished, the bulk of reduction has come from mergers. There are about 340 agencies in the Swedish administrative system. This reduction in the number of agencies says very little about the extent of regulation; in some ways it is a numbers game aiming to communicate the image to the voters that the government is cutting back in central bureaucracy. That having been said, there is more or less continuous assessment of the agency system and the performance of agencies in service delivery and policy implementation.

Agencies are monitored fairly closely, so much so that a couple of recent royal commissions have recommended that agencies should not have to provide data on their performance with the same frequency as they do today and that the system should allow for more variation among agencies in this respect. The red-green government that came into power in 2014 has launched a process of reducing the number of performance indicators that agencies are requested to provide data on. These efforts are part of a larger project to replace New Public Management models of public sector management with a more trust-based model of management. Several reforms of this kind were developed in 2016 and 2017 and scheduled to be

implemented in 2018 and 2019. Given the prospect of a change in government after the 2018 elections, this reform is now pending.

Citation:

SOU 2007:75 Att styra staten – regeringens styrning av sin förvaltning.

SOU 2008:118 Styra och ställa – förslag till en effektivare statsförvaltning

## Canada

Score 8

Government structures are constantly changing in Canada, but there are few procedural structures in place to (self-) monitor whether current arrangements are appropriate or whether change has resulted in improvement. Instead, changes are initiated at the will of the government in power, with little ex post evaluation. In the case of the recent merger of the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade with the Canadian International Development Agency, for example, the government offered no details about the nature of the amalgamation, nor about the cost savings it was intended to realize.

The current government, which won its previous mandate in part based on the promise of transparency and fairness, has since established a number of independent committees tasked with monitoring certain government processes. For example, in an effort to reduce partisanship in lawmaking, it created an independent advisory board that will aid in the selection of senators, and created the Independent Advisory Board to oversee appointments to the Supreme Court. It remains too early to gauge the long-term impact of these committees.

Citation:

David Zussmann (2013), Mergers and successful transitions, Canadian Government Executive, Volume 19 Issue 5

## Denmark

Score 8

Monitoring and management within the public sector is crucial given the size of the sector. Tight public finances have increased focus on efficiency and productivity in the public sector. This has fueled a public management and governance strategy that has focused on the use of contracts, result-oriented salaries, measurements, evaluations and efficiency reports.

Significant efforts have been undertaken to digitalize public administration, including those services directly interacting with citizens. Annual tax reporting is digitalized and most communication utilizes the e-boks system. Since 1 November 2014, all citizens above 15 years must be connected to Digital Post (there is the possibility to receive physical post, for example, for the cognitively and physically handicapped). Denmark ranked first in the United Nation's 2018 list of e-government development index.

The new Social Democratic prime minister, Mette Frederiksen, made it clear in her opening speech to the parliament at the beginning of October 2019 that she felt that new public management guided savings and efforts to increase efficiency had gone too far, and had created too much paper work for public sector employees.

Citation:

Niels Ejersbo og Carsten Greve, *Moderniseringen af den offentlige sektor*. Copenhagen: Børsens Forlag, 2005.

“90-årig mand taber sag: Glemte at tjekke sin e-Boks – og så faldt hammeren,” <http://www.bt.dk/danmark/90-aarig-mand-taber-sag-glemte-at-tjekke-sin-e-boks-og-saa-faldt-hammeren> (Accessed 17 October 2016).

UN E-government development index, <https://publicadministration.un.org/egovkb/en-us/Reports/UN-E-Government-Survey-2016>, Accessed December 1st 2016. (Re-accessed 17 October 2017).

United Nations E-Government Survey 2018, <https://publicadministration.un.org/en/Research/UN-e-Government-Surveys> (Accessed 7 October 2018).

Statsminister Mette Frederiksens tale ved Folketingets åbning 2019, <https://dansketaaler.dk/tale/statsminister-mette-frederiksens-tale-ved-folketingets-aabning-2019/> (Accessed 18 Octobr 2019).

## Latvia

Score 8

The government office has an annual monitoring procedure under which cabinet decision-making processes are reviewed. This results in frequent improvements to the process. In 2013, major revisions to the regulatory impact assessment system were made, along with the introduction of a green-paper system that will move public consultations on new policy initiatives to an earlier phase of the policy-planning process.

The management of relations with parliament, governing parties and ministries is not regularly reviewed. This is considered by civil servants to be the purview of politicians and therefore not an appropriate topic for initiatives emanating from the civil service level.

## Lithuania

Score 8

Lithuania’s policymakers monitor institutional governing arrangements (both institutions and rules of procedure) regularly and effectively. The Ministry of the Interior has established a committee to monitor the implementation of the Public Government Improvement Program, which includes representatives from that ministry, the Government Office, and other key ministries and state institutions. However, these monitoring and review processes do not include representatives of the business community or civil society, or individual experts. Non-governmental actors used to participate in the activities of the Sunset Commission, but its mandate was not extended through the 2016 – 2020 government term. Also, the rules of



procedure and business processes are frequently reviewed using quality-management instruments, the application of which is becoming increasingly widespread in the country's public administration. A uniform project-management standard introduced by the Skvernelis government for the governmental and ministerial levels provides for the establishment of a project monitoring group and the application of monitoring procedures during the implementation of projects.

However, the results of these monitoring processes are not sufficiently used in making decisions, and some changes to institutional arrangements remain motivated by governments' short-term political needs. With ascension into the OECD, better possibilities to benchmark Lithuanian's public sector performance against other OECD members might maintain political attention on monitoring governance arrangements.

## Norway

Score 8

Self-monitoring takes place both informally and formally. On a formal level, there is a parliamentary committee devoted to monitoring whether government and parliamentary activity adheres to the constitutional framework. In addition, the Office of the Auditor General, which reports to parliament, has gradually made itself more assertive while expanding its policy focus. Informally, there is substantial monitoring of the way institutional arrangements affect government functions. For example, ministerial portfolios are shuffled when change is deemed necessary, notably each time there is a change of government.

## Switzerland

Score 8

Self-monitoring takes place as a part of the political process, which includes numerous private and public actors. It is not institutionalized outside the context of the evaluation of policies (as by implication, policy evaluation leads indirectly to the monitoring of the institutional framework for these policies). The major actor in self-monitoring is the Parliamentary Control of the Administration (PCA), an evaluation service of the Federal Assembly which, on behalf of the Control Committees ("Geschäftsprüfungskommissionen"), conducts studies on the legality, expediency and effectiveness of federal authorities' activities. When commissioned to do so, the PCA can also scrutinize the effectiveness of federal government measures on behalf of other parliamentary committees. In addition, the various federal offices conduct internal evaluations that they trigger themselves. The nature of these self-evaluations vary and depends on the activity of the respective evaluation unit.

In general, according to Sager et al., evaluation activity in Switzerland is high and evaluations form an important part of political life in Switzerland.

Citation:

Sager, Fritz, Thomas Widmer und Andreas Balthasar (Hg.) (2017). Evaluation im politischen System der Schweiz – Entwicklung, Bedeutung und Wechselwirkungen. Zürich: NZZ Verlag, Reihe „Politik und Gesellschaft in der Schweiz“.

<https://www.parlament.ch/en/organe/committees/parliamentary-control-administration-pca>

## United Kingdom

Score 8

Flexibility and informal meetings are a key feature of the government system, enabling it to respond in a way uniquely tailored to the situation at hand that has always been valued highly and is an essential constituent of prime ministerial government in the United Kingdom. Nevertheless, the Cabinet Office in particular has a remit to monitor the government’s functioning and does so through a range of mechanisms, which have been reinforced by recent civil service reforms, particularly civil service management procedures. A key change introduced by the new government is the introduction of the more wide-ranging “single departmental plans,” which replace the use of business plans. These single departmental plans set clear priorities for departments, encompassing manifesto commitments, critical business-as-usual activity, and efficiency and productivity initiatives. In addition, self-monitoring occurs through implementation task forces (a 2015 innovation which complements cabinet committees), regular assessments of progress by the Civil Service Board chaired by the cabinet secretary and a new so-called shadow civil service board. The shadow civil service board is composed of junior civil servants and charged with assessing specific projects and advising senior management. In response to critiques from Select Committees and the Institute for Government, the government revised its guidance on the machinery of government, placing greater emphasis on the importance of senior leadership and accountability.

This self-monitoring has been bolstered by a renewed commitment to open government and the public release of data. Executive monitoring is complemented by media scrutiny, parliamentary committees, various policy-specific statutory bodies and independent organizations, such as the Institute of Government. The Institute of Government stated that its task of monitoring central government was facilitated by the availability of data, “the fact we can produce this report supports that.” The dissemination of good audit practices has been encouraged by the publication of internal audit standards and there are periodic reviews of areas of governance concern, recent examples being an audit of race disparities and a review of national security capabilities.

Citation:

<https://www.gov.uk/government/organisations/civil-service/about/our-governance#civil-service-board>

<https://civilservice.blog.gov.uk/2015/07/29/clarifying-our-priorities-single-departmental-plans/>

<https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/cabinet-committees-and-implementation-taskforces-membership-list>

[https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/641252/PSAIS\\_1\\_April\\_2017.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/641252/PSAIS_1_April_2017.pdf)

## Greece

**Score 7** During the period under review, the monitoring of institutional governance arrangements was improved. The new government that took office during the summer of 2019 reorganized governance structures by appointing highly skilled experts or managers with job experience in the private sector to various management post across the public sector. All governance monitoring was executed from the top, namely either by the PMO or the office of the minister responsible for the new institutional arrangements. Since the summer of 2019, the PMO has been staffed by two government ministers without a portfolio as well as technocrats responsible for monitoring. Though other mechanisms for monitoring government have been available in the past, such as parliamentary and interministerial committees, these were mostly marginalized by the government serving from 2015 to 2019. However, there are signs that such committees are experiencing a resurgence under the new government.

## Hungary

**Score 7** In Hungary, there is no regular formal monitoring of the institutional arrangements of governing in place. However, there is strong and rather comprehensive oversight of the working of the state apparatus from the top down, measured against the political will of the leadership, and the government has been quick to change any institutional arrangements it has deemed to be politically dangerous. Public policy has often been very volatile, changing according to the government's current needs. The Orbán governments underperform with regard to coherent policy-planning but react quickly to failures in individual political cases or to major policymaking mistakes. In the case of the 2019 municipal elections, however, monitoring failed.

## Ireland

**Score 7** The present government has a mandate for institutional reform and has made some progress in implementing its program in this area as set out in its four Annual Reviews of the Programme for Government. Specific examples have been discussed in relation to other SGI criteria.

## Israel

**Score 7** The Israeli government has installed various executive-branch institutions, both internally and externally, tasked with monitoring its activities and performance in areas such as procedures, financial transfers and human resources. For example, the Accountant General regularly audits financial decisions in ministries. The Civil Service Commission ensures that internal due processes are followed, and oversees human resources. However, in recent Knesset discussion regarding reforms to the



Commission's work, critics have asserted that the Commission's work is inefficient. The PMO monitors implementation of the State Comptroller's recommendations as well as the internal accounting units in each ministry. Supplementary mechanisms for self-regulation include protocols and guidelines governing daily practice.

Occasionally, the media publishes a leaked government report detailing government discrepancies and mismanagement, which the respective government office has attempted to hide from the public. While there are some recent examples, this custom has been ongoing for years. According to a recent media report, a confidential report examining how Israel Electric Corporation manages its expenses was drafted a decade ago. The report listed in great detail numerous wasteful policies, decisions and instances of mismanagement that cost the government billions of shekels. Despite its severity, the report was never published. Another recent media report states that the Ministry of Health's CEO dismissed a report drafted by the ministry, which found that grants that were given to medical doctors and interns who moved for work reasons to peripheral regions did not achieve their goal and failed to improve healthcare services in peripheral regions. In December 2018, it was reported that the chairman of the Jewish National Fund, Keren Kayemet LeJisrael, had hidden from the public a severe report about his own management of the fund, which includes also a suggestion that the fund should be closed.

Citation:

"About: the Accountant General," Ministry of finance website (Hebrew): <http://mof.gov.il/AG/About/Pages/About.aspx>

"About the Inspection General for State Comptroller Affairs," PMO website (Hebrew): <http://www.pmo.gov.il/BikoretHamedina/Pages/Default.aspx>

Bar-Eli, Avi. "Apparently This is the Greatest Theft in the State of Israel's History." In The Marker website.. Last updated: October 10th, 2019. (Hebrew)

Efrati, Ido. "Due to the CEO's Pressure, the Ministry of Health Shelved a Report Stating that the Grants' Money for Doctors in the Periphery Goes to Waste." In Ha'aretz website.. October 6th, 2019. (Hebrew)

Government Decision 482: adoption of the recommendations of the governability committee, 30.6.213, <http://www.pmo.gov.il/Secretary/GovDecisions/2013/Pages/des482.aspx>

Ilan, Shachar. "Dani Atar Hides a Report's Draft that Calls to Consider Kakal's Dismemberment." In Calcalist website.. December 24th, 2018. (Hebrew)

"Information security management and survivability of internet and computer infrastructure for government offices," state comptroller yearly publication 63b 2013: [http://www.mevaker.gov.il/he/Reports/Report\\_95/8e003e9a-3404-4626-a2ab-eddb638549ed/8254.pdf](http://www.mevaker.gov.il/he/Reports/Report_95/8e003e9a-3404-4626-a2ab-eddb638549ed/8254.pdf) (Hebrew)

"Notice number 3," Civil service commission website (Hebrew) "About: Civil Service Commission," Civil service commission website (Hebrew): <http://www.csc.gov.il/About/Pages/Roles.aspx>

Protocol – The Special Committee – Reforms in the Civil Service Commission: <https://oknesset.org/committee/meeting/11826/>

"Rules, procedures and guidelines for CEOs in the civil service," Civil service commission 2013: <http://www.csc.gov.il/DataBases/Rules/Documents/BrochureCEOs.pdf> (Hebrew)

"The internal audit law 1992," Official legislation (Hebrew)

## Japan

- Score 7** Reform of the executive has been a major topic in Japan for over a decade. Under Prime Minister Abe, the LDP-led government has sought to readjust institutional arrangements by establishing and/or reinvigorating a number of councils and committees. To some extent, the Abe government has sought to bring back the leadership framework that characterized the government under Prime Minister Koizumi (2001 – 2006), for instance through a strong Cabinet Office.

## Chile

- Score 6** Ministries are required to establish sectoral goals, which are then evaluated annually. Reports are presented on a quarterly basis but do not focus directly on the adequacy of institutional arrangements. For example, the accomplishment of ministerial goals is evaluated, but not the adequacy of the ministry in general. The Ministry of Finance assesses the adequacy of institutional arrangements in the case of new law proposals, but there is no specific institution assigned to monitor preexisting institutional arrangements. Furthermore, to a certain degree, changes in institutional arrangements tend to be influenced by personnel criteria and are not driven by an effort to introduce long-run strategic structural change. Ministry portfolios are subject to sporadic monitoring while procedures and work formats are subject to regular monitoring.

## Estonia

- Score 6** Based on the amount of amended or adopted regulations that deal with institutional arrangements, the government's monitoring activities certainly exist and inform policymaking. Since March 2014, the Act on National Government has furnished the ministerial nomination processes with a new flexibility; it no longer lists ministers, but only sets a maximum number for the government as a whole. This enables nominations to better reflect current needs. However, it is difficult to estimate how systematic and consolidated the government's self-monitoring activities truly are.

## Malta

- Score 6** The government has stepped up its efforts to monitor wide-ranging aspects of government work, especially from within the PMO. The Office of the Principal Permanent Secretary bears primary responsibility for this. However, ministers everywhere seek from time to time to avoid such monitoring; this sometimes becomes evident when the central government fails to respond to questions on some

ministry action because the action was taken unilaterally by that ministry. EU supervision of most aspects of governance has also led to a need for greater monitoring; however, Malta has today resolved many of its outstanding issues with the European Commission. The NAO and the Ombudsman also continue to provide essential monitoring functions. In 2019, the government announced the creation of a new entity to monitor public-private partnerships. The PMO is currently overseeing an overhaul of procedures in a number of ministries and public organizations, following recommendations made by Moneyval, the Venice Commission and GRECO.

Citation:

Over 450 employed in government positions of trust *The Malta Independent* 20/12/15

Positions of Trust: A Constitutional quagmire *Malta Today* 22/06/16

Unconstitutional Jobs *Times of Malta* 07/10/16

The number of people in positions of trust is not excessive *Times of Malta* 16/03/18

Public Service Commission *Times of Malta* 24/01/17

Government to set up entity overseeing and monitoring public private partnerships [Maltachamber.org.mt](http://Maltachamber.org.mt) 28/01/19

*Times of Malta* 17/01/2020 Venice Commission Reforms without delay, Robert Abela

## Mexico

### Score 6

Historically, Mexico has often found ways of dealing with the so-called agency problem in policy implementation, which explains why institutional arrangements need constant monitoring. Traditionally this agency problem was dealt with by a high degree of corporatist authoritarianism, which came at a high cost for controlling agents. In today's Mexico, democracy – even if sometimes insufficiently implemented – requires new models of overcoming this agency problem in an increasingly diversified and complex state structure. Particularly policymakers at the central level and in the more advanced states are becoming aware that effectively governing complexity requires different principles, including monitoring institutional governance arrangements. In July 2018, Mexico launched an online platform to track progress toward achieving the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development.

Yet, especially at the subnational level, pockets of authoritarianism, weak state capacity and widespread corruption result in uneven capacity for monitoring institutional arrangements and regulatory reforms. At the top of the political pyramid, the quality of self-monitoring still depends much on the personal engagement of the president. Mexican policymakers have tended to engage quite frequently in administrative reorganization, possibly to excess. President Peña Nieto was an ambitious, and perhaps excessive, but largely unsuccessful reformer. President López Obrador is even more ambitious and is attempting to radically transform Mexico. AMLO's new social programs and plans to revive the Mexican oil industry are intended to transform Mexico's socioeconomic structure. In addition, he wants to demilitarize the war on drugs, a strategy which so far failed. The very ambitious plans enjoy high support within the Mexican population. After one year in office, AMLO's approval ratings are very high. In November 2019, more than 67% of Mexicans supported AMLO.

Citation:

SDG 2018. Mexico's SDG Portal Brings Functionality to Reporting. <http://sdg.iisd.org/news/mexicos-sdg-portal-brings-functionality-to-reporting/>

## South Korea

- Score 6** The president's office monitors institutional governance arrangements. The president frequently reorganizes ministries and government agencies when inefficiencies are detected. At the same time, institutional reforms are often driven by individual high-ranking government officials rather than being part of a comprehensive plan. For example, the recent controversy over the creation of a new government agency tasked with investigating and prosecuting high-level government officials was primarily driven by former Justice Minister Cho Kuk. However, the initiative did not provide adequate assessment as to how this new institution would be more independent than the existing public prosecutor's office from political meddling, or how it would improve investigations of high-level officials overall.

## Australia

- Score 5** There is little in the way of formal processes to indicate that institutional arrangements are monitored regularly, but such monitoring does occur occasionally. Institutional arrangements do periodically change, often manifesting as rearrangements and renaming of departments. Ad hoc reviews are also conducted, such as the 2004 Review of the Corporate Governance of Statutory Authorities and Office Holders. In some key areas such as migration, Australian authorities carefully monitor the impact of policies, and rapidly change policy direction if appropriate.

## Austria

- Score 5** There is no regular monitoring within the executive branch of the government. Due to the fragmented structure of the government and comparatively weak position of the chancellor, the ability to engage in oversight from within the central government is very weak. However, a monitoring effort is currently ongoing with respect to reform of the Austrian administration (Verwaltungsreform), based on proposals made by the Austrian Court of Audit.

Core government actors are first and foremost legitimized by the political parties. Though officially appointed by the president, the cabinet consists of individuals chosen by the political parties on the basis of post-electoral coalition agreements. Civil service personnel are in many cases also indirectly linked to one of the political parties. In recent years, short-term appointments within the civil service has

bolstered this latter trend, undermining the principle of a professionalized civil service. Individual cabinet members (federal ministers, including the chancellor and vice-chancellor) have increased the size of their personal staffs. This has created a mixed system, partially echoing the model of the British civil service, in which civil servants work under ministers irrespective of their own political links, and partially following the U.S. model of a politicized civil service with party-political links between cabinet members and their staff.

This blend of two contradictory principles undermines the reform capacity of the Austrian system. The government and its individual cabinet members can neither depend on the full loyalty of a partisan civil service, nor be sure of a complete civil service impartiality.

From the beginning of 2018, the ÖVP-FPÖ government has tried to strengthen political control over the civil service – especially by establishing the system of “secretary generals” in all ministries. This system has had a centralizing effect by guaranteeing the loyalty of the civil service to the specific minister who appoints the secretary-general. This tendency indirectly contradicts the non-partisan status of the Austrian civil service.

## France

### Score 5

Numerous reports on the reform of rules, procedures and structures are prepared at the request of governmental authorities. The Court of Accounts plays a very active and stimulating role in this regard. However, few of these recommendations are implemented. Resistance by the ministries or agencies affected is usually fierce, and is often supported by opposition parties or even by part of the majority coalition. The issue is complicated by the fact that ministerial structures can be set up and changed by the government in charge.

The local government administrations have proven to be among the systems least adaptable to structural change. This system is multilayered, complex and no longer in line with the challenges of the modern economy and society. Most serious attempts at reform have failed. However, some elements of the 2015 territorial reorganization may trigger more change (new powers to metropolitan areas, organized cooperation/fusion of the numerous and often too small municipalities). The initial measures taken by President Macron seem to indicate that he has chosen the indirect but powerful instrument of state subsidies to force local governments to make changes. However, the government’s ambitious changes concerning the metropolitan areas and Paris are still on hold, as they face (as usual) fierce resistance from the powerful local-government lobby. From de Gaulle to Macron, all governments have had to limit themselves to partial and ad hoc reforms, making the overall system complex and costly.



## Germany

**Score 5** There is neither a particular institution nor a commission that independently and impartially operates as an oversight body with respect to governmental activities. In addition, institutional self-monitoring capacities are still low. However, the creation of the Better Regulation Unit in the Chancellery and the extension of the competences of the National Regulatory Control Council (Normenkontrollrat, NKR) – an independent advisory body – have strengthened self-monitoring capacities. The NKR published its last report in October 2019, in which it requested greater effort to improve laws and reduce administrative burdens (NRK 2019). Moreover, the NKR has also sought changes and better monitoring of the organizational set-up for digitalization.

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Nationaler Normenkontrollrat (NRK) (2019):

<https://www.normenkontrollrat.bund.de/nkr-de/stellungnahmen>

## Iceland

**Score 5** Iceland has no formal political or administrative system of self-monitoring organizational reform. Monitoring of institutional arrangements is irregular. Institutional arrangements are occasionally reviewed. For example, the 2009 – 2013 cabinet reshuffled several ministerial portfolios to strengthen policy coordination and administrative capacity. The 2013 – 2016 cabinet immediately reversed some of these mergers, increasing the number of cabinet ministers from eight to 10 and the 2017 cabinet further increased the number to 11.

## Italy

**Score 5** Traditionally, the attention paid to the internal organization of the government machine has been selective and sporadic. No systematic monitoring was accomplished on a regular basis. The spending review initiated under the Monti government, and continued by the Letta, Renzi and Gentiloni governments, reformed this field somewhat. Reforms have focused mainly on financial issues, but have also involved the monitoring of institutional arrangements of government (with particular attention given to the structures of local government). However, many of these review exercises' proposals for a deeper restructuring of government have not been implemented. The first Conte government discontinued the spending review. After limited past reforms that increased the ability to monitor the government program, little attention has been paid to a serious restructuring of the Prime Minister's Office. Reforms introduced under the Conte government only marginally affected the state bureaucracy's low level of productivity.

Citation:

[http://www.funzionepubblica.gov.it/sites/funzionepubblica.gov.it/files/Valutazione\\_DLgs\\_25\\_maggio\\_2017\\_n74.pdf](http://www.funzionepubblica.gov.it/sites/funzionepubblica.gov.it/files/Valutazione_DLgs_25_maggio_2017_n74.pdf)

## Luxembourg

**Score 5** In the absence of systematic monitoring of institutional arrangements, the government relies mainly on international expertise. EU and OECD data significantly effects the political agenda, and the implementation of social and economic policies. For example, the 2007 OECD country report on research and innovation led to the creation of a research and innovation committee, and subsequently to the updated ERAWATCH assessment of research systems and policies in 2013.

One example of these practices is the 2006 Council of Europe report “Profile of the Luxembourgish educational linguistic policy,” the result of a two-year investigation involving national stakeholders. The report led to the reform of language teaching in 2009. The OECD audit of the country’s public employment service (L’Agence pour le développement de l’emploi, ADEM) against the background of a rising unemployment rate resulted in a draft bill adopted in 2012. It has become clear that sustainable changes would require the creation of in-house analysis and forward-looking planning capacities. No ministry or administration is currently able to fulfill these requirements.

Citation:

“OECD Reviews of Innovation Policy – Luxembourg 2016.” OECD Publishing, 2016. [www.dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264232297-en](http://www.dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264232297-en). Accessed 19 Oct. 2019.

## Netherlands

**Score 5** There have only been two visible changes in the institutional practices of the Dutch government at the national level. One is that the monarch was stripped of participation in cabinet-formation processes in 2012; the second chamber or senate now formally directs that process. The effect on government formation was very mixed, with a historically rapid formation in 2012 and the longest-lasting coalition formation process in 2017. The second change was the informal adaptation to lower levels of parliamentary support on the part of the Rutte I and II governments. Informal coordination processes between government ministers, and all members of the senate and second chamber have become crucial for governing at the national level. Following provincial elections in 2019, this also applies to the present Rutte III cabinet.

Two open organizational-reform crises have emerged in recent times that threaten citizens’ well-being in the long run. The first is the underfunded, understaffed and ill-considered transfer of policy responsibility to municipal and local governments within important domains such as youth care, healthcare and senior-citizen care.

However, experiments in local budgeting and deliberative and participatory policymaking (Code Oranje, Civocracy) have gained a modicum of traction at the local level.

Second, there is a looming reform crisis in the justice and policing system, which undermines the government's task of protecting citizens' security. The reform of the policing system from regional or local bodies into a single big national organization is stagnating; police officers have mounted strikes based on wage and working-condition issues; and the top echelon of the police leadership is in disarray. One manifestation of this crisis in the organizational reform of policing has been the polarization of views on the role of mayors in fighting local (often drug-related) crime. Some observers want mayors to be crime fighters; others argue that the office holder should merely stay informed regarding prosecutions and policy actions. The digitalization of the justice system and the reduction in the number of courts, in addition to imposed cutbacks, has wreaked havoc within the judicial branch of government. There is a crisis in the relations between the political and the bureaucratic elements, given that the Department of Justice and Security is supposed to provide political guidance to both of these reform movements.

Although institutional arrangements are monitored regularly (Scientific Council of the Government on Citizen Self-Reliance, Council for Public Administration on Local Democracy and annual reports by the national Council of State), recommendations and plans are not followed up due to a lack of political will. In 2019, the Council of State warned that there was a risk of subjecting parliamentary legislation to the outcomes of poldering practices that effectively give too much power to organized and vested stakeholder interests (e.g., in the context of the big agreements on housing, pensions and climate).

Citation:

Code Oranje|Democratic Challenge, [democraticchallenge.nl](http://democraticchallenge.nl)

Civocracy, [civocracy.org](http://civocracy.org)

NRC-Handelsblad, 11 April 2019. Raad van State: parlement maakt zichzelf machteloos door akkoorden.

Financieel Dagblad, 31 August 2019. Polder-sheriffs worstelen met regelwoud en geldgebrek.

Krouwel, A. P. M., & Koedam, J. (2015). The Netherlands: Investiture behind closed doors. In B. E. Rasch, S. Martin, & J. A. Cheibub (Eds.), *Parliaments and Government Formation: Unpacking Investiture Rules* (pp. 253-274). Oxford: Oxford University press.

## Portugal

Score 5

During the period under review, no substantial measures have been introduced concerning the monitoring of institutional arrangements and there is little evidence of de facto monitoring of institutional governance arrangements. What little monitoring occurs appears to be reactive to political crises or challenges. The rules of procedure for the Council of Ministers make no reference to self-monitoring mechanisms.

Citation:

Regimento do Conselho de Ministros do XXI Governo Constitucional – Resolução do Conselho de Ministros n.º 95-A/2015, Diário da República n.º 246/2015, 1º Suplemento, Série I de 2015-12-17, available online at: <https://data.dre.pt/eli/resolconsmin/95-a/2015/p/cons/20171113/pt/html>

## Spain

Score 5

The prime minister has the power (both constitutionally and politically) to reformulate the institutional organization of the government. Without any legal constraint, he personally decides on the structure of portfolios and other governing arrangements every time he appoints new ministers. After taking office in June 2018, Prime Minister Sánchez introduced several changes with regard to ministries' names and jurisdictions, without a prior impact assessment. As yet, no central actor performs a self-monitoring function. However, laws 19/2013 on transparency, access to public information and good governance, and 39/2015 on general administrative procedure state that the Government Office must engage in planning, evaluation, and comprehensive monitoring of general legislation and, where appropriate, must promote revision and simplification.

Citation:

Ley 39/2015

## Turkey

Score 5

With the April 2017 referendum and the subsequent incremental introduction of the presidential system of government, Turkey has undergone an organizational change involving the creation of new institutions, the merging or splitting of ministerial bodies, legal changes and rapid personnel shifts. These developments make monitoring exceedingly difficult.

The organization of the new presidential system was regulated by presidential Decree No. 703 in July 2018. In addition to a vice-president, the head of administrative affairs was established under the General Directorate of Law and Legislation. Its main task as the head of administrative affairs is to coordinate between public institutions and organizations, and examine the congruity of laws adopted by the parliament and draft legislation prepared by government institutions with the constitution, current legislation, presidential decrees and government program. The policy councils of the president are expected to monitor and report the implementation of governmental policies to the president.

Several units contribute to the monitoring process directly or indirectly. These units include the State Supervisory Council, the Directorate General of Law and Legislation of the Presidency of the Republic, the Directorate General of Laws and Decrees of the TBMM, the General Directorate of Laws of the Ministry of Justice,

and the Council of State. Each administrative institution has its own internal control unit for monitoring compliance with financial rules. However, these units are not fully effective.

Citation:

European Commission, Turkey 2019 Report, Brussels, 29.5.2019, <https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/sites/near/files/20190529-turkey-report.pdf> (accessed 1 November 2019)

Cumhurbaşkanlığı Teşkilatı Hakkında Cumhurbaşkanlığı Kararnamesi 1, <http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/eskiler/2018/07/20180710-1.pdf> (accessed 1 November 2018)

K. Gözler, Türkiye'nin Yönetim Yapısı (TC İdari Teşkilatı), Bursa: Ekin Basın Yayın Dağıtım, 2018.

TC Sayıştay Başkanlığı, AYdın Adnan Menders Üniversitesi 2018 Yılı Sayıştay Denetim Raporu, [https://www.sayistay.gov.tr/tr/Upload/62643830/files/raporlar/kid/2018/%C3%96zel\\_B%C3%BCt%C3%A7eli\\_%C4%B0dareler-A/AYDIN%20ADNAN%20MENDERES%20%C3%9CN%C4%BOVERS%C4%B0TES%C4%B0.pdf](https://www.sayistay.gov.tr/tr/Upload/62643830/files/raporlar/kid/2018/%C3%96zel_B%C3%BCt%C3%A7eli_%C4%B0dareler-A/AYDIN%20ADNAN%20MENDERES%20%C3%9CN%C4%BOVERS%C4%B0TES%C4%B0.pdf) (accessed 1 November 2019)

"AKP'lilerin atama oyununa yargıdan 'usulsüzlük' yorumu," Cumhuriyet daily news, 23 April 2019, <http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/haber/turkiye/1358511/akplilerin-atama-oyununa-yargidan-usulsuzluk-yorumu.html> (accessed 1 November 2019)

"Futbol Federasyonu'ndan "usulsüz atama" açıklaması: Mesleki tecrübe fakülteyi bitirince başlar!" 13 September 2019, <https://t24.com.tr/haber/futbol-federasyonu-ndan-usulsuz-atama-aciklamasi-mesleki-tecrube-fakulteyi-bitirince-baslar,839294> (accessed 1 November 2019)

## United States

Score 5

On the one hand, presidential advisory and administrative arrangements in and around the White House are reconfigured in important respects by each president. As a result of this fluidity, presidents, their staffs and commentators discuss the effectiveness of the given arrangements of the president's senior aides almost constantly. By contrast, most other organizational structures – including the basic separation-of-powers system; the structure of Congress; and the structure of departments and major agencies of the executive branch – are rigid. None of these is subject to change by executive decision or ordinary legislative majority, and they are evaluated only in extreme circumstances.

The executive structures of the Trump presidency have been exceptionally casual and unstable, with a president who appeared to have no appreciation for the benefits of systematic deliberation and division of labor. In many important agencies, such as the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), the State Department, and parts of the Department of Justice, mid-tier and lower-level professionals have also left in large numbers.

## Bulgaria

Score 4

There are no formal ex ante mechanisms for monitoring whether institutional arrangements of governing are appropriate. It is only ex post, when a problem becomes serious enough or a crisis emerges, that reflection regarding the structure of



governance and institutional arrangements begins. Such cases are usually spurred by public pressure or pressure from some other government body. Deliberations on proposed legislation serve less often to prompt such debates. A striking recent example was the vigorous debate about the weakness of road-construction supervision following a fatal accident in the summer of 2018. Several additional examples appeared in 2019, including the exposure of governance weaknesses in the overall personal-data protection framework after the revenue agency's servers were hacked, as well as heated debates on the anti-corruption governance structure after the person heading the national anti-corruption agency was exposed as having been involved in activities suggesting corruption and conflict of interest.

## Croatia

- Score 4 There is no regular self-monitoring of the institutional arrangements of Croatian governments. Public organizations are supposed to prepare annual reports, but often fail to do so, and do not use these reports to examine deficiencies.

## Cyprus

- Score 4 The main structures and institutions of 1960 remain largely unchanged. Slow reform efforts usually commence when dysfunctions reach critical levels. This reform paralysis is connected to the absence of institutional monitoring. Efforts undertaken by a centralized unit for reform produced some results, mostly in the improvement of procedures. The parliament's rejection of the establishment of a sub-ministry for development led to the reassignment of tasks from the centralized unit for reform back to three line ministries. This makes reforms harder, given that self-monitoring in line ministries is weak or absent as no central coordination and monitoring body exists.

In the absence of internal monitoring, the government commissioned studies to identify existing deficiencies. These have not, however, led to the creation of monitoring mechanisms and no plans in this direction have been made public.

## Czechia

- Score 4 There is no systematic monitoring of the institutional arrangements of governing. Governments must issue annual reports and a final report at the end of their term in office, as Prime Minister Sobotka did in November 2017. However, these reports tend to focus on policies rather than institutions and are normally self-congratulatory. Also, there are sporadic audits within particular ministries. The Supervisor monitoring program introduced after ANO entered government in 2014 and applied

to all ANO-controlled ministries has focused on spending rather than on the institutional arrangements of governing.

## Poland

**Score 4** The PiS government has adopted a number of institutional reforms, but has not monitored the institutional arrangements of government in a systematic and regular way. The goal is not to improve or professionalize institutions but to increase political power and employ personnel that follow the party line.

## Romania

**Score 4** There is no systematic and regular monitoring of institutional arrangements. Occasionally, the OECD and World Bank have been involved in governance reviews, but the effects of the latter have been negligible. The Dăncilă government was too preoccupied with the European Parliament elections and various other issues/scandals to give attention to monitoring institutional arrangements.

## Slovenia

**Score 4** There is no regular self-monitoring of institutional arrangements in Slovenia. The monitoring that takes place is ad hoc and limited. The annual reports of state organizations are formal and self-congratulatory. Under both the Cerar and Šarec governments, the number of audits performed by private sector organizations remained low.

## Belgium

**Score 3** In 1993, Belgium became a federal state with one central (federal) government, three regional governments (Flanders, Brussels, Wallonia), three communities (Dutch-, French- and German-speaking, each with a parliament and a government), 10 provinces, and 589 municipalities (following a merger in 1975). The absence of a hierarchy of decision-making powers among these institutions means that self-monitoring efforts within administrative organizations is limited in practice. It takes a constitutional crisis to trigger a comprehensive process of reflection on institutional functionality. Resulting revisions are typically motivated by pre-existing political agendas rather than by a sound impact evaluation.

There have been six such state reforms from 1970 onwards; the 6th state reform was agreed upon in 2011 and led to the transfer of multiple further competences to the regional and community levels. The federal and regional/community governments nevertheless maintained overlapping competences (as evinced by the fact that there are nine public health ministers) because each state reform was the result of a difficult compromise between those pushing for more devolution and those pushing

for reinforced federal competences.

As a consequence, Belgian institutions are far from efficient. The responsibility split between municipalities and regions has not been reoptimized appropriately, particularly in Brussels. Many decisions require interministerial coordination between the federal, regional and community authorities, which makes Belgium almost as complex as Europe. A formal body – the “concertation committee” (comité de concertation/overlegcomité) – has been developed for such coordination. The committee includes federal, regional and community ministers and is supposed to prevent conflicts of interest between the three levels. Very frequently, however, no rational solution emerges. It is also often the case that major policy initiatives requiring coordination are not even initiated because of a local government acting as a veto player that blocks the entire initiative. There are several examples of this in all policy fields with shared competences, most notably with regard to environmental/climate change and health policies.

Tensions between levels of government have remained strong since the May 2019 elections. In the months preceding the demise of the last federal coalition (December 2018), arguments in favor of reviewing institutions on a case-by-case basis to achieve higher efficiency came to the fore. But election results produced a highly polarized political landscape that only fed venomous debates held on twitter over who was to blame for the deadlocks, which effectively halted any efforts to self-monitor.

Citation:

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<https://plus.lesoir.be/130823/article/2017-12-23/francois-bellot-et-alexander-de-croo-pour-une-refederalisation-de-la-mobilite>

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[https://www.rtf.be/info/belgique/detail\\_etat-federal-et-regions-se-disputent-le-gateau-financier-des-licences-5g?id=10181618](https://www.rtf.be/info/belgique/detail_etat-federal-et-regions-se-disputent-le-gateau-financier-des-licences-5g?id=10181618)

## Slovakia

### Score 3

There is no regular and systematic self-monitoring of institutional arrangements in Slovakia. Governments and governmental bodies (such as the parliament, Government Office) must issue annual reports and a final report at the end of their term in office, however, these documents focus more on policies and formal financial accounting rather than institutional design. In addition, there are sporadic audits within particular ministries. The institutions and processes of governing are analyzed only infrequently and selectively. Shortcomings in audit procedures persist.

## Indicator

# Institutional Reform

## Question

To what extent does the government improve its strategic capacity by changing the institutional arrangements of governing?

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

- 10-9 = The government improves its strategic capacity considerably by changing its institutional arrangements.
- 8-6 = The government improves its strategic capacity by changing its institutional arrangements.
- 5-3 = The government does not improve its strategic capacity by changing its institutional arrangements.
- 2-1 = The government loses strategic capacity by changing its institutional arrangements.

## Lithuania

## Score 9

Lithuania's government has in some cases improved its strategic capacity considerably by changing its institutional arrangements. The Skvernelis government developed a new concept paper on the institutional setup of public administration, which proposed reducing the number of institutions by 15%. The government is not on track to achieve this target; according to the Ministry of the Interior, the number of these institutions (at both the central and local level) fell by only 2.6% from 2016 to 2017. Although there was more rationalization activity at the central level in 2018, the process of optimization has been very sluggish at the local level.

At the end of 2018, the government approved a set of reform guidelines for ministerial and agency administrations, which led to organizational restructuring in 2019. Although these reorganizations may improve Lithuanian ministries' policymaking focus, there is also a risk that another wave of administrative changes could add to institutional instability and staff turnover in the Lithuanian central government. Lithuanian authorities also decided to rename two government ministries: the Ministry of National Economy became the Ministry of Economy and Innovation after it took over responsibility for innovation (digital economy and IT infrastructure), while the Ministry of Education and Science added "Sport" to its name after gaining control over this policy field. President Nausėda has proposed reducing the overall number of Lithuanian ministries to 12, but this proposal is unlikely to be implemented before the 2020 parliamentary elections.

:  
Vidaus reikalų ministerija, 2017 metų viešojo sektoriaus ataskaita. Vilnius, 2018  
[https://vrm.lrv.lt/uploads/vrm/documents/files/LT\\_versija/Teisine\\_informacija/Tyrimai\\_ir\\_analizes/Analize/2017%20metu%20viesojo%20sektoriaus%20ataskaita.pdf](https://vrm.lrv.lt/uploads/vrm/documents/files/LT_versija/Teisine_informacija/Tyrimai_ir_analizes/Analize/2017%20metu%20viesojo%20sektoriaus%20ataskaita.pdf)

## New Zealand

**Score 9** New Zealand's strategic-planning capacity is already relatively high. There is thus little space for further improvement. Nevertheless, governments have shown commitment to coordinate and streamline the relations between different institutional actors at the core of government. In particular, the Cabinet Manual – the primary authority on regulating the conduct of ministers and their offices – has served as a framework through which to improve strategic capacity. For example, The Manual includes a “no surprises” convention, whereby departments are required to inform ministers promptly of matters of significance within their portfolio responsibilities, particularly where matters may be controversial or may become the subject of public debate. In November 2019, new public sector reform legislation was introduced into parliament. The proposed legislation will repeal the State Sector Act 1988 will be repealed and replaced with the Public Service Act. The new act will give the public service more flexibility in its response to specific priorities or events, allow public servants to move between agencies more easily, and clearly establish the principles of an apolitical public service. Chief executive boards, or joint ventures, could also be set up to tackle very difficult issues; they would be accountable to one minister and receive a direct budget appropriation. Submissions on the bill closed in January 2020 and the bill is expected to pass mid-2020.

Citation:

Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, Cabinet Manual (<https://dpmc.govt.nz/our-business-units/cabinet-office/supporting-work-cabinet/cabinet-manual>).

## Sweden

**Score 9** While the structural design of the Swedish system looks almost identical to how it did a century ago, there have been substantive changes in the modus operandi of institutions at all levels of government, particularly concerning the relationship between institutions. Perhaps most importantly, coordination among government departments has increased. Furthermore, the agency system is continuously reviewed, and the structure of the system is reformed (e.g., through mergers of agencies). Finally, department steering of the agency has increased, formally and informally.

It is fair to say that the design and functionality of the system is continuously assessed. Over the past decade, issues related to steering and central control have dominated reform ambitions. Again, governments have not hesitated to alter the configuration of departments or agencies when deemed necessary to reflect the changing agenda of the government.



## Denmark

Score 8

The last major reforms within the public sector was the structural reform of 2007 and the 2012 Budget Law, which became effective in 2014. The key element for the government's effort to make the public sector more efficient is the 2% across-the-board budget reduction (omprioriteringsbidrag), with the savings reallocated to new initiatives. A heated discussion followed about whether this will induce public institutions to increase efficiency and productivity.

While the structure and role of municipalities, and especially the regions, is continuously debated, there is no indication that major structural reforms will be undertaken in the near future. The new Social Democratic government is focused on improving performance within the existing structure, and has dropped the annual 2% across-the-board budget reduction target, and has increased funding for municipalities and regions.

Prime Minister Mette Frederiksen has further created a new political secretariat in the PMO to strengthen the government's strategic direction.

Citation:

Ejersbo og Greve, *Modernisering af den offentlige sektor*, Børsens forlag, 2005.

The Danish Government, *Denmark's National Reform Programme*, May 2011. [http://ec.europa.eu/europe2020/pdf/nrp/nrp\\_denmark\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/europe2020/pdf/nrp/nrp_denmark_en.pdf) (accessed 27 April 2013).

Lene Dalsgaard and Henning Jørgensen, *Kvaliteten der blev væk: Kvalitetsreform og modernisering af den offentlige sektor*. Copenhagen: Frydenlund, 2010.

Carsten Greve and Niels Ejersbo, *Udviklingen i styringen af den offentlige sektor*. Baggrundspapir til Produktivitetskommissionen. <http://produktivitetskommissionen.dk/media/142136/Baggrundsnotat%20af%20Greve%20og%20Ejersbo.pdf> (Accessed 22 October 2014).

Statsministerens tale ved Folketingets åbning, 2. oktober 2018, [http://fo.stm.dk/\\_p\\_14739.html](http://fo.stm.dk/_p_14739.html) (Accessed 7 October 2018).

Statsminister Mette Frederiksens tale ved Folketingets åbning 2019, <https://dansketaaler.dk/tale/statsminister-mette-frederiksens-tale-ved-folketingets-aabning-2019/> (Accessed 18 October 2019).

## Finland

Score 8

While institutional arrangements have not changed much, the Sipilä government has continuously considered plans to promote and implement strategic aims within government and to reduce costs. These plans have included merging ministries and reallocating ministerial responsibilities, but the outcome of these efforts have been less than successful. Plans some years ago to merge the Ministry of Environment and the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry were heavily opposed and later developments largely justified the criticism. Among other reallocation efforts, a merger of the Ministries of Justice and Employment failed to the extent that it

became necessary to cancel the merger. Several factors, including the fairly high degree of independence accorded to Finnish ministries and broad nature of recent cabinets, tend to undermine policy coordination across government bodies, highlighting the need for reforms that improve coordination. The Sipilä government's strategic goals are discussed regularly in Iltakoulu (evening sessions), an informal meeting between ministry staffers and heads of the parliamentary groups. The sessions serve as a venue for in-depth consultation and consensus-building. The Rinne government introduced six strategic ministerial working groups, in which ministers from different departments guided and directed the implementation of government-program items within specific policy areas.

Citation:

<https://valtioneuvosto.fi/en/rinne/ministerial-working-groups>

## Germany

Score 8

In general, institutional reforms intended to improve the government's management capacities are extremely rare. As in other countries, strategic capacities and reform efforts are heavily influenced by constitutional and public-governance structures and traditions. The federal system assigns considerable independent authority to the states. In turn, the states have a crucial role in implementing federal legislation. This creates a complex environment with many institutional veto players across different levels. Institutional and organizational inertia spells for low levels of strategic capacity. German federalism reforms, which constitute some of the more far-reaching institutional changes of recent years, have started to have an impact on the adaptability of the federal politics. In July 2017 and March 2019, further far-reaching reforms relating to the financial relations between the federal level and the states were adopted.

Citation:

Deutscher Bundestag (2018):

Entwurf eines Gesetzes zur Änderung des Grundgesetzes (Artikel 104c, 104d, 125c, 143e); BT.-Drs. 19/3440.

## Iceland

Score 8

Iceland's recent governments have sought to improve the central government's strategic capacity by reviewing ministerial structures. The 2007 – 2009 cabinet of Haarde initiated this process, while the 2009 – 2013 cabinet of Sigurðardóttir continued this process by reducing the number of ministries from 12 to eight and reshuffling ministerial responsibilities. Some of the ministries were administratively weak because of their small size. The capacity of these small ministries to cope with complex policy issues, such as international negotiations, was inefficient and ineffective. Further, the informality of small ministries was a disadvantage. The three cabinets since 2013, however, have more or less reversed these reforms by again increasing the number of ministers by three.

## Latvia

- Score 8** The regular review of decision-making procedures results in frequent reforms aimed at improving the system. Changes in institutional arrangements, such as the establishment of the PKC in 2010, have significantly improved the government's strategic capacity and ability to undertake long-term strategic planning.

## Norway

- Score 8** Institutional reform is an ongoing process, with frequent reorganizations aimed at improving strategic capacity taking place. This includes changes in ministerial responsibilities and portfolios.

## United Kingdom

- Score 8** As mentioned above, the organizational flexibility of both the core executive and the distribution of tasks to specific ministries is a core characteristic of the UK system of government. Cabinet reorganizations and new institutional arrangements have often been the prime minister's weapon of choice to improve government performance. However, such reorganization can also be motivated by intra-party politics or public pressure, and it is difficult to evaluate the success of specific measures in enhancing the strategic capacity of the government. Recent civil service reforms have also served to enhance strategic capacity, while various open data initiatives have increased government transparency. More generally, the government is exploiting digital technology opportunities right across the functions of government.

Very substantial changes in governance do occur. Recent examples include the restoration of the Bank of England's lead role in financial supervision and an alteration to the basis of financial regulation. Both of these examples followed evidence of the ineffectiveness of the preceding model, and shifts in the balance between state, market and external agencies in the delivery of public goods.

Changes in institutional arrangements, such as ministries or the focus of cabinet committees, were among the approaches taken to try to resolve the many difficulties in implementing Brexit. Despite the capacity to adapt in this way, the strategic changes could not overcome political blockages.

## Australia

- Score 7** Australia largely accepts and implements recommendations from formal government reviews. Past investigations have covered all aspects of government including finance, taxation, social welfare, defense, security and the environment. There have been frequent structural changes to the main federal government departments,

sometimes in response to changing demands and responsibilities, but sometimes simply for political reasons that serve no strategic purpose and may indeed be strategically detrimental. For example, the main department that is responsible for healthcare has changed its name at least five times in the past two decades in response to changes in its responsibilities. Of course, the change of name alone is insufficient. For instance, there has also been a long debate on the need to improve the country's infrastructure, but implementation in this area has been lackluster.

## France

### Score 7

French governments are usually reactive to the need to adapt and adjust to new challenges and pressures. These adaptations are not always based on a thorough evaluation of the benefits and drawbacks of the foreseen changes, however. A case in point is the reluctance of most governments to take seriously into consideration the recommendations of international organizations, if they do not fit with the views and short-term interests of the governing coalition. Resistance from vested interests also limits the quality and depth of reforms. Too often the changes, even if initially ambitious, become merely cosmetic or messy adjustments (when not dropped altogether). This triggers hostility to change, while in fact very little has been done. The new Macron administration is reminiscent of the Gaullist period at the beginning of the Fifth Republic, with its strong commitment to radical reforms (“heroic” rather than “incremental” style). The initial months of the presidency have already attained considerable achievements, but one has to be aware of French society's deep-rooted reluctance to change. For example, the violent Yellow Vest protest movement starting in November 2018 put a brake on this “bonapartist” storm. After two years of the current government, it is evident that the weak capacity of organized opposition to the Macron administration's reforms (e.g., by the trade unions, social organizations and vested interests) has given rise to spontaneous and violent grass-roots protests. Protesters have criticized the president's top-down methods and policies, and the popularity of the president and prime minister has declined. This situation has forced the government to adopt a more cautious approach. If improvements are not felt within the next 12 to 18 months, the effective capacity of the government to achieve real change could be called seriously into question. The planned constitutional reform is on hold for the time being, as the agreement of a reluctant Senate is required.

## Ireland

### Score 7

Radical change was called for in the wake of the dramatic policy and governance failures that contributed to the severity of the crisis. However, the specific reforms implemented have been relatively limited and some of the initial momentum has been lost as the government enters its final year and a general election looms.

Nonetheless, improvements in strategic capacity introduced during the period of the Troika agreement have been retained.

Institutional arrangements for supervising and regulating the financial-services sector have been overhauled to address shortcomings that contributed to the crisis. The Department of Finance has been restructured and strengthened, a Fiscal Advisory Council established, and a parliamentary inquiry into the banking crisis completed its public hearings.

During this Dáil, members of the Dáil Éireann elected the Ceann Comhairle (Speaker of the House) directly by secret ballot for the first time. All parliamentary committees have been established and committee chairs appointed using the D'Hondt system. Under the new system, 13 of the 19 core committees are chaired by opposition members.

## Japan

Score 7

The failure of the reform initiatives led by the short-lived DPJ governments demonstrated the difficulties of transplanting elements from Westminster-style cabinet-centered policymaking into a political environment with a tradition of parallel party-centered policy deliberation. Reverting to the traditional system coupled with strong central leadership, the Abe-led government has been quite successful in getting at least parts of its policy agenda implemented. It is open to debate whether the centralization of power has accounted for this or whether the strong majority in both houses of parliament, paired with opposing political parties' weakness, has been at least as important. The passage of the security laws in 2015 – a major success from the government's perspective – may seem to provide evidence of more robust institutional arrangements than in earlier years. However, problems in moving the government's economic-reform agenda decisively forward, particularly in fields such as labor-market reform, suggest that the Abe-led government too has struggled to overcome resistance to change in a number of policy areas. This also applies to the slow progress of plans to change the constitution.

## Luxembourg

Score 7

The previous government's 2009 program outlined a series of administrative reforms. One of the most ambitious, the general opening of the civil service to citizens of the European Union, with the exception of some positions relating to national sovereignty, came into effect on 1 January 2010. The change is expected to gradually improve the quality of government administration. Nevertheless, the number of EU citizens hired remains low at approximately 5%, especially in the higher ranks. This is due to a compulsory language test in the three national languages (Luxembourgish, French and German), which limits the number of

applications from non-nationals who are not fluent in all of these languages. Other reforms have come in the area of e-government, such as the planned implementation of freedom of information legislation. Substantial e-government efforts have been made with guichet.lu, the online service portal for citizenship and business matters.

Citation:  
 “Luxembourg: e-Government State of Play.” European Commission.  
[www.ec.europa.eu/information\\_society/newsroom/cf/dae/document.cfm?doc\\_id=5561](http://www.ec.europa.eu/information_society/newsroom/cf/dae/document.cfm?doc_id=5561). Accessed 19 Oct. 2019.

## Malta

Score 7

There can be little doubt that the government’s determination to ensure that Malta retains a strong position within the EU structures has had an impact. The administrative service’s strategic capacity has improved greatly, and the continued focus on training and development in collaboration with tertiary institutions is paying dividends. This collaboration has helped place greater focus on what the service needs in terms of human resources and capacity-building. The PMO is currently overseeing an overhaul of procedures in a number of ministries and public organizations, following recommendations made by Moneyval, the Venice Commission and GRECO.

Citation:  
<https://publicservice.gov.mt/en/institute/Pages/About/abouttips.aspx>  
[https://publicservice.gov.mt/en/institute/Documents/IPS\\_PROSPECTUS.pdf](https://publicservice.gov.mt/en/institute/Documents/IPS_PROSPECTUS.pdf)  
<https://investinginyourfuture.gov.mt/project/public-administration/developing-the-maltese-public-sector-capacity-to-implement-better-regulation-37060628>  
 Malta Today 17/01/2020 Rule of Law and good governance are at the top of the country’s agenda, Malta PM tells ambassadors

## Canada

Score 6

There is little public evidence that changes in institutional arrangements have significantly improved the strategic-governance capacity of Canada’s federal government. For example, there has been no comprehensive evaluation of Service Canada, a delivery platform for government services established in the 2000s.

In certain cases, there may actually be too much organizational change given the cost and disruption entailed. For example, in 2004 Human Resources Development Canada was split into two departments. In 2008, the two departments were merged again. In 2013, Human Resources Development Canada again changed its name, this time to the Employment and Social Development Canada, with little if any rationale provided for this change. It is unclear what benefits, if any, arose from this departmental reshuffling.

The frequency of departmental reorganizations has diminished in recent years. However, in 2017, the Liberal government announced that Indigenous and Northern

Affairs Canada would be split into two departments, the Department of Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs, and the Department of Indigenous Services. The two departments will respectively focus on renewing a nation-to-nation relationship and improving the quality of services available.

Citation:

Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada. Highlights from the Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, posted at <http://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100014597/1100100014637>

## Chile

**Score 6** In recent years, some improvements in strategic capacity have been made by modifying institutional arrangements. For example, in 2012 the erstwhile Planning Ministry (Ministerio de Planificación, MIDEPLAN) was transformed into the Ministry of Social Development (Ministerio de Desarrollo Social, MDS), with some minor institutional changes that increased its strategic capacity, and the Ministry of Science, Technology, Knowledge and Innovation was created in 2018. Furthermore, the reorganization of complementary institutions such as environmental tribunals (Tribunales Ambientales) and the reconfiguration of supervisory boards (Superintendencias) over the past decade has improved capacity in these areas. However, in general terms, attempts to alter institutional arrangements tend to encounter substantial bureaucratic obstacles.

## Czechia

**Score 6** Under the second Babiš government, the institutional arrangements of governing have remained mostly unchanged. Prime Minister Babiš has cultivated his technocratic image by making several career civil servants ministers. He has sought to increase the strategic capacity of his government primarily by exploiting his strong position as ANO leader. In the period under review, however, the prime minister's position weakened vis-à-vis President Zeman, who has involved himself to an unprecedented degree in many aspects of governing in which he has no more than questionable constitutional authority. This has included the choice of ministers and the negotiation of support for government policies aligned with his preferences in the Chamber of Deputies (reaching out in particular to the Communists). The prime minister has not entered into direct conflict with the president, who remains popular among ANO voters.

## Greece

**Score 6** In the 2015 – 2019 period, the Syriza-ANEL coalition government sought to enhance its strategic capacity in several ways, although in practice all strategy decisions were taken by a small circle of confidants around the prime minister, who usually relied



on three government ministers without portfolio to assist him in carrying out his tasks and reform plans. Meanwhile, the Council of Administrative Reform continued its operation to oversee reforms in various policy sectors. The Hellenic Fiscal Council, an independent agency (as required under the Second Memorandum), continued its operations in the period under review, monitoring state finances. Similarly, the Office of the State Budget, a unit of parliament, also continued its task of monitoring the state's finances and suggesting changes to economic policy.

However, improving the government's strategic capacity became a lesser priority for the coalition government during its last year in power, as the elections of 2019 were approaching. Short-term electoral calculations rather than long-term reform strategies became the government's top priority. One example was the government's November 2018 proposal to reform the constitution to reflect the governing coalition's preferences rather than well-thought-out principles on efficient political reform.

After the elections of July 2019, the new government devised plans to reform central-government institutions in a variety of policy sectors. In autumn 2019, it established a new National Security Council and a new National Authority on Transparency. Emphasizing the need to improve the long-term planning, programming and monitoring of public policies, the new government passed and implemented legislation that reorganized the Prime Minister's Office (the PMO). The new PMO was renamed as the Presidency of the Government, and procedures designed to strengthen the state's strategic capacity were quickly rolled out in different policy sectors. This included, for example, a long-term strategy for the digitalization of public services traditionally provided in person and on-site. The government also developed a long-term strategy designed to manage migration inflows and to facilitate the transfer of migrants from overcrowded islands in the Aegean Sea to the Greek mainland. Overall, strategic capacity that draws on scientific knowledge and long-term planning has improved.

## Israel

### Score 6

In 2017, the State Comptroller published his first report about the operation (the second was published in March, 2018), in which he detailed several deficiencies, including that the cabinet's authorities and jurisdictions were not specified in any piece of law. Thus, it was unclear whether or not the cabinet was a consultative or an executive body, in addition to a lack of any normative obligation of proper information transfer to this body. The State Comptroller found serious deficiencies regarding the extent and the quality of information being transferred, and even found instances when strategically important information was not transferred.

Furthermore, it is very much apparent from the report that there are serious concerns regarding the decision-making authority of the cabinet, namely whether it has the

authority or not, even as a military operation was concurrent. In 2018, the Basic Law: the Government and the Government Act of 2001 were only slightly amended to formulate and delineate the cabinet's authorities, as they expressly mention that, in the very least and under certain conditions, the cabinet is authorized to declare war. And yet, at the time of writing, it is unclear if the lack of an obligation to transfer information to the cabinet, any other deficiencies related to this and other questions of decision-making authority had been resolved.

Citation:

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Base Law: The Government (Hebrew) (Full text: [https://www.nevo.co.il/law\\_html/law01/999\\_119.htm](https://www.nevo.co.il/law_html/law01/999_119.htm))

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## Netherlands

Score 6

No major changes have taken place in strategic arrangements or capacities beyond what has already been mentioned regarding externally driven policy coordination in fiscal and economic matters. Generally, strategic capacity is rather weak, though there are signs that government officials and politicians are actively considering and in some cases have even adopted proposals for strategic change. However, due to the long period of austerity, which came to an end only in 2019, strategic capacities have

not been strengthened. Experiments in participatory budgeting and local democracy may somewhat harness citizen knowledge and expertise to local government. A policy mood, which is only slowly adapting to European developments, may also result in some institutional reform over the mid-term.

## South Korea

**Score 6** The Moon administration is expected to carry out some institutional reforms during his term. Most importantly, the new president has pledged to decentralize the political system by transferring previously centralized powers to national ministries and agencies as well as to regional and local governments. Moon also proposed transforming the current five-year, single-term presidency into a four-year, double-term (contingent upon reelection) system, and has envisioned reforming national institutions including the National Intelligence Service (NIS), the judiciary and various public agencies. He has said he would request the support of the National Assembly in developing the reforms. In 2019, proposed reforms of the public prosecutor's office triggered a major political struggle. As of the end of the review period, however, most far-reaching institutional reforms had stalled due to the president's lack of a parliamentary majority. More importantly, the prosecutorial reform will require the president and his allies to show more determined leadership and strategic capacity.

### Citation:

Korea Herald. What Moon Jae-in pledged to do as president. May 10, 2017. <http://www.koreaherald.com/view.php?ud=20170509000521>

Yonhap News. Moon reaffirms commitment to military reform, reinforcement. August 20, 2017. <http://english.yonhapnews.co.kr/national/2017/08/20/0301000000AEN20170820001651315.html>

Marital law probe falters as suspect can't be found, Joong Ang Daily, Nov 8, 2018

## Spain

**Score 6** In 2018, several important changes were introduced with regard to policy portfolios and the associated ministries. This included the creation of several new departments (including the Ministry for Territorial Policy and Civil Service), and changes in the names and responsibilities of others. At the time of writing, two-thirds of cabinet members in Spain's caretaker government are women – the highest such proportion in the country's history. Moreover, in line with government priorities in foreign policy and poverty reduction, the Prime Minister's Office was reinforced in 2018 with several new policy units (the High Commissioner for Combating Child Poverty and the High Commissioner for the Agenda 2030).

However, the internal central-government structure and the procedures of governing have remained almost unchanged for many years. A more substantial and comprehensive improvement could have been achieved through the interministerial

administrative-reform process that took place from 2012 to 2015, but the scope of this process was somewhat limited. Despite being praised by the OECD, it paid limited attention to the government's strategic capacity to make and implement political decisions. In 2019, according to the 1997 Government Act, the PSOE caretaker government was limited in its duties to the ordinary office of public affairs, which do not include institutional reforms.

Citation:

June 2018, BBC, Spain's king swears in Sanchez cabinet with majority of women

<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-44382051>

## Austria

Score 5

The government usually promises more innovation at the beginning of a legislative period than it can deliver in fact. Desired improvements are often prevented by constitutional limitations (such as the collective character of the Austrian cabinet) and by internal rivalries within the coalition governments. The government's overall strategic capacity is for this reason suboptimal.

A very good example can be seen in the field of education, where no headway has been made in two key areas: dismantling the socially exclusive effects of the school system and improving Austrian universities' international standards. The parties may agree in principle on what needs to be done, but veto powers are able to block meaningful reforms during the legislative period.

The ÖVP-FPÖ coalition has renamed the Ministry of Justice the Ministry of Justice and Reforms. This indicates that institutional innovation was high on the government's agenda. However, 2017 – 2019 government's attempt to implement significant innovations within its institutional framework did not lead anywhere – possibly due to the sudden collapse of the coalition after less than 18 months. In addition, as most significant reforms must be passed by parliament with a two-thirds majority, any government depends on the cooperation of at least one opposition party. This reduces any government's ability to implement its reform agenda, for example, regarding a new definition of power sharing between the federal and the state level. Thus, it seems that the government sometimes tries to improve its strategic capacity without reforming the institutional arrangements, since the reforms lack the necessary two-thirds majority. In the medium run, this may and will lead to more acts and laws suspended by the Austrian Constitutional Court for their alleged unconstitutionality.

## Bulgaria

Score 5

Bulgarian government bodies do have the capacity to reform, both in the case of reforms initiated from within and reforms originating externally. It is becoming customary for ministries to publish their medium-term plans as a part of the annual

budget procedure. However, even when reforms in different spheres are seriously contemplated, reform proposals are almost never connected with strategic thinking about changes in the institutional arrangements of governance.

## Croatia

**Score 5** Upon taking office, the first Plenković government slightly changed the cabinet structure. In April 2017, it created a new expert council, the Council for Demographic Revival. The change in the governing coalition in mid-2017 has led to changes in ministers but has left the cabinet structure untouched. In the period under review, little progress was made in reforming public administration.

Citation:

Koprić, I. (2018): Croatia, in: N. Thijs, G. Hammerschmid (eds.), *Public Administration Characteristics and Performance in EU28*. Luxembourg: European Union, 100-140 (<https://publications.europa.eu/en/publication-detail/-/publication/97f87f51-9608-11e8-8bc1-01aa75ed71a1>).

## Cyprus

**Score 5** Efforts to improve the efficiency of the administration have been stalled for years. However, in fall 2019 the government expressed its will to proceed with reform plans. The main goals are to improve the selection and promotion of personnel, speed up procedures, create control mechanisms, and clear confusion on roles and competences.

A major challenge is expanding strategic-planning capacities, which is currently performed without any central monitoring and evaluation mechanisms. The required professional training of personnel is advancing, albeit slowly and without publicly available reporting.

## Estonia

**Score 5** Top politicians and executive officials widely understand the problem of fragmented policymaking as it was highlighted in the OECD Governance Report. Yet, the government's response to the OECD's call to move "toward a single government approach" has been mostly rhetorical until recently. The current government, which has been in office since April 2019, has prioritized a large-scale government reform (riigireform). The consolidation of executive offices and government bureaucracy, and increased use of e-government tools are key aims for this ambitious reform. Yet, at the time of writing this report, several deadlines proposed in the Government Action Plan 2019 – 2023 have already been postponed.

## Italy

**Score 5** Despite several years of public debate, successive governments have been unable to significantly improve the effectiveness and efficiency of central government. The attempt of the Renzi government to introduce a broad constitutional reform was strongly rejected in the referendum held in December 2016. The reform had aimed to reduce the delays caused by and veto powers originating from the perfect bicameralism, and redistribute powers between regional and central governments to make the responsibilities of each level clearer. The rejection of the reform demonstrated the difficulties of introducing broad reforms.

Under the first Conte government, the Five Stars Movement strongly pushed for a reduction of the number of deputies and senators. This reform, promoted essentially for symbolic reasons (i.e., reducing the costs of politics), was approved under the second Conte government. By contrast, the Conte governments have been unable to find a solution for the request by some regions for greater autonomy.

## Mexico

**Score 5** While Mexican policy elites are often receptive to new ideas and open to administrative reform, many of these reforms remain unimplemented and are abandoned before they can take root. This is especially true with regard to domestic security and law enforcement. Too often, the re-drawing of organizational diagrams has taken precedence over the implementation of desperately needed, but difficult structural reforms to strengthen the rule of law. Moreover, the most important challenge currently consists of improving the effectiveness of existing institutions.

The current Mexican president has an extraordinarily high level of legitimacy. Elected by more than 53% of Mexicans, with a majority in Congress and a high approval rating (67% in November 2019), he has initiated a transformation of Mexico. However, AMLO's first year in office has not been characterized by sustainable institutionalization, but rather by populist, anti-institutionalist approaches, with the judiciary under particular pressure.

## Portugal

**Score 5** There is no evidence that the Costa government significantly changed institutional arrangements in such a way as to improve strategic capacity during the period under review.

The promise of state reform appears to be a constant theme for all recent governments in Portugal.

## Slovakia

**Score 5** Since the parliamentary elections in June 2016, the institutional arrangements of governing have remained largely unchanged. The new Pellegrini government has not initiated any major institutional reforms so far. However, some progress has been made in the implementation of earlier reforms. For example, the Office for the Protection of Whistleblowers was launched in March 2019. This agency is an independent, national institution, which is mandated to protect whistleblowers by monitoring compliance with the law, providing expert opinions and advice on the application of the law, and offering rewards to those who report unlawful activities. It is not yet clear how the office can contribute to the protection of whistleblowers in a country that lacks a culture of respect for whistleblowers.

## Slovenia

**Score 5** At the beginning of its term, the Cerar government increased the number of ministries from 13 to 16 and changed ministerial portfolios. By establishing separate ministries for public administration, infrastructure and environment/spatial planning, as well as by creating a ministry without a portfolio responsible for development, strategic projects and cohesion, the Cerar government improved its strategic capacity. The strengthening of the Government Office for Development and European Cohesion Policy and the changing procedures associated with the creation of a new ministry for development, strategic projects and cohesion have helped to substantially increase the absorption rate. The government's Public Administration Development Strategy 2015-2020 adopted in April 2015 was relatively brief on institutional reform. Same goes for the Strategy for the Development of Local Self-Government until 2020, adopted in October 2016. The main goal of the strategy is to strengthen local self-government and improve the quality of life at the local level. It focuses on strengthening citizen's influence and their participation in decision-making by local self-government bodies in order to ensure the efficient use of public resources and the provision of efficient local services. However, the strategy is very vague and was not positively accepted by all three associations of municipalities. The Šarec government has kept the structure of ministries intact and has yet to pay any attention to institutional reform. The only significant development in 2019 was the preparation of the legislative package for the regionalization of Slovenia, which was prepared by large expert group on the initiative of National Council.

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## Switzerland

**Score 5** The federal government has sought to improve its institutional arrangements through the adoption of new administrative techniques (specifically, new public management practices) and a number of other organizational changes. However, whenever the central government has sought to engage in substantial change through institutional reform (e.g., through reorganization of the Federal Council and the collegiate system), it has met with resistance on the part of the public and the cantons, which do not want more resources or powers to go to the federal level. This has limited the range of feasible institutional reforms.

While the basic structures of federalism and direct democracy are very robust, and direct democracy provides incentives for political parties to cooperate within the context of power-sharing structures, lower-level government structures are subject to constant change. Recent examples of such change have affected parliamentary practices, fiscal federalism and the judicial system, canton- and communal-level electoral systems, communal organization and public management. Nevertheless, one of the most important reforms, the reorganization of the Federal Council and its collegiate system, has failed despite several attempts. While the Federal Council is not prone to institutional reforms, the administrative body undertakes reforms quite frequently, not least as a substitute for a lack of government reforms.

The subnational units are more open to reform and display great variation in their administrative and institutional forms.

Citation:

Ritz, M., Neumann, O. and Sager, F. (2019), Senkt New Public Management die Verwaltungsausgaben in den Schweizer Kantonen? Eine empirische Analyse über zwei Dekaden. *Swiss Polit Sci Rev.* 25(3): 226–252 doi:10.1111/spsr.12381

## Turkey

**Score 5** According to Law 5018 on Public Financial Management and Control, all public institutions, including municipalities and special provincial administrations, must prepare strategic plans. All public bodies have designated a separate department for developing strategy and coordination efforts; however, these departments are not yet completely functional. Maximizing strategic capacity requires resources, expert knowledge, an adequate budget and a participatory approach. The government lacks sufficient personnel to meet the requirements of strategic planning, performance-based programs and activity reports. In this respect, several training and internship programs have been established.

Turkey still lacks a strategic framework for public administration reform, including public financial management. There are various planning documents and sectoral policy documents on different aspects of public administration reform, but the lack

of political support hinders comprehensive reform efforts. An administrative unit with a legal mandate to coordinate, design, implement and monitor public administration reform has not yet been established. Within the scope of IPA funds, Turkey attempts to ensure effective strategic planning and risk management at the program level.

Citation:

European Commission, Turkey 2019 Report, Brussels, 29.5.2019, <https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/sites/near/files/20190529-turkey-report.pdf> (accessed 1 November 2019)

Cumhurbaşkanlığı Teşkilatı Hakkında Cumhurbaşkanlığı Kararnamesi 1, <http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/eskiler/2018/07/20180710-1.pdf> (accessed 1 November 2018)

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Y. Üstüner and N. Yavuz, "Turkey's Public Administration Today: An Overview and Appraisal," *International Journal of Public Administration*, 2017.

## Poland

Score 4

Upon entering office, the PiS government has changed the institutional arrangements of governing. It has changed the portfolios of ministries several times, set up new cabinet committees, overhauled the Civil Service Act and strengthened the position of central government vis-à-vis subnational governments. However, the strategic capacity of the PiS government has primarily rested on its majority in parliament, the strong party discipline and the uncontested role of party leader Jarosław Kaczyński. No reforms have been introduced to improve strategic capacity through an open involvement of, for example, scientific expertise.

## United States

Score 4

The U.S. government is exceptionally resistant to constructive institutional reform. There are several major sources of rigidity. First, the requirements for amending the constitution to change core institutions are virtually impossible to meet. Second, statutory institutional change requires agreement between the president, the Senate and the House, all of which may have conflicting interests on institutional matters. Third, the committee system in Congress gives members significant personal career stakes in the existing division of jurisdictions, a barrier to change not only in congressional committees themselves but in the organization of the executive-branch agencies that the committees oversee. Fourth, the Senate operates with a supermajority requirement (the requirement of 60 votes, a three-fifths majority, to invoke "cloture" and end a filibuster), and (except at the beginning of each Congress) changes in Senate procedures themselves are normally subject to the same procedures. Fifth, elected politicians, such as members of Congress, are rarely willing to alter the electoral arrangements and practices that enabled them to win office.

## Belgium

**Score 3** Most reforms are the consequence of bargaining between power levels, with successive political tensions between Flemish, Walloon, Brussels, and francophone interests. Eventually, protracted negotiations typically end up with some type of compromise that rarely improves overall efficiency. Each one of the six successive state reforms from 1970 to 2011 followed this logic.

The main bone of contention is the Brussels capital region (which is restricted to about one-fourth the actual Brussels agglomeration in terms of area, and one-half in terms of population). Its restricted boundaries result in numerous overlapping jurisdictions with Flanders and Wallonia. Moreover, within the Brussels region, competences are split between the 19 communes and the region. This creates another layer of overlaps and gridlocks, particularly with regard to city planning. The creation of a pedestrian zone in the city center, without sufficient coordination with the other communes or the region, created major traffic jams. Questions regarding the Brussels airport or the highway “ring” around Brussels are managed by Flanders. The building of a rapid train service to the south (to provide alternative transportation Walloon commuting to Brussels) requires close administrative follow-up from the Walloon region, which has priorities beyond reducing traffic in Brussels. The large forest in the south of Brussels spans across the Brussels, Flemish and Walloon regions, which makes its management quite cumbersome. As part of the 6th state reform, a bill passed in 2012 created the “Brussels metropolitan community” which in principle would cover the greater Brussels basin (>2 million inhabitants) and would facilitate policy coordination. Due to staunch resistance by some mayors in Flemish communes around Brussels and the reluctance of the N-VA (Flemish nationalists) to engage in such a logic, the legislation has yet to be implemented.

However, as the general process has trended toward decentralization, local efforts have had positive effects and can be seen as an improvement in strategic capacity.

## Romania

**Score 3** Institutional reforms under the Tudose and Dăncilă governments were confined to changes in the portfolios of ministries. Most notably, the Dăncilă government split the Ministry for Regional Development, Public Administration and European Funds into two separate ministries and abolished the Ministry of Public Consultation and Social Dialogue. However, these changes have failed to improve the government’s strategic capacity. The absorption of EU funds has remained low, and public consultation has further lost importance. There have been no institutional reforms to address long-standing problems such as limited planning capacities or the low quality of RIA. The pledged reforms of subnational administration have not been adopted.

Orban cut the number of ministries from 27 to 18 by reducing the number of deputy prime ministers and merged some portfolios. It is still too early to determine whether Orban is doing better with regard to considering the externalities and interdependencies of policies, taking into account scientific knowledge and promoting common goods. As a minority government, the Orban government might face even more difficulty in improving strategic capacity.

## Hungary

### Score 2

From time to time, Prime Minister Orbán has reorganized the workings of his government with an open effort to get rid of managing smaller issues and promoting rivalry in the top elite to weaken them, but without improving the strategic capacity of government. The institutional reforms introduced since the 2018 parliamentary elections have not been concerned with government effectiveness but with increasing its concentration of power and managing the fourth Orbán government's new technocratic modernization project. The latter has a rather complicated functional and personal composition involving ten ministries and ministers (one of them, Mihály Varga, is also deputy prime minister), two ministers without portfolio and, in addition, one symbolic deputy prime minister (Semjén), not mentioning the large army of prime minister commissioners and ministerial commissioners. The structure of government has radically changed with new ministries and ministers and a new allocation of competencies. Only three ministries kept their previous function and minister: the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (Péter Szíjjártó), the Ministry of Interior (Sándor Pintér), and the Ministry of Justice (László Trócsányi). The Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of Defense remained structurally unchanged, but new ministers (István Nagy and Tibor Benkő) have been appointed. The Ministry of Finance was (re-)established as a central unity combining two former Ministries under the leadership of Mihály Varga. The Ministry of Human Capacities (EMMI) has remained a superministry, both in terms of personal capacity and policy areas covered. It stretches over central policy fields, such as healthcare, education and culture, and a new minister was appointed (Miklós Kásler). In the meantime, however, the ministry has lost competencies to the new Ministry of Innovation and Technology (ITM) (László Palkovics). In the period under review, the cabinet has remained largely unchanged. In the fall of 2019, however, Judit Varga replaced László Trócsányi (who was nominated for the European Commission, but eventually rejected by the European Parliament) as minister of justice and the ministry gained responsibility for European affairs.

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