



Parties and Interest Associations Report

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

Sustainable Governance Indicators 2020

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Indicator

Intra-party Decision-Making

Question

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

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

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

United States

Score 9

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

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

Denmark

Score 8

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

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

Newer parties (e.g., the Danish People’s Party, Alternative and since June 2019 the New Right) may be more tempted to propose popular, even populist, policies. However, parties that aspire to participate in future governments have to moderate their views. The Danish People’s Party provided the necessary parliamentary support for the liberal-conservative minority government (2009 – 2011) and the subsequent three-party government (2015 – 2019). In this way, the Danish People’s Party has managed to promote some of the party’s core issues (e.g., elderly and immigration policy). Similarly, the Socialist People’s Party participated in the Social Democratic-led government for the first time in 2011, although it left the government in January 2014 because of internal disagreements over the policies pursued by the coalition.

Citation:

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

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

Websites of the Danish political parties currently represented in the parliament (Folketinget) in order of representation after the June 2019 election:

The Social Democratic Party: www.socialdemokratiet.dk

The Liberal Party: www.venstre.dk

The Danish People’s Party: www.danskfolkeparti.dk

The Social Liberal Party: www.radikale.dk

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

The Unity List: www.enhedslisten.dk

The Conservative Party: www.konservative.dk

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

The New Right: <https://nyeborgerlige.dk/>

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

Finland

Score 8

At the time of writing, nine parties held seats in the Finnish parliament (Eduskunta). Of those, five parties held more than 10% of the seats, and can be considered as major parties. Although empirical research on intra-party democracy has to date dealt mainly with the Center Party (Kesk), the findings of this research can be assumed to apply to other major parties as well. In general, candidates for parliamentary elections are proposed by local party organizations. The final decision

on which candidates will be nominated is taken at the district level of the party organization (which usually coincides with the electoral district) in a vote open to all members of the party in question. However, it is also evident that the structure of internal decision-making systems within political parties has developed in two directions. While active party members operate in voluntary, subnational organizational units, national policy functions are decided by career politicians who constitute the party elite. This dualism places power in the hands of party elites, and most particularly the party chairs. This has led to a marginalization of party members from the executive functions within each party. As intra-party meetings are the highest decision-making institutions within political parties, the average party member participates in party meetings only indirectly by helping to elect delegates.

Citation:

Karina Jutila, "Yksillä säännöillä, kaksilla korteilla," Dissertation, University of Tampere, 2003; Rauli Mickelsson, "Suomen puolueet. Historia, muutos ja nykypäivä," Tampere: Vastapaino, 2007; Vesa J. Koskimaa, Intra-Party Power: The Ascendancy of Parties' Public "Face," in Lauri Karvonen, Heikki Paloheimo and Tapio Raunio, eds. *The Changing Balance of Political Power in Finland*, Stockholm: Santérus Förlag; Lauri Karvonen, "Parties, Governments, and Voters in Finland," ECPR Press, 2014, p.62.

Germany

Score 8

Generally, party leaders of the coalition government were reelected without any serious opposition. Party members do not directly participate in making important policy decisions. The parties retain traditional hierarchical decision-making processes and candidate-election procedures. However, at the end of October 2018, Chancellor Merkel announced that she would not run for reelection as party chairwoman of the CDU. Breaking with traditional procedures, a number of candidates stood for the office, with three candidates ultimately competing openly for the party leadership. In an open and nationwide campaign, they tried to attract the votes of the party members. In December 2018, a party convention elected Annegret Kramp-Karrenbauer as the new party chairwoman. Typically, the party leader runs for the chancellorship in the next national elections. For its part, the SPD adopted a highly sophisticated procedure to elect its new leadership. Only a duo proved acceptable, and a highly complicated procedure was employed. Party members have a strong influence in these debates.

Iceland

Score 8

In the 2013 parliamentary elections, four out of 15 parties gained more than 10% of the votes. These four parties all hold their national conventions, which are the supreme decision-making forums for the parties, every second year. The conventions issue resolutions on major public policy issues, which oblige the members of parliament of the respective party to abide by these directives. Representatives from the regional and local party units of all parties have the right to participate in party conventions. The number of representatives attending is proportional to the number of party members in each unit. The nomination processes vary slightly among

parties. Most parties have a tradition of primary elections in which only party members or declared supporters have the right to vote. The Progressive Party has different rules, under which most constituencies have a constituency board (Kjördæmisráð) that selects candidates to a constituency congress (Kjördæmisþing). The number of representatives of each local party unit is equal to the proportion of each unit's membership to the total membership of all units. At these congresses, candidates are elected one by one. The recently established party Bright Future (Björt Framtíð), which won six seats in 2013, four in 2016 and zero in 2017, did not nominate candidates by primary elections before the 2016 election, but thereafter developed its procedures for internal decision-making. Regeneration (Viðreisn), a liberal party founded in 2016, also does not hold primary elections. The Pirate Party (Píratapartýið), which won three seats in 2013, 10 in 2016 and seven in 2017, held electronic primary elections in every constituency in the autumn 2016 elections. Further, the Pirate Party uses internet platforms to conduct open debates on many policy issues. Due to the limited time for election campaigning in 2016, the traditional parties skipped primary elections in some constituencies and used alternative nomination methods within the party organization. The time factor was even more important in the very sudden parliamentary elections held in October 2017. Therefore, all parties except the Pirate Party used the most effective nomination method – to just propose lists and put the decisions in the hands of the constituency congresses. The People's Party (Flokkur fólksins) and the Centre Party (Miðflokkurinn), two parties that gained parliamentary seats for the first time in October 2017, did not have any open selection procedures either. Meanwhile, the Pirate Party held electronic pre-elections countrywide.

Luxembourg

Score 8

Inner-party democracy takes place with different levels of intensity within the four major political parties: Christian Social People's (CSV), Democratic Party (DP), Luxembourg Socialist Workers' Party (LSAP) and the Green Party. The CSV has tried to renew itself internally. After its second election defeat, in the 2019 European elections, it was for the first time in the modern history of Luxembourg only the second-strongest force in a national election (losing 16.5% compared to its previous total). The DP (gaining 6.7%) became the strongest force. However, the CSV's internal renewal also led to dissatisfaction, and the election of a new chairman did not serve to end the turmoil. On various issues, such as foreign policy and constitutional policy, the party leadership expressed itself differently than did CSV politicians serving in parliament. The party leader is not a member of parliament. While the DP appears strengthened in the country, the LSAP is weakening, a development currently being seen in many countries in Europe. The Greens were able to gain significantly in 2019 in the European elections (+3.9%), but fell into crisis in the autumn of 2019, after several scandals. Nevertheless, the party was able to renew itself quickly, and allowed two young women to take seats in parliament.

Citation:

Stoldt, Jürgen: "Welche Zukunft für die Volksparteien?" Forum.lu, February 2015. www.forum.lu/pdf/artikel/8035_348_Stoldt.pdf. Accessed 20 Oct 2019.

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"Faktuell 15: Elections législatives 2018." In: forum: Kleinstaat Luxemburg, 2019, no. 394, pp. 20-21.

Mexico

Score 8

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

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

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

The new governing party, MORENA, promised during the election campaign to change political culture and adopt a more open process of politics. It is too early to assess the promises, although one major change concerns the introduction of recall referendums in October 2019. This constitutional change enables voters to remove the president and governors after the mid of their term.

Citation:

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

Norway

Score 8

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

Sweden

Score 8

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

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

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

Canada

Score 7

There are currently four major political parties at the federal level in Canada: the Liberals, the Conservatives, the Bloc Québécois and the New Democrats.

In April 2013, the Liberal Party of Canada elected Justin Trudeau as their new leader, through an open-voting process that included non-party members. The policy formation process is also relatively open, new ideas are gathered from Liberal members and supporters through local groups, then written up as policy resolutions that are voted on and prioritized first within provincial and territorial associations and then at the Liberal Party's biannual conventions. All resolutions passed at the convention become official party policy. Following the 2019 federal election, the Liberal Party formed a minority government.

Until his resignation in the aftermath of the October 2015 election, the Conservative Party was tightly controlled by erstwhile party leader and Prime Minister Stephen Harper. Decisions in the Conservative Party are mostly made by the elite, and while grassroots views and resolutions passed at party conventions constitute input, they are not binding. For example, many Conservative Party members support restrictions on abortion, but this was not adopted as party policy for fear of alienating the general public. In May 2017, the Conservative Party of Canada chose Andrew Scheer, former speaker of the House of Commons, as the new party leader in a highly contested vote. Shortly after the fall 2019 election, in which he underperformed expectations, Scheer resigned as leader.

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

The Bloc Québécois differs from all other parties in that it runs candidates only in Quebec. While it has strong informal ties with the provincial Parti Québécois, the provincial party that also advocates for a sovereign Quebec, there are no organizational links. Yves-François Blanchet was elected as the party's leader in January 2019, as the only candidate vying for the position.

Given their short time in office, it is too soon to evaluate the leadership styles followed by Blanchet, Scheer or Singh.

Israel

Score 7

Prior to every round of elections, the Israel Democracy Institute (IDI) publishes a Party Democracy Index report. The report enables voters to evaluate the degree of internal democracy practiced by political parties. It should be mentioned that the terms “party” and “list” are differentiated here, as several parties can be conjoined to form a joint list (e.g., the Joint List, which is an alliance of four Arab parties). As such, parties are measured separately and not conjointly. During 2019, the IDI published two indices, as two rounds of elections were held in April 2019 and September 2019. This allows for comparative observations.

Following the second round of elections, only nine parties entered the Knesset. The Blue and White list (Kahol Lavan) entered the Knesset as the largest faction (winning 33 out of 120 seats). However, the parties that comprise the list (Yesh Atid, the Israel Resilience Party and Telem) received relatively low intra-party democracy scores in the two indices for 2019. Of these parties, Yesh Atid received the highest rating for intra-party democracy, scoring 24 and 23 points in the two indices, with most points received for transparency, and very few for representation and participation, and apparently nothing scored for competition and responsiveness. The Likud party finished second in the second round of elections, winning 32 seats in the Knesset. Overall, Likud ranked the fifth most internally democratic party in both indices, scoring 67 and 68. The Joint List polled third in the second round of elections, winning 13 seats. The list comprises two parties that scored relatively high (Balad scoring 69 and 72, and Hadash scoring 60 and 62) and two parties that scored low (Ta'al scoring 12 in both indices and Ra'am scoring eight in both indices).

The fifth-largest party in the Knesset is Israel Beitenu, which won eight seats in the second round of elections. In the first index, the party scored a modest 26, gaining points across all categories: participation, representation, competition, responsiveness and transparency. In the second index, the party's score dropped dramatically to 13, gaining points only for representation (10) and transparency (three). The fourth (nine seats) and sixth (seven seats) largest parties are the ultra-Orthodox Jewish Shas party and the United Torah Judaism list. Traditionally, these parties score lowest in the index. Though their scores rose slightly between the first and second index, with the parties gaining points for transparency. Shas scored five and six. Meanwhile, for the parties that comprise the United Torah Judaism list, Agudat Israel scored two and seven, and Degel Hatora scored two and seven.

The seventh-largest party is the Yamina list, which is comprised of parties that scored high (Habayt Hayehudi scored 55 overall in both indices) and low (the New Right scored 18 and 22, and the National Union scored 15 in both indices) in the two indices. Though averaging across its constituent parties, the Yamina list scored around 30 in both indices. The eighth-largest party (six seats) is the alliance between the Labor Party and Geshet. The Labor Party ranked the most internally democratic

party in both indices (scoring 85 and then 84), while Geshet ranked lowest in both indices (scoring 18 and then 19). The smallest party in the Knesset (five seats) is the Democratic Union list, which is an alliance between Meretz, the Israel Democratic Party and the Green Movement. The latter two parties were not measured in the first index. Meretz ranked the second most internally democratic party according to both indices, scoring 85 and then 84. Its partners, on the other hand, scored relatively low in the second index (the Green Movement scored 26 and Israel Democratic Party 13).

In 2018, the Parties Act 1992 was amended to allow candidates in a given (and large enough) party's primary elections to loan and (in accordance with many conditions) receive funds from the state treasury for their campaign, and to regulate how much a candidate can spend in a given campaign. The law also grants the State Comptroller supervisory powers over political parties' primary elections and party register in order to ensure the propriety of the overall procedure.

Likud, the Labor Party and the Jewish Home (JH) all choose their candidates through primary elections. In this internal election process, registered party members are given the right to choose Knesset candidates. The parties that use this method require a minimum membership duration in order to vote in the primary. The Labor Party, Likud and JH also have elective representative institutions that take part in decision-making processes such as the selection of the parties' representatives in the government, votes on whether their parties will join or leave a governing coalition, and debates over policy stances. In other parties such as the YA party and the Israel Beytenu party, some consultation with party members is conducted, but important decisions are made by top-ranking members. For example, according to the YA party's regulations, the party's leader and founder will remain leader until the end of the 20th Knesset. Moreover, in both parties, the regulations authorize the party's leader to decide on the most important personnel issues, such as the list of electoral candidates. These figures also hold considerable power within the party's institutions, thus retaining significant influence over policy decisions. In late 2018, Meretz decided to change its internal elections mechanism. Previously, the party's committee chose the party's composition prior to each national election. However, in February 2019, the party decided to adopt an open candidate selection, so that all those who subscribe to the party can vote for their candidates.

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Lithuania

Score 7

Lithuanian parties usually restrict decision-making to party members. Although in many cases, all party members can participate in important decisions, their capacity to influence the most critical party decisions is insufficient. Some political parties are more democratically structured than others: in 2007, the Social Democratic party of Lithuania, the Lithuanian Christian Democrats and the Homeland Union were found to be the most democratic in terms of internal decision-making. The latter two parties have since merged to form a party whose leader is directly elected by all party

members. In 2018, this party selected its candidate for president (Ingrida Šimonytė) during primary elections, which were open to members of the public in addition to party members. In 2017, members of the Social Democratic party of Lithuania directly elected the party's chair for the first time in the party's history. Gintautas Paluckas, who won the party election, started the process of renewing the party elite. Between 2001 and 2015, the party was dominated by members over the age of 50. As a result of Paluckas' victory, the party leadership decided to split from the ruling coalition led by the Lithuanian Farmers and Greens Union. Most of the party's serving members of parliament continued to support the Skvernelis government after forming the Social Democratic and Labor parliamentary group, and later establishing a new political party.

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

Citation:

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

G. Žvaliauskas, *Lietuvos socialdemokratų partijos elito kaita 2001–2015 m. laikotarpiu, Viešojo politika ir administravimas*, 2017, T. 16, Nr. 1, p. 52-67.

Cyprus

Score 6

The extending of powers to party members and their friends that began in the 1990s is being eroded by efforts at “consensus.” In the latest elections, the leaderships of the parties by-passed party procedures, including on candidate selection. Instead, they reserved decisions on important issues for themselves, depriving grassroots bodies and members of powers.

In the name of “consensus,” the Democratic Rally (Δημοκρατικός Συναγερμός, DISY) sought to in some cases impose “strong” candidates, violating rules of procedure. This was the case both in intra-party and public-office elections. For example, the presidential candidate for 2018 was nominated by simply approving the already announced candidacy of the incumbent president. DISY's electoral programs are drafted and approved at a high party level. The issues and proposals are based on opinion surveys and advice from communications consultants. The party amended its statutes in 2018 to increase the leader's powers and further enable his highly personal management approach.

The Progressive Party of the Working People (Ανορθωτικό Κόμμα Εργαζομένου Λαού, AKEL) adheres to the principle of democratic centralism. Party members and friends have nomination and selection rights, in a process that lacks transparency.

The party congress (1,200 cadres) elects the Central Committee (CC, 105 members), which in turn elect the secretary-general. AKEL's presidential candidate is selected by party cells, on proposals by the CC and a vote by an extraordinary congress. Electoral programs are approved by the party's governing bodies.

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

France

Score 6

Parties are usually both centralized and organized hierarchically. There are few registered fee-paying political activists. These are all serious limitations to the inclusiveness of citizens. Many politicians are not selected by a party; they are individuals who have made their breakthrough locally and impose themselves on the party apparatus. In the case of the Macron movement, the change is even more radical: candidates were selected from a pool of volunteers with most candidates lacking any prior political experience. In contrast, national politicians normally have a concrete and ground-based knowledge of people's aspirations and claims based on local experience. Another factor is the popular election of the president. Candidates' programs are inclusive; no policy sector is forgotten in their long to-do list. A third factor lies in recent changes in the selection of candidates for presidential elections. Primaries have taken place, first within the Socialist Party, then in the neo-Gaullist conservative Union for Popular Movement (UMP). In those cases, both registered activists and voters sympathetic to the party are eligible to participate. Actually, this "opening" of the process contributes to a further weakening of the parties which are already very feeble organizations. The strong participation in the primaries (up to 4.4 million in the case of the conservatives, a multiple of the number of registered members) is a form of citizen participation in a crucial political party decision, which can be seen as a positive sign for open and democratic legitimation of the party's choice. However, in spite of this apparent success, the primaries in France have confirmed the American experience: they are the most efficient instruments for weakening and destroying political parties. The socialist and conservative primaries have been profitable to the most radical candidates in both cases, deserting the moderate political space and thus permitting the landslide success of the centrist Macron. As a result, the traditional parties of government are deeply divided and weakened. It may well take five years or longer for these parties to reconstruct themselves. As for the movement of the new president, La République en Marche, it remains purely a product of and for Macron. It has not yet been able to transform itself into a political party capable of playing a proper role in decision-making and mediation between citizens and government in spite of being the largest political movement at present with 400,000 supporters (although most supporters are followers rather than activists).

Spain

Score 6

Parties in Spain restrict decision-making to party members. In most cases, all party members have the opportunity to participate in decisions on important personnel and policy issues. Even though party candidate lists and issue agendas have not been so open, perhaps because of the stringent electoral calendar in 2019, internal debates within most Spanish political parties on electoral programs are common and made public. However, in 2019, party leadership structures controlled the most important decisions, including the appointment of individual party leaders, due to the short electoral campaigns.

Spain's political landscape now includes five major parties that draw more than 10% of the popular vote at the national level: the social-democratic PSOE, the conservative party PP, the left-wing party Podemos, the center-right Ciudadanos party and the right-wing populist party Vox.

The PSOE has never been a president-driven party. Internal debate on electoral programs is common and even public, frequently involving some of the regional branches (especially the powerful Andalusian and Catalan sections, the latter of which is formally an independent party). The manner in which the PSOE selects its leader and main candidates is quite open. Pedro Sánchez won an election to the party leadership in 2017 against the wishes of the party machine. Following his victory, the organization is now much more centralized and, with regard to the 2019 elections, the PSOE secretary-general was automatically named the party's prime-ministerial candidate.

The PP, traditionally characterized by more opaque internal decision-making processes, introduced a primary vote in 2018 for decisions on its leadership. The process was marked by some controversies, since only 58,000 party members voted (5% of the total number of registered members). With regard to the 2019 elections, the PP president, Pablo Casado, was automatically named the party's prime-ministerial candidate, and made some controversial personal decisions on style and selection of candidates.

Podemos and Ciudadanos present themselves as more internally democratic than either the PP or the PSOE, insofar as they formally allow all party members and supporters to participate in personnel, program and controversial decisions. However, despite the rhetoric in these two parties, closed party leaderships were able to fully control the most important decisions, including the appointment of their charismatic leaders to serve as prime-ministerial candidates in 2019. In 2019, a co-founder of Podemos decided to campaign as a candidate in the regional election in Madrid and was expelled from the party.

The Vox party has presented itself as more grassroots oriented and internally democratic than Spain's traditional parties. However, the reformed statute of the party presented in February 2019 suppressed the election of candidates by party members, and gave total control over the procedure and election to the national direction. Afterwards several party members presented their resignation before the Electoral Board due to the "lack of democracy" within the party.

Citation:

El diario, May 2019 Antiguos altos cargos de Vox se unen contra el partido: "Son emperadores. No creen en la democracia" https://www.eldiario.es/politica/Manifiesto-disidentes_0_899760638.html

Switzerland

Score 6

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

However, these oligarchic tendencies are arguably not the primary problem with regard to inclusion in Swiss parties. The decline in party membership and party identification – particularly in the case of the Radical and Christian Democratic parties – along with the low level of party resources, may be even greater problems since party decisions are being made by an increasingly shrinking active party membership base.

United Kingdom

Score 6

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

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

candidates nominated by Conservative Party members of parliament after a series of votes to eliminate other candidates. When the Conservative Party holds a majority in Parliament, the parliamentary Conservative Party is obliged to nominate the incumbent party leader as prime minister. Boris Johnson successfully used this mechanism to replace Theresa May in 2019.

The Labour Party also restricts decision-making to party members, although trade union influence remains strong. In most cases, a number of selected delegates participate in important personnel and issue decisions. Central party influence over local candidate selection has varied. Since 1988, there has had to be at least one woman on every shortlist. Since 2001, candidates require the approval of the central party's head office prior to selection by their respective constituency Labour Party. Some political allies of the current leader, Jeremy Corbyn, favor a return to mandatory reselection, which would increase the influence of the left-wing within the party and is therefore highly contested. The Labour Party's selection process for party leader was changed prior to the election of Jeremy Corbyn. Previously the old electoral college voted for the party leader. The college consisted of the Parliamentary Labour Party, constituency Labour parties, and the trade unions and affiliated organizations. Each group had one-third of the total vote. Since the procedural change, the choice is now based on a "one member, one vote" system. In addition, "registered supporters" were able to vote by paying £3, an amount increased to £25 in 2017, to be entitled to vote as well. The winning candidate must secure at least 50% of the vote. Consequently, the election process can take several rounds, as the candidate with the fewest votes after each round drops out, and their second preferences are redistributed to the remaining candidates, until the winning candidate has reached the required quorum.

Belgium

Score 5

Belgium maintains a multiparty political system, with 12 parties represented in the national parliament. Party organizations come in a broad variety of forms. Due to the high fractionalization of the May 2019 election, only two parties maintained a vote share above 10%: the conservative, separatist New Flemish Alliance (N-VA, 16%) and the extreme-right, separatist Vlaams Belang (12%). The historically dominant parties, such as the Socialists (respectively 9.5% and 6.7% for the French and Flemish wings), Christian Democrats (respectively 8.9% and 3.7% for the Flemish and French wings), the Liberals (8.5% and 7.5%) and the Greens (6.1% for both wings) all individually fell below 10%.

However, this observation must be qualified by the fact that each party runs only in its own district, mainly Flanders and Brussels for Flemish parties, or Wallonia and Brussels for French-speaking parties. Hence, the actual percentage totals for each given party should be increased by about a 70% ratio for the Flemish parties and by a 130% ratio for the French-speaking parties.

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

Many of the parties changed or are on their way to changing their leadership this year. The competitiveness of internal party elections varies widely. In many internal elections, the winner is elected by a crushing majority – and, sometimes, there is only one candidate. But it does happen that some internal elections are highly competitive, and lead to surprising results (among others, the Greens typically have competitive internal elections, and both the Christian Democrats and the Liberals have occasionally tight contests). Overall, the process is thus mostly controlled by intermediate party elites.

Citation:

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Parties asking their voters to validate government agreements: <https://plus.lesoir.be/250867/article/2019-10-02/accords-gouvernementaux-wallonie-bruxelles-et-flandre-prennent-un-cap-different>

Election in the liberal party: <http://www.mr.be/candidatsalapresidence/>

https://www.rtf.be/info/belgique/detail_qui-sont-les-quatre-candidats-a-la-presidence-du-mr?id=10337835

Election in the Christian Democratic party: <https://www.cdenv.be/wie-zijn-we/voorzittersverkiezingen/kandidaten/>

Elections in the socialist parties: https://www.rtf.be/info/belgique/detail_paul-magnette-elu-comme-prevu-nouveau-president-du-ps?id=10345699

https://www.standaard.be/cnt/dmf20191108_04707702

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

Chile

Score 5

Chile has a presidential governmental system. As the president determines the government’s policy agenda, presidential elections are much more relevant in terms of policy direction than are congressional ballots. Therefore, in campaigns for the presidency, government programs are presented by the presidential candidates and not by their coalitions or parties. These global program proposals tend to be limited to descriptions of policies’ intended public effects rather than technical details or any detailed discussion of content. The primary elections for the 2013 and 2017 presidential elections demonstrated that candidate selection and issue agendas are largely controlled by the parties’ leaders. However, the left-wing Broad Front (Frente Amplio) coalition formed in 2017 by several minor parties can be seen as a positive exception to this tendency.

Estonia

Score 5

Decision-making processes are very similar among the main parties. Formally, each party member can propose issues, but in reality, inner circles of 15 to 20 elite party members make the most important decisions. All parties have an annual congress at

which delegates elect the party leader and other governing bodies. One such body is the board, which votes on political decisions, issues statements, and submits proposals to the party's parliamentary group and to the party's members in the government. The board also nominates ministerial candidates when the party is part of a coalition government. Another important decision-making body is the council, which manages the party when the general assembly is not in session. The council is comprised of board members and elected representatives from the various regions. The council negotiates agreements with other parties in the parliament, including decisions on whether to enter a governing coalition. Like the board, the council can also submit proposals to the party's parliamentary group and the party's members in the government. As a rule, it is the council's responsibility to compose and agree upon the lists of candidates for general and European Parliament elections. Local party organizations compose electoral lists for municipal elections.

Greece

Score 5

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

In these parties, a very small circle around the party leader has the final word on decision-making. As a result, after such parties decline electorally, there is no party organization to keep them alive. The ANEL party did not even participate in the national elections of July 2019, and ceased to exist. The same happened in late 2019 with the neo-Nazi Golden Dawn party, which failed to pass the 3% threshold in the 2019 elections, and – having no parliamentary representation – started disintegrating.

In the period under review, the union of parties of the center and center-left (PASOK and Potami, along with smaller parties), formed in November 2017, largely collapsed. In October 2019, PASOK proceeded to call an extraordinary party congress, the agenda and membership of which was completely controlled by the party leadership. The revival of intra-party life thus proved to be short-lived.

Ireland

Score 5

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

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

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

Fine Gael:

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

Fianna Fáil:

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

Sinn Féin:

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

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

Citation:

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

Italy

Score 5

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

The Five Star Movement has introduced new mechanisms of online direct consultations for decisions and for candidate selection. At the same time, behind the scenes (and sometimes openly), movement founder Beppe Grillo has maintained a very strong steering and veto role. Internal opponents have found it very difficult to win a platform to voice their positions, and dissidents have frequently been expelled from the party.

Northern League party activists and members selected their current leader, Matteo Salvini, through primaries in 2017. The party is now totally dominated by its leader.

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

Latvia

Score 5

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

In the run-up to the 2018 parliamentary election, three new parties emerged and gained substantial support: the nationalist-conservative New Conservative Party (Jauna Konservatīva Partija, JKP), the center-left-liberal Development/For! (Attīstībai/PAR, AP) and the populist “Who Owns the State?” (Kam pieder valsts?, KPV LV) party. In their statutes, all three parties indicate a decision-making procedure in which power lies with the party’s general assembly and is directed by the board of the party. In the case of JKP, there is also an intermediate body of the party council. Since these parties have been elected to the Saeima, with the exception of KPV LV, there has been no indication that party guidelines have been seriously mismanaged.

The KPV LV party statutes center the decision-making power in the hands of the board of directors and posit that key decisions are to be made by an open vote in a party assembly. This has proved to be difficult for the party since its election to the Saeima in 2018 due to numerous internal conflicts and criticisms of the undemocratic leadership style of the party’s leader, Artuss Kaimins.

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

Decision-making within the Unity Party alliance (rebranded for the 2018 election as New Unity – Jaunā Vienotība) is centered on the organization’s board of directors, which engages closely with its parliamentary faction leadership and government representatives. The party has shown its active internal debates on policy issues in the past, as has been evidenced by press leaks detailing internal party correspondence and publicly visible debates on issues. Local chapters have considerable autonomy in personnel choices and in taking positions on local issues.

Two previously independent parties merged to form the National Alliance (Nacionālā Apvienība, NA) in 2010. While decision-making resides with elected

party officials, internal debates on important issues are visible to the public. The union's parliamentarians sometimes pursue individual policy agendas despite official party positions.

Malta

Score 5

Political parties are increasingly coming under pressure to consult beyond party membership. This shift has been driven by voter volatility, with voters less constrained by party loyalties. Recently, the Nationalist Party (PN) decided to open to its members the second phase of voting for the party's leaders. However, these members are only allowed to vote after party delegates have made an initial choice from among the contenders. The result has been the election of a new leader who does not have the support of a number of the old stalwarts of the party. The Labor Party's recent selection of a new leader took place through a vote open to all party members. However, changes to the party structure that resulted in the removal of the secretary-general are said to have weakened the separation between the party in power and in parliament and the grassroots; as a consequence, critics say, there is no internal party figure able to call the party in power to account. In determining their agendas, the parties are consulting more widely with civil society today than previously. This explains the Labor Party's reference to itself as a movement, since it has succeeded in bringing together groups with various identities. This is an approach the Nationalist Party is also attempting to adopt. Party committees collaborate with party leaders to select candidates.

Citation:

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

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

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Loving Malta 06/12/2019 We need a Secretary-General again says Labour veteran Jason Micallef

Poland

Score 5

For the last decade, political parties have functioned under legislation that strictly defines the role of a political party and how parties are financed. Since most funding is public, the government mandates that parties themselves are governed by democratic principles. However, the reality is mixed, with some parties meeting democratic standards while others fall short. While in the 2015 parliamentary elections, only two parties – the governing Law and Justice Party (PiS) and the Civic Platform (PO) – received more than 10% of the votes. In the parliamentary elections in October 2019, the Social Democratic Party (SLD) also managed to overcome this threshold. The three parties differ strongly from one another in their internal decision-making processes. PiS, led by Jarosław Kaczyński since 2003, is

characterized by a hierarchical model of organization. Formal statutes and bodies notwithstanding, all important decisions are ultimately made directly or indirectly by Jarosław Kaczyński. By contrast, PO, the second largest party in parliament, and SLD have given members a greater say, which has allowed for more far-reaching internal debates.

Portugal

Score 5

A total of 10 parties, running on nine lists, won seats in the most recent parliamentary elections held on 6 October 2019. Only three of these parties obtained more than 10% of the vote: the Socialist Party (Partido Socialista, PS), which received 36.3% of the vote and 108 seats; the Social Democratic Party (Partido Social Democrata, PSD), which won 27.8% of the vote and 79 seats; and the Left Bloc (Bloco de Esquerda, BE), with 10.2% and 19 seats.

Of the other lists that obtained seats, the most successful was the Unitarian Democratic Coalition (Coligação Democrática Unitária, CDU) between the Portuguese Communist Party (Partido Comunista Português, PCP) and the Ecologist Party (Partido Ecologista “Os Verdes,” PEV), which secured 6.3% of the vote and a 12 combined seats, which resulted in 10 seats for the PCP and two for the PEV.

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

In short, the members of these two parties elect a leader, who then presents a list for the other positions. The party’s representatives in the government are selected by the leader in consultation (although the advice is not obligatory) with the party’s political commission.

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

BE party members elect delegates that convene at the party’s national convention and in turn elect an 80-member national committee called “Mesa Nacional,” which is elected proportionally. The Mesa Nacional then votes for the party’s political commission, which has 18 members since the 2018 convention. In its 10th

convention, held in June 2016, the party changed its statutes slightly, albeit the change did not significantly alter the degree of internal democracy. Due to this change, it is now up to the political commission to elect the secretariat, which is comprised of 10 people since the 2018 convention. Until the ninth party convention held in November 2014, the BE had two national coordinators within the permanent commission. After this convention, the party returned to the model of a single coordinator, in this case Catarina Martins, who retained her position following the 2016 and 2018 conventions. The party approved some changes to its statutes during the November 2018 convention, though these also do not significantly alter the degree of internal democracy.

South Korea

Score 5

There is almost universal agreement among political scientists, political observers, politicians and the general public that political parties are one of the weakest links in South Korean democracy. Parties are organized in a top-down fashion, and typically led by a few powerful individuals (who may or may not hold official party offices). Parties often disband, rename and regroup around these leaders without the comprehensive involvement of members. In general, ordinary party members have very little say. While the selection of presidential candidates has become more democratic since the introduction of the primary system in 2015, issue-oriented participation by party members remains anemic, and party organizations remain weak. Only some of the smaller parties not represented in the parliament, such as the Green Party, are organized in a bottom-up way. Organizing local party chapters remains illegal in Korea, making it almost impossible to build grassroots organizations. Due to their focus on personalities, parties tend to be ill-prepared to govern, and thus depend on co-opting political outsiders that have little experience in the political arena.

Australia

Score 4

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

The Liberal-National coalition has traditionally had a more open and inclusive process for determining leadership than the Labor party, which is dominated by factions to which most members are beholden. These factions are regularly criticized for making opaque decisions and for contributing to a lack of decision-making

transparency. In response, the process for selecting the Labor party leader was altered in 2013, giving 50% of the votes to the wider party membership, with the remaining 50% staying with elected members and senators.

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

Citation:

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Austria

Score 4

The Austrian party system is in an ongoing process of deconcentration. The traditionally dominant parties – the Social Democratic Party (Sozialdemokratische Partei Österreichs, SPÖ) and the conservative, Christian-democratic Austrian People's Party (Österreichische Volkspartei, ÖVP) have experienced an almost uninterrupted decline since 1980. In 1979, the two parties were able to win a combined total of more than 90% of votes. In 2013, the parties were down to a combined total of about 50%. In 2019, the combined total of both parties again rose to more than 58%.

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

In preparation for the 2017 general elections, the ÖVP changed its traditional procedure for nominating candidates. The party transferred total authority for the nomination process to one person, the party's candidate for the Chancellor's Office, Sebastian Kurz. This did not change for the 2019 elections, with the ÖVP remaining the party of one figure, Sebastian Kurz. This situation will probably remain as long as the (former and likely new) chancellor (and party chairman) enjoys widespread popularity. Nonetheless, this development must be seen as a significant decline in intra-party democracy.

In contrast to the ÖVP, the other parties have followed their traditional procedures, ensuring that the different intra-party interests continue to be represented. After losing its primary position in parliament and now in opposition, the SPÖ has started to reform its internal decision-making procedures, which will give party members a stronger role. This was exemplified in the decision about the new mayor of Vienna, Michael Ludwig. For the federal level, new rules are still being discussed and the new party leader, Joy Pamela Rendi-Wagner, was chosen by the traditional process.

Bulgaria

Score 4

In the 2017 parliamentary election, only two parties gained more than 10% of the popular vote – Prime Minister Borissov’s Citizens for European Development of Bulgaria (GERB) and the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP). The BSP traditionally campaigns in elections as part of a formal coalition of parties, although the BSP is by far the largest carrier of votes within the coalition. The Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS) was close with 9.2% of votes. The United Patriots coalition also obtained more than 9%.

The BSP is a relatively democratic party with an authentic internal opposition, and clear opportunities for different factions to influence party discussions and agenda, even though the faction around the party chair usually prevails. The party has actually changed leadership three times since 2001. Electoral platforms and candidate lists are prepared in a relatively centralized manner, but local party organizations do have some input, and the party has several factions that vie for influence over the party’s central decision-making structure. Following recent changes, the party’s leader is now elected by a direct vote of all party members, with the first such election scheduled to take place at the end of the present leadership team’s mandate, but before the end of 2021 at the latest.

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

Croatia

Score 4

Croatian parties are characterized by a rigid structure. The degree of intra-party democracy is generally low, members do not regularly participate in party activities and the party leadership maintains considerable control over selection procedures and debates. In the HDZ (Croatian Democratic Union), no internal elections took place until April 2016. While the party’s chairman has been elected directly by party members ever since, the latter have not had the chance to choose between different candidates due to high formal and informal barriers. These barriers include the need to collect 11,000 signatures in order to become an official candidate. Incumbents also have substantial leverage over intra-party rivals due to widespread clientelism and the potential to punish party members who do not toe the existing party line. The threshold and barriers mentioned above are not as high in the second largest party, the Social Democratic Party (SDP). The SDP is somewhat more open to internal debates, but does not tolerate the existence of open political blocs.

Citation:

Čelap, K., D. Nikić Čakar (2017): Unutarstranačka demokracija u Hrvatskoj: (Ne)moć običnih članova u procesu stvaranja stranačkih politika, in: *Politička misao* 54(3): 80-107.

Czechia

Score 4

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

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

Citation:

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

Hungary

Score 4

Intra-party democracy has been a rarity in Hungary. Although regulations for electing party leaders and for establishing candidacies for national, regional and local elections are formally in place, they do not play a dominant role in intra-party democracy. Fidesz is completely controlled by its president Orbán, re-elected at the 2019 Fidesz party congress. Due to the party's failure in the recent municipal elections, new disciplinary measures were introduced for rank-and-file members,

although some leaders were also punished. Zsolt Borkai, the strongman in Győr, was excluded following a sex and corruption scandal. Among the left-wing parties, Hungarian Socialist Party (MSZP) is democratically organized with a weak leadership, whereas Democratic Coalition (DK) is dominated by former Prime Minister Ferenc Gyurcsány. The Momentum, a party of young liberal-left members, is in the process of institution-building in the spirit of party democracy. The other opposition parties are in a state of complex chaos and disorganization after the April 2019 elections. Jobbik has gone through a deep transformation and joined the common group of opposition, while the future of LMP (Politics Can be Different) is uncertain.

Netherlands

Score 4

The dominant political view is that government interference in private organizations like political parties is incompatible with the role of the state in a liberal democracy. A law for internal party democracy is appropriate for countries with a history of non-democratic governance (e.g., Germany, some states in southern Europe and in central and eastern Europe). However, in the Netherlands with its strong democratic tradition, many consider it superfluous. Several recent reports show the vulnerability of Dutch democracy to (international) manipulation through weak controls over and accountability for party finance, political campaigning and candidate selection. For example, some political parties deal with their representatives' ethical issues within internal councils or executive organs, political parties report inflated numbers of formal members in order to boost state subsidies, and candidate lists and leadership-succession practices frequently lack transparency, illustrating Robert Michels' thesis that political parties act as oligarchies. In addition, political parties are not obliged to have a membership organization or conduct internal decision-making practices democratically. One party (the anti-immigrant party PVV) has only one member – its leader – and not even its members of parliament or local elected officials are able to join the party they represent. Some political scientists therefore advocate a separate law on political parties and an independent (non-state) commission for oversight and enforcement.

The very narrow basis of political parties is reflected in their membership figures. Political-party membership reached an all-time low of 285,851 in 2015. It increased to 315,000 in 2018 (2.4% of the electorate), owing to an increase in young voters joining the Green Left and Forum for Democracy. Approximately 10% of party members are considered active. Frequently party activism is used as a launching pad for a political career. Across all major political parties, political activists and (semi-)professionals now dominate decision-making with regard to candidate lists and political agendas. Political parties are not bottom-up movements. Rather, they are intermediaries between political elites and their electorates, with political-party members as links. Intra-party democracy (e.g., party congresses, election of party leaders and intra-party referendums) sometimes prove to be counterproductive. One

former minister of defense and Labor party member commented: “Party congresses don’t buy combat planes.” Party leadership succession, even in political parties with some tradition of intra-party democracy (e.g., Labor and D66), is not democratically regulated, but is often determined by opaque, “spontaneous” selection processes managed by party elites.

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

Citation:

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

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

NRC Handelsblad, 26 January 2019. Kabinet: verbod op partijfinanciering van buiten de EU.

NRC Handelsblad, 9 March 2019. Politieke partijen die regels ontwijken – en een ministerie dat steeds wegkijkt.

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

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

New Zealand

Score 4

There are currently five political parties in the New Zealand House of Representatives. The two major parties, National (55 seats) and Labour (46 seats) dominate the electoral map. The minor parties – NZ First, the Green Party and the ACT Party – hold nine, eight and one seat(s), respectively.

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

parliamentary caucus's sole responsibility for choosing the leadership, replacing it with a combination of party membership (40%), parliamentary caucus (40%) and affiliated trade unions (20%).

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

While NZ First and the ACT Party are also based on centralized organizations, the Green Party stands out from the rest of the party system with its emphasis on participatory processes: in contrast to other parties, decisions on policy and the selection of parliamentary candidates are made by the party membership, with less control exerted by the parliamentary caucus.

Citation:

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

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

NZ Electoral Commission (elections.org.nz, 2017)

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

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

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

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

Slovenia

Score 4

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

Japan

Score 3

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

Japan's strongest party is the LDP (holding 61% of the seats in the Diet's lower house after the 2017 election). While the Democratic Party (DP) once seemed to be a possible contender for power, it suffered a major blow before the 2017 election, when many of its lower house members formed the Constitutional Democratic Party (CDP, 12%), an entity primarily devoted to opposing changes to the existing constitution, while others entered the newly formed conservative Party of Hope (11%). This latter party and the DP regrouped as the Democratic Party for the People in May 2018, but not all DP or Party of Hope parliamentarians joined the new party.

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

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

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

Citation:

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

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

Yoshitaka Koyama, Policy clashes could endanger opposition party cooperation in next Japan election, *The Mainichi*, 5 October 2019, <https://mainichi.jp/english/articles/20191005/p2a/00m/0na/006000c>

Romania

Score 3

The major Romanian parties remain controlled by leaders that are isolated from the party membership and seemingly have little patience and desire to consult local organizations before making decisions. Delegates to national congresses are selected by local organizations in ways that are not always open and transparent, and which allow relatives of current leaders to be promoted. Romanian parties remain largely clientelistic, nepotistic structures in which the power of a handful of leaders outweighs that of large segments of the membership.

Slovakia

Score 3

All Slovak parties are elite projects that are dominated by a few party leaders. In the parliamentary elections in March 2016 new parties entered the parliament: the extreme right ĽSNS, the populist Sme Rodina and the center party Siet'. The nationalist SNS, came back to parliament while the former governing parties SDKU-DS and Christian Democratic Movement (KDH) remained outside. Smer-SD remains strongly centered around Robert Fico, who has led the party since its founding in 1999 and has remained its head even after his resignation as prime minister in March 2018. The inner circle of the party and the number of party representatives with influence are rather limited. The two centrist parties established in 2017/18 – Spolu–Občianska Demokracia (Together – Civic Democracy) and Progresívne Slovensko (Progressive Slovakia) – are more inclusive and engage in open decision-making with their members. In the period under review, new parties have been founded like Za ľudí (For the People), which is chaired by former President Andrej Kiska, Vlast' (Homeland), which is led by Supreme Court judge Štefan Harabin and Dobrá Voľba (Good Choice), which is led by former Minister for Health and Interior Tomáš Drucker. These foundations underline the character of elite and personality driven party projects, as they are based on the image and program of their main leader.

Turkey

Score 2

The centralized structure of the Political Parties Law (Law 2820) and the bylaws of the major parties does not encourage intra-party democracy. The right to dismiss local party organizations (Articles 19 and 20) and party members (Article 53), which is widespread among the major political parties, provides party leaders with unlimited powers and thus undermines internal party democracy. Although the dismissals are subject to judicial review (Article 57) no information is available about the judicial trials on these appeals. Consequently, strong party discipline is a common feature of all political parties. Although the Justice and Development Party (AKP), the Republican People's Party (CHP) and the Peoples' Democratic Party (HDP) do not discriminate on the basis of ethnicity or religious orientation with regard to membership, contestation within the parties is limited, at best. Dissenting voices are generally unable to find an institutional path by which to engage in effective debate. Competition usually revolves around party members' ability to create local power centers through which they compete for the attention and goodwill of the party leader.

Membership, party congresses and executive boards are not democratically managed in most political parties. Nomination processes are dominated by a few party elites or directly by the will of party leaders. Those who dissent are effectively silenced or expected to leave the party. Following the AKP's 2019 losses in some municipal

elections, some of the party's leading members, including former Prime Minister Ahmet Davutođlu, former state Minister Ali Babacan and some current deputies, resigned from the party after disciplinary proceedings were introduced against them. The CHP introduced some amendments to its party statute that will enable the party assembly to delegate the selection of candidates to the central executive committee.

Citation:

"Eski AKP'liler: Pek çok arkadaşımız istifaya hazırlanıyor," 27 September 2019, <https://www.dw.com/tr/eski-akpliler-pek-%C3%A7ok-arkada%C5%9F%C4%B1m%C4%B1z-istifaya-haz%C4%B1rlan%C4%B1yor/a-50616101> (accessed 1 November 2019)

"CHP'de yönetmelik deđişikliği: PM aday belirleme yetkisini MYK'ye devredebilecek," 4 September 2019, <https://www.birgun.net/haber/chp-de-yonetmelik-degisikligi-pm-aday-belirleme-yetkisini-myk-ye-devredebilecek-267223> (accessed 1 November 2019)

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

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

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

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

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

Australia

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

Citation:

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

<https://www.bca.com.au/campaigns>

Denmark

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

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

:

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

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

Norway

Score 9

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

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

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

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

Sweden

Score 9

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

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

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

Citation:

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

Jochem, S. (2020), *Das politische System Schwedens* (Wiesbaden: Springer VS).

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

United States

Score 9

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

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

Belgium

Score 8

Belgium has a high level of trade-union membership and a strong tradition of social consensus implemented through strong and well-organized trade unions and employers’ organizations. For instance, most proposals on wage regulation and employee protection are the result of negotiations between employers’ associations and trade unions. Moreover, the trade unions and employers’ organizations each have their own well-developed study services with technical (e.g., legal and budgetary) expertise, even covering topics outside their traditional focus areas.

When the outcome of negotiations are positive, proposals are validated by the government and translated into law. This continuous mechanism of cooperation forces these actors to present realistic and well-argued demands (budgeted and framed in legal terms), even if some bargaining and bluffing occurs.

However, it has also happened that negotiations have failed to produce a positive result. In particular, pension and minimum wage negotiations have previously been derailed.

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

Citation:

<https://plus.lesoir.be/254159/article/2019-10-16/retour-la-case-depart-sans-toucher-au-salaire-minimum>

Va-t-on ramener l'âge de la retraite à 65 ans?

<https://plus.lesoir.be/224006/article/2019-05-13/va-t-ramener-lage-de-la-retraite-65-ans?referer=%2Farchives%2F recherche%3Fdatefilter%3Dlastyear%26sort%3Dweight%26word%3Dretraite>

La pension à 65 ans recalée

<https://plus.lesoir.be/212077/article/2019-03-13/la-pension-65-ans-recalée?referer=%2Farchives%2F recherche%3Fdatefilter%3Dlastyear%26sort%3Dweight%26word%3Dretraite%2520pension>

Il faut centrer le débat sur l'âge légal de la pension

<https://plus.lesoir.be/art/d-20190515-3TYHK4?referer=%2Farchives%2F recherche%3Fdatefilter%3Dlastyear%26sort%3Dweight%26word%3Dretraite%2520pension>

La pension à mi-temps passe, les doutes restent

<https://plus.lesoir.be/art/d-20190403-3T61XD?referer=%2Farchives%2F recherche%3Fdatefilter%3Dlastyear%26sort%3Dweight%26word%3Dretraite%2520pension>

Canada

Score 8

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

Finland

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

Citation:

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

Blom, Anders. 2018. *Taloudelliset eturyhmät politiikan sisäpiirissä: Tutkimus liike-elämän poliittisesta vaikuttamisesta kolmikantaisessa Suomessa 1968–2011*. Turun Yliopiston julkaisuja.

Blom, Anders. 2019. "Suomen malli murroksessa – edunvalvonnan ja korporatistimin uudet kuviot," <https://politiikasta.fi/suomen-malli-murroksessa-edunvalvonnan-ja-korporatistimin-uudet-kuviot/>

Germany

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

Iceland

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

The Confederation of Icelandic Employers (Samtök atvinnulífsins, SA), referred to as the employers' association, has close, informal ties to the right-wing Independence Party. Likewise, the Icelandic Confederation of Labor (Alþýðusamband Íslands, ASÍ) has close links to the parties on the left, although its

formal ties to the Social Democratic Party were severed in 1942. Until its breakup in the 1990s, the cooperative movement, with its strong ties to the agricultural sector, was closely linked to the Progressive Party (Framsókn), which has its origins in the farmers' movement.

Closely associated with the Confederation of Icelandic Employers is the Iceland Chamber of Commerce, which – despite stating that all was well just before the 2008 collapse – continues to provide advice to the government.

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

After the 2008 economic collapse, the employers' association, the employees' union, the government, and the Federation of Municipalities signed an agreement intended to promote economic stability (Stöðugleikasáttmáli). The agreement proposed a restructuring of the economy through wage and price freezes, among other issues. This effort failed. In 2015, the representatives of the government, employers, and labor unions signed the so-called SALEK agreement, a framework for collective agreements in the labor market. This agreement applies now to approximately 70% of employees. Some public sector unions have so far refused to agree on SALEK.

Between 2009 and 2013, the Federation of Icelandic Fishing Vessel Owners resisted government plans to change the regulation of fishing quotas. While the federation was unable to resist a considerable increase in fishing fees paid by vessel owners to the government, it was able to help prevent a broader overhaul of the system.

The 2013 – 2016 cabinet lowered the fees in 2013, against IMF advice. In 2018, the minister of fisheries and agriculture announced a further substantial reduction in fishing fees, which was approved by parliament before the end of 2018.

Citation:

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

Israel

Score 8

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

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

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

Citation:

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

"Law Bill." In the Knesset's official website (regarding "Bill of Limitation of the Advertisement and Marketing of Tobacco Products Act (Amendment Number 7), 2018," by several MKs). Last Seen: October 28th, 2018. (Hebrew). <https://main.knesset.gov.il/Activity/Legislation/Laws/Pages/LawBill.aspx?t=lawsuggestionssearch&lawitemid=2020202>.

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

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

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

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

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

The Industry Association Press Releases, <https://bit.ly/2ANM3kP>

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

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

Latvia

Score 8 The National Tripartite Cooperation Council (Nacionālā trīspusējās sadarbības padome, NTSP), which links employers' associations, business associations and trade unions, provides a good example of effective association involvement in policy formulation. The members of the NTSP are all capable of proposing concrete measures, and work with academic figures in order to ensure quality inputs into the policy dialogue.

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

The Foreign Investors' Council (FICIL) has a strong capacity for presenting well-formulated policy proposals. FICIL conducts an annual structured dialogue at the prime-ministerial level. The actions that come out of these dialogues are subsequently implemented and monitored. The 2018 council meeting focused attention on labor availability and quality, governance issues within the education and transport sectors, public sector effectiveness (including digitalization, rule of law, and combating economic and financial crimes), and developments in the energy sector.

Citation:

1. The Foreign Investors' Council in Latvia, Information available: <http://www.ficil.lv/index.php/home/>, Last assessed: 05.11.2019

2. National Tripartite Cooperation Council, Agenda available at (in Latvian): <https://www.mk.gov.lv/lv/content/nacionalas-trispusejas-sadarbibas-padomes-sedes>, Last assessed: 05.11.2019

Luxembourg

Score 8 Under Luxembourg's specific social-partnership model, the government consults with unions, employers' organizations and professional chambers over each draft bill. Furthermore, all opinions, as well as the modified draft bills, are published on the parliament's website. The two employers' organizations (the Chambre de Commerce and the Chambre des Métiers), as well as the Luxembourg business union (Union des Entreprises Luxembourgeoises, UEL), all support research units, enabling them to produce opinions on draft bills, organize conferences and draft proposed government bills.

Trade unions share this approach. The impact of trade unions increased as a result of the Parliamentary Act of 15 May 2008 ("statut unique"), which created just one employees' union (Chambre des Salariés) in place of the previous two (one for

manual laborers and one for white-collar workers). All citizens working in Luxembourg, except public servants, are automatically members and contribute to this organization – a keystone of Luxembourg’s neo-corporatist policy tradition. Both social partners commission expert advice and policy briefings either abroad or in Luxembourg, and both use their own resources to prepare position papers.

Citation:

Chambre de Commerce Luxembourg. www.cc.lu. Accessed 20 Oct. 2019.

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“L’UEL lance son nouveau site «Compétitivité – Tableau de bord».” Union des Entreprises Luxembourgeoises. www.uel.lu/445-1-uel-lance-son-nouveau-site-competitivite-tableau-de-bord. Accessed 20 Oct. 2019.

Schroen, Werner (2012): Werner Reutter (ed.), *Verbände und Interessengruppen in den Ländern der Europäischen Union, 2., aktualisierte und erweiterte Auflage*. Springer VS, Wiesbaden, pp. 417 - 443.

Netherlands

Score 8

For a long time, there was no lobbying culture in the Netherlands in the usual sense. Instead, prominent members of labor unions and business associations are regular members of high-level informal networks that also include high-level civil servants and politicians. Members of these networks discuss labor market and other important socioeconomic policy issues. These processes have become institutionalized. For instance, there are tripartite negotiations in which employers, employees and government experts are fixed discussion partners in the early stages of decision-making regarding labor issues. A similar process takes place for regular negotiations with economic interest associations. The analytic capacities of business and labor associations are well-developed. However, membership in trade unions has shown a continuous decline, with younger people in particular rejecting the idea of union membership. In addition, members and supporters of trade unions and professional and commercial associations frequently have more radical opinions than their representatives. In recent demonstrations, especially by farmers, teachers and hospital workers, association representatives in negotiations with the government were called back by their followers.

However, this institutionalized “poldering ” model has changed somewhat in recent years. There is now a Professional Association for Public Affairs (BVPA) that boasts 600 members (four times the number of parliamentarians) and a special public-affairs professorship at Leiden University. The professionalization of lobbying is said to be necessary in order to curb unethical practices such as the creation of foundations or crowdsourcing initiatives as a means of pursuing business interests. The “quiet politics” (Culpepper) of business lobbying through organizations such as the Commissie Tabaksblad, the Amsterdam (later Holland) Financial Center (Engelen), or Dutch Trade Investment Board (Follow the Money) has proven more than successful in influencing public policies on corporate governance, in easing regulation of the banking and financial sector, and in keeping taxes for business low. There is convincing evidence that in terms of election programs and promises, over

the long run, Dutch households have been systematically disadvantaged compared to corporations and business. For example, tax reductions and exemptions for business were systematically higher than for ordinary citizens.

Citation:

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

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

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

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

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

NRC Next, 30 August 2019. *Vergeet de jongeren niet, zegt de SER*.

Brief Minister van Medische Zorg, 5 November 2019. *Arbeidsmarktbeleid en opleidingen zorgsector*.

Spain

Score 8

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

Citation:

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

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

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

Austria

Score 7 The role of economic interest groups is still very strong in Austria: Significant associations include the Austrian Economic Chambers (Wirtschaftskammern) and the Federation of Austrian Industry (Die Industriellenvereinigung) for business and employers; the Austrian Trade Union Federation (Österreichischer Gewerkschaftsbund) and the Austrian Federal Chamber of Labor (Arbeiterkammern) for employees; and the Chamber of Agriculture (Landwirtschaftskammern) for farmers. In many cases, interest groups continue to formulate (almost) complete laws by themselves, which parliament subsequently only needs to approve. These groups' ability to shape politics may have been reduced as a result of Austria's integration into the European Union, but within domestic politics, their influence remains very strong. Though formally independent of political parties, the groups have various individual links to the parties, especially to the Social Democratic Party and the Austrian People's Party. Moreover, their influence is enhanced by their practice of acting in a coordinated, neo-corporatist way through the social-partnership network.

This has changed to some extent. First, because of the FPÖ's entry into coalition government with the ÖVP in 2017. As traditionally the FPÖ, in contrast to the ÖVP and SPÖ, does not have strong links to economic interest groups, the FPÖ-ÖVP government was less inclined to accept the economic interest groups. Though more importantly, there has been a general decline in the ability of interest associations to create stable loyalties due to generational change.

Czechia

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

Greece

Score 7 Interest associations often make relevant policy proposals in a few policy areas, such as macroeconomic policy, incomes and pensions, and labor relations. Probably the most efficient interest association in this respect is the Hellenic Federation of Enterprises (SEV).

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

In the period under review, the government did not systematically consult with economic interest associations, as it was preoccupied with implementing the last leg of the three-year long Memorandum of Understanding, signed between Greece and its creditors in the summer of 2015. Naturally, government ministers appeared at all major events staged by economic interest associations (e.g., annual conventions and specific conferences), but it is doubtful whether these brief exchanges between government officials and association representatives had any impact on policy formulation. After the government turnover of July 2019, the new government invited association representatives in various policy sectors for consultation, and showed visible interest in achieving consensus on prospective reforms.

Citation:

The opinions expressed by INE, a GSEE think tank supporting labor unions, are available at <https://www.inegsee.gr/> (in Greek only). For opinions mostly reflecting the views of Greek industrialists, see the website of the IOBE think tank at http://iobe.gr/default_en.as (English version of the website).

Ireland

Score 7

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

Citation:

The number of independent commentaries and online policy forums has grown in recent years, see <http://www.publicpolicy.ie/>
<http://www.irisheconomy.ie/>
<http://www.nerinstitute.net/>
<http://politicalreform.ie/>
<http://www.politics.ie/>

Italy

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

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

Japan

Score 7 Japan's leading business and labor organizations regularly publish policy proposals aimed at influencing public debate and policymaking. The three umbrella business federations – Keidanren, the Japan Association of Corporate Executives (Doyukai), and the Japanese Chamber of Industry and Commerce (Nissho) – as well as Rengo, the leading trade-union federation, try to impact policy by publishing policy papers and participating in government advisory committees. As the business sector's financial support of political parties has declined and major companies have globalized their operations, politicians may have become less willing to accommodate the views of these interest groups.

While there is an obvious scramble for influence between Rengo and the business organizations, there is also a notable degree of competition among the business organizations themselves. For instance, Keidanren is dominated by large enterprise groups, and has been somewhat slow in demanding further economic opening. Critics also contend that its membership policies are too conservative, de facto keeping startups and tech companies at bay. However, the accession of new members such as Facebook in 2019 may indicate that the federation is trying to adapt. The Doyukai is more characterized by strong independent companies, and has been outspoken in demanding a more open business environment.

Citation:

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

Shigenori Arai, Facebook joins Keidanren, Japan's leading business lobby, Nikkei Asian Review, 2 July 2019, <https://asia.nikkei.com/Business/Companies/Facebook-joins-Keidanren-Japan-s-leading-business-lobby>

Malta

Score 7 Economic interest associations have structures capable of formulating relevant public policies. The greater resources commanded by economic interest associations enable them to employ highly qualified personnel and consult qualified academics according to the policy issue involved. The larger trade unions have their own research officers and can also draw on the expertise of the Center for Labor Studies (CLS) at the University of Malta which was established to facilitate the trade union sector. Trade unions also use existing studies or academic and specialist support. EU support funds and structures such as internship programs have strengthened non-economic interest associations, allowing them to produce detailed research in their area of expertise. However, most NGOs remain reactive rather than proactive. In its 2019 budget, the government has earmarked some financial support for NGOs to help them overcome some of these problems. A number of economic associations have worked proactively in various policy areas such as rent reform, transport reform and constitutional reform.

Citation:

The Maltese Business Observer 25/07/2019 Uncertainty over whether rent reform will bring stability

Times of Malta 03/02/2019 Why an underground metro system would be better than a vehicle tunnel to Gozo

New Zealand

Score 7 There are few well-organized and well-staffed interest groups in New Zealand. The largest and most prominent are the New Zealand Council of Trade Unions (bringing together over 320,000 members in 27 affiliated unions), Federated Farmers, and the Chambers of Commerce, and BusinessNZ. All are involved in policy formation and dissemination, and all seek to influence government policy. However, there is an underlying asymmetry. During the 1990s and 2000s business interests relied on the work of the New Zealand Business Roundtable, an organization of chief executives of major business firms. In 2012, this merged with the New Zealand Institute to form the New Zealand Initiative, a libertarian think tank that lobbies for pro-market economic and social policies.

Citation:

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

New Zealand Council of Trade Unions, About us (<https://www.union.org.nz/about/>)

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

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

Slovenia

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

Council, a tripartite body. Trade unions and employers' associations do not have their own research institutes but cooperate with universities and think tanks. Trade unions' analytical capacities have suffered from the fragmentation associated with the coexistence of seven separate union confederations.

South Korea

Score 7 Business associations such as the Korean Employers Federation and the Federation of Korean Industries, as well as labor-union umbrella groups such as the Federation of Korean Trade Unions and the Korean Confederation of Trade Unions (KCTU), have some expertise in developing policy proposals. They are supported by think tanks that provide scholarly advice. However, these groups are relatively weak in comparison to their most powerful members – that is, business conglomerates and company-level trade unions. Some individual businesses such as Samsung, LG and Hyundai have their own think tanks that produce high-quality research and are able to analyze and provide alternatives to government policies. Under the Park government, major business organizations supported by large conglomerates had significant influence over the formulation of policies. Under the Moon administration, the influence of business groups has remained strong, if somewhat contradictory. Labor organizations have come to wield considerable power in formulating major social and economic policies, thanks to the Moon government's more labor-friendly stance.

Switzerland

Score 7 Employers' organizations and trade unions in Switzerland are pragmatic and avoid rigidly ideological stances. Of course, the major interest organizations do have their ideologies, but this does not prevent them from entering rational discussions with other organizations and political parties. Furthermore, interest organizations in general have access to more substantial professional resources and often have a better-informed view of problems than do political parties. Thus, despite the defense of their own interests, associations often provide better policy proposals than do parties.

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

United Kingdom

Score 7 Major business associations propose practical policy solutions, which are rooted in a realistic assessment of the circumstances in which they will be carried out. Until recently, the polarization between the major parties had diminished, especially in the

field of socioeconomic policy matters. However, this is again widening. Even so, and especially with the Brexit decision, there is little incentive for business associations or trade unions to engage in wishful thinking if they want to be taken seriously in the national policy discourse. However, some economic interests do propose somewhat more provocative ideas.

The United Kingdom's forthcoming withdrawal from the European Union has led to some more assertive stances both from business (concerned especially about threats to its EU market access and curbs on skilled immigrant workers) and unions (notably around protections deriving from EU rules). Some business groups are, however, more concerned about what they perceive as excessive regulatory burdens associated with EU membership. Although British business associations are divided over Westminster's political ties to Brussels, access to the single market is at the very heart of Britain's economic interest, namely their world leading financial and insurance industries. Overall, the influence of economic interest groups is relatively low-key, though not insubstantial. Several international businesses, such as Airbus and certain Japanese investors, were vocal during the Brexit debates. Though several more international businesses (e.g., Nissan and BMW) have made it clear since the referendum result that a version of Brexit that threatens to disrupt their densely woven supply chains across the European Union's internal market will negatively affect their British production facilities.

Bulgaria

Score 6

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

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

Estonia

Score 6 The Estonian Trade Union Confederation (ETUC) is comprised of 18 branch unions. In comparison to many western European countries, its policy-formulation capacity is rather weak. The head office includes the secretariat that prepares various documents, including draft-law proposals, and organizes cooperation between the members of the confederation; there is no special research or analysis unit responsible for preparing concrete policy proposals. Trade unions are typically invited to contribute to policymaking processes initiated by the government.

The Estonian Employers' Union (EEU) has been more active proposing policies and its analytic capacity has significantly increased in recent years. For example, the EEU was behind the Governance Reform Radar initiative and is closely linked to the State Reform Foundation, which has produced a detailed list of reform proposals. Similar positive change is also visible regarding the ETUC. Both organizations have a "policy impact" section on their websites. Meanwhile, support from the European Social Fund has played an important role in capacity-building. Both the ETUC and EEU make use of various measures (e.g., training programs, hiring analysts and requesting studies) envisaged in the 2014 – 2020 programming period.

Citation:

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

Lithuania

Score 6 Most Lithuanian interest associations, including employers' associations and trade unions, have a rather limited ability to formulate well-crafted policies. They typically lack skilled research staff, and do not engage in cooperation with academic bodies or individual experts. The Investors' Forum, which represents foreign investors in Lithuania, is one of the exceptions, as it has regular annual meetings with the government and provides policy recommendations based on its members' input. This association successfully advocated the adoption of a more flexible labor code as part of the new "social model." The Infobalt IT-industry association is also actively engaged in representing its interests in the e-governance policy area. Some economic-interest organizations, including the Lithuanian Confederation of Industrialists (which is represented on the Tripartite Council and the European Economic and Social Committee), have improved their policy-formulation capacities. Some business associations and even individual businesses support think tanks. In 2019, the University of Pennsylvania recognized the Lithuanian Free Market Institute as being among the most influential public policy centers in Central and Eastern Europe, ranking it 152th in the region. An accord signed by the government, business organizations, and trade unions in October 2017 encourages employee participation in trade unions and the formation of business associations as well as supports the capacity-building efforts of social partners.

Citation:
University of Pennsylvania. "2019 Global Go To Think Tanks."
https://repository.upenn.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1017&context=think_tanks

Poland

Score 6 Poland has a relatively developed universe of interest associations. Business associations and trade unions have become increasingly professional over time. The trade unions, especially NSZZ Solidarność, have quite friendly relations with the PiS government. For example, the trade unions supported the PiS government's pension reform, protesting against the European Union and its critique of the pension reform in Brussels, but were more critical about the school reform and supported the teachers' strikes in spring 2019. Leading business associations such as the Konfederacja Lewiatan and the Business Center Club (BCC) have the expertise and resources to carry out research and formulate elaborate reform proposals. Konfederacja Lewiatan monitors many draft bills, and its spokespeople maintain a strong media presence. There are also a number of smaller associations that organize internationally known events such as the European Forum for New Ideas (EFNI), which annually invites leading public intellectuals, academics and politicians, both Polish and European, to the EFNI conference in Sopot. All associations complain about not being involved in government policy discussions, despite the formal existence of the Council of Social Dialogue.

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

Slovakia

Score 6 In Slovakia, business associations and unions alike have some policy competence. Business associations are in a better position to provide full-blown policy proposals as they have more resources and some of them run or support think tanks. Trade unions are less well equipped and have suffered from fragmentation. Some trade unions, including those representing medical doctors, nurses and teachers, can analyze the impact of decisions and formulate relevant policies. KOZ SR, the main Trade Union Confederation representing almost 30 sectoral unions, has focused primarily on increasing the minimum wage and an assortment of less controversial issues such as workplace security. In the period under review, some structural changes were made to the organizations of the government's social partners. The Association of Industrial Unions became a member of the tripartite Economic and Social Council. Furthermore, the new Joint Slovak Trade Union was established, representing employees from, among others, the healthcare, education and police sectors.

Chile

- Score 5** Policy proposals by economic-interest groups do address relevant topics and are not always short-sighted or untenable; however, they tend to be narrow and largely guided by the groups' interests. Unions as a socioeconomic interest group are relatively weak, and their influence in formulating policies relevant to their interests is quite limited. Exceptions to this rule of thumb do occur.

Mexico

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

Due to the anti-corruption efforts of the new government, several union leaders are facing corruption charges, including the leader of Pemex's workers' union. In addition, the former CEO of Pemex is also facing corruption charges.

In contrast to its predecessors, the new government is cooperating more with NGOs, and social movements and activists, which has at least partly counterbalanced the traditional weight of established interest associations.

Portugal

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

Turkey

Score 5

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

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

Citation:

Türk-İş, Açlık Yoksulluk <http://www.turkis.org.tr/Aclik-Yoksulluk-k91> (accessed 1 November 2019)

Dik-Ar, <http://disk.org.tr/category/diskten/disk-ar/> (accessed 1 November 2019)

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

Cyprus

Score 4

Industrial relations have been based on a spirit of consultations between strong partners. The actors continue to found their demands and positions on sectoral interests. They generally either possess no research teams or such teams have only very limited capacities and scope. The left-wing Pancyprian Federation of Labour (Παγκύπρια Εργατική Ομοσπονδία, PEO) is a rare exception; its research institute regularly produces scientific studies on the economy and labor market.

Labor relations today are strained by employers' attempts to further limit benefits, while trade unions fight to gradually reestablish rights and benefits.

Citation:

1. Hoteliers and unions agree on terms for collective agreement, Cyprus Mail, 28 August 2019, <https://cyprus-mail.com/2019/08/28/hoteliers-and-unions-agree-on-terms-for-collective-agreement/>

France

Score 4

Business associations, mainly the largest employer's union (Mouvement des Entreprises de France, MEDEF) but also agricultural associations, are able to formulate policy proposals and contribute to agenda setting. They have their own research capabilities, and can successfully lobby government and parliamentarians. Weaker organizations such as the association of small and medium-sized companies complain that their specific interests are marginalized by larger international groups and by the government. Trade unions are usually more reactive in spite or because of their relatively small membership numbers, with trade-union members accounting for less than 8% of the workforce (the lowest percentage within the OECD) and split into several rival organizations. The strategy of the unions is to compensate for their weakness at the company level by negotiating at the sectoral level or even at the national level, and by organizing mass protests in the streets. In areas where interest groups are united and strong, as in agriculture and education, they may have substantial influence, effectively making decisions jointly with the government. In other areas, the weakness of organized interests results in marginal involvement in decision-making, which may lead to friction during implementation. President Hollande's attempt to rejuvenate social dialogue produced limited results. A major problem is the political split within the trade union movement. Two corporatist and "conservative" unions (CGT and FO), have taken advantage of their footing in the civil service and public sector, and tend to resist or reject any serious change. They have long relied upon mass mobilization to block reforms, but their ability to mobilize is diminishing except in a few sectors such as public transport. Meanwhile, two other trade unions (CFDT and UNSA) have adopted more moderate positions, and tried to balance advocacy for workers' interests with a constructive role in negotiating reforms. The government's rejection of the agreement between the social partners on the issue of unemployment insurance marks a recent failure of social concertation. The government contended that the agreement did not go far enough in tackling the costs and loopholes in a system that provided overgenerous benefits and too few incentives to accept available jobs.

Hungary

Score 4

While the main domestic business associations have proved generally loyal to the government, some business associations, first of all the National Association of Entrepreneurs and Employers, (VOSZ), have become rather critical of the government's lack of predictability in economic policy and legal regulations. The

Hungarian European Business Council, representing Hungary's 50 most important export companies, has urged the elaboration of a country strategy with the deep reconstruction of education system, taking the Fourth Industrial Revolution and the digital transformation into account. The trade unions have recently adopted a much more critical position toward the government, but their membership is small (somewhat below 10%) and they suffer from fragmentation. Since early 2019, they have been more active, as the passage of the so-called slave law (Act CXVI/ 2018) in December 2018 has mobilized employees. The law has allowed owners of large factories to extend working hours and delay the payment of wages.

Croatia

Score 3

Trade unions cover about one-quarter of employees. Union membership is declining and is higher in the public than in the private sector. Like most other economic interest associations, trade unions have focused on opposing government proposals, but have lacked the will and ability to develop their own proposals. In 2019, trade unions became more active and the three trade union confederations – Union of Autonomous Trade Unions of Croatia (UATUC), Independent Trade Unions of Croatia (NHS) and Association of Croatia Trade Unions (Matica) – led a campaign to collect signatures for a petition to hold a referendum on changes to the pension system reform. The teachers' unions orchestrated a strike in 2019. Like other public sector trade unions, however, they have failed to propose measures to improve the quality of public services and have focused only on securing salary hikes.

There is only one representative association for employers, the Croatian Employers' Association (HUP). The HUP carries out some policy analysis relating to institutional reforms. The HUP publishes thematic articles through its newspaper and electronic bulletin. It presents positions on current economic themes through press conferences and media campaigns. However, effective coordination between HUP members in designing their own solutions or seriously challenging government is lacking, since many employers are heavily dependent on state contracts. The Chamber of Trades and Crafts, which has been particularly vocal in making proposals concerning vocational education, has played a more constructive role.

Romania

Score 3

While policymaking in Romania is often influenced in a particularistic fashion by individual business interests, business associations are rather weak and have played a minor role in proposing concrete policy measures, much less offering cost-benefit analyses of the likely effects of such policies. Unions have not played an active role in policy formulation either. Union density has decreased considerably since 1990, with union structure fragmented and weakly developed. Unions have become

increasingly distrusted as various leaders have joined political parties and sought political careers, often by sacrificing the interests of the union members to their own personal objectives. Moreover, when economic interest associations are capable of formulating relevant policies, this has been somewhat undermined by the unwillingness of the government to consider their views, as was demonstrated by the recent tax reforms which prompted significant criticism from labor organizations.

Indicator

Association Competence (Others)

Question

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

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

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

Iceland

Score 9

Iceland has many active, noneconomic interest organizations in various fields. Although many have a reasonable level of prominence, only a few have the capacity and competence to exert significant influence on public policy. The largest are the Organization of Disabled in Iceland (Öryrkjabandalagið), with 43 associated organizations and a staff of 18, and the Consumers' Association of Iceland (Neytendasamtökin), had a staff of five and 7,300 members in 2018 (information was not accessible in October 2019). The Nature and Wildlife Conservation Organization (Náttúruverndarsamtök Íslands), which had 1,400 members and one member of staff in 2018, is also influential. This group has managed to feature prominently in public debates about hydro and geothermal power plants, and expressed reservations about further construction of aluminum smelters around the country. Landvernd, the Icelandic Environmental Association with 5,000 members and eight employees, also has influence.

:

Landvernd, <http://landvernd.is/en>. Accessed 20th October 2019.

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

The Organisation of Disabled in Iceland (Öryrkjabandalagið), <https://www.obi.is/is/english> Accessed 20th October 2019.

Norway

Score 9

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

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

Sweden

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

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

Citation:

Jochem, S. (2020), *Das Politische System Schwedens* (Wiesbaden: Springer VS).

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

Australia

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

Canada

Score 8 Many social-interest groups, environmental groups and religious communities develop policy proposals that identify the causes of problems, make use of scholarly research to support their analysis, propose technically feasible measures to attain policy objectives, take account of long-term interests, and anticipate policy effects. However, as these groups have fewer resources than economic-interest groups, they generally do a somewhat less competent job in proposing reasonable policies. A

2011 report prepared for the Canadian Council for International Cooperation found that for many civil society organizations, broad policy ideas are not always translated into concrete proposals due to a lack of expertise. While some coalitions, such as the Americas Policy Group, the Canadian Biotechnology Action Network, the Climate Action Network, the Policy Working Group on Maternal, Newborn and Child Health, and the Global Call Against Poverty/Making Poverty History, among others, have a strong record with respect to governmental relations, both political and legislative, they represent a minority in this regard.

Citation:

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

Denmark

Score 8

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

Citation:

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

Jørgen Grønnegård Christensen og Jørgen Elklit (eds.), *Det Demokratiske system*. 4. udg. 2016.

Finland

Score 8

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

Germany

Score 8 As of May 2019, the government's official list contained 2,337 registered associations (Bundestag 2019), which again represented a moderate increase. One-third of those can be considered noneconomic interest associations. Within the process of policy formulation, interest-group expertise plays a key role in providing ministerial officials with in-depth information necessary to make decisions. Citizen groups, social movements and grassroots lobbying organizations are increasingly influential actors, particularly at the local level. Policy proposals produced by noneconomic interest groups can be described as reasonable, but their suggestions often appear unrealistic.

Citation:
<https://www.bundestag.de/parlament/lobbyliste>

Luxembourg

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

Interest-group communications are often made via social media, as well as through other communication channels. For younger voters, important issues include refugee aid, the lack of affordable housing (i.e., the vacancy report project, "Leerstandsmelder"), heritage protection (including the "Mouvement patrimonial" association) and environmental protection (e.g., refill initiatives). Public participation in traditional organizations is on the decline.

Netherlands

Score 8 Policymaking in the Netherlands has a strong neo-corporatist ("poldering") tradition that systematically involves all kinds of interest associations in the early stages of the policymaking process – not just with regard to business and labor issues, but also in the education, care and health sectors. Owing to their well-established positions, associations such as the consumer association, all kinds of environmental NGOs, religious associations, municipal (Vereniging voor Nederlandse Gemeenten) and provincial interests (InterProvinciaal Overleg), and medical and other professional associations (e.g., teachers, universities, legal professions) can influence policymaking through the existing consensus-seeking structures. Trade-offs are

actively negotiated with ministries, other involved governments, stakeholder organizations and even NGOs. Furthermore, non-economic interest organizations react to policy proposals by ministries and have a role in amending and changing the proposals in the early stages of the policymaking process. They may also become involved at a later stage, as policies are implemented.

During the cabinet-formation process from April to October 2017, many non-economic associations – representing the arts, education, the elderly and the care sector – inundated negotiators with policy memos and demands. For example, the citizen initiative led by Hugo Borst and Carin Greemers contained 10 policy recommendations, and was later underwritten by practically all relevant stakeholder associations and received support in parliament. Sometimes, as in a recent taxation debate between the association of social housing corporations and the government, the tradition of building consensus through “poldering ” can quickly become a process of hard bargaining. A collaboration of activists opposing low-altitude flights (Samenwerkende Actiegroepen Tegen Laagvliegen) justified their resistance to a new airport using reports that countered departmental policy research, and by citing expert opinions on EU rules (e.g., on issues of nitrogen thresholds and a level playing field in business competition).

Citation:

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

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

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

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

NRC Next, 25 juni 2019. ‘Maatschappelijke kosten Lelystad Airport onderschat.’

New Zealand

Score 8

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

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in several cases. Still, societal groups differ significantly in their organizational resources and thus in their ability to make an impact on policy consultation processes. The Zero Carbon Act that was passed in early November 2019 is a case in point. While the consultation process received around 15,000 submissions – including those from environmental organizations and Māori groups – the law has been criticized for giving undue benefits to dairy industry lobby groups: the law stipulates a reduction of greenhouse gases to net zero by 2050, with the exception of methane from meat and dairy herds – New Zealand’s largest greenhouse gas emission (the target for methane is a cut between 24%-47% from 2017 levels).

Citation:

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

Dunlop (2019) “Māori seek direct input into govt’s climate change policy.” Radio New Zealand (<https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/te-manu-korihi/388797/maori-seek-direct-input-into-govt-s-climate-change-policy>).

Toop (2019) “Agriculture’s role in getting to Zero Carbon.” Stuff (<https://www.stuff.co.nz/environment/117994549/agricultures-role-in-getting-to-zero-carbon>).

Slovakia

Score 8

Slovakia has a vibrant third sector and many competent interest associations whose analyses and proposals have featured prominently in the media. Think tanks are an integral part of civil society, feature close links to academia and other experts and profoundly influence public discourse. They often serve as a substitute for political opposition. The election of former civil society activist Zuzana Čaputová as first female president of Slovakia represents an meaningful signal. Čaputová previously worked as a lawyer for the NGO-watchdog VIA IURIS, which focuses on improving the rule of law and judicial system.

Slovenia

Score 8

Slovenia’s vibrant third sector has been quite active in monitoring government activities. Despite a decline in public funding, most interest associations have considerable policy knowledge, and many can rely on think tanks that involve various experts from the universities and research institutes in their work. Policy proposals developed by interest associations, although not numerous, have been featured prominently in the media. During the period under review, interest associations have been heavily involved in two major political issues: the environmental impact of frequent fires that have taken place at waste-management plants and various infrastructure projects (e.g., the second railway to the port of Koper and the Karavanke tunnel). As a result of growing political polarization in Slovenia, the political pressure on NGOs has increased, and NGOs have become less independent.

United Kingdom

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

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

United States

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

Belgium

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

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

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

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

Chile

Score 7

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

Czechia

Score 7

Interest associations have grown considerably in Czechia since 1990. As of 2019, there were over 130,000 autonomous, self-organized groups, associations, foundations and organizations registered in the country, although not all of them were active. Over the last decade, a number of new NGOs have emerged with a focus on areas such as corruption, city planning, LGBT rights, food safety and participatory budgeting on the local level. Many of these have the resources and expertise to formulate relevant policy proposals.

The Prague 2018 municipal elections saw a host of new political issues emerging from NGOs successfully enter the municipal government: radical improvements in transport infrastructure, spending on education, safety, dignity and inclusiveness,

effective and transparent governance. The group “Prague for itself” (Praha sobe) was able to draw the support of voters (16.54%) by clearly identifying these problems, proposing concrete policy solutions, and making clear that implementation will consider the benefits and costs of these policies for everyone. They emphasized the need to carry these policies out by experts while including citizens.

Ireland

Score 7

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

Citation:

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

Austria

Score 6

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

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

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

The capability of noneconomic groups to formulate policies is not as strong as in the case of economic interest groups, particularly professional associations.

Croatia

Score 6 A number of social-interest organizations in Croatia have the capacity to propose relevant policy proposals. For instance, experts from Citizens Organize to Oversee Voting (Građani organizirano nadgledaju glasanje, GONG), an association of various organizations for the protection and promotion of human rights originally formed in 1997, have participated in the process of drafting various laws on lobbying and elections. Green Action (Zelena Akcija) is another example of a social-interest organization with strong analytical capacity and the ability to promote its issues in the media. Recently, the NGO Franak has played a very important role in gathering debtors and former debtors in order to sue foreign banks for alleged malpractices in issuing CHF loans since 2005.

Estonia

Score 6 The policy-formulation capacity of noneconomic interest groups varies across fields of interest and with the scope of the intended impact. Most civil society associations are small and possess limited financial and human resources. Therefore, their in-house capacity is very low, and most analyses have been carried out as single projects on a contractual basis. The level of capacity also depends on the formal policy agenda, as it is easier to add a new proposal to the existing agenda than to set the agenda. Environmental groups are mainly local, but their actions can have a nationwide impact on transport and industrial policy. Religious groups are only sporadically active in domestic politics. In recent years, the Estonian Evangelical Lutheran Church has actively criticized the legalization of same-sex partnerships.

Israel

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

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

In May 2018, new regulations regarding the submission of representative action came into force. The regulations dictate the payment of relatively high fees (with varying quantities according to the court’s status) to be paid by a claimant to submit a suit and to cover the cost of the litigation process in its entirety (though payment of the latter fee is dependent on the ruling’s result). The former minister of justice, Ayelet Shaked, explained in the regulations’ memorandum (i.e., before these were enacted) that the purpose of the new rules is to limit the submissions of “pseudo representative actions,” meaning lawsuits that are not meant to achieve any result or compensation but rather to deter the party being charged, thus wasting public funds. Nevertheless, the regulations were still criticized by legal experts and social activists and associations that use representative actions to fight social and consumer injustices. Recently, a lawsuit was presented to the Supreme Court demanding that the regulations be rescinded for the disproportional harm they cause to the right to access to courts. In January 2019, the lawsuit was eventually dismissed. In its ruling, the court ordered the minister of justice to present data to the Knesset’s constitutional committee for deliberation in the committee’s May 2019 meeting. However, national elections were held in the intervening period and the Knesset’s records show that a discussion of the regulation never took place.

Citation:

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

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

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Nisan, Limor, “Civil society and the third sector in Israel,” IDI paper for the 10th Caesarea conference, June 2010: <https://bit.ly/2YcMs8y> (Hebrew)

Regulations of Courts (Fees), 2007 (Hebrew)

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

The Associations Act, 1980 (Hebrew)

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

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

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

Malta

Score 6

Malta has a large number of non-economic interest associations. Though typically short on resources, they access external support through international membership or regional federations, which helps them, on occasion, to formulate extremely well-informed policy papers. EU funds and other structures (e.g., the internship programs) have also helped them improve their policy capacities. Few organizations employ full-time staff, but many have academics as part of their leadership structure, thereby utilizing their expertise. In some cases, organizations are able to attract research support on a voluntary basis from like-minded academics and other volunteers. Nonetheless, many of them still need to become proactive, rather than reactive to events or government proposals. Having said that, some organizations provide the government with frequent expert support, at times providing resources, support and direction in policy areas in which the government has little internal expertise. This has been the case for migration, asylum, integration and environmental policies, for example. In recent years the number of domestic NGOs has increased rapidly, but most are of an activist bent rather than research-oriented. Extinction Rebellion is one of the most prominent recent additions to the country's landscape.

Mexico

Score 6

Against the background of corporatist authoritarianism in 20th century Mexico, economic interest groups in democratic Mexico could draw on many associational experiences. Moreover, since the early 2000s, there has been a considerable increase in the quantity and the sophistication of non-economic interest groups in Mexican civil society. Many talented graduates have found positions in domestic and international NGOs, and work to influence policy in Mexico via advocacy-oriented strategies. Several tertiary-education institutes (e.g., ITAM, Colmex, CIDE) both teach and conduct public-policy research, and some are highly influential in the

political sphere as think tanks and/or advocacy institutions, often through the personal linkages to the government and its administration. Furthermore, there has been an increase in the number of national and international advocacy NGOs that, depending on the sector and the government in place, are also relevant in the agenda-setting process. Moreover, many grassroots organizations founded in the last 10 years aim to influence local and regional policymaking. Finally, the degree of movement of personnel between NGOs, think tanks and government is high compared to other OECD countries. While the capacity of most of these organizations to propose policy reforms in complex policy settings is rather restricted, it has been growing steadily and their role influencing public opinion is more relevant every year. Examples of these associations include IMCO, Mexico Evalua and Mexicanos Primero, which have been able to affect the policy agenda of the government in the last years on issues related to transparency, accountability and development effectiveness.

The record of the new government of President López Obrador and his party MORENA toward social movements and NGOs has been mixed so far. On the one hand, MORENA is associated with social movements and is trying to establish a new style in Mexican politics, away from traditional vested interests. On the other hand, the government's austerity measures have cut state subsidies for NGOs, for which NGOs have heavily criticized the government. Moreover, the populist legacy of the current government also indicates tensions between “popular consultation” on the one hand and top-down, populist decision-making on the other hand.

Citation:

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

Poland

Score 6

Poland has a large number of interest associations beyond business associations and trade unions. However, compared to other countries, there are comparatively few environmental groups. Though the groups that do exist have become more important in the current discourse on how to mediate the effects of climate change.

Most independent non-governmental organizations are relatively small and do not benefit from the funds distributed by the National Freedom Institute, the official organization in charge of helping NGOs with capacity-building. However, many NGOs have good international contacts, can rely on academic expertise and are thus capable of developing full-blown policy proposals. The Catholic Church, still the most influential interest group in Poland, pursues relatively narrow interests and is largely preoccupied with stabilizing its influence within an increasingly secular society and has to deal with cases of sexual abuse. It currently has good access to the new government, but some of its priests also asked for more national solidarity, peaceful cooperation and a friendlier approach toward refugees.

Citation:

Pazderski, F. (2019): Indeks rozwoju i stabilności organizacji społeczeństwa obywatelskiego w Polsce. Warsaw: Instytut Spraw Publicznych (<https://www.isp.org.pl/publikacje/indeks-rozwoju-i-stabilnosci-organizacji-spoleczenstwa-obywatelskiego-w-polsce>).

Romania

Score 6

While many NGOs have suffered from a lack of resources, quite a number of them have significant analytical capacities, especially in areas such as environmental policy and social protections. Many NGOs have benefited from international funding. The Romanian Orthodox Church, which represents as much as 85% of the population, has been a powerful actor, but has promoted a relatively narrow and conservative agenda.

South Korea

Score 6

The rise of civil society organizations has been one of the last decade's most important political trends in South Korea. The massive peaceful protests against President Park were largely organized by civil society groups that have proven their ability to mobilize the public and their competence in organizing peaceful protests on a massive scale. Some of the largest NGOs, such as the Korean Federation for Environmental Movement, the Citizen Coalition for Economic Justice and the People's Solidarity for Participatory Democracy have built up considerable expertise in specialized fields such as environmental policies, electoral reform, corporate reform, welfare policies or human rights. They provide reasonable policy proposals and are supported by a large group of academics and professionals. They also provide a pool of experts for the government. President Moon has appointed several former members of civil society groups to government positions. Unfortunately, this increased level of influence has to some extent undermined their ability to criticize the government. For example, People's Solidarity for Participatory Democracy has lost some of its independence, acting to suppress internal criticism of key former members who had become members of the government, such as former Blue House Secretary and Justice Minister Cho Kuk. Highly competent international NGOs such as Transparency International, Amnesty International and Save the Children are also playing an increasingly prominent role in their respective fields.

Switzerland

Score 6

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

France

- Score 5** The number of, and membership in, non-business associations has been increasing. If the phenomenon of dependency on the financial support of public authorities exists, especially at the local level, there are noneconomic associations that are combining pluralistic approaches, long-term perspectives and a public perspective. This can be seen in fields such as urban policy (where national programs and local public actors rely on the expertise and commitment of associations dealing with local issues), environmental policy or social policy (aid to people with different social problems or handicaps). This said, only a few associations have the capacity to make relevant and credible proposals. Some groups (such as environmental groups and social workers) have a real proactive strategy; however, most associations are reactive and prefer to object rather than make their own proposals.

Greece

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

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

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

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

living conditions in these camps). However, after the government turnover of 2019, there was a renewed interest on the part of government officials to reach out to NGOs and public benefit foundations. Somewhat worryingly, some members of the new government have been quite critical of international NGOs operating in the country, and have expressed their willingness to monitor the sector through legal means.

Citation:

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

Italy

Score 5

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

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

Lithuania

Score 5

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

Portugal

Score 5 Despite the alleviation of austerity and initial signs of economic recovery, non-economic interest associations continue to have little impact. The focus in recent years on economic issues means that proposals by established groups engaged with other issues attract less visibility than before Portugal's bailout (e.g., proposals by the environmental groups Zero and Quercus). The same is true of religious communities and social interest groups. Interaction with associations appeared to be largely instrumental and related to political or group objectives rather than policy-driven. Few associations have the ability to formulate policy proposals, while those that are able to formulate policy proposals tend to have very limited resources, often relying on the voluntary contribution of qualified members to formulate policy.

Spain

Score 5 Lobbying is still not regulated in Spain, and despite the entry into force of the new on access to information, it is still almost impossible for the public to find out who is influencing which decision-makers, with what means, and to what effect.

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

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

However, far right movements have also been able to articulate their demands. For example, Vox has launched tirades against “feminazis,” legislation to tackle gender violence and what it sees as the scourge of political correctness, and has also defended traditionalists who feel that contemporary Spain is moving too far, too fast.

Citation:

Societat Civil Catalana (2019), Societat Civil Catalana ofrece asesoramiento a los damnificados por la violencia de los independentistas en las calles de Cataluña para que puedan recuperar el dinero perdido - <https://www.societatcivilcatalana.cat/es/noticias/societat-civil-catalana-ofrece-asesoramiento-los-damnificados-por-la-violencia-de-los>

Bulgaria

Score 4

The most active noneconomic interest groups in Bulgaria are largely engaged in four fields: education (especially parents’ associations), health (patients’ organizations), minorities and the environment. While there are many associations, which often act in accord, they seem more activist than analytical in their efforts. Their proposals are rarely accompanied by attempts to encompass the relevant issues fully, assess potential impacts comprehensively, or argue in favor of or against specific proposals on analytical grounds. The religious communities in Bulgaria have their channels of political influence, but are not broadly active in the public sphere.

Cyprus

Score 4

Civil society groups have an increasing presence in society. Funding from the EU and others has led to the creation of subject-oriented associations. Notwithstanding, the capacity of CSOs to formulate policy proposals has always been limited.

In recent years, some groups have focused actions on politics, the economic crisis, and social and environmental issues. However, in many cases, the momentum that their proposals and lobbying initially seemed to gain appears to have faded. Issues such as promoting transparency and combating corruption, electoral system reform, and protecting the rights of minority groups receive only a limited response. Despite media attention and quality proposals on such significant subjects, political forces choose to promote sectoral interests, mostly counting on votes.

Bicommunal civil society organizations create spaces for dialogue between the Turkish and Greek Cypriot communities. The Church of Cyprus continues to play an important role in society, fueled by its financial and organizational capacities. This influence does not recede despite statements and actions from the church leadership that do not comply with the spirit of Christianity.

Citation:

1. Bird groups say illegal shooting in Cyprus must stop, Cyprus Mail, 27 September 2019, <https://cyprus-mail.com/2019/09/27/bird-groups-so-illegal-shooting-in-cyprus-must-stop/>

Japan

Score 4

Civil society organizations with a public-policy focus are rare in Japan. With few exceptions, such organizations in Japan have limited depth and breadth. Japan has only a few well-resourced public-policy-oriented think tanks. Some non-profit organizations are used by the government bureaucracy as auxiliary mechanisms in areas where it cannot or does not want to become directly involved.

Following the 3/11 disasters, and more recently in the context of the controversy over the government's security-law extension, civil society groups have taken on an increased role in expressing public concerns and organizing mass rallies. High levels of engagement on the part of activists notwithstanding, it is difficult for such actors to create professionally operating, sustainable organizations. Among the general population, the idea of NPOs does not enjoy strong support.

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

U.S.-Japan Council, Japan's NPO Sector Today, Summary of a breakout session of the 2018 Annual Conference, http://www.usjapancouncil.org/japans_npo_sector_today

Latvia

Score 4

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

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

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

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

Hungary

Score 3

The Orbán governments have created a big, lavishly financed pro-government network of fake civil society associations and foundations. In public life they have presented themselves as independent and autonomous organizations, although they clearly support government positions and provide a democratic façade for the government. A series of scandals have arisen as it has become clear that these organizations have received financing from state-owned enterprises. By contrast, Hungary's genuine civil society has suffered from decreasing financial support and increasing legal restrictions. This has clearly infringed upon their capacity to formulate relevant policies. Nonetheless, a number of interest associations with extensive expertise exist. As a result of an infringement procedure initiated by the European Commission, the European Court of Justice will conduct a hearing on the controversial 2017 anti-NGO act, which has forced NGOs that receive Western financial support (over €1,000 annually) to register as foreign-supported agencies, as NGOs in Russia have to do.

Turkey

Score 3

The number of noneconomic civil society organizations has increased in the last decade, indicating a growing degree of public engagement within many segments of Turkish society. As of November 2018, 109,864 associations with more than 7 million members were active. Most are professional, sport or religious organizations. A total of 5,208 foundations are active nationwide. Among others, TESEV, TESAV, TEPAV, SETAV, ASAM can be regarded as semi-professional think tanks which conduct research and publish reports on various policy issues. SETA is a very influential pro-government policy research organization.

Most civil society organizations are not professionally organized, and lack financial and human resources. The number of pro-government and pseudo-civil society organizations (i.e., GONGOs) benefiting from public and EU funding has increased recently. Several CSOs lack the staff, resources and visibility to carry out face-to-face fundraising. Turkey ranked 131 out of 146 countries in the 2018 World Giving Index. The government has excluded opponents from government decision-making processes. Instead, the government has created its own loyal civil society groups, such as TÜRGEV – a foundation led by President Erdoğan's son, which has gained political influence in the executive and expanded its financial resources.

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

The Association for Support of Women Candidates (KA.DER) has for years promoted the equal representation of women and men in all walks of life. KA.DER sees equal representation as a condition for democracy and calls for equal representation in all elected and appointed decision-making positions. It conducts several EU- and UNDP-sponsored projects and advocates its objectives. A pro-government research establishment, SETA, conducts research projects on current political, economic and social issues with a view toward providing policy recommendations. Similarly, KADEM (Women and Democracy Association) was founded with the patronage of Erdoğan's family members and is used as a social policy instrument.

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

Citation:

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Ç. Toker, “İBB’den vakıflara’ hizmet’ raporu,” Sözcü daily newspaper, 28 January 2019, <https://www.sozcu.com.tr/2019/yazarlar/cigdem-toker/ibbden-vakiflara-hizmet-raporu-3288303/>

Address | Contact

Bertelsmann Stiftung

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

Dr. Christof Schiller

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

Dr. Thorsten Hellmann

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

Pia Paulini

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

www.bertelsmann-stiftung.de
www.sgi-network.org