



# Interministerial Coordination Report

GO Expertise, Line Ministries, Cabinet Committees, Ministerial Bureaucracy, Informal Coordination, Digitalization for Interministerial C.

## Sustainable Governance Indicators 2022

## Indicator

## GO Expertise

## Question

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

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

- 10-9 = The GO / PMO provides regular, independent evaluations of draft bills for the cabinet / prime minister. These assessments are guided exclusively by the government's priorities.
- 8-6 = The GO / PMO evaluates most draft bills according to the government's priorities.
- 5-3 = The GO / PMO can rely on some sectoral policy expertise but does not evaluate draft bills.
- 2-1 = The GO / PMO does not have any sectoral policy expertise. Its role is limited to collecting, registering and circulating documents submitted for cabinet meetings.

## Australia

## Score 9

The Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet is responsible for policy coordination, and as such evaluates and provides advice on major proposals from federal ministries. The department has significant resources, and has authority to draw from, and consult with, appropriate sources across the entire government system.

Citation:

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

## Canada

## Score 9

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

## Chile

## Score 9

The president's advisory ministry (Ministerio Secretaría General de la Presidencia, Segpres) and the Government or Cabinet Office (Ministerio Secretaría General de Gobierno, Segegob) have the necessary instruments and capacities at their disposal

to monitor and evaluate the policy content of line-ministry proposals. Nevertheless, channels of evaluation and advice are not fully institutionalized, and may change with each new head of state.

## Finland

### Score 9

As a ministry in itself, the Prime Minister's Office (PMO) has the capacity to evaluate proposed policy. The PMO's resources have been increased considerably over the last decade. The primary function of the PMO is to support the duties of the prime minister, who directs the work of government and coordinates the preparation and consideration of government business. The PMO monitors the implementation of the government program and coordinates Finland's EU policy. In addition, the PMO is tasked with coordinating communications between the government and various ministries, planning future-oriented social policies, and promoting cooperation between the government and the various branches of public administration. The PMO has six departments: the Government EU Affairs Department, the Government Administration Department, the Ownership Steering Department, the Government Communications Department, the Government Strategy Department and the Government Session Unit. The PMO has a state secretary, a permanent state undersecretary and some 550 employees distributed across several task-specific units.

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

## Latvia

### Score 9

The formation of the PKC, which reports directly to the prime minister, has ensured a mechanism enabling input from the government office on the substance of policy proposals from line ministries. The PKC evaluates proposals that are to be addressed by the cabinet as they are published for debate – thus, before being put on the cabinet agenda. It also screens documents going to the cabinet on a weekly basis, focusing on four issues: cross-sectoral impact, adherence to the policy-planning system, adherence to the government declaration, and compatibility with the main medium-term and long-term strategy documents (the National Development Plan and Latvia 2030).

Citation:

1. National Development Plan 2020, Available at (in Latvian): <https://www.pkc.gov.lv/lv/valsts-attistibas-planosana/nacionalais-attistibas-plans>, Last accessed: 12.01.2022.
2. Sustainable Development Strategy of Latvia until 2030, Available at: [http://www.pkc.gov.lv/sites/default/files/images-legacy/LV2030/LIAS\\_2030\\_en.pdf](http://www.pkc.gov.lv/sites/default/files/images-legacy/LV2030/LIAS_2030_en.pdf), Last accessed: 12.01.2022

## United Kingdom

### Score 9

The primary coordinating role is undertaken by the Cabinet Office, which has expertise in all areas of government since Cabinet Office officials commonly worked in other departments before. According to its website, the Cabinet Office has over 2,000 staff, is responsible for the National Security Council and is central to “making government work better.” The Cabinet Office’s Economic and Domestic Secretariat is responsible for coordinating policy advice to the prime minister and the cabinet, and the attached Parliamentary Business and Legislation (PBL) Secretariat provides advice on legislation and supervises progress made by bill drafting teams. Implementation task forces were replaced in a reform in mid-2020 by new cabinet committees for “operations” that coordinate the delivery of policy.

The power of the prime minister to recast cabinet committees is matched by the scope for civil servants to be reassigned to reflect the latest legislative priorities, ensuring effective oversight of line ministries.

## United States

### Score 9

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

Because of the separation of powers, Congress sometimes compete with the president to shape policymaking in executive agencies. In response to these challenges, presidents have gradually established a large executive apparatus designed to help assert presidential control over the departments and agencies. The total professional staff in the presidential bureaucracy vastly exceeds that of a parliamentary system’s GO or PMO, with roughly 2,500 professionals and a budget of \$300 million to \$400 million.

The Trump White House was by all accounts vastly inferior in expertise and organization to that of any prior modern president. Trump did not seriously attempted to maintain orderly processes or to rely on experienced or expert judgment. The Biden administration reversed these tendencies and favored a return to the expert-informed policymaking prevalent during the Obama years.

## Denmark

### Score 8

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

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

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

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

Prime Minister Mette Frederiksen has created the Political Secretariat to ensure improved coordination and control across ministries. This has been criticized by the opposition, who argue that there is no tradition in Denmark for political appointees filling important posts in ministries, but has been defended by the prime minister, who argues that it ensures the government's policy line will be respected. The official description of the Political Secretariat on the PMO's website states that it has "a special focus on the government's priority projects and policy development, and is working to strengthen the strategic direction of the government and increase internal coordination between ministers and special advisers."

Citation:

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

The Prime Minister's Office Organisation, [http://www.stm.dk/\\_a\\_2749.html](http://www.stm.dk/_a_2749.html) (Accessed 17 November 2020).

## Mexico

Score 8

The presidential office offers positions of high prestige in Mexico. It is involved with the legislative process to a decisive degree. Due to the absence of a high-level career civil service, both the cabinet and the presidential office are staffed with presidential appointments, which generally have the capacity to assess proposals from line ministries. Nevertheless, the independence of figures within the executive is thus questionable since everyone of influence in the presidential office is a political appointee.



Holding a majority in Congress and benefiting from a high degree of public legitimacy, the initiatives of the president and MORENA are highly likely to be implemented. Decision-making is centralized in the presidency. In this regard, however, the midterm elections of 2021 did not strengthen the traditionally weaker position of the president in the second part of the term.

## New Zealand

### Score 8

The Policy Advisory Group in the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet (DPMC) currently consists of 12 staff members covering a broad spectrum of policy expertise. They are in constant contact with the prime minister and provide advice on all cabinet and cabinet committee papers. They also engage in coordinating interministerial cooperation. The Policy Advisory Group provides direct support to the prime minister on specifically commissioned initiatives. In 2015, a Legislation Design and Advisory Committee (LDAC) was established with the aim of improving the quality and effectiveness of legislation. The LDAC advises departments regarding the design and content of bills while still in the development stage.

To support the prime minister and her government's priorities, the DPMC added the Child Wellbeing and Poverty Reduction Group as an operating unit in February 2018. The DPMC's wider Policy Advisory Group continues to play a crucial role in aligning the public service's effort to support the government's priorities while also providing free and frank advice to the prime minister on all items of government business. In 2019, the newly established National Emergency Management Agency was incorporated into the DPMC.

Citation:

Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, Annual Report 2019 (<https://dpmc.govt.nz/publications/annual-report-2019>)

## Norway

### Score 8

The Office of the Prime Minister has a staff of approximately 190 people, about 10 of which are political advisers, with the rest being professional bureaucrats. The office is not tasked with evaluating policy proposals in detail, but rather works to coordinate activities, ensure that government policies are roughly aligned, and monitor whether policy-planning is adequate and follows prescribed procedures. The office has sufficient expertise and capacity for these purposes, and is considered to be an elite department with very highly skilled employees. The tradition of coalition governments in Norway involves strong coordination activity among the government coalition partners.

## South Korea

Score 8

South Korea's presidential system has a dual executive structure, with the president serving both as head of state and head of government. The prime minister is clearly subordinate to the president and is not accountable to parliament. The presidential office, known as the Blue House, has the power and expertise to evaluate draft bills. As the real center of power in the South Korean government, the Blue House has divisions corresponding with the various line-ministry responsibilities. The Prime Minister's Office has sufficient administrative capacity and nonpolitical technocrats to design and implement policies and strategies politically chosen by the Blue House. President Moon has promised to decentralize powers, and plans to hold a referendum to amend the constitution in this manner. As of the time of writing, however, constitutional reform has been stalled due to objections by opposition parties.

Citation:

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

KBS News. "Activate the ministerial meetings for better collaboration." July 28, 2017. (In Korean) <http://news.kbs.co.kr/news/view.do?ncd=3523871>

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

Kong, Kanga. "Moon Seeks to End South Korea's 'Imperial' Presidential System." Bloomberg.com, Bloomberg, Mar. 2018, [www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2018-03-22/moon-seeks-to-end-south-korea-s-imperial-presidential-system](http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2018-03-22/moon-seeks-to-end-south-korea-s-imperial-presidential-system).

Mobrand, Erik. "Has the Time Come to Amend South Korea's Constitution?" The Diplomat, July 24, 2020. <https://thediplomat.com/2020/07/has-the-time-come-to-amend-south-koreas-constitution/>.

## Spain

Score 8

Spain's Government Office (Ministry of the Presidency) and Prime Minister's Office (Gabinete) are tasked with evaluating line-ministry proposals from the political and technical points of view. The internal structure of the Prime Minister's Office vaguely reflects the various ministerial portfolios, although without achieving a comprehensive policy expertise that enables perfect oversight throughout the executive. For its part, the Government Office, which is also responsible for organizing the Council of Ministers' cycle of sessions, and whose head is the powerful deputy prime minister, has no sectoral-policy expertise, but also evaluates the substantive content of draft bills to some extent.

During the elaboration and implementation of the RRP, the Government Office coordinated an extensive consultation process among ministries. The office also coordinated dialogue with social partners, regional authorities (a new Recovery Plan Sectoral Conference was created) and local entities. An interministerial commission chaired by the president has been set up to manage the RRP and approve projects.

Citation:

Structure of the Ministry of the Presidency

[https://www.mpr.gob.es/mpr/estructura/Documents/ORGANIGRAMA%20MINISTERIO%2001\\_03\\_2022.pdf](https://www.mpr.gob.es/mpr/estructura/Documents/ORGANIGRAMA%20MINISTERIO%2001_03_2022.pdf)

## Sweden

### Score 8

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

The government in 2019 decided to strengthen interministerial coordination across broad policy sectors rather than from an institutional perspective, by ministry. The collaboration programs take the Agenda 2030 program as a departure point, as well as a set of topics the government considers to be Sweden’s strengths, including climate adaptation within the private sector; maintaining a competent workforce and lifelong learning; the digital structural shift of the private sector; and health and the life sciences (Regeringskansliet, 2021).

In formal and legal terms, the government and its departments act as a collectivity. All decisions in the government are made collectively, and there is no individual ministerial accountability. The Prime Minister’s Office (PMO) plays a significant role in the coordination process. This is also the case for the Finance Ministry. Furthermore, when the incumbent government is a coalition government, as has been the case since 2006, policies must be coordinated not just among the relevant departments but also among the governing parties (Jacobsson, Pierre, and Sundström, 2015).

The practices of governing and coordination are much more complex. Each department has a fair amount of autonomy in its respective sector. Coordination among departments takes place at different organizational levels depending on whether the issue is a technical and administrative issue, or whether it is a more political matter. In the case of the latter, political actors make the final decisions. When bills involving more than one department are drafted, coordination is achieved through meetings where drafts of the bill are discussed. There are instances where drafts have gone through a very large number of revisions as part of the coordination process. In the pro-growth policies of the mid-2000s, for instance, the bill that eventually was submitted to the parliament (Riksdag) was the 56th version of the bill (Dahlström, Peters, and Pierre, 2011; Niemann, 2013).

The lack of coordination has to some extent been resolved by increasing the centralization within the Government Office (GO). The finance ministry has become a “primus inter-pares” among the departments; a pattern that emerged in the wake of the financial crises in the early 1990s but that has remained ever since (Pierre and Sundström, 2009).



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

Citation:

Dahlström, Carl, B. Guy Peters and Jon Pierre. (eds.) 2011. "Steering from the Center" Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Jacobsson, Bengt, Jon Pierre and Göran Sundström. 2015. "Governing the Embedded State." Oxford University Press.

Niemann, Cajsa. 2013. "Villkorat Förtroende. Normer och Rollförväntningar i Relationen Mellan Politiker och Tjänstemän i Regeringskansliet." Stockholm: Department of Political Science, University of Stockholm.

Pierre, Jon and Göran Sundström. (eds.) 2009. "Den Nya Samhällsstyrningen." Malmö: Liber.

Regeringskansliet (Government Offices of Sweden). 2021. "Regeringens Strategiska Samverkansprogram." <https://www.regeringen.se/regeringens-politik/regeringens-strategiska-samverkansprogram/>

## Belgium

Score 7

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

## France

Score 7

There are three main loci of policy coordination once a policy proposal has been forwarded to the prime minister. The first is the Prime Minister's Office (PMO), the second is the President's Office, and the third, in cases of legislation or regulation, the Council of State. This hierarchical organization gives the prime minister the option of modifying ministers' draft bills. For important issues, this steering function is shared with the President's Office, and entails strong cooperation and collaboration between the two secretaries-general at the Élysée and Matignon. Both the president and the prime minister appoint civil servants from all ministries as sectoral policy advisers. All ministerial domains are covered in this regard. Several hundred people are involved in government steering, monitoring, oversight and advising functions.

However, it would probably be overstated to consider these various checks a method of evaluation. The PMO mainly coordinates and arbitrates between ministries, takes into consideration opinions and criticisms from involved interests and from the

majority coalition, and balances political benefits and risks. The President's Office does more or less the same in coordination with the PMO. President Macron pays particular care and attention to the fit between proposals and political commitments made during his electoral campaign. More than offering a thorough policy evaluation, these two institutions serve as a place where the ultimate arbitrations between bureaucrats, party activists and vested interests are made. Evaluation is more implicit than explicit, since the impetus for reform tends to derive from dissatisfaction with the current state of affairs.

## Greece

### Score 7

The center of government has traditionally struggled to coordinate and evaluate government legislation. However, following the change in government in July 2019, there has been a visible improvement. New Democracy, which won the national elections, rose to power with a concrete plan of reorganizing decision-making and passing legislation in a less haphazard manner than was the case with preceding governments. Government priorities were clearly laid out in 2020–2021 and interministerial coordination processes were streamlined. Through legislation adopted immediately after the elections, the Prime Minister's Office was upgraded to the Presidency of the Government, and started playing a vital, overarching role in monitoring targets and evaluating the effectiveness of ministries.

In 2020–2021, the cabinet met regularly to discuss and decide on draft bills, the content of which had previously been evaluated by the Presidency of the Government in conjunction with the competent ministry. Despite all these changes, government ministers occasionally submitted last-minute amendments to laws as they moved through parliament. Overall, however, compared to the pre-2019 period, there has been a visible improvement in the evaluation of policy content according to the government's priorities.

Citation:

Law 4622/2019, adopted in July 2019, promoted interministerial coordination.

## Hungary

### Score 7

The Orbán governments have steadily expanded the competencies and the resources both of the Prime Minister's Office and the Cabinet Office. The division of labor between the two offices, both of which are now led by a minister, is somewhat artificial. The Prime Minister's Office is central in policy coordination and makes sure that policies are as close in line as possible with the prime minister's policy preferences and Fidesz's ideological rhetoric. The Cabinet Office, headed by Antal Rogán, is primarily responsible for government communication.

## Ireland

### Score 7

The influence and effectiveness of the Department of the Taoiseach is limited by a dearth of analytical skills. One frequently made criticism has focused on the continued reliance on “generalist” recruitment to the civil service. Recent governments have also been criticized for recruiting too many journalists as policy advisers.

The department is focused on strategic policy issues and the delivery of the Programme for Government. The Department of the Taoiseach has steadily grown over the years from about 30 people in 1977 to 223.8 full-time equivalent staff employed across the department in 2022 (Martin, 2022). The Department of Finance is much larger with over 500 people. The Department of the Taoiseach coordinates policy in specific policy areas (e.g., Northern Ireland, European affairs, and more recently Brexit and the COVID-19 pandemic). Nevertheless, most policymaking continues to take place in the line ministries.

An expert group on strengthening civil service accountability and performance reported to government in May 2014. Among the numerous recommendations it made, it proposed the establishment of an accountability board for the civil service, chaired by the taoiseach but including external members. This board would be tasked with reviewing and constructively challenging the performance of senior management as well as monitoring progress on the delivery of agreed-upon priorities. It also recommended that the Irish Civil Service be given an appointed head. An accountability board chaired by the taoiseach with independent members designed to oversee governance across the civil service was established in May 2015 (DPER, 2019). In July 2021, Martin Fraser, the head of the civil service, who is also secretary-general of the Department of the Taoiseach, was appointed ambassador to London and a process to replace him is scheduled to take place in the first half of 2022 (Bray, 2022).

Bray, J. (2022) Ireland's most senior civil servant to become ambassador to London, *The Irish Times*, 27 July, available at: <https://www.irishtimes.com/news/politics/ireland-s-most-senior-civil-servant-to-become-ambassador-to-london-1.4631099>

DPER (2019) Accountability Board, Department of Public Expenditure and Reform, 11 January, available at: <https://www.gov.ie/en/collection/a029b7-accountability-board/>

Martin, M. (2022) Parliamentary Question, Oral answers (20 contributions) (Question to Taoiseach), Dáil Éireann debate 01 March, available at: <https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/question/2022-03-01/1/#:~:text=The%20Taoiseach,-Share&text=At%20present%2C%20there%20are%20223.8,staff%20employed%20across%20the%20Department>

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

The report of the Independent Panel on Strengthening Civil Service Accountability and Performance is available here: <http://www.per.gov.ie/civil-service-accountability-consultation-process/> Niamh Hardiman.

## Italy

### Score 7

The Prime Minister's Office (PMO) as a rule evaluates all draft bills before they are submitted to the Council of Ministers for approval. This scrutiny, however, mainly deals with legal aspects (which to a significant extent also concerns compatibility with European laws), as the PMO itself does not have the size and the systematic sectoral expertise that would allow it to scrutinize policy in detail. This means that intervention by the PMO is in general more reactive than proactive. As a result, corrections to the legislative proposals of the government are often necessary prior to parliamentary approval. Important draft bills are in general scrutinized by the office with regard to the effects a bill may have on the cohesion of the majority coalition. A detailed scrutiny of the financial implications of each bill is conducted by the Treasury, which has a kind of preventive veto power.

With the new Draghi government and the strong political leadership exercised by the new prime minister, the PMO's control over the content of draft bills has significantly increased. The greater control is also due to the need to respect the strict requirements of the Recovery and Resilience Plan, which affect a large part of the legislative initiative.

## Japan

### Score 7

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

It is widely acknowledged that during his second administration (2012-2020), Prime Minister Abe was able to gradually implement institutional reforms within the Cabinet Office by strengthening the Cabinet Secretariat's (Kantei) coordinating capacities, and creating new decision-making bodies such as the National Security Council and the Cabinet Bureau of Personnel Affairs, which helped minimize the power of external veto players and enhanced the prime minister's power in the policymaking process.

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

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

Karol Zakowski, 2020. Gradual Institutional Change in Japan: Kantei Leadership under the Abe Administration, Abingdon, Oxon: Taylor and Francis.

## Lithuania

### Score 7

Under Prime Minister Kubilius (2008 – 2012), the Office of the Government was reorganized into a Prime Minister's Office and given the task of assisting in the formulation and execution of government policies. This reform increased the capacities of the core government to assess the policy content of draft government decisions, at the expense of its capacity to review their legal quality. However, this latter function was moved to the Ministry of Justice. Shortly after taking power, the Butkevičius government (2012 – 2016) reversed this organizational reform, reorganizing the Prime Minister's Office once again into the Office of the Government. Under Prime Minister Skvernelis (2016 – 2020), the Office of the Government was again reorganized to better support the formulation of strategic reforms and centralize efforts to exert quality control over draft legal acts. It commissioned a study conducted by the OECD on increasing the use of expertise. The Šimonytė government (in office since 2020) is also aiming to increase capacities at the center of the government and within the ministries, with the goal of increasing the quality of the draft bills prepared and submitted by ministries, as well as of the reviews conducted by the government office. Overall, the Office of the Government has sectoral-policy expertise and evaluates important draft legal acts.

Over the last 10 years, the development of evidence-based decision-making instruments (e.g., a monitoring information system, a budget-program assessment system, and an impact-assessment system) has increased the capacity of the core government to monitor and evaluate draft policy decisions based on the government's political agenda. However, the degree of effectiveness has varied by instrument, as well as with the relevance and quality of the empirical evidence available for decision-making. After assessing the coordination of regulatory policy in Lithuania, the OECD recommended establishing an integrated strategic plan for better regulation, a high-level coordination body and a better-regulation unit within the central government.

In 2021, STRATA and the Office of the Government launched a project designed to create an interinstitutional competence network, with the aim of better coordinating the various public sector institutions and organizations with analytical competences. Implementation was set to start in 2022.

#### Citation:

OECD, Regulatory Policy in Lithuania: Focusing on the Delivery Side, OECD Reviews of Regulatory Reform, OECD Publishing, Paris, 2015 [http://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/governance/regulatory-policy-in-lithuania\\_9789264239340-en](http://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/governance/regulatory-policy-in-lithuania_9789264239340-en).

OECD, Mobilising Evidence at the Centre of Government in Lithuania. Strengthening decision-making and policy evaluation for long-term development, Paris: OECD, 2021.



## Austria

### Score 6

The Chancellor's Office has limited capacity to evaluate the policy content of line ministry proposals according to the government's priorities. These limitations are less of an administrative and more of a political nature. First, the federal chancellor, who chairs the cabinet, is only the first among equals. He or she has no formal authority over the other members of the council. Second, with the exception of the years between 1966 and 1983, Austria has been governed by coalitions since 1945. This further reduces the authority of the head of government, as another key member of the government – the vice-chancellor – is usually the leader of another coalition party. The result is a significant fragmentation of strategic capacities. Responsibility within the government is distributed among highly autonomous ministers and among political parties that are closely linked by a coalition agreement, but compete independently for votes.

The Federal Chancellery does have a department called the Legal and Constitutional Service (Verfassungsdienst), which is responsible for checking the constitutionality of policy proposals coming from the various ministries. Another instrument of oversight is the evaluation of policy effects (Wirkungsorientierte Folgenabschätzung, WFA), which must be integrated into every policy proposal (since 2013). Under this policy, every draft law has to include an evaluation of its effects in financial, social and other terms, thus enabling other members of the government to evaluate its consequences. Importantly, however, this regime does not center on the Chancellor's Office, but reflects the pluralistic organizational structure of the Austrian executive. Of the 90 measures evaluated in the Bericht über die Wirkungsorientierte Folgenabschätzung 2020, which was published in 2021, only three related to the Chancellor's Office.

Citation:

[https://www.oeffentlicherdienst.gv.at/wirkungsorientierte\\_verwaltung/dokumente/EvalWFA-2020\\_WEB.pdf?81k8bo](https://www.oeffentlicherdienst.gv.at/wirkungsorientierte_verwaltung/dokumente/EvalWFA-2020_WEB.pdf?81k8bo)

## Estonia

### Score 6

The GO and prime minister's support structures primarily provide consulting services, monitor governmental processes and provide technical (judicial) expertise. There is no capacity to undertake substantial evaluations of line-ministry proposals, as the Strategy Unit within the GO employs only 16 people. From 2020, the core responsibility for the country's strategic planning framework has been transferred from the Ministry of Finance to the GO. The change grants the prime minister more power to manage strategic planning.

## Germany

### Score 6

The German Chancellery has a staff of about 600. Some of its policy units are “mirror units” (Spiegelreferate) that reflect those areas covered by each of the federal ministries. Staff for these units are often seconded from the line ministries. Thus, while there is expertise within the Chancellery, it is still at a disadvantage compared to the line ministries with their much larger resources.

## Iceland

### Score 6

The Prime Minister’s Office has the fewest staff members of any of the country’s ministries and a limited capacity for independently assessing draft bills. The left-wing cabinet 2009 – 2013 merged a number of ministries, reducing the total number of ministries from 12 to eight. A primary justification was that some ministries lacked broad-based expertise and the merger would make this expertise more widely accessible, which has in some cases been achieved. The center-right cabinet 2013 – 2016 partially reversed this reform in 2013 by appointing separate ministers to head the Ministry of Welfare’s subdivisions of Social Affairs and Housing and Health Affairs. Furthermore, a separate minister of environment and resources was appointed at the end of 2014. These changes increased the number of ministers from eight to 10. After the 2016 elections, another center-right cabinet coalition, comprising three parties, was established. This led to a further increase in ministerial posts from 10 to 11 – a symbol of politicians’ disdain for the proposed constitutional change, which was approved by 67% of voters in 2012 and would cap the number of ministers at 10. The Ministry of the Interior was split in two, separating justice from communications and local government affairs. This remained the same under the right-center-left cabinet, which assumed office in late 2017 and remained in office following the September 2021 election. Once more, the number of the ministerial posts was increased, this time from 11 to 12, as part of a ministerial reorganization, with several ministries given new, longer names.

## Israel

### Score 6

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

Recent changes have shifted this system. The PMO’s planning reforms have de facto given it the capacity to guide and advise other ministries regarding their policy proposals and bills.

The PMO also has the expertise to evaluate ministerial draft bills through Regulatory Impact Assessments. This is a part of a broader policy to reduce the so-called regulatory burden. Following a 2014 government decision, the PMO has delegates in government ministries who manage regulations affecting each ministry. This mechanism also allows for closer supervision of laws and the work of government offices.

Citation:

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

Reducing the Regulatory Burden Discussing the decision of the Ministerial Committee on Social and Economic Affairs no, 39, September 2014, <http://www.pmo.gov.il/policyplanning/Regulation/Documents/dec2118.pdf>

"Reduction of Regulatory Burden Book," PMO Office, March 2018 (Hebrew): <http://go.ynet.co.il/pic/calcala/regulation.pdf>

"The committee to investigate the prime minister's headquarter," Official report (April 2012) (Hebrew).

## Luxembourg

### Score 6

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

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

Under the aegis of the Ministry of Family Affairs, Integration and the Greater Region, the interministerial committee on integration draws up and monitors the implementation of the National Integration Action Plan concerning the integration of foreigners in the Grand Duchy.

Citation:

"Conseil de gouvernement." Le portail de l'actualité gouvernementale. [https://gouvernement.lu/fr/actualites/conseils\\_de\\_gouvernement.html](https://gouvernement.lu/fr/actualites/conseils_de_gouvernement.html). Accessed 14 January 2022.

"Gouvernement." Le portail de l'actualité gouvernementale. <https://gouvernement.lu/fr/gouvernement.html>. Accessed 14 January 2020.

"Ministry of Family Affairs, Integration and the Greater Region. The interministerial committee on integration (CII)." Accessed 14 January 2022.

## Netherlands

### Score 6

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

The prime minister's own Ministry of General Affairs office has 14 advising councilors (raadadviseurs, with junior assistants) at its disposal. The advising councilors are top-level civil servants, not political appointees; they are the secretaries of the cabinet subcouncils and committees. In addition, the prime minister has a special relationship with the Scientific Council of Government Policy. Sometimes, deputy directors of the planning agencies play the role of secretaries for interdepartmental "front gates." To conclude, the Prime Minister's Office and the prime minister himself have a rather limited capacity to evaluate the policy content of line-ministry proposals unless they openly clash with the government platform (regeer-akkoord). The current prime minister's style of running his cabinet his sectoral ministers with considerable scope for action.

Of course, personal skills and experience make a difference, and Prime Minister Rutte has a reputation for clever informal leadership and conflict management, and (until recently) a Houdini-like skill with regard to extricating himself from political affairs and scandals. He is also known for his aversion to visionary leadership, expressed in a quip ascribed to him: "If you have a vision, consult your eye doctor." In late 2020 and early 2021, Prime Minister Rutte's political career was endangered by his own political shrewdness, which included a tendency to provide parliament with meager and only piecemeal information with regard to the cabinet's decision-making practices (the so-called Rutte-doctrine), along with a routine tactic of claiming selective memory ("Sorry, but I have no active memory of X,Y,Z."). This misfired when he was caught lying to parliament. He only survived because, despite this, he was a winner in the March 2021 elections, because he could exploit his highly visible leadership role in the efforts to manage the coronavirus crisis. His party (VVD) rallied around him, and in a record-long process of cabinet formation, he regained sufficient levels of trust from the other party leaders involved (CU and especially D66) by giving in to their demands and promising to revise his governing and leadership style.

Citation:

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

[http://www.nationaalarchief.nl/selectielijsten/BSD\\_Coordinatie\\_algemeen\\_regering\\_sbeleid\\_stcrnt\\_2009\\_63.pdf](http://www.nationaalarchief.nl/selectielijsten/BSD_Coordinatie_algemeen_regering_sbeleid_stcrnt_2009_63.pdf)

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

M. van Weezel and T. Broer, Max en Rhijs over de premier: het geheim van politiek trapezewerker en 'nat zeepje' Mark Rutte (Vrij Nederland, vn.nl, accessed 8 November 2019)

Wikipedia, Rutte-doctrine

Nu.nl., April 1, 2021. Rutte opperde andere functie voor CDA-kamerlid Omtzigt; 'Minister maken'.

P. de Koning, 2020. Mark Rutte, Uitgeverij Brooklyn

## Poland

Score 6

While the Chancellery of the Prime Minister is well-staffed and evaluates most draft bills, its policy expertise has declined under the PiS government, as the main criterion for staff employment is political obedience, not expertise or professionalism.

## Portugal

Score 6

The Prime Minister's Office (PMO) has limited policy expertise. While it is able to assess bills, it lacks the resources for in-depth policy assessment capabilities within most policy areas. Under the preceding Passos Coelho government, policy assessment largely centered on budgetary implications, notably in terms of reducing costs and/or increasing revenue. This was particularly true during the bailout period, but persisted into the post-bailout. Under the two Costa governments, budgetary implications remained important, as the government sought to maintain its euro area commitments. However, the government also evaluated how policy proposals might impact the support provided by its potential parliamentary partners, particularly the Portuguese Communist Party (PCP) and the Left Bloc (BE), with the goal of ensuring that they would at least abstain on the state budget vote.

## Czechia

Score 5

The Office of the Government of the Czech Republic is the central body of state administration, but fulfills primarily administrative functions. It is relatively small and has little sectoral policy expertise. While it prepares cabinet meetings and coordinates the work of cabinet councils, and other working and advisory bodies of the government, it does not provide direct oversight for line ministry proposals. However, it may facilitate some oversight by expert advisers.



## Malta

### Score 5

Government ministries in Malta traditionally enjoy almost complete autonomy in several areas of policy. The government office was primarily tasked with overseeing budgetary matters. Consequently, the fallout for governments from policy failures has been significant. The present government initially faced the same problems, but in recent years has worked to bring policy under greater central control. However, as the hospital privatizations demonstrate, this has not been very successfully. Today the Prime Minister's Office (PMO) enjoys greater control mainly through the cabinet, and through the central control of permanent secretaries in ministries. As early as March 2013, the government appointed a minister as part of the PMO to oversee implementation of the government's manifesto and more recently introduced a specific strategy to implement the government's program. This strategy operates on a three-year planning cycle in conjunction with the budgetary cycle implementation program. Ministries have full responsibility for the policy, and draw up action plans that are monitored on a monthly basis by the PMO. Areas of concern are flagged and brought to the attention of the public service and cabinet. More resources are being put into building the capacity of the public service through a centrally controlled Institute for Public Service (IPS), which coordinates training at all levels. The PMO has recently demonstrated an improved ability to respond to policy implementation failures. For example, during the period under review, the PMO heightened its overview of ministries to make up for a number of policy failures that occurred during the previous legislature, although certain ministries still make occasional efforts to evade oversight.

#### Citation:

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

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

## Romania

### Score 5

The way in which the Government Office is organized in administrative terms has undergone frequent changes. Until January 2017, it featured two bodies that were engaged in interministerial coordination, the General Secretariat of the Government (GSG) and the Prime Minister's Chancellery (PMC). Whereas the GSG focused on the formal coordination, the PMC, consisting of about 15 state counselors with different backgrounds, provided the policy expertise. In January 2017, Prime Minister Grindeanu dismantled the PMC and transferred its responsibilities to the GSG. Once appointed, its successor, Prime Minister Tudose, re-established the PMC and the old dual structure. Under Prime Minister Dăncilă, the PMC included seven pro bono "scientific" members with some sectoral experts. Under Prime Minister Orban, the PMC has had only six members in total. This situation has not improved under prime ministers Cîțu and Ciucă.

## Slovakia

### Score 5

Slovakia has a strong tradition of departmentalism and collegial cabinets (Blondel et al. 2007), and these two features have deepened under the current coalition, comprised of three very different partners. The Government Office focuses on the legal and technical coherence of draft bills, but lacks the capacity and sectoral expertise to evaluate their policy content.

Citation:

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

## Switzerland

### Score 5

The Swiss political system does not have a prime minister or a prime minister's office. The government is a collegial body. However, there are several instruments of interministerial coordination and various mechanisms by which ministries' draft bills are evaluated. Departments engage in a formal process of consultation when drafting proposals, the Department of Justice provides legal evaluations of draft bills, and the Federal Chancellery and Federal Council provide political coordination. In particular, the Federal Chancellery has gained its reputation as the central institution for interministerial planning (Vatter 2020: Chapter 7).

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

Citation:

Vatter, Adrian 2020: *Der Bundesrat. Die Schweizer Regierung*. Zürich: NZZ

## Turkey

### Score 5

With the transition to the presidential system in 2017, the Prime Minister's Office (PMO) was abolished. In addition to a vice-president, the head of administrative affairs was established. His or her main task is to coordinate between public institutions and organizations and examine the congruity of laws adopted by the parliament and draft legislation prepared by government institutions with the constitution, current legislation, presidential decrees, and government program. The General Directorate of Laws and Legislation deals with presidential decrees, international agreements, suitability of legislation, draft regulations, etc. There is no available official data about the number and functions of presidential personnel.

Presidential Decree No. 1 established nine policy councils (including the Local Governing Council, Social Policies Council, and the Health and Food Policies Council) to improve the president's capacity for public policymaking. The councils will report to the president by taking the views of ministries, civil society, and sector representatives and experts, and follow the policies and developments implemented. It will also give opinions to public institutions and organizations in their fields.

Citation:

Gözler, K. (2018). Mahalli İdareler Hukuku. Baskı, Ekin Kitabevi: Bursa.

## Bulgaria

### Score 4

The official government office in Bulgaria, the Administration of the Council of Ministers, plays a mainly administrative role. It prepares cabinet meetings, but has very limited capacity for in-depth evaluation of the policy content of line-ministry proposals. The prime minister's own political-cabinet staff is relatively small and has little expertise to evaluate the policy content of line-ministry proposals.

The 2021 elections changed the style in which coordination is conducted. Focused more on dialogue, coordination now involves more extensive public hearings and the policies of the newly elected government are expected to draw upon unprecedented coalition agreement details.

Different ministries are chaired by different political parties. Political coordination is a task for the prime minister.

The circulation of draft bills and executive consultation is a fairly established process. The current Prime Minister's Office will potentially pay more attention to impact assessment procedures and summaries before publishing drafts for public discussion.

## Croatia

### Score 4

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

Within the Prime Minister's Office, Plenković's government has a Service for Public Policies and Support to the Prime Minister, which is primarily responsible for

systematic monitoring and analysis of individual public policies, and has the task of preparing expert opinions and studies and strategic development plans and analyses. In addition, the service prepares all relevant position papers for the prime minister for his meetings in the narrow government cabinet, as well as his addresses to the parliament and the European Council.

The head of the service is Tena Mišetić, and the PMO as a whole is headed by Zvonimir Frka Petešić. In the political public, these two persons are considered to have decision-making power greater than most government ministers, but all available data and analyses suggest that the PMO has comparatively little independent sectoral policy expertise, and thus lacks the capacity to evaluate the policy substance of draft bills.

## Slovenia

### Score 4

Slovenia has a strong tradition of departmentalism and collegial cabinets. The Government Office focuses on the legal and technical coherence of draft bills but lacks the capacity and sectoral expertise to evaluate their policy content, especially since the recruitment of expert staff is limited and often subject to political pressures and political compromise. Janez Janša, the new prime minister, has brought in a few new experts. Among others, he made Jelko Kacin, a former member of the European Parliament, his national coordinator for COVID-19 vaccinations. He also appointed Igor Senčar, the former ambassador and long-time expert in foreign affairs, as his adviser on foreign affairs and EU coordination. On the other side, Janša appointed some of his own party figures to the Prime Minister's Office to serve as advisors for national security and healthcare.

## Cyprus

### Score 2

Under the constitution, a line minister is fully responsible for his/her ministry. Each ministry drafts bills and forwards them to the Secretariat of the Council of Ministers, which ensures that the Law Office has checked them for legal soundness and conformity to established formats. The Secretariat offers administrative support to the cabinet's work, forwards decisions to the competent offices and monitors implementation. According to the constitution, "the general direction and control of the government and the direction of general policy" lies with the Council of Ministers. However, the council does not possess the necessary administrative depth or mechanisms to evaluate proposals and collectively chart policy.

Some GO control lies with the minister of finance and the cabinet, under the law on fiscal responsibility. This is, however, limited to mostly budgetary issues.

## Indicator

## Line Ministries

## Question

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

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

- 10-9 = There are inter-related capacities for coordination between GO/PMO and line ministries.
- 8-6 = The GO/PMO is regularly briefed on new developments affecting the preparation of policy proposals.
- 5-3 = Consultation is rather formal and focuses on technical and drafting issues.
- 2-1 = Consultation occurs only after proposals are fully drafted as laws.

## Belgium

## Score 10

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

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

The COVID-19 crisis has somewhat changed this way of working, or at least for matters related to management of the crisis. In particular, even though it was agreed that the policy measures and the overall strategy are in the hands of the federal authorities, policies must be agreed and coordinated with federated entities (regions and communities). The latter also have their own ministers of health, as health policy prerogatives are shared between the federal, regional and community levels. To avoid the lack of coordination that can be particularly detrimental during a health crisis, decisions are therefore made collectively, first within the National Security Council (NSC), and then within the "concertation committee" (comité de concertation/overlegcomité); this model came into use once the sense of unique urgency had passed, and reflects the legal basis of the latter as opposed to the former (although it lacks constitutional recognition).



Both bodies existed before the crisis. The first one, the NSC, was initially created within the federal government to manage and coordinate Belgium's security and intelligence policy. The concertation committee (comité de concertation, or CoDeCo), for its part, has existed since 1980 as a body bringing together federal, regional and community ministers. Its original role was to anticipate or resolve conflicts of interest and some of the conflicts of competence that may arise between the different authorities of the Belgian federal state. The two bodies, each in turn, became increasingly important with the health crisis, and are now central to all decision-making related to it, as the collegial process allows, at the very least, for a basis of agreement regarding the decisions taken made. This collegiality is nonetheless undermined at times by the fact that the concertation committee has to address measures impacting regions or communities whose ministers are not present at the meeting. This can lead to contradictory communications (see also "Policy Communication") and an impression of amateurism in the management of the crisis.

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

<https://www.vocabulairepolitique.be/comite-de-concertation/>

<https://www.vocabulairepolitique.be/conseil-national-de-securite/>

[https://www.rtb.be/info/belgique/detail\\_un-comite-de-concertation-coronavirus-ce-vendredi-qui-sera-autour-de-la-table-infographie?id=10609975](https://www.rtb.be/info/belgique/detail_un-comite-de-concertation-coronavirus-ce-vendredi-qui-sera-autour-de-la-table-infographie?id=10609975)

## United States

### Score 10

In the U.S. system, this item relates to how the executive departments and agencies involve the president and the White House staff in their work. Under long-established practice, however, the president and the White House staff are in fact dominant within the executive branch and can therefore prioritize issues they see as important to the president's agenda. In the Trump administration, agency policy development was heavily shaped by Trump's desire to cut regulations and to reverse actions taken by the Obama administration. There was little policy development shaped by long-term agency missions or priorities. As soon as he entered the White House, President Biden took steps to rebuild federal departments and agencies by hiring a large number of senior officials to compensate for the "talent exodus" (Zhao and Lippman, 2021) witnessed during the Trump years.

Zhao, Alex and Lippman, Daniel. 2021. "Biden races to hire senior staff at drained agencies," Politico, August 10. <https://www.politico.com/interactives/2021/biden-staffing-hiring-trump-turnover/>

## Australia

### Score 9

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

## Canada

- Score 9** Line departments and central agencies have interrelated and complementary capacities for the coordination of policy proposals, with ultimate authority lying with central agencies. Thus, line ministries in Canada have a responsibility to involve the Privy Council Office which supports the prime minister and his cabinet in the preparation of policy proposals. Financing of policy initiatives and program design are also vetted by Finance Canada and the Treasury Board respectively.

## Chile

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

## Denmark

- Score 9** The norms of “minister rule” and the portfolio principle (where ministers are in charge of certain areas) give the line ministries a fair amount of autonomy. The line ministries also have the most technical expertise. However, coherent government policy requires interdepartmental coordination, and since most Danish governments are coalition governments, this is particularly important. The prime minister has a special position given his/her constitutional prerogatives as the person who appoints and dismisses ministers and, under the present government, the prime minister's role in coordinating affairs has been strengthened.

Major issues and strategic considerations are dealt with in the government coordination committee (regeringens koordineringsudvalg) that involves the prime minister and other key ministers. The standing committees are also important coordination devices. In addition, there are ad hoc coordination meetings between the leaders of the parties constituting the governing coalition. For minority and coalition governments, informal contact with other parties are an important in policy formation process.

The current Social Democratic government, which has been in power since June 2019, is a minority single-party government. It depends on three parties – the Social Liberals, the Socialist People's Party and the Unity List – for parliamentary support. However, it can also seek broader agreements during the legislative process.

The Ministry of Finance plays an important role whenever financial resources are involved. No minister can go to the finance committee of the parliament (Folketinget) without prior agreement from the Ministry of Finance. The position of the Ministry of Finance has been strengthened by the Budget Law that has established a clear top-down approach for the budget process.

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

Citation:

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

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

## Finland

Score 9

The guiding rule in Finland is that each ministry is, within its mandate, responsible for the preparation of issues that fall within the scope of government and also for the proper functioning of the administration. Given this framework, rather than line ministries involving the Prime Minister's Office in policy preparation, the expectation is that the Prime Minister's Office involves ministries in its own policy preparations. In practice, of course, the patterns of interaction are not fixed. For one thing, policy programs and other intersectoral subject matters in the cabinet program are a concern for the Prime Minister's Office as well as for the ministries, and efforts must be coordinated. The government's analysis, assessment and research activities that support policymaking across the ministries are coordinated by the Prime Minister's Office (PMO). In addition, because decision-making is collective and consensual in nature, ministry attempts to place items on the cabinet's agenda without involving the Prime Minister's Office will fail. Finland has a recent tradition of fairly broad-based coalition governments, although the Sipilä government was an exception, as its majority in parliament had shrunk to 52.5% by the end of its term. The Rinne government enjoyed the support of 58% of parliamentarians when it came into office. The tradition of broad-based coalition necessarily amalgamates ideological antagonisms, and thereby mitigates against fragmentation along ministerial and sectoral lines.

Citation:

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

## France

Score 9

In contrast to Germany, for instance, sectoral ministers have limited independent scope for maneuver. Line ministers have to inform the prime minister of all their projects. Strong discipline is imposed even at the level of public communication

level, and this rule is reinforced by the attitude of the media, which tend to judge any slight policy difference as the expression of political tension or party divergence. Not only the Prime Minister's Office (PMO) oversees the policy process but also his cabinet assistants, in each area, supervise, liaise and coordinate with their counterparts in line ministries about the content, timing and political sequences of a project. The secretary-general of the PMO (as well as his counterpart at the Élysée) operates in the shadow, but he is one of the most powerful actors within that machinery. He can step in if the coordination or control process at that level has failed to stem the expression of differences within the government. Traditionally the secretary-general is a member of the Conseil d'État and – in spite of the fact that he could be fired at any time for any reason – there is a tradition of continuity and stability beyond the fluctuation and vagaries of political life. It has to be added that given the presidential character of the Fifth Republic, the same type of control is exerted by the President's Office in coordination with the PMO. In practice, the two general secretaries are the most powerful civil servants whose opinions might often prevail on ministry choices.

## Ireland

### Score 9

The Taoiseach's Office is involved in legislative and expenditure proposals. The process is highly interactive with much feedback between the line ministries, the Taoiseach's Office and the Office of the Attorney General. The Department of Finance has considerable input into all proposals with revenue or expenditure implications. Any significant policy items have to be discussed in advance with the Department of the Taoiseach. The Cabinet Handbook lays out detailed procedural rules for the discussion of policy proposals and the drafting of legislation. It is publicly available on the website of the Department of the Taoiseach (Gov, 2006).

As in many countries, the Department of Finance is a lot more than a regular line ministry. For most of the history of the state, it has been the first among equal government ministries. The procedures state:

“As a matter of principle, the sanction of the minister for finance is required for all expenditure. In any proposal for new legislation, it should be made clear that the sanction of the Minister for Finance is required to incur any expenditure under the legislation. Neither the voting of money by Dáil Éireann, nor the inclusion of an allocation in an Estimate constitutes sanction.” (Department of Finance 2008: Public Financial Procedures).

Citation:

Department of Finance (2008)

Government of Ireland (2006)

## New Zealand

### Score 9

If line ministries prepare a policy proposal, they are obliged to consult other ministries that are affected, as well as the coordinating units, the Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet (DPMC), the Treasury and the State Services Commission. There are clear guidelines that govern the coordination of policy formulation in the core executive.

#### Citation:

Cabinet Office Circular CO (17) 10, Labour-New Zealand First Coalition, with Confidence and Supply from the Green Party: Consultation and Operating Arrangements. December 17, 2017. <https://dpmc.govt.nz/sites/default/files/2017-12/coc-17-10.pdf>

## South Korea

### Score 9

Executive power is concentrated in the president's hands. Thus, line ministries have to involve the Blue House in all major policy proposals. South Korea's constitution grants substantial powers to the executive in general, and the president in particular. Most observers agree that the South Korean presidential system is a paradigmatic example of an "imperial presidency," at least during times when the party of the president holds a majority in the unicameral South Korean parliament, as was the case after April 2020. The president has the authority to, and often does rearrange, merge and abolish ministries according to his or her agenda. For example, President Moon created a Ministry of SMEs and Startups; renamed the Ministry of Science, ICT and Future Planning as the Ministry of Science and ICT; and merged the National Security Agency and the Ministry of Public Administration and Security into a single Ministry of the Interior and Safety. He also (re-)established the National Fire Agency and the Korea Coast Guard abolished by his predecessor. However, while Moon has promised to decentralize power, there have as yet been few signs of any weakening of the role of the Blue House.

That said, South Korean staff within bureaucracies are highly trained and competent, which helps ensure a degree of continuity. However, strategic planning is weakened by frequent changes in leadership positions. Ministers and state secretaries are often replaced by the president, and staff rotations occur frequently inside ministries. Thus, ministerial staff have little opportunity to acquire expert knowledge and contribute meaningfully to long-term strategic planning.

Conflicts between ministries are frequent but do not substantially affect overall policymaking for high priority policy areas, due to the coordinating role of the president's office. The fragmentation of government activities in policy areas that are not prioritized by the president is a frequent subject of criticism, and ministries often fail to coordinate activities in these fields.



## United Kingdom

### Score 9

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

Line ministries' policymaking is subject to intense scrutiny by the Cabinet Office, while the cost implications of line ministries' policy proposals are controlled by the Treasury.

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

Nevertheless, coordination mechanisms were not able to resolve the political tensions around Brexit. Since the United Kingdom left the European Union, things have returned to the previous state, with a strong role for the Cabinet Office, which has been led since the autumn of 2020 by Cabinet Secretary Simon Case, "a trusted member" of the prime minister's "inner circle."

Citation:

<https://www.ft.com/content/670d1f85-5173-44dc-aedb-170c6b0f0713>

## Greece

### Score 8

Since the onset of the crisis in 2010, the Prime Minister's Office has gradually acquired more power and resources to supervise line ministries, the policies of which were streamlined in the previous decade to fit the fiscal consolidation effort of Greece. After the change in government in July 2019, ties between line ministries and the Prime Minister's Office (the Presidency of Government) were further strengthened, as the latter was reorganized and staffed with highly skilled policy experts. In addition, legislation adopted in the same month provided for the installation of a new directorate of coordination in each ministry, responsible for liaising with the Presidency of the Government and other ministries. In brief, in the period under review, the inter-related capacities of the center of government and line ministries vastly improved.

Citation:

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

The law establishing the new "Directorates of Coordination" in each Ministry is Law 4622/2019.

## Hungary

Score 8

Under the Orbán governments, line ministries have mostly acted as executive agencies that follow priorities set by the core political executive. This is a complete turnaround as compared to most earlier governments in post-communist Hungary, when ministers were more representatives of ministries in the government than representatives of the government in the ministries. Today, orders come from above and ministerial activities are subject to detailed oversight by the Prime Minister's Office (PMO). The PMO makes sure that policies are as close in line as possible with the prime minister's policy preferences and the ideological rhetoric. However, the pivotal role of the PMO has also meant that it has sometimes become a bottleneck in the process of policymaking. In this structure, the core executive may intervene in the preparation of policy proposals by the ministries at any time.

## Iceland

Score 8

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

Citation:

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

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

## Latvia

Score 8

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

The State Chancellery evaluates draft proposals prepared by the ministries and ensures the legal execution of legal acts. Moreover, the State Chancellery may issue an opinion on a project after it has been submitted for approval on the TAP portal (a public portal for draft legislation), addressing issues such as administrative burdens, public participation or necessary posts, or assessing the quality of the initial impact assessment.

With the introduction of the TAP portal in 2021, ministries also tend share of draft legislation with the State Chancellery through the portal before handing it over officially.

In Latvia, ministers enjoy relatively substantial autonomy, which weakens the power of the prime minister. As a result, ministers belonging to a different party than the prime minister may attempt to block the prime minister's office from interfering in sensitive policy issues.

## Luxembourg

### Score 8

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

In Luxembourg, the prime minister is also usually the minister of state, who "shall supervise the general course of affairs and shall ensure the uphold of the unity of principles which is to be applied in the various parts of the state." This figure serves as coordinator of the government's actions and bears significant responsibility for its cohesion.

Citation:

"Ministry of State." The Luxembourg Government (2021). <https://me.gouvernement.lu/en/le-ministere.html>. Accessed 14 January 2022.

"Arrêté grand-ducal du 5 décembre 2018 portant énumération des Ministères." <https://legilux.public.lu/eli/etat/leg/agd/2018/12/05/a1097/jo>. Accessed 14 January 2022.

## Norway

### Score 8

Responsibility for the preparation of policies lies with line ministries. As a matter of routine, line ministries will involve the Office of the Prime Minister, the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Justice, when addressing potentially controversial

matters and for the purpose of coordinating with other policies. This interaction often involves ongoing two-way communication during the planning process. Initiatives lacking support by the Office of the Prime Minister would not win cabinet approval.

## Spain

### Score 8

Both the Government Office (GO) and the Prime Minister's Office (PMO) are regularly briefed on new developments affecting the preparation of policy proposals by line ministries. Although these offices are formally autonomous, the legal and political hierarchy within the government facilitates and even encourages this pattern of consultation with the prime minister's entourage. Consultation with the GO tends to focus on drafting or technical issues, while the PMO is more interested in political and strategic considerations. The process is firmly institutionalized and takes place weekly, since representatives of all ministries gather at the cabinet meeting preparatory committee. Advisers from the PMO also participate in this committee and in the important specialized ministerial committee on economic affairs (see "Cabinet Committees") that also assists the Council of Ministers.

Nevertheless, the lack of experience in managing coalition governments and partisan differences had an impact on the effectiveness and coherence of policy formulation, and led to coordination problems among line ministries. In July 2021, the chief executive reshuffled some key members of the cabinet (his chief of staff and the minister of the presidency) in order to strengthen coordination within the cabinet. In order to prepare the implementation of the RRP, the government approved, in addition to the new Public Administration Act, a decree-law that establishes a reinforced governance structure. A new interministerial commission presided over by the prime minister is in charge of leading the RRP and approving projects.

Citation:

Orden HFP/1030/2021, de 29 de septiembre, por la que se configura el sistema de gestión del Plan de Recuperación, Transformación y Resiliencia (BOE 30 de septiembre)

## Israel

### Score 7

Line ministers involve the PMO in the preparation of policy proposals which require legislative and/or budgetary changes, especially when there are disagreements between the relevant line ministry, and the Ministry of Finance and/or the Ministry of Justice, which are involved in any budgetary and legislative change.

Citation:

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

Reducing the Regulatory Burden Discussing the decision of the Ministerial Committee on Social and Economic Affairs no, 39, September 2014 (Hebrew):  
<https://www.pmo.gov.il/policyplanning/Regulation/Documents/dec2118.pdf>

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

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

## Italy

### Score 7

The Prime Minister’s Office is in principle regularly kept informed of the development of policy proposals generated by line ministries. With regard to the policy proposals of particular political relevance for the government, the consultation process starts from the early stages of drafting and is more significant, involving not only formal but also substantive issues. In the fields less directly connected with the main mission of the government, exchanges are more formal and occur only when proposals have been fully drafted. Under the Conte government, control over line ministries was weaker than in previous governments, given the political weakness of the prime minister and the lack of ideological cohesion of the coalition. Ministers responded more readily to their party leader than to the head of government. The new government guided by Draghi has substantially increased the degree of coordination between line ministries and the PMO.

## Japan

### Score 7

In Japan, the role of line ministries vis-à-vis the government office is complicated by the influence of a third set of actors: entities within the governing parties. During the decades of the LDP’s rule, the party’s own policymaking organ, the Policy Affairs Research Council, developed considerable influence, ultimately gaining the power to vet and approve policy proposals in all areas of government policy.

Under the current LDP-led coalition government, former Prime Minister Abe was able to ensure that he and his close confidants determine the direction of major policy proposals. The Cabinet Office seems to drive reform programs, with the ministries either following this course or trying to drag their feet. Given his short term as the prime minister, Yoshihide Suga (2020-2021) proved unable to engage in a push for reform.

While ministries have sometimes sought to regain their former control over their portfolios, nearly eight years under one prime minister (Abe, 2012-2020) have entrenched centralized policymaking practices.

Citation:

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

Jesper Koll, Abe’s lesson in stability and pragmatism, The Japan Times, 13 September 2019, <https://www.japantimes.co.jp/opinion/2019/09/13/commentary/japan-commentary/abes-lesson-stability-pragmatism/>

## Lithuania

### Score 7

The government adopts multiannual political priorities, coordinates their implementation and regularly monitors progress. As a result, it focuses on policy proposals and strategic projects related to these annual priorities. The majority of policy proposals are initiated by ministries and other state institutions, but the Office of the Government is kept informed with regard to their status and content. The fact that all policy areas are legally assigned to particular ministers, coupled with the fact that since 2000 governments have been formed by party coalitions rather than a single party, has meant that line ministries enjoy considerable autonomy within their policy areas. The Office of the Government is sometimes called upon to mediate policy disagreements between line ministries. The Šimonytė government, which took office in 2020, has aimed to increase coordination capacities, with the prime minister often personally devoting her attention to the legislative proposals of line ministries. In 2021, the government compiled a list of top-priority initiatives for which ex ante impact assessments were to be conducted by line ministries, with advice provided by STRATA experts. STRATA also conducted a number of training sessions for line ministries, with the goal of increasing their skills in conducting ex ante impact assessments.

A recent survey of the Lithuanian regulatory system described the ex post regulatory assessment process as “nascent,” and in the process of institutionalization. Currently, the Ministry of Justice is responsible for coordinating the ex post evaluation framework. The survey noted that “while the Ministry of Justice has a high level of legal expertise, it is not appropriately equipped in terms of analytical capacities for providing a leading function for ex post regulatory assessments.” It was therefore suggested that the coordination function be transferred to the Office of the Government, “while mandating STRATA to provide methodological and analytical support for ex post evaluation.” The Ministry of Justice should continue to be responsible for “ex ante legal conformity,” the report said, while the Office of Government “would focus exclusively on the overall quality of higher impact legislation.” The OECD also recommended that analytical skills be cultivated within line ministries by establishing a separate track within the civil service for policy analysts and evaluators.

#### Citation:

STRATA/OECD, Evidence at the Centre of Government in Lithuania : Strengthening Decision-Making and Policy Evaluation for Long-term Development, <https://strata.gov.lt/lt/apie-mus/projektai/irodymais-gristos-politikos-formavimas-ir-politikos-vertinimas-vyriausybes-centre>

OECD, Mobilising Evidence at the Centre of Government in Lithuania. Strengthening decision-making and policy evaluation for long-term development, Paris: OECD, 2021.

## Mexico

### Score 7

Given Mexico's presidential system, cabinet ministers are respectful of and even deferential to the presidential office. Moreover, cabinet ministers dismissed by the president after disagreements rarely find a way back into high-level politics, which tends to promote loyalty to the president and presidential staff. Accordingly, senior figures in the presidential office are very powerful, because they determine access to the president and can influence ministerial careers. At present, President López Obrador dominates Mexican politics in a personalistic, populist manner. Nevertheless, the partially weakened position of the ruling coalition in Congress could weaken the cohesion of government in the second half of the president's term.

## Netherlands

### Score 7

Since about 2010, departmental reform in the Netherlands sought to transform the notion of line ministries itself, as the limited number of cores or building blocks in the organization of the bureaucracy. The key idea was that task allocation and coordination were no longer to be dependent on (ever-changing) policy directions, leading to repeated disappointments when abolishing certain departments, initiating a new department, or the amalgamation of several departments every time new government were installed after elections. Instead, the idea was to define organizational units around their core managerial functions (personnel, information, organization, finances, communication, facilitation and building); these would in turn flexibly support ever-changing policy formulation and implementation tasks with less organizational inertia and resistance, and lower transfer costs.

This so-called liquid governance would position ministers as managers of organizational complexes, supporting relatively easy-to-change core policy programs. Paradoxically, this resulted in ever more organizational reshuffling within a government that was increasingly seen as apolitical and managerial in nature. For example, the core Economic Affairs department was expanded so as to attend also to agricultural policies when the separate Department of Agriculture was abolished; later, the Department of Agriculture was resurrected, but climate change policy was added to a department now named Economic Affairs and Climate Change. Under the Rutte IV government there will be, next to the "old" Economic Affairs, a new Department of Climate and Energy. Policing, formerly part of Homeland Affairs, was transferred to a Justice department, now rebaptized as Justice and Safety. The Rutte IV government has made many such political adaptations and reshuffles, with 20 full ministers and nine deputy ministers attending to the major political crises of the moment. These include mining (mainly to attend to earthquake damages in the former gas-exploiting areas of the province of Groningen; fiscal affairs (Fiscaliteit) and allowances and customs (Toeslagen en Douane, which is under the Finance Department), poverty policy, participation and pensions, which is distinct from social affairs and employment, and nature and nitrogen. The make-up of the Rutte IV



government represents a shift from the idea that government should have as few ministers as possible. There is a lesson to be learned from the fact that a large number of (deputy) ministers in the Rutte III government left their jobs, citing family, burnout or a new job as the motivation.

Generally, departmental legislative or white-paper initiatives are rooted in the government policy agreement, EU policy coordination and subsequent Council of Ministers decisions to allocate drafting to one or two particular ministries. In the case of complex problems, draft legislation may involve considerable jockeying for position among the various line ministries. The prime minister is always involved in the kick-off of major new policy initiatives and sometimes in the wording of the assignment/terms of reference itself. After that, however, it may take between six months and four years before the issue reaches the decision-making stage in ministerial and Council of Ministers committees, and again comes under the formal review of the prime minister. Meanwhile, the prime minister is obliged to rely on informal coordination with his fellow ministers. It is difficult to draw conclusions regarding the effectiveness of informal coordination, information-sharing procedures and other such practices. High-level civil servants close to the prime minister have complained about the increasing use of spin doctors and political assistants in such processes. But the prime minister has a good reputation with regard to formal leadership and conflict management.

Citation:

Your citations

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

NSOB, Van der Steen and van Twist, 2010. Veranderende vernieuwing: op weg naar vloeibaar bestuur. Een beschouwing over 60 jaar vernieuwing van de rijksdienst.

NSOB, Termeer et al., 2021. Het terugkerend verlangen naar regie. Over de vraag hoe belangen van landbouw, natuur en vitaal platteland stevig te behartigen zijn in vele spelen met vele andere legitieme belangen.

RTL Nieuws, 17 November 2021. Clash ministeries Hoekstra en Wiebes over plan Europees noodfonds

Trouw, Van Egmond en Wijffels, 11 September 2021. Industrierrein Nederland heeft een ministerie van ecologische zaken nodig

De Zeeuw en Verdaas, n.d., Na Wild West en Science Fiction op zoek naar de juiste film. Naar een nieuw struingsconcept voor de inrichting van Nederland

NRC-H, Dupuy and Aharouay, December 17, 2021. Rutte na eerste formatieoverleg: een grotere ploeg, verdeling posten per partij is rond; and Nog twee nieuwe posten: ministers voor Natuur en Stikstof en Armoedebeleid, Participatie en Pensioenen

## Portugal

Score 7

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

The influence of the Ministry of Finance, as noted in previous editions of the SGI, was diminished somewhat by the pressures of the pandemic. However, the ministry

remains very influential within the government given the overall goal of ensuring budgetary sustainability. The criticism leveled by the minister for infrastructure and housing in September 2020, seemingly aimed at roadblocks imposed by the Ministry of Finance in plans for the national railway company, illustrate this.

Citation:

Henriques, J. P. (2021), “Guerra dentro do governo. Pedro Nuno Santos desafia João Leão,” DN, available at: <https://www.dn.pt/politica/guerra-dentro-do-governo-pedro-nuno-santos-desafia-joao-leao-14170768.html>

CENTRO DE COMPETÊNCIAS DE PLANEAMENTO, DE POLÍTICAS E DE PROSPETIVA DA A. P. (PLANAPPDecreto-Lei n.º 21/2021, de 15 de março)

## Sweden

### Score 7

The leadership of the GO and the PMO are primarily involved when policies are initiated, when final decisions are to be made, and if a disagreement emerges among the governing parties or ministers. However, the line nature of the GO – and the chain of command between the political and administrative levels – means that the top leadership, apart from initiating and deciding on policy, does not routinely monitor its development. There are instead regular briefings and informal consultations. This informal coordination procedure nevertheless ensures that the PMO, in line with the Finance Ministry, plays a crucial role in policy developments. Also, there are established but informal rules regulating procedures when there is disagreement among the non-political advisers on how to design policy. Essentially, the political level of the department should only be consulted when its ruling is critical to policy formulation; otherwise, policy design rests with nonpartisan staff members.

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

It should also be noted that line ministries frequently ask for advice from the executive agencies during the early stages of the policy process (Jacobsson, Pierre, and Sundström, 2015; Niemann, 2012; Page, 2012; Premfors and Sundström, 2007).

Citation:

Jacobsson, Bengt, Jon Pierre and Göran Sundström. 2015. “Governing the Embedded State.” Oxford University Press.

Niemann, Cajsa. 2013. “Villkorat Förtroende. Normer och Rollförväntningar i Relationen Mellan Politiker och Tjänstemän i Regeringskansliet.” Department of Political Science, University of Stockholm.

Page, Edward C. 2012. “Policy Without Politicians: Bureaucratic Influence in Comparative Perspective.” Oxford University Press.

Premfors, Rune and Göran Sundström. 2007. “Regeringskansliet.” Liber.

## Switzerland

### Score 7

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

There is a tension, however, between the consensus principle in the Federal Council that demands a common solution supported by all seven ministers, and the departmental principle that enables ministers to pursue their party line within their departments which, in turn, allows them to satisfy party members as they secure support for consensus-derived government solutions. Increasing polarization in parliament strengthens the departmental principle and renders consensus-driven solutions within the Federal Council more difficult to achieve. Nonetheless, the Federal Council so far managed to balance the two principles (Sager and Vatter 2019).

#### Citation:

Sager, F. & Vatter A. (2019). „Regierungshandeln im Spannungsfeld von Partei- und Exekutivpolitik am Beispiel des Bundesrats“, in Blackbox Exekutive. Eds. A. Ritz, T. Haldemann & F. Sager. 195-211. Zürich. NZZ Libro.

## Turkey

### Score 7

Currently, there are 16 line ministries and nine policy councils, which develop a long-term strategic vision and report on the progress of governmental activities. The Ministry of Development, which has been the primary consultative body for preparing policies according to the government's program, was abolished. In addition, four offices were established: finance, investment, digital transformation, and human resources. In addition, six departments are attached to the presidency: Chief of Staff, Religious Affairs, National Security Council, Defense Industry, State Supervision Council, Communication and Strategy, and Budget Unit. These departments were established to promote efficiency and coordination in the executive.

#### Citation:

Strateji ve Bütçe Başkanlığı. 2021 Yılı Cumhurbaşkanlığı Yıllık Programı. [https://www.sbb.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2020/11/2021\\_Yili\\_Cumhurbaskanligi\\_Yillik\\_Programi.pdf](https://www.sbb.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2020/11/2021_Yili_Cumhurbaskanligi_Yillik_Programi.pdf)

## Austria

### Score 6

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

The ÖVP-FPÖ government (2017–2019) tried to establish a policy of “message control.” This is a strategic instrument designed to reduce the visibility of individual ministers (although not necessarily their power, as was evidenced by the actions of the FPÖ minister of the interior), and to increase the directing power of the chancellor and deputy chancellor (at least as long as both are in control of their respective parties).

The “Ibiza scandal” – which followed the release of a secretly filmed meeting in which the former FPÖ leader, who was also vice-chancellor, attempted to sell government positions and a media outlet to a (fake) Russian oligarch – demonstrated the limits of message control. Nevertheless, the ÖVP-Green government has retained the message control regime. Over the course of Chancellor Kurz's second term (2020–2021), it became more and more clear, however, that the whole system was effectively designed to provide the perfect stage for the chancellor, as the ÖVP's unchallenged “vote puller.” That said, it remains unclear if or to what extent the increasing centralization of government communication can be considered a reliable indicator of a centralization of decision-making power.

Citation:

<https://eplus.uni-salzburg.at/JKM/periodical/titleinfo/3860282>

<https://www.derstandard.at/story/2000130384394/nachruf-auf-die-message-control>

## Bulgaria

### Score 6

Line ministries tend to prepare policy proposals independently and introduce them to the prime minister and the Council of Ministers when they are completed. The prime minister and the Administration of the Council of Ministers are consulted when proposals cross ministerial lines, or are incompatible with other proposed or existing legislation. Even in such cases, the involvement of the administration tends to focus mainly on technical and drafting issues and formal legal considerations. There are no official procedures for consulting the prime minister during the preparation of policy proposals. Since the Petkov government had split ministerial portfolios along political party lines, conflicting visions and policy designs soon became visible, especially between the ministries of economy, agriculture, regional development and social policy.

## Czechia

- Score 6** The legislative plan of the government divides tasks among the ministries and other central bodies of the state administration and sets deadlines for the submission of bills to the cabinet. The line ministry has to involve and take into account comments from a range of institutions, including the Government Office and the Government Legislative Council. This consultation process primarily focuses on technical issues and the harmonization of legal norms.

## Germany

- Score 6** The preparation of bills is mainly the prerogative of the line ministries (Ressortprinzip). Over the course of regular policy processes, the Chancellery is generally well informed, but is not strongly involved in ministerial initiatives. Most disputes between ministries and the Chancellery are discussed and resolved in the (often) weekly meetings between the state secretaries and the Chancellery's staff.

## Poland

- Score 6** Under the PiS government, the Chancellery of the Prime Minister has kept its enhanced formal involvement in preparing policy proposals by the line ministries. Inside the Chancellery, the Legislative Process Coordination Department is the most crucial coordination point. It edits the final versions of bills, while the Government Work Programming Department considers the timeline of the government's program and monitors drafts from the ministries. Since the 2015 change in government, however, the actual gatekeeping role of the Chancellery has declined. First, a large amount of coordination has been done informally by Jarosław Kaczyński. Second, under the PiS government, many bills are formally submitted by individual members of parliament rather than by ministries. This procedure allows for a swifter legislative process with fewer consultation requirements so that the PiS leadership can more effectively control lawmaking.

## Estonia

- Score 5** Two different forms exist to communicate line ministries' proposals to the GO. Firstly, all policy initiatives are discussed in the coalition council. Secondly, the cabinet informally examines all substantial issues at its weekly meetings. No binding decisions are made in the meetings, the main function being to exchange information

and to prepare for formal government sessions. Under current government (in office since January 2021) advance communication between line ministries and the Prime Minister's Office has weakened, and line ministries sometimes act independently.

## Malta

### Score 5

Since 2013, a sustained effort at coordination has been made in the Prime Minister's Office (PMO) and in line ministries. During the period under review, the government established an office within the PMO to coordinate the policies contained in the ruling party's electoral manifesto. In a new review strategy, ministries monitor the outputs of policies previously discussed with the cabinet. The OPM then monitors policies until they are implemented and supports the ministries in their implementation. Coordination meetings are also organized by the OPM bringing together the various ministries. Decisions taken by ministries have more than once been rescinded by the PMO, a practice less common in the past. The PMO may also seek to review its policies with the help of the Management Efficiency Unit and occasionally employs consultants. In several areas, it is forced to seek legal advice from the Attorney General's Office. Cabinet meetings have allowed experts to give direct advice to ministers, a departure from the past. From time to time, cabinet meetings are held in different regions for the purpose of consultations. However, coordinated consultation has become more focused through weekly meetings of permanent secretaries under the direction of the head of the public service. Specialist ad hoc committees and interministerial cabinet committees are set up to facilitate coordination between the PMO and ministries. During the pandemic, coordination between the PMO and the ministries increased.

Citation:

[http://www.maltatoday.com.mt/news/national/33324/prime-minister-holding-cabinet-meeting-in-mellieha-20140121#.V\\_uQfv196M8](http://www.maltatoday.com.mt/news/national/33324/prime-minister-holding-cabinet-meeting-in-mellieha-20140121#.V_uQfv196M8)

[http://www.maltatoday.com.mt/news/national/48377/cabinet\\_meeting\\_in\\_gozo\\_cost\\_taxpayers\\_7000#.V\\_uQpf196M8](http://www.maltatoday.com.mt/news/national/48377/cabinet_meeting_in_gozo_cost_taxpayers_7000#.V_uQpf196M8)

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

<https://www.independent.com.mt/articles/2019-10-07/local-news/74-of-the-2019-budget-has-been-implemented-government-exercise-shows-6736214453>

## Romania

### Score 5

Policy proposals are usually drafted within ministries. The Secretariat General of the Government provides administrative and legal support for policymaking but has a limited role in the quality control of policy design. The Prime Minister's Chancellery usually becomes involved only after the compulsory public-consultation procedures are finalized, and its mandate is to ensure that policy proposals align with broader government strategy. While the prime minister occasionally publicly involves himself in debating certain legislative proposals and may contradict line ministers, the final decision on the content of the policy proposal tends to be made by the line ministry.

## Croatia

### Score 4

Ministries normally enjoy huge leeway in transforming government priorities into legislation, and there is no stable and transparent arbitration scheme that would give the Prime Minister's Office a formal role in settling interministerial differences. Since the Service for Public Policies and Support to the Prime Minister does not have the capacity to evaluate line ministry policies in the way that central-government policy offices do in most democracies, consultation between line ministries and the Prime Minister's Office is rather formal, and focuses only on technical and drafting issues.

#### Citation:

Giljević, Z. (2015): Utjecaj okoline organizacije na upravu koordinaciju: Ministarstvo uprave kao studija slučaja (The Influence of Organizational Environment on Administrative Coordination: Croatian Ministry of Public Administration as a Case Study), in: *Hrvatska i komparativna javna uprava* 15(4): 875-908.

## Slovakia

### Score 4

In Slovakia, the government manifesto defines certain priorities that are elaborated in legislative plans. These additionally divide tasks and responsibilities among the line ministries and other central bodies, and set deadlines for the submission of bills to the cabinet. In their policy-development process, the line ministries legally must include a range of institutions and interest groups that are defined as stakeholders in their respective fields. Ministries are also obliged to consult with the Government Office and its legislative council as they develop bills. However, final responsibility for drafting bills has traditionally rested with the line ministries, and consultation with the Government Office is mainly technical. This has not changed under the Matovič and Heger governments.

## Cyprus

### Score 3

The only permanent service directly linked with the presidential palace is the Secretariat of the Council of Ministers. All other services are established ad hoc by the president in office. The tasks of the secretariat are limited to providing administrative support and checking the format of proposals. The Attorney General's Office checks the legality of draft legislation. Ministries draft laws with reference to established policies or general frameworks decided by the cabinet. Draft laws are presented to the Council of Ministers and are only discussed during the deliberation process.

The law on fiscal responsibility assigns to the finance minister (ultimately to the Council of Ministers) control over policy proposals connected to general budgetary



plans and policies. It is hard to see how under the constitution a central coordinating body with effective and comprehensive oversight powers can exist.

## Slovenia

### Score 3

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

## Indicator

## Cabinet Committees

## Question

## How effectively do ministerial or cabinet committees coordinate cabinet proposals?

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

- 10-9 = The vast majority of cabinet proposals are reviewed and coordinated first by committees.
- 8-6 = Most cabinet proposals are reviewed and coordinated by committees, in particular proposals of political or strategic importance.
- 5-3 = There is little review or coordination of cabinet proposals by committees.
- 2-1 = There is no review or coordination of cabinet proposals by committees. Or: There is no ministerial or cabinet committee.

## Belgium

## Score 10

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

Before reaching the Council of Ministers, projects are always discussed beforehand in formal or informal cabinet committee meetings that include experts and senior officers from the relevant ministerial cabinets. Most negotiation is performed at that stage and, if necessary, further fine-tuned in the actual Council of Ministers meeting. In the case of particularly important or sensitive policy issues, for instance the issue of nuclear power plants' future, the process can take longer. In some instances, this may involve repeated shuttling between the Council of Ministers or its restricted version (the Kern), where the actual negotiations take place, and the inter-cabinet ministerial working groups responsible for preparing the discussion by clarifying the technical and legal issues.

Citation:

[https://www.belgium.be/en/about\\_belgium/government/federal\\_authorities/federal\\_government/strategic\\_cells\\_and\\_secretariats\\_government\\_members](https://www.belgium.be/en/about_belgium/government/federal_authorities/federal_government/strategic_cells_and_secretariats_government_members)

[https://www.rtbf.be/info/belgique/detail\\_sortie-du-nucleaire-toujours-pas-d-accord-au-sein-du-gouvernement-federal?id=10902076](https://www.rtbf.be/info/belgique/detail_sortie-du-nucleaire-toujours-pas-d-accord-au-sein-du-gouvernement-federal?id=10902076)

## Finland

Score 10

Cabinet committees effectively prepare cabinet meetings. The government has four statutory ministerial committees: the Ministerial Committee on Foreign and Security Policy (which meets with the president when pressing issues arise), the Ministerial Committee on European Union Affairs, the Ministerial Finance Committee and the Ministerial Committee on Economic Policy. Additionally, ad hoc ministerial committees can be appointed by the government plenary session. All these committees are chaired by the prime minister, who also chairs sessions of the Economic Council, the Research and Innovation Council, and the Title Board. In addition, there are several ministerial working groups. The primary task of these committees and groups is to prepare cabinet meetings by helping to create consensus between relevant ministries and interests. In all, a large majority of issues are reviewed first by cabinet committees and working groups.

Citation:

<https://valtioneuvosto.fi/en/government/ministerial-committees>

## Denmark

Score 9

Policy preparation tends to take place in cabinet committees (regeringsudvalg) involving a smaller number of ministers. The number of such committees has varied over time. Currently, the following standing cabinet committees exist: the government coordination committee (chaired by the prime minister), the economy committee (chaired by the finance minister), the security committee (chaired by the prime minister), the appointments committee (chaired by the prime minister), the government's EU implementation committee (chaired by the minister of employment) and the committee for green transition (chaired by the minister of energy, utilities and climate). The latter committee was formed by the new Social Democratic government of Mette Frederiksen.

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

Citation:

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

Oversigt over faste regeringsudvalg, [http://www.stm.dk/\\_a\\_1848.html](http://www.stm.dk/_a_1848.html) (accessed 17 October 2019).

## New Zealand

Score 9

There are clear guidelines for policy formulation in the New Zealand core executive. All policy proposals are reviewed in cabinet committees. Full cabinet meetings therefore can focus on strategic policy debates and policy conflicts between coalition partners or between the government and its legislative support parties in the House of

Representatives. In quantitative terms, from 1 July 2020 to 30 June 2021, the full cabinet met 52 times while cabinet committees met 115 times (Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet 2021). A revised cabinet committee structure was implemented in October 2017 following the formation of the government after the general election. The overall number of committees remained ten, but seven out of ten committees were discontinued or superseded. Key committees are now the Cabinet Legislation Committee, the Committee on Economic Development and the Cabinet Environment, Energy and Climate Committee.

Citation:

Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet (2021) Annual Report 2021. <https://dpmc.govt.nz/sites/default/files/2021-10/dpmc-annual-report-2021.pdf>

## Spain

Score 9

Two powerful ministerial committees effectively prepare cabinet meetings in Spain: The Committee for Economic Affairs, and the Committee of Undersecretaries and Secretaries of State. The Committee for Economic Affairs review and schedule economic or budgetary interministerial coordination. This committee has been chaired since 2020 by the first vice-president of the government and the minister for economic affairs and digital transformation, and also includes the other ministers and secretaries of state who hold economic responsibilities. For its part, the Committee of Undersecretaries and Secretaries of State effectively filters out and settles issues prior to cabinet meetings. This committee of top officials prepare the Council of Ministers' weekly sessions, which are held every Tuesday (see "Ministerial Bureaucracy" for further details). No cabinet member participates apart from the deputy prime minister, who serves as its chairperson. Spain's only Council of Ministers committee composed exclusively of cabinet members is the Foreign Policy Council, which meets only about once a year.

In order to prepare the implementation of the RRP, existing departments have been given new responsibilities. For example, the Economic Office of the Prime Minister will act as a monitoring unit, the Ministry of Finance's department for EU funds will act as the managing unit and the General Intervention Board of the State Administration will act as an oversight and audit unit.

Citation:

Real Decreto 399/2020, de 25 de febrero, por el que se establecen las Comisiones Delegadas del Gobierno.

## United Kingdom

Score 9

The composition and terms of reference of cabinet committees are decided by the prime minister. The minister for the Cabinet Office generally also has an influential role, chairing 10 and sitting on all but two cabinet committees under the May government. The creation of implementation taskforces alongside conventional committees led to a net increase in committee numbers. After the change of prime minister in the summer of 2016, two noteworthy innovations were the establishment

of the European Union Exit and Trade Committee, and the Economy and Industrial Strategy Cabinet Committee, both of which were chaired by the prime minister. Additionally, a committee on social reform was created. However, leaks from cabinet ministers suggested that key decisions on Brexit were not adequately shared outside the prime minister's inner circle.

When Johnson succeeded May as prime minister, he radically altered the mix of committees, reducing them to just six, three of which were largely focused on concluding Brexit, the over-riding priority of his government. This exemplifies the UK government's tendency to reconfigure committees rapidly in response to shifts in political priorities, demonstrating the flexibility of the system, as it quickly did when Brexit was completed.

In response to the pandemic, new configurations were again created, with three new committees set up, while another was created to deal with the challenges of the UK approach to Afghanistan. At the time of writing, there were 20 committees listed on the government website. In some cases (e.g., for Global Britain or COVID-19), there are separate strategy and operations committees.

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

Citation:

[https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/720421/2018-06-27\\_DUP\\_CC\\_Transparency\\_Return\\_\\_October\\_to\\_March\\_\\_FINAL.pdf](https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/720421/2018-06-27_DUP_CC_Transparency_Return__October_to_March__FINAL.pdf)

<https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/the-cabinet-committees-system-and-list-of-cabinet-committees>

<https://www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk/publication/whitehall-monitor/whitehall-explained/cabinet-committees>

## Australia

### Score 8

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

Citation:

[https://www.aph.gov.au/Parliamentary\\_Business/Committees/Joint](https://www.aph.gov.au/Parliamentary_Business/Committees/Joint)

## Canada

**Score 8** Cabinet committees have both the legal and de facto power to prepare cabinet meetings in such a way as to allow the cabinet to focus on vital issues. The de facto power to sort out issues before they go to cabinet belongs to senior officials in the Privy Council Office and, should it be required, the Prime Minister's Office, not to cabinet committees. Still, this allows the cabinet to focus on strategic policy issues.

## France

**Score 8** Coordination is strong across the French government, and is in the hands of the PMO and the President's Offices, which liaise constantly and make decisions on every issue. Coordination takes place at several levels. First at the level of specialized civil servants who work as political appointees in the PMO (members of the cabinet, that is political appointees belonging to the staff of the prime minister), then in meetings chaired by the secretary-general and finally by the prime minister himself, in case of permanent conflicts between ministers or over important issues. In many instances, conflicts place the powerful budget minister or minister of finance in opposition to other ministries. Appeals to the prime minister require either a powerful convincing argument or that the appealing party is a key member of the government coalition, as it is understood that the prime minister should not be bothered by anything but the highest-level issues. A powerful instrument in the hands of the prime minister is his capacity to decide which texts will be presented to the parliament with priority. Given the frequent bottlenecks in the process, ministerial bills can end up indefinitely postponed.

The council of ministers takes place once a week. There are also a large number of interministerial committees chaired by the prime minister or the president. Most of these committees meet upon request. While plenty of them hold meetings every week, these are usually attended by the ministers dealing with the topics discussed, and include only the ministers and secretaries of state involved. In some cases, these meetings might be chaired by the secretary-general of either the President's Office or the Prime Minister's Office, two prestigious and powerful high civil servants who respectively serve as the voices of the president and prime minister. An ad hoc council dealing with the COVID-19 pandemic issue was set up under the direct authority of the president. It includes a rather unusual mix of ministers and bureaucrats as well as public and private experts.

In 2017, the new government introduced the practice of government seminars with the aim of improving cohesion and harmonization. The team spirit seems to have improved considerably in comparison with the past, given that many ministers are not professional politicians.

## Ireland

### Score 8

Cabinet committees are established by the government and managed by the Department of the Taoiseach. Cabinet committees derive their authority from government. Membership of cabinet committees includes cabinet ministers, ministers of state (junior ministers) and may also include the attorney general.

When a policy area cuts across departmental boundaries or is an urgent priority (e.g., Brexit or the COVID-19 pandemic), a common response is to set up a cabinet committee. The number of committees, and their relative size and composition is at the discretion of the Taoiseach. As such, there is no semi-permanent standing committee structure, as there is in some other countries.

For example, under the 2002 – 2007 government, there were 11 cabinet committees, in the following government there were only six.

This means that many government ministers will serve on multiple cabinet committees, sometimes simultaneously. In 2011, the minister for finance was a member of five out of eight cabinet committees. The essential job of cabinet committees is to coordinate policy initiatives, especially when substantive policy proposals concern multiple different ministries.

In 2022, there are 10 cabinet committees. The most recent addition focuses on COVID-19, while the other committees focus on economic recovery and investment; housing; healthcare; the environment and climate change; social affairs and equality; education; European affairs; Brexit and Northern Ireland, and government coordination (Gov, 2021). The committees range in size from six to 13 members, with the exception being the Government Coordination Committee, which brings together the three heads of the coalition parties and serves as a steering committee for the government program.

Each of the cabinet committees is supported by a group of senior officials from the civil service who meet in advance of the committee to prepare agendas and identify problem areas. It has been reported that, during the 2000s, “cabinet committees were attended not only by cabinet members but also by senior officials and often heads of agencies too” (Hardiman et al. 2012, 116).

In terms of their official composition, members are a mixture of full cabinet ministers and ministers of state. The taoiseach, tánaiste, minister for the environment, minister for finance, and minister for public expenditure and reform are members of each committee.



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

Citation:

Gov (2021) Cabinet Committees of the 32nd Government, Department of the Taoiseach, 05 January, available at: <https://www.gov.ie/en/organisation-information/48fd2-cabinet-committees-of-the-32nd-government/>

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

For information about Cabinet Committees see: [http://www.taoiseach.gov.ie/eng/Taoiseach\\_and\\_Government/Cabinet\\_Committees](http://www.taoiseach.gov.ie/eng/Taoiseach_and_Government/Cabinet_Committees)

## Italy

Score 8

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

Under the Draghi government, the ability of cabinet committees, some of them guided by the prime minister himself or by the finance minister, to review and coordinate proposals of strategic importance has significantly increased compared to previous cabinets.

## Luxembourg

Score 8

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

There are regular sessions of the government council. The government council includes ministers and sometimes state secretaries, although there are currently no state secretaries. There are no other cabinet committees outside the government council. Additional cabinet committees do not seem necessary as there are ad hoc meetings between relevant ministers on specific issues. The system is not rigid or predetermined, but works well.

Citation:

“Government.” The Luxembourg Government. (2021). <https://gouvernement.lu/en/systeme-politique/gouvernement.html>. Accessed 14 January 2022.

“Arrêté grand-ducal du 14 novembre 2014 fixant les règles déontologiques des membres du Gouvernement et leurs devoirs et droits dans l’exercice de la fonction” (Mém. A - 212 du 25 novembre 2014, p. 4161). <https://gouvernement.lu/dam-assets/fr/systeme-politique/gouvernement/rb-code-deontologie/Arrete-grand-ducal-du-14-novembre-2014-fixant-les-regles-deontologiques-des-membres-du-Gouvernement-et-leurs-devoirs-et-droits-dans-l'exercice-de-la-fo.pdf>. Accessed 14 January 2022.

## Slovenia

Score 8

Cabinet committees play an important role in the preparation of cabinet proposals in Slovenia and settle issues prior to the cabinet meeting. The Janša government, similar to previous governments, has kept the three standing cabinet committees: the Committee of State Matters and Public Issues, the Committee of National Economy and the Commission of Administrative and Personnel Matters. In the first 20 months of the Janša government, the three committees met 180 times in regular in-person meetings and 67 times at a correspondence sessions.

## United States

Score 8

The question for the U.S. system is whether, if the White House advisory processes prepare issues thoroughly for the president, and whether interagency committees prepare them thoroughly for decision by the relevant cabinet members. The U.S. system of advisory processes varies considerably, even within a single presidential administration, but is largely under control of the president’s appointees in the White House. The process is to a great extent ad hoc, with organizational practices varying over time and from one issue area to another. Typically, important decisions are “staffed out” through an organized committee process. However, the ad hoc character of organization, along with the typically short-term service of political appointees renders the quality of these advisory processes unreliable.

President Trump’s White House thoroughly neglected the role of managing an organized, systematic policy process. Decision processes were described as chaotic, even by insiders. The Biden administration has moved away from these chaotic processes with the goal of returning to the more orderly management style of the Obama administration, in which Biden served as vice-president.

## Lithuania

### Score 7

Although Lithuania's government can create advisory bodies such as government committees or commissions, the number and role of such committees has gradually declined since the beginning of the 2000s, when coalition governments became the rule. Top-priority policy issues are frequently discussed in governmental deliberations organized before the official government meetings. The Strategic Committee is composed of several cabinet ministers, the chancellor and a top prime-ministerial deputy who manages the government's performance priorities, policy and strategy. Another government committee, the Crisis Management Committee, advises the government on crisis management. A Governmental European Union Commission continues to act as a government-level forum for discussing Lithuania's EU positions; made up of relevant vice-ministers and chaired by the minister of foreign affairs. Separately, a new commission established at the end of 2018 has been tasked with developing a strategy for sustainably increasing the wages of public sector employees through 2025. In 2019, another commission was created to advise the government on issues related to technology, science and innovation. Furthermore, there is a commission focusing on the monitoring of national human resources, as well as a petitions commission. However, these coordination processes are often detached from the daily political agenda, and paid little attention by ministers, who are often driven by their party agendas; for example, this means that some policymakers show little interest in the EU agenda and its connection to Lithuania's national policies.

## Netherlands

### Score 7

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

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

However, since the Rutte I and II government, cabinets have consisted of two or more political parties of contrary and/or very divergent ideological character in the Second Chamber (the conservative-liberal VVD and the PvdA or Labor Party, in the

case of Rutte II; VVD, CDA, CU and D66 in Rutte III). Political pragmatism has tended to transform “review and coordination” to, in the Dutch political jargon, “smart positive exchange,” meaning that each party agrees tacitly or explicitly not to veto the other’s bills. This tendency has contributed to the public image of a “managerial” governing style, and may have had negative consequences for the quality of policymaking, as minority views in the cabinet have effectively won parliamentary majorities if they were feasible from a budgetary perspective, without first undergoing rigorous policy and legal analyses. In the second half of the Rutte III cabinet, much to the dismay of VVD and D66, government lost majority support in the Senate and, thus, had to garner ad hoc political support for its policy initiatives through elaborate negotiations with political parties that were not part of the governing coalition. Introducing a wider range of perspectives and decision criteria though, may have increased the quality of policymaking and the democratic nature of the process, given that not only ministerial committees but also political parties were involved.

Citation:

Trouw, Lagas. 14 February 2013. Heerlijk helder ruilen lukt VVD en PvdA niet.

Nu.nl., November 2, 2017. Rutte bereikt compromis en sluit bezuiniging wijkverpleegkundige uit.

Trouw, Kieskamp, 19 July 2020. Ruttjes lelijke akkefietje met de Eerste Kamer.

De Correspondent, Chavannes, 27 November 2020. De overheid werd een bedrijf dat mensen onverdiend wantrouwt. Alleen Kamer en kabinet kunnen die denkfout herstellen.

## Portugal

### Score 7

Most ordinary meetings of the Portuguese cabinet – the Council of Ministers – are used for policy decisions rather than strategic policy debates.

Political issues and strategic policy considerations are by-and-large prepared by an inner core of ministers, augmented by other ministers and staff when required. This inner core is an informal group, with a composition that can vary depending on the policy area.

In addition, Council of Ministers meetings are preceded by a formal weekly meeting of junior ministers (Reunião dos Secretários de Estado), which is intended to prepare the Council of Ministers meeting. These meetings of the junior ministers play a crucial role in filtering out and settling more technical issues prior to cabinet meetings. These meetings are chaired by the minister for the Presidency of the Council of Ministers (Presidência do Conselho dos Ministros), who has a seat in the Council of Ministers.

## South Korea

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

## Chile

**Score 6** Ministerial or cabinet committees are not necessarily central when it comes to decision-making on policy matters. Depending on the topic, ministerial committees are more or less involved in preparing cabinet proposals, especially those of relatively significant strategic or financial importance. These proposals are normally coordinated effectively.

## Croatia

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

## Greece

**Score 6** There are cabinet committees tasked with overseeing specific policy sectors. However, before 2019, with few exceptions, cabinet committees did not engage in systematic coordination over cabinet proposals. Since the change in government in July 2019, there has been a rejuvenation in cabinet committees and visible progress has been achieved in this field.

There are two permanent such councils, the Government Council on National Security (KYSEA) and the Government Council on Economic Policy (KYSOIP). The law provides also for the formation of ad hoc interministerial committees. Proposals of strategic or political importance are first reviewed in such committees, before then being submitted to the cabinet for government approval.

Citation:

The law reorganizing government committees is Law 4622/2019.

## Iceland

### Score 6

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

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

The number of ministerial committees to coordinate overlapping policy issues was reduced from seven to three in 2016, but has since been increased to six.

Citation:

Rules on procedures in ministerial committee meetings. (REGLUR um starfshætti ráðherranefnda. Nr. 166/2013 22. febrúar 2013).

Cabinet committees (Ráðherranefndir), <https://www.stjornarradid.is/rikisstjorn/radherranefndir/> Accessed 23 December 2021.

## Israel

### Score 6

The government is authorized to appoint cabinet committees (called ministerial committees) to handle different policy issues and is obligated to appoint certain committees such as the State Security Cabinet, which is in charge of foreign and security policy, and the ministerial committee for legislation. Currently, there are 23 ministerial committees on a wide range of topics. According to past studies, 50% of governmental decisions between 2009 and 2015 were first approved by a ministerial committee. The impact of ministerial committees on cabinet proposals and

operations varies. The permanent committees are considered pivotal to government work. Some of the ad hoc committees are also influential, while others reflect a more symbolic status.

Citation:

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

Data proves: Ayelet Shaked is the real prime minister of the State of Israel, June 2018,  
<https://www.haaretz.co.il/blogs/tomeravital/BLOG-1.6200567>

Friedberg, Chen, “The Knesset’s Committees – Foretold Failure?,” The Ben-Gurion Law Proposal –Amendments of ‘Basic Law: The Government,’ 2015

‘Decade of Ministerial Committees – comparative study’ – January 2016,

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

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

Much housing, little health: the priorities of the government are revealed, The Marker, 2017,  
<https://www.themarker.com/news/1.3263480>

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“The guidelines for government work,” PMO’s website (Hebrew)

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

The Ministerial Committee on Legislation postponed the discussion by 40% of the bills, Calcalist, May 2015,  
<https://www.calcalist.co.il/local/articles/0,7340,L-3688732,00.html>

‘Transparency in the Ministerial Committee for Legislation’ – February 2016, The Socia Guard, Transparency in the Ministerial Legislative Committee, (Hebrew)  
[http://fs.knesset.gov.il/%5C20%5CCommittees%5C20\\_cs\\_bg\\_325109.pdf](http://fs.knesset.gov.il/%5C20%5CCommittees%5C20_cs_bg_325109.pdf)

## Japan

### Score 6

Government committees exist in a number of important fields in which coordination among ministries with de facto overlapping jurisdictions plays an important role. The most important is the Council for Economic and Fiscal Policy (CEFP), headed by the prime minister. However, this has never been a “ministerial committee” in a strict sense. First, it has only an advisory function. Second, individuals from the private sector – two academics and two business representatives in the current configuration – are included. This can increase the impact of such councils, but it also means they are somewhat detached from political processes.

Former Prime Minister Abe (2012-2020) strengthened the formal role of the CEFP and setup the Headquarters for Japan’s Economic Revitalization as a “quasi-sub-committee” of the CEFP encompassing all state ministers. The CEFP or the Headquarters are expected to hold initial discussions on the assignment of policies to committees, while the cabinet has to approve decisions. However, given Abe’s strong grip on the policy process, council discussions lost some of their relevance.



There are currently four councils operating directly under the Cabinet Office: the CEFP, Council for Science and Technology Policy, Central Disaster Management Council, and Council for Gender Equality (CGE). Among them, the CGE probably has the lowest profile.

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

Citation:

Important councils, Cabinet Office, <https://www.cao.go.jp/en/importantcouncil.html> (accessed 17 February 2022)

'Bold' economic and fiscal policy in Japan becoming a mere facade, Editorial, The Mainichi, 22 June 2019, <https://mainichi.jp/english/articles/20190622/p2a/00m/0na/009000c>

## Malta

### Score 6

Malta's EU presidency helped to strengthen and refine Malta's cabinet and ministerial committees. Since the 2017 election, greater stress has been placed on such committees, which report to the cabinet. Most of these committees remain focused on issues that cut across ministerial portfolios, but some ad hoc committees are more focused on single ministerial policies. The new prime minister, who took office in 2020, has advocated for the use of special committees, and immediately set up a special cabinet committee for constitutional reform. In October 2020, the government set up a Cabinet Committee on Governance to implement all the recommendations on good governance and rule of law which have been submitted by the Venice Commission, GRECO and MONEYVAL. Another committee was tasked with exploring the decriminalization of personal cannabis use.

Citation:

Harwood Mark, Malta in the European Union 2014 Ashgate, Surrey  
<https://www.pressreader.com/>

## Slovakia

### Score 6

In Slovakia, cabinet committees composed exclusively of ministers are an exception. By contrast, other ministerial committees consisting of ministers and senior civil servants and chaired by the four appointed vice prime ministers or line ministers have played a major role in the preparation of government proposals, and have been quite effective in settling controversial issues prior to cabinet meetings. However, they are neither formally nor systematically involved in the preparation of cabinet meetings, partly as these bodies usually reside at the line ministries. In November 2020, the Matovič government established a new Government Council for the European Green Deal, led by the Ministry of the Environment.

## Turkey

### Score 6

Until the PMO was abolished in July 2018, the Better Regulation Group within the PMO ensured coordination among related agencies and institutions and improved the process of creating regulations. In addition, the government has created committees – such as the anti-terror commission under the Ministry of Interior, which includes officials from the ministries of Foreign Affairs and Justice, as well as other security departments. These are composed of ministers, experts, bureaucrats, and representatives of other bureaucratic bodies (such as those on legislation techniques, legislation management, and administrative simplification, and regulatory impact analysis) in highly important policy areas or when important or frequently raised issues were under consideration.

As of 1 August 2018, several coordination committees and boards, presidential policy councils, and other public institutions were established in association with the presidency. During the review period, observers have publicly pointed to the need for coordination mechanisms between the ministries, parliament and the governing party.

Citation:

Gözler, K. (2018). Mahalli İdareler Hukuku. Baskı, Ekin Kitabevi: Bursa.

## Cyprus

### Score 5

Forming ad hoc and ministerial committees is a regular practice, which derives from the need to coordination between ministries on policies with overlapping competences. The constitutional limit of ministries (11) creates multiple overlapping areas. Existing committees deal with sector-specific matters that are within the powers of many ministries. The formulation of policy frameworks is also within their purview. Departments or technical committees mainly from within the ministries support their work; in some cases, they may seek contributions from external experts. The scope of work and degree of efficiency in committee coordination are not easy to assess, given that no activity reports are published.

Citation:

1. Cabinet decides to set up committee to aid Lebanese people, Cyprus Mail, 21 August 2021, <https://cyprus-mail.com/2020/08/21/cabinet-decides-to-set-up-committee-to-aid-lebanese-people/>

## Czechia

### Score 5

The Czech government routinely establishes advisory and working bodies made up of cabinet members, ministry officials and other experts to support its activities. According to the issue under consideration, such entities may be given permanent or

temporary status. In addition, there are advisory bodies, commissions and councils that are managed by individual ministries and which deal with issues related to the ministries' portfolios. The most important ministerial committees are the National Security Council and the Committee for the European Union. During the COVID-19 pandemic, the Central Crisis Staff, a working body of the National Security Council for resolving crisis situations, has gained importance. The committees discuss and approve policy documents. However, they do so in an ad hoc fashion and are not systematically involved in the preparation of cabinet meetings.

## Germany

### Score 5

As a rule of thumb, the cabinet functions as an institution that formally ratifies policy decisions that have been made elsewhere. In principle, line ministers are responsible for policies within their own jurisdiction. Therefore, they have a strong leeway to pursue their own or their party's interests, though each ministry must to some extent involve other ministries while drafting bills. Formal cabinet committees do not play an important role in policymaking and are rarely involved in the review or coordination of proposals. One exception is the Federal Security Council, which coordinates security and defense policy and decides, for example, on arms exports.

## Hungary

### Score 5

The Orbán governments have occasionally set up cabinet committees, but such committees have played a subordinate role only in interministerial coordination, as the number of ministries has been limited and as there has been strong coordination from above. During the 2018–2022 parliamentary term, there were three committees: an economic cabinet, a cabinet on strategy and family issues (a mixed shop committee for various issues), and a national security cabinet.

## Mexico

### Score 5

Mexico is unusual, because the constitution does not recognize the cabinet as a collective body. Instead, Mexico has four sub cabinets, respectively dealing with economic, social, political and security matters. As a result, Mexico in practice has a system of cabinet committees each of them normally chaired by the president. The full cabinet never or hardly ever meets. Mexico's cabinet, as a collective, matters less than in most countries. The cabinet is not a supreme executive body as it is in, say, Britain. For one thing, there are a number of heads of executive agencies, with cabinet rank, who are not directly subject to a minister. President López Obrador is trying to reduce the importance and number of independent and autonomous bodies and agencies, as a means of increasing his power. By the end of the review period, many bodies had been staffed with loyal followers of the president. The central political figure has been and is the president.

## Romania

- Score 5** In Romania, ministerial committees, which are composed of one minister, deputy ministers and public servants, feature prominently in interministerial coordination. They are used for preparing decisions on issues that involve multiple ministries. However, de facto coordination of the process is typically led by the line ministry initiating the policy proposal. By contrast, committees consisting only of ministers or with several ministers are rare.

## Bulgaria

- Score 4** No cabinet or ministerial committees coordinate proposals for cabinet meetings in Bulgaria. There are many cross-cutting advisory councils that include several ministers or high-ranking representatives of different ministries and have some coordinating functions. These might thus be seen as functional equivalents to ministerial or cabinet committees. The role of the councils, which often feature rather broad membership, is quite limited in substantive terms. Inasmuch as there are individual members from various ministries who sit on a number of such committees, their personal involvement may ensure some level of coordination between proposals.

Formally and informally, in effect of the nature of the four-party coalition government, this tradition is subject to change, and to include more oversight on behalf of the ministers and the prime ministers.

## Poland

- Score 4** The number and role of cabinet committees under the PiS government have been limited. Conflicts among ministries are ultimately resolved not by cabinet committees but by PiS leader Kaczyński and his immediate circle, including Prime Minister Morawiecki. Since Kaczyński joined the cabinet as deputy prime minister in October 2020, he has been head of the newly created Committee of the Council of Ministers for National Security and Defense Affairs, a position that has given him formal oversight of the justice, defense and interior ministries.

## Austria

- Score 2** There have been no cabinet committees in the period under review. More generally, unlike coalition committees (informal meetings between senior representatives of the coalition parties), cabinet committees have not been a feature of executive organization and governance in the Second Republic.

However, in 2020, an institutionalized mechanism of coordination between various departments concerning youth issues (Koordination Jugendthemen) was created. This structure includes a coordination unit in each department, with the Chancellor's Office responsible for overall coordination.

Citation:

<https://www.bundestkanzleramt.gv.at/agenda/jugend/oesterreichische-jugendstrategie/koordination-der-jugendstrategie/koordination-bundesministerien-zu-jugendthemen.html>

## Estonia

### Score 2

Estonia does not have a committee structure within government, or any ministerial committee. Ministers informally discuss their proposals and any other pending issues at weekly consultative cabinet meetings. No formal voting or any other selection procedure is applied to issues discussed in consultative meetings.

## Latvia

### Score 2

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

However, since May 2019, following a resolution by the prime minister, the cabinet committee no longer meets. The last meeting took place on 15 April 2019. Issues that were once considered by the committee are now addressed either in the meetings of the state secretaries (if the issue is one that can be resolved at the civil service level), or in the meetings of the Cabinet of Ministers (if the issue can be resolved politically).

Special steering groups may also be set up to resolve disagreements and speed up decision-making. An example of this is the Operational Steering Group on COVID-19 issues.

Citation:

1. State Chancellery (2018), Report, Available at (in Latvian): [https://www.mk.gov.lv/sites/default/files/page/attachments/valsts\\_kancelejas\\_gada\\_parskats\\_2018\\_0.pdf](https://www.mk.gov.lv/sites/default/files/page/attachments/valsts_kancelejas_gada_parskats_2018_0.pdf), Last assessed: 06.01.2022.

2. Cabinet of Ministers (2019) According to the Resolution of the Prime Minister of 7 May 2019, the organization of meetings of the Cabinet Committee is not planned for the future, Available (in Latvian) at: <http://tap.mk.gov.lv/mk/mkksedes/saraksts/s/darbakartiba/?sede=654>, Last accessed: 06.01.2022.

## Switzerland

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

## Norway

- Score 1** There is none to little use of formal cabinet committees within Norway's political system. The whole cabinet meets several times a week and generally works together as a full-cabinet committee. Policy proposals which involve several ministries may be prepared by ad hoc committees consisting of state secretaries ("junior minister"), most often when the government is a coalition of parties. However, such ad hoc committees are rare, and should not be considered as part of standard procedures.

## Sweden

- Score 1** There are no standing cabinet committees in the Swedish system of government. Cabinet proposals are coordinated through iterations of sending drafts of bills to the concerned departments. This usually takes place at the middle level of the departments and thus does not involve the political level of the departments.

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

## Indicator

## Ministerial Bureaucracy

## Question

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

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

- 10-9 = Most policy proposals are effectively coordinated by ministry officials/civil servants.
- 8-6 = Many policy proposals are effectively coordinated by ministry officials/civil servants.
- 5-3 = There is some coordination of policy proposals by ministry officials/civil servants.
- 2-1 = There is no or hardly any coordination of policy proposals by ministry officials/civil servants.

## Estonia

## Score 10

Formal procedures of coordinating policy proposals are set in the rules of the national government. According to it, all relevant ministries must be consulted and involved in a consensus-building process before an amendment or policy proposal can be brought to the government. In addition to this formal procedure, senior civil servants from the various ministries consult and inform each other about coming proposals; deputy secretaries general are key persons in this informal consultation process. The entire consultation process is run via an online system of draft laws, the Information System for Legal Drafts (Eelnõude infosüsteem, EIS).

## Finland

## Score 10

Cabinet meetings are prepared by ministry officials and civil servants. Findings from a large-scale analysis several years ago into the internal politics and practices of the cabinet and ministries emphasized the existence of a cyclical culture of dependence between ministers and senior officials. One expression of this mutual dependence, according to the same analysis, was that ministers put greater trust in the advice of their subordinate civil servants than in the advice of ministerial colleagues. This pattern extends to all aspects of the cabinet's agenda. At times, civil servants can exercise significant influence. The former state secretary in the Ministry of Finance, Raimo Sailas, was widely considered to be highly influential. With regard to policy programs and similar intersectoral issues, coordination between civil servants of separate ministries happens as a matter of course. In specific matters, coordination may even be dictated. For instance, statements from the Ministry of Finance on economic and financial matters must be obtained by other ministries. On the whole,



given the decision-making culture, civil servants in different ministries are expected to engage in coordination. An unwritten code of behavior prescribes harmonious and smooth activity, and ministers or ministries are expected to subject projects that are burdensome or sensitive to a collective examination and analysis.

Citation:

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

## Switzerland

Score 10

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

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

Citation:

Vatter, Adrian (2020): *Der Bundesrat. Die Schweizer Regierung*. Zürich: NZZ

## Denmark

Score 9

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

## Citation:

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

## Latvia

### Score 9

Until recently, coordination of policy proposals was mandated at the state-secretary level, and new policy initiatives were officially announced at weekly state-secretary meetings.

With the introduction of the new Legislative Portal (TAP), there is no longer a formal announcement of new bills at the meetings of the state secretaries. Now everything new appears on the portal, with the reporting period for submitting opinions beginning at the point of appearance. This has made the process of developing legislation more transparent – the portal allows the draft project to be published during the formulation stage, and the development of the draft continues in a collaborative, documented, and transparent manner. The institutions that have created accounts on the TAP portal have the opportunity to track the progress of projects at each stage, and can submit their objections or proposals in a timely manner.

Institutions and natural persons that do not have an account on the TAP portal can provide an opinion on a discussion paper before the project is submitted for inter-institutional coordination, and can also track the progress of draft measures (e.g., withdrawn, agreed, accepted, submitted, developed). The TAP portal allows users to share the draft legislation with representatives of other institutions before sending it for review, thus eliminating errors in a timely manner. It is also possible to see the opinions submitted by all participants in the coordination process, including social partners and NGOs.

Issues can be fast-tracked at the request of a minister. Fast-tracking means that the usual procedures for gathering cross-sectoral and expert input can be circumvented, putting the efficacy of coordination at risk. In 2020, 40% of all issues before the cabinet were fast-tracked, an increase from 2018.

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

## Citation:

State Chancellery (2015, 2018, 2020), Reports (in Latvian), Available at: <https://www.mk.gov.lv/lv/content/gada-publiskie-parskati>, Last assessed: 10.01.2022.

## Luxembourg

### Score 9

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

#### Citation:

“Le cabinet ministériel.” Le gouvernement luxembourgeois. Ministère de la Fonction publiques (2021). <https://mfp.gouvernement.lu/fr/le-ministere/organisation/departements-ministeriels/cabinet-ministeriel.html>. Accessed 14 January 2022.

Bossaert, Danielle (2019): How size matters. In: forum, 2019, no. 394, pp. 32-34.

## New Zealand

### Score 9

The cabinet process is overseen by the cabinet office on the basis of clear guidelines, codified in the Cabinet Manual. The CabGuide online resource complements the procedural information available in the Cabinet Manual and contains guidance on how to use CabNet, the document management and workflow system that supports cabinet processes (Department of the Prime Minister and the Cabinet n.d.). Departmental chief executives typically meet with ministers prior to cabinet meetings to discuss the agenda and clarify matters. The amount and effectiveness of policy proposal coordination varies a great deal depending on the policy field. However, there is clearly coordination in the preparation of cabinet papers and required processes are specified in cabinet office circulars.

#### Citation:

Department of the Prime Minister and the Cabinet (n.d.) Cabinet Office. <https://dpmc.govt.nz/our-business-units/cabinet-office>

## Portugal

### Score 9

There are weekly junior minister meetings, with each ministry represented by one of its junior ministers (known in Portugal as secretaries of state). A key purpose of these meetings is to ensure policy coordination across ministries before proposals reach the cabinet.

These meetings are generally very effective in ensuring policy coordination across government. Furthermore, the work of assessing the various proposals within each ministry is not restricted only to the secretaries of state who attend the meeting, but also include ministerial advisers and, to some degree, senior public administration officials.

## United Kingdom

### Score 9

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

There were concerns that the workload required to deliver Brexit would undermine coordination within government. But, as expected, since the formal conclusion of the process, there has largely been a reversion to the usual procedures. Plans put forward by former adviser to the prime minister Dominic Cummings for a major reform of the civil service were not pursued further after he left Downing Street.

Several new coordination units, cutting across departments, were created in 2020 in response to the pandemic, testifying to a capacity to change means of coordination rapidly.

## Australia

### Score 8

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

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

## Canada

### Score 8

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

For policy proposals going forward to cabinet, line departments are, however, required to undertake the necessary consultations to ensure the proposal has been considered by other relevant ministries. Central agencies perform a critical oversight and steering role in this process. Moreover, during the pandemic a wide array of programming was rolled out quickly to respond both to urgent economic and health needs, necessitating close coordination among line departments as well with central agencies. This response is indicative of the coordination undertaken both horizontally among ministries as well from a central perspective.

## France

### Score 8

If a ministry wishes to get its proposals accepted or passed, it must liaise and coordinate with other ministries or agencies involved. For instance, the Macron Law on the economy (2015) had to be co-signed by 13 ministers. If this consultation has not taken place, objections expressed by other ministers or by the Council of State might deliver a fatal blow to a proposal. All ministries are equal, but some are more equal than others: for example, the finance minister is a crucial, omnipresent and indispensable actor. Usually, the coordination and consultation processes are placed under the responsibility of a “rapporteur,” usually a lawyer from the ministerial bureaucracy (which is also in charge of arguing and defending the draft bill before the Council of State, whose intervention is crucial even beyond the purely legal point of view). The dossier is always followed by a member of the minister’s staff who communicates with his/her counterparts and tries to smooth the process as much as possible. In the most difficult cases (when ministers back up strongly the positions of their respective civil servants), the prime minister has to step in and settle the matter.

## Chile

### Score 7

Ministry staff and civil servants do not always play a dominant role in the drafting of policy proposals before those proposals reach ministerial committees. Depending on the ministry and the importance of the proposal, officials and civil servants are more

or less effectively involved in the preparation and coordination process. Ministry staff and civil servants can request technical support in particular subject-matter areas from the Library of the National Congress of Chile (BCN).

Citation:

Library of the National Congress of Chile (Biblioteca del Congreso Nacional de Chile, BCN), <https://www.bcn.cl/portal>, last accessed: 13 January 2022.

## Germany

Score 7

Ex ante coordination between the line ministries' leading civil servants has not been particularly strong under past German coalition governments. In addition, an entrenched political practice ensures that no ministry makes any proposal that might be postponed or blocked by other ministries. The federal Ministry of Finance must be involved when budgetary resources are concerned, while complicated legal or constitutional issues necessitate the involvement of the federal Ministry of Justice. But generally, every ministry is fully responsible for its own proposed bills. In line with § 17 of the Rules of Procedure of the Federal Government (Geschäftsordnung der Bundesregierung), all controversial issues are in general already settled before being discussed by the cabinet.

Citation:

No change to last round.

## Iceland

Score 7

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

## Italy

Score 7

Before every Council of Ministers meeting there is a preparatory meeting – the “pre-consiglio” – where the heads of all legislative ministerial offices filter and coordinate the proposals to be submitted to the Council of Ministers meeting. The head of the Department for Juridical and Legislative Affairs of the Presidency of the Council of Ministers chairs these meetings. Proposals on which there is no agreement will rarely make it to the Council of Ministers. Further informal meetings between ministerial

officials take place at earlier stages of drafting. However, the bureaucracies of individual ministries are normally protective of their prerogatives and are not keen to surrender autonomy. Under the Draghi government, the PMO has regained its coordination ability, which had declined under the Conte cabinets.

## Japan

### Score 7

The LDP-led government in power since 2012 has worked effectively with the bureaucracy. In 2014, the government introduced a Cabinet Bureau of Personnel Affairs tasked with helping the prime minister make appointment decisions regarding the 600 elite bureaucrats in ministries and other major agencies. This significantly expanded the Cabinet Office's involvement in the process and its influence over the ministerial bureaucracy. There are more political appointees in the ministries than before, and during Abe's long spell in power (2012-2020), the average stay of such appointees became longer, giving them greater expertise and clout in their ministries. There are growing concerns that basing the promotion of senior ministry civil servants on political considerations and personal allegiances may diminish their utility in terms of offering neutral expertise.

Citation:

Hideaki Tanaka, Should Civil Servants Offer Allegiance or Expertise? Lessons from the Moritomo and Kake Scandals, Tokyo Foundation for Policy Research, 1 May 2018, <http://www.tokyoofoundation.org/en/articles/2018/role-of-civil-servants>

## Lithuania

### Score 7

The process of drafting laws and resolutions requires consultation with the ministries and state institutions affected by the issue. The coordination process is led by the ministry responsible for a given issue area. Coordination takes place at various levels of the administrative hierarchy: coordination at the civil-servant level is followed by that of ministerial representatives (junior ministers and ministerial chancellors) representing the ministries at the government level. The latter meetings, which had been initially discontinued under the Skvernelis government, were later reintroduced in the form of inter-institutional meetings after a change of the government chancellor.

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



## Norway

### Score 7

Senior civil servants and political appointees play an important role in preparing cabinet decisions. For all proposed decisions, a short paper describing the case, and the argument for the proposal, is circulated between all ministers in advance. This process follows fixed procedures, and matters must be appropriately prepared before being presented to the cabinet. This includes the creation of documentation alerting cabinet ministers to the essentials of a proposal, thus allowing cabinet meetings to focus on strategic issues and avoid being distracted by routine business details. Most issues on the agenda have been prepared well before the meeting.

## South Korea

### Score 7

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

Some attempts to improve coordination among ministries are being made. Various interministerial coordination mechanisms have been implemented on the basis of sector and theme, such as the interministerial coordination system for ODA. Moreover, it is expected that the efficiency of and communication between government agencies will be improved by the introduction of a new records-retrieval system. The National Archives and Records Administration (NIS) has announced that it will establish a search and retrieval service in consultation with the Ministry of Patriots and Veterans Affairs. However, in spite of the Blue House’s political dominance, the Moon government has exhibited numerous cases of coordination failure among relevant ministries. For example, the Blue House, the Ministry of Land, Infrastructure and Transport, and the Ministry of Strategy and Finance have failed to communicate and coordinate effectively on real estate policy, a fact that has contributed to skyrocketing prices and increasing inequality. A particularly contentious interagency battle took place in 2019-2020, as the Ministry of Justice pushed for and the Supreme Prosecutor’s Office blocked President Moon’s prosecutorial reform initiative.

Citation:

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

Shin, Mitch. “South Korea’s Prosecutor General Wins Another Court Battle against the Government.” The Diplomat, December 22, 2021. <https://thediplomat.com/2020/12/south-koreas-prosecutor-general-wins-another-court-battle-against-the-government/>.

## Spain

### Score 7

The two most important senior bureaucratic positions in the ministries are the secretaries of state, who play a role much like that of junior ministers but do not formally belong to the cabinet, and the undersecretaries, who are career civil servants who typically act as department administrators. These figures meet in the so-called General Committee of Undersecretaries and Secretaries of State. This committee effectively prepares the Council of Ministers’ weekly sessions, which are held on Tuesdays. The deputy prime minister and head of the Government Office (GO) chairs the meetings of this preparatory committee in which all draft bills, all appointments and any other ministerial proposals are discussed and scheduled as a part of the Council of Ministers’ agenda. A provisional agenda is published by the GO a week before the cabinet meeting. The GO also collects and circulates all relevant documents for discussion by the line ministers. On Tuesday mornings, the prime minister’s advisers assess the relative importance of agenda items and identify where there are likely to be divergent positions. Thus, the meetings of the preparatory committee perform an important gatekeeping function in returning problematic proposals to the appropriate line ministry and forwarding the remaining proposals to the Council of Ministers.

The role of high-ranking civil servants is crucial in the preparation of policy proposals within every line ministry, but their subsequent involvement in horizontal coordination with other ministries is very limited. In fact, and as a consequence of the strong departmentalization, every ministry tends to act within its area of competence or jurisdiction, avoiding proposals which may involve other ministries. Although many administrative interministerial committees formally exist, in practice these committees do not coordinate the drafting of policy proposals or decision-making between different ministries. However, the creation of the Technical Committee in 2021, and the additional creation of the new interministerial commission on the implementation of the RRF, which is chaired by the prime minister, will increase cooperation and standardize procedures among the line ministries.

Citation:

Orden HFP/1030/2021, de 29 de septiembre, por la que se configura el sistema de gestión del Plan de Recuperación, Transformación y Resiliencia (BOE 30 de septiembre)

## Sweden

### Score 7

Most of the day-to-day coordination on policy matters is handled at the administrative level, and does not involve the political level of the departments. However, as soon as coordination takes place on a political dimension, it is “lifted” to the political level.

Coordination within the GO remains a significant problem, although some measures have been implemented to address that problem. Many departments still find it difficult to coordinate policy across departmental boundaries. Departments that were formed through mergers of departments tend to display “subcultures” of the former departments (Jacobsson, Pierre, and Sundström, 2015; Niemann, 2013). The government has initiated a coordinated approach involving collaboration along policy sectors as a means of preventing the work from slipping into a silo mentality (Regeringskansliet, 2021).

Citation:

Jacobsson, Bengt, Jon Pierre and Göran Sundström. 2015. “Governing the Embedded State.” Oxford University Press.

Niemann, Cajsa. 2013. “Villkorat Förtroende. Normer och Rollförväntningar i Relationen Mellan Politiker och Tjänstemän i Regeringskansliet.” Department of Political Science, University of Stockholm.

Regeringskansliet (Government Offices of Sweden). 2021. “Regeringens Strategiska Samverkansprogram.” <https://www.regeringen.se/regeringens-politik/regeringens-strategiska-samverkansprogram/>

## Austria

### Score 6

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

Because the Austrian bureaucracy is organized along the lines of a (British-style) civil service system, though with considerably higher levels of informal party politicization, the different ministerial bureaucracies tend to be stable in their political makeup and therefore immune to short-term political influences. However, the creation of secretary-generals at the top of departments in 2017, a system that has been continued by ÖVP-Green government (since 2020), has reduced the autonomy of civil servants.

## Greece

### Score 6

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

However, in the period under review, there were serious steps toward de-politicizing the civil service. The meritocratic selection of senior civil servants in particular was finally improved after the change in government in July 2019. The new government proceeded to fill the director general posts by following regulations provided by law regarding the selection of better educated and more experienced (civil servant) candidates. Political influences over selection procedures were not completely absent, but compared to the past there was much less politicization.

The government also passed legislation depoliticizing high-ranking ministerial positions. It created in every ministry the post of service secretary, which is reserved for senior civil servants, who are selected by a non-politicized committee of the Higher Council for the Selection of Civil Service Personnel (the ASEP). The post of service secretary was established to isolate the management of routine ministry work and the management of human resources of ministries from government interference. The new post was placed on the side of the post of general secretary, which is normally occupied by a political appointee, responsible for seeing through the implementation of government policy. In 2021, new legislation reorganized some of the procedures of the ASEP and streamlined the recruitment of new public sector employees.

Citation:

The new law on higher civil service is Law 4622/2019 while the new law regulating recruitment of new public employees is Law 4765/2021.

## Ireland

### Score 6

Responsibility for policy coordination lies with the Department of the Taoiseach). However, to be truly effective in this area the office would require greater analytical expertise across many policy areas than it has at present. Despite much rhetoric about “joined-up government,” the coordination of policy proposals across ministries has traditionally been relatively weak, with conflicting policies pursued in different parts of the civil service. For example, employment creation can take precedence

over environmental considerations and local planning processes often do not mesh with national housing policies.

While coordination across government is often an up-hill battle, the development of the cabinet committee system has somewhat improved matters. Hardiman et al (2012, p.120) conclude, “perhaps the most significant organizational change aimed at improving cross-departmental coordination has been the growing reliance on the cabinet committee system.”

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

Hardiman, N., Regan, A., & Shayne, M. ‘The Core Executive: The Department of the Taoiseach and the Challenge of Policy Coordination, in Eoin O’Malley and Muiris MacCarthaigh (eds, 2012), *Governing Ireland: From Cabinet Government to Delegated Governance*. Dublin: IPA.

O’Malley, E. & Martin, S. ‘The Government and the Taoiseach,’ in John Coakley and Michael Gallagher, *Politics in The Republic of Ireland*. (Routledge, 2018).

## Malta

### Score 6

The public service has been at the heart of recent efforts to enhance collaboration at all levels, within ministries and across ministries. The government office (GO) has gone to great lengths to enhance ministries’ personnel capacities for this purpose. This is done through focused training and targeted recruitment efforts. In nearly all cases, it is now compulsory for top senior managers to hold post-graduate degrees, and existing personnel are offered bursaries and time off to pursue such qualifications.

In 2017, the first 12 key performance indicators (KPIs) for the public service were put into place. This is a new concept for Malta’s public service, and is designed to establish clear objectives that need to be attained within a specific time-frame. A “mystery shopper” for government departments was also introduced, with the aim of identifying shortcomings in service delivery and allowing such situations to be remedied. A recent study has demonstrated the impact on policy coordination resulting from these reforms. The 2020 study by the Audit Office on Government Implementation of the SDGs states that “the governance structure for poverty is appropriately designed, functions in an efficient and effective manner, and has addressed most of the strategic actions set. This governance structure takes the form of an interministerial committee, which is responsible for the implementation of the National Strategic Policy for Poverty Reduction and Social Inclusion 2014–2024. The Committee is chaired by the Ministry for the Family, Children’s Rights and Social Solidarity, and includes the ministries responsible for education, employment, culture, health.” However, the report recommends that outside experts should be included.

Citation:

<https://www.pressreader.com/>

[https://education.gov.mt/en/education/myScholarship/Documents/OPM%20Circular%2019\\_2016%20%20%20BA%20Work%20and%20HR.pdf](https://education.gov.mt/en/education/myScholarship/Documents/OPM%20Circular%2019_2016%20%20%20BA%20Work%20and%20HR.pdf)

[http://www.grtu.org.mt/index.php/publications-resources/publication-after-2010/publications-in-2013/2849-Tackling\\_bureaucracy](http://www.grtu.org.mt/index.php/publications-resources/publication-after-2010/publications-in-2013/2849-Tackling_bureaucracy)

Tackling\_bureaucracy

Dec 2020 – A review of implementation of Sustainable Development Goal 1 – Malta's efforts at alleviating poverty – download

## Mexico

### Score 6

Traditionally, there has been little real distinction in Mexico between high-ranking civil servants and politicians, though the relationship between them has varied quite a bit over time. The upper levels of the administration consist overwhelmingly of presidential appointments, with only a limited number of career bureaucrats. Two prominent exceptions are the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, where bureaucratic expertise has always played a major role. The politicization of the cabinet, which has increased under the three recent administrations, is constraining its ability to coordinate policy proposals due to the centrifugal tendencies. On the other hand, the previously mentioned independent agencies are often characterized by higher levels of bureaucratic professionalism. President López Obrador's cabinet is filled with politicians who are close to the president, and decision-making is centralized in the presidency. Because of this personalization and centralization, policy proposals are effectively controlled by the presidency and ministries.

## Romania

### Score 6

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

## Slovenia

### Score 6

The government rules of procedure establish clear mechanisms to ensure effective cooperation between the ministries. They require the consultation of all ministries that are concerned before the submission of bills to the cabinet. While senior civil servants are thus heavily involved in the coordination of legislation, the effectiveness

of this coordination has suffered from the deteriorating quality and increasing politicization of the upper echelons of civil service.

## United States

### Score 6

In general, there is an expectation of interagency coordination at various levels of the bureaucracy. The quality of this coordination varies, and as with cabinet-level coordination, it is adversely affected by the short-term service of political appointees, which results in underdeveloped working relationships across agencies. President Trump failed to appoint or nominate people to occupy many of the important political-appointee positions in the agencies. In addition, permanent staff departed. President Biden is seeking to undo the damage made during the Trump administration through a bold hiring campaign, the largest in decades. This campaign should help rejuvenate an aging federal civil service.

## Belgium

### Score 5

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

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

## Cyprus

### Score 5

The broad area that each of the 11 ministries is responsible for has been extended to new fields since EU membership. Ministry officials and civil servants participate in ad hoc bodies or seek coordination with other ministries and formulate policy proposals. Final decisions rest with the ministers themselves, who sometimes apply political criteria. While ministers have exclusive powers within their ministry, bureaucrats have an increasingly significant role in formulating policies and proposals.

The new Directorate General of Coordination (DGC) under the Ministry of Finance may turn it into a centralized coordination body, increasing consultation and coordination between line ministries.



Citation:

1. More coordination needed to help unaccompanied minors, Cyprus Mail, 22 November 2021, <https://cyprus-mail.com/2021/11/22/more-coordination-needed-to-help-unaccompanied-minors/>

## Czechia

### Score 5

As part of the interministerial coordination process, some coordination among line ministry civil servants occurs. Senior ministry officials are generally crucial in collecting and discussing comments on proposed legislation. The definition of their roles and responsibilities was improved through the civil service law, which went into effect at the beginning of 2015 and regulates the legal status of state employees in administrative offices and represents a significant step toward establishing a stable and professional public administration. In some cases, coordination between ministries even takes the form of contracts. For instance, there is a memorandum of mutual cooperation between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Culture in order to improve the international representation of Czech culture.

## Hungary

### Score 5

Due to the limited number of ministries in the Hungarian government and consequently the huge size of many ministries, interministerial coordination has, to some extent, been replaced with intraministerial coordination, especially within the Ministry of Human Resources (EMMI), the largest of the superministries. In some cases, these superministries are black holes where the most important issues disappear, like the COVID-19 crisis management in the Ministry of Interior or EU affairs in the Ministry of Justice. In addition to policy coordination by the Prime Minister's Office, senior ministry officials meet in order to prepare cabinet meetings.

## Israel

### Score 5

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

This lack of communication partially results from the government's highly centralized budget process, which is controlled by the Ministry of Finance, as this process makes public servants defensive of limited and strictly supervised resources. In 2016, a report by the State Comptroller suggested that the lack of communication regarding foreign affairs is a result of the transfer of duties from away from main

ministries such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to other ministries. The report also asserted that interministerial disagreements are delaying the publication of regulations necessary for the implementation of laws.

More so, it seems that in some cases various ministries are responsible for the same topic or field of expertise and that there is no coordination between them. This is somewhat deliberate as some of the reforms reflect the personal interests of the prime minister's agenda. For example, the Ministry of Strategic Affairs and Public Diplomacy and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs came into conflict regarding BDS movements and the question of which ministry was responsible given the lack of coordination between the ministries.

Citation:

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

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

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

Haber, Carmi, "Managerial culture blocks to implementing open government policy," The Israel Democracy Institute (March 2013) (Hebrew)

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<https://www.idi.org.il/articles/25492>

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

"The division of electronics and technologies," Accountant General website (Hebrew) "The guide for governmental sharing: A model for cooperation between ministries," official state publication, 2013: <http://www.ihaklai.org.il/Portals/0/Documents/articles/הלשמה%20ידידשם%20הלועפ%20היותשל%20לדומ> (Hebrew)

The Foreign Affairs Ministry closes the department that handled BDS  
<https://www.ynet.co.il/articles/0,7340,L-4991405,00.html>

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

The Open Administration Work Plan for 2018-2019, Israel's ICT Authority, <http://yoursay.gov.il/cio/File/Index/nap3hebrew/>

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

## Netherlands

### Score 5

Since the 2006 elections, politicians have demanded a reduction in the number of civil servants. This has resulted in a loss of substantive expertise, with civil servants essentially becoming process managers. For example, during the beginning of the pandemic and through a good deal of the later events, the Ministry of Public Health had no medical experts among its top-level civil servants. Moreover, it has undermined the traditional relations of loyalty and trust between (deputy) ministers and top-level officers. The former have broken the monopoly formerly held by senior staff on the provision of policy-relevant information and advice by turning increasingly to outside expertise such as consultants and lobbyists. Top-level officers have responded with risk-averse and defensive behavior exemplified by professionally driven organizational communication and process management. They have embraced some Dutch variation of New Public Management (NPM) thinking and practices. One of the results is that in the 2019 International Civil Service Effectiveness Index (InCiSE), the Netherlands received a below-average score in the area of policymaking.

The upshot is that ministerial compartmentalization in the preparation of Council of Ministers meetings has increased. Another, recently severely criticized NPM-related impact has been the sharp organizational boundary between policy formulation and implementation in independent administrative organizations (Zelfstandige Bestuurs Organen, ZBO) like the Social Security Bank (Sociale VerzekeringsBank, SVB) for pensions and children's allowances; the Implementation Institute for Employee Benefits (Uitvoeringsinstituut WerknemersVerzekeringen, UWV) for a raft of different employee benefits; and even the tax authorities, which no longer just collect taxes but also manage a gamut of tax benefits/incentives for thousands of eligible families, such as the now scandal-ridden child assistance benefits. The consequence has been that policy is off-loaded to implementation institutions without thorough feasibility testing, let alone prior assessment of impacts on citizens. The neoliberal mood also meant that the monitoring and oversight bodies, the inspectorates, were overburdened and understaffed.

Citation:

Your citations

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

NRC.next, 30 June 2021. VWS volgt altijd de Gezondheidsraad – bij gebrek aan kennis

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

Vereniging voor Bestuurskunde, van den Berg, August 31, 2017. De ongemakkelijke waarheid van Tjeenk Willink.

De Correspondent, Den Haag bestuurt het land alsof het een bedrijf is. En democratie heeft het nakijken, 29 June 2018

International Civil Service Effectiveness Index (InCiSE), 2019, p. 54

## Poland

### Score 5

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

## Slovakia

### Score 5

In Slovakia, senior ministry officials have traditionally been heavily involved in the interministerial coordination process at the drafting stage. In contrast, coordination at the lower levels of the ministerial bureaucracy has suffered from a strong departmentalist culture and the top-down approach taken in most ministries. Professionalism and efficiency in public administration have been suffering from the growth in the size of the central state apparatus, the lack of qualified staff in the civil service and clientelist and politicized appointment practices. The Matovič government tried to improve the quality of public administration by fostering the use of a new Common Assessment Framework (CAF) as a comprehensive management tool. At the same time, the Matovič and Heger governments have stuck to the clientelist approaches to civil service nominations they had criticized fiercely in the past. In October 2021, parliament passed an amendment to the civil service law, which provides for the unconditional dismissal of senior civil servants by the Secretary-General of the Service who serves at the Interior Ministry.

## Turkey

### Score 5

Following the introduction of the presidential system, Decree No. 703 abolished the offices of an undersecretary, deputy undersecretary, and central governor. Instead, deputy ministers, who usually come from the private sector and are politically well-connected to the government, acquired the highest position within a hierarchical structure. In addition, some traditionally strong institutions were either weakened or abolished. The State Planning Organization, which was one of the most respected institutions in Turkey, was abolished. Instead, the Ministry of Development was founded. Similarly, the Ministry of Finance, which had a traditionally strong bureaucratic structure, was subject to severe restructuring.

Citation:

Strateji ve Bütçe Başkanlığı. 2021. <https://www.sbb.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2021/10/2022-Yili-Cumhurbaskanligi-Yillik-Programi-26102021.pdf>

Gözler, K. (2018). Mahalli İdareler Hukuku. Baskı, Ekin Kitabevi: Bursa.

## Bulgaria

### Score 4

Some coordination of policy proposals by ministry officials and civil servants takes place, but the relevant issues are usually resolved at the political level. Within the ministries, a departmentalist culture has prevailed, characterized by a high segmentation / insulation of ministries and little interministerial coordination on the level of senior civil servants.

The organizational structure of the December 2021 cabinet was intended to change this culture. One element of the new structure has been an intended closer oversight on the part of the prime minister and the finance minister, who is also a deputy prime minister.

## Croatia

### Score 4

Coordination between line ministries in shaping certain elements of public policies is normatively determined by the Rules of Procedure of the Government. The direct coordination of policy proposals by ministries is limited. There is no stable and transparent scheme for settling interministerial differences within the bureaucracy. The ministries in charge of drafting proposals rarely set up working groups that include peers from other ministries or government bodies. Deadlines for comments by other ministries are often too abbreviated, capacities for comments are sometimes inadequate, and comments made by other ministries are often not taken seriously. In addition, there are no clear criteria as to when multi-sectoral working groups need to be formed for particular policy proposals.

Citation:

Musa, A., Petak, Z. (2015): Coordination for Policy in Transition Countries: Case of Croatia, in: *Mednarodna revija za javno upravo/International Public Administration Review* 13(3-4): 117-159.

## Indicator

## Informal Coordination

## Question

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

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

- 10-9 = Informal coordination mechanisms generally support formal mechanisms of interministerial coordination.
- 8-6 = In most cases, informal coordination mechanisms support formal mechanisms of interministerial coordination.
- 5-3 = In some cases, informal coordination mechanisms support formal mechanisms of interministerial coordination.
- 2-1 = Informal coordination mechanisms tend to undermine rather than complement formal mechanisms of interministerial coordination.

## Finland

## Score 10

Intersectoral coordination has generally been perceived as an important issue in Finnish politics, but rather few institutional mechanisms have in fact been introduced. One of these is the *Iltakoulu* (evening session), an informal meeting between the ministers with the objective of discussing and preparing key matters to be handled in the government's plenary session the following day. In addition, there are other informal government meetings and items can also be referred to informal ministerial working groups. To a considerable extent, then, coordination proceeds effectively through informal mechanisms. Recent large-scale policy programs have enhanced intersectoral policymaking; additionally, Finland's membership in the European Union has of course necessitated increased interministerial coordination. Recent research in Finland has only focused tangentially on informal mechanisms, but various case studies suggest that the system of coordination by advisory councils has performed well.

Citation:

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

<https://valtioneuvosto.fi/en/government/informal-government-meetings-and-ministerial-working-groups>

## Hungary

## Score 10

The strong formal role of Prime Minister Orbán and his Prime Minister's Office is complemented by informal coordination mechanisms. As the power concentration has further increased in the fourth Orbán government, so has the role of informal

decision-making. Orbán regularly brings together officials from his larger circle in order to give instructions. In a way, formal mechanisms only serve to legalize and implement improvised and hastily made decisions by the prime minister.

## Greece

### Score 9

After the change in government in 2019, coordination mechanisms were formalized much more than in the past. The center of the government (i.e., the Presidency of Government and the directorates of coordination, established in each government ministry in 2019) left little space for informal coordination among ministries. Nevertheless, particularly in periods of crisis (e.g., the pandemic of 2020–2021 and the wildfires of 2021), informal coordination has been undertaken by the deputy prime minister, one additional minister and one junior minister without portfolio, who were appointed to serve directly under the prime minister and tasked with steering the government mechanism.

## Japan

### Score 9

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

The LDP-led government in power since 2012 has skillfully navigated between the coalition partners, line ministries and their bureaucrats, and the public. The chief cabinet secretary is a key actor in this regard. Cabinet meetings are essentially formalities, with sensitive issues informally discussed and decided beforehand. Ministries collect and make public few, if any, records of meetings between politicians and bureaucrats as they are supposed to do under the 2008 Basic Act of Reform of the National Civil Servant System.

The general trend toward greater transparency may even have strengthened the role of informality in order to avoid awkward situations. In a number of instances, it has become apparent that senior agencies have deleted files relating to discussions extremely early. In 2019, the chief cabinet secretary admitted that no records of meetings between the prime minister and senior officials are kept at the prime minister's office.

Citation:

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



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

Tadashi Kobayashi and Taiji Mukohata, Japan trade ministry told employees to obscure meeting records, The Mainichi, 30 August 2018, <https://mainichi.jp/english/articles/20180830/p2a/00m/0na/004000c>

Hiroyuki Oba, Suga admits Japan PM office kept no records of meetings between Abe, gov't agency execs, The Mainichi, 4 June 2019, <https://mainichi.jp/english/articles/20190604/p2a/00m/0na/011000c>

## Luxembourg

### Score 9

There are many opportunities for informal coordination given Luxembourg's small size, close-knit society and interconnected government administration. Public administration staffers responsible for early policy research and formulation are typically well familiar with representatives of social organizations and members of civil society research institutions. In such a small state, there are many opportunities for informal contact between public servants and experts from research institutions, business and civil society. Senior civil servants are simultaneously responsible for multiple projects, have an enormous workload, and represent the government within a number of different bodies, boards and committees.

Citation:

Bossaert, Danielle (2008): Die Modernisierung der öffentlichen Verwaltung und des öffentlichen Dienstes im Großherzogtum Luxemburg in: Wolfgang H. Lorig (ed.): *Moderne Verwaltung in der Bürgergesellschaft*, Nomos Verlag, Baden-Baden, pp. 298 – 312.

## New Zealand

### Score 9

In addition to formal coordination, there are a number of informal channels between coalition partners, government and legislative support parties (parliamentary rather than extra-parliamentary), and ministers and their parliamentary advisers. Although media commentary tends to not draw a distinction between formal coalitions (e.g., Labour/NZ First, 2017-2020) and non-coalition support parties (e.g., Green Party, 2017-2020), the Cabinet Manual seeks to at least formally clarify which procedures should be used as a guideline in case of informal coordination. It is important to mention, however, that the coordination process is largely limited to party leadership and excludes the extra-parliamentary wing of the party (i.e., party members, activists and officials).

Citation:

Cabinet Office Circular CO (17) 10, Labour-New Zealand First Coalition, with Confidence and Supply from the Green Party: Consultation and Operating Arrangements. December 17, 2017. <https://dpmc.govt.nz/sites/default/files/2017-12/coc-17-10.pdf>

## Switzerland

### Score 9

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

#### Citation:

Mavrot, Céline, and Fritz Sager (2018). Vertical epistemic communities in multilevel governance. *Policy & Politics*, Volume 46, Number 3, pp. 391-407.

## Australia

### Score 8

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

## Canada

### Score 8

Canada's federal system has no formal provisions that deal specifically with federal-provincial coordination. Pressing federal-provincial issues and other matters that require intergovernmental discussions are usually addressed in the First Ministers' Conference, which includes the prime minister, provincial premiers and territorial leaders, along with their officials. These meetings are called by the prime minister and have typically been held annually, but there is no formal schedule. The lack of any requirement for the conference to be held regularly has been a cause for concern, as it is critical for first ministers and the prime minister to engage in face-to-face discussions or negotiations, given the many policy areas that demand federal-provincial coordination.

During the pandemic, however, the mechanisms for federal-provincial-territorial (F/P/T) coordination were activated on a relatively sustained basis as the country grappled with the crisis, including economic shocks, procurement shortages, vaccine rollout and acute shortages within the healthcare system. As a result the period since March of 2020 has been one of the most active periods of F/P/T consultations, at times with First Ministers' calls occurring on a weekly basis.

## Chile

- Score 8** Informal coordination plays an important role in settling issues so that the cabinet can focus on strategic-policy debates. Existing informal mechanisms might be characterized as “formal informality,” as informal coordination mechanisms are de facto as institutionalized as formal ones in daily political practice.

## Denmark

- Score 8** Given that Danish governments are typically either minority or coalition governments, informal contact and coordination is important. The country’s consensus-driven political tradition means that this also applies to contacts with interest groups, particularly employer and employee organizations that play an important role in shaping labor market and collective bargaining issues. Tripartite agreements are a frequent phenomenon in this context. Informal mechanisms can help boost the efficiency of formal meetings while important decisions must, of course, be confirmed in more formal settings. At the political level, informal mechanisms are probably more important than formal ones.

Citation:

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

## France

- Score 8** A crucial factor and essentially an invisible coordination mechanism is the “old-boy network” built by former students from the elitist “grandes écoles” (École nationale d’administration (ENA), École Polytechnique, Mines, ParisTech, etc.), or by members of the same “grands corps” (prestigious bureaucracies such as Inspection générale des Finances, the diplomatic services, the Council of State and so on). Most ministries (except perhaps the least powerful or those considered as marginal) include one or several persons from this high civil servant super-elite who know each other or are bound by informal bonds of solidarity. These high civil servants (especially “énarques” from ENA) also work in the PMO or the president’s office, further strengthening this informal connection. The system is both efficient and not transparent, from a procedural point of view. It is striking, for instance, how much former President Hollande relied on people who were trained with him at ENA, and to whom he offered key positions in the political administration – ranging from ministerial positions or the chair of the central bank to many other high offices. President Macron has maintained these informal links.

## Ireland

### Score 8

All governments in Ireland since 1989 have been coalition governments. The 2016 general election produced a Fine Gael-led minority government with nine independent deputies. This government was dependent on the abstentionism of the main opposition party, Fianna Fáil, in votes relating to confidence and supply. The government in office since 2020 is a novel coalition of Fianna Fáil and Fine Gael – who between them have led every government since the foundation of the state, but never in coalition before 2020 – along with the Greens.

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

During the 2011 to 2016 coalition government, the need for tight coordination was greater given that this government had to deal with the economic and financial crisis. The Economic Management Council (EMC) was introduced as a kind of “war cabinet.” It was composed of four key cabinet members: the taoiseach and tánaiste (the two coalition party leaders), and the two key economic portfolios, the minister for finance and the minister for public expenditure (one from each party). The EMC also included these four ministers’ top officials and advisers, about 13 in total. The EMC was an inner cabinet that took key decisions – a level of formal tight coordination not previously seen in Ireland. Partly because the crisis had mainly passed, the EMC was discontinued after the 2016 election.

In May 2020, a cross-party special committee was established to consider and take evidence on the state’s response to the coronavirus pandemic. The committee was chaired by an independent deputy and published its final report in October 2020 (Oir, 2020). Observers raised concerns regarding public comments made by the chair of the committee, who raised doubts about the efficacy of lockdowns and restrictions, and on another occasion described concerns about rising infection rates in Ireland as “hysterical” (Horgan-Jones, 2020).

#### Citation:

Horgan-Jones, J. (2020) Chair of Covid-19 committee criticised over ‘hysteria’ comment, *The Irish Times*, August 17, available at: <https://www.irishtimes.com/news/ireland/irish-news/chair-of-covid-19-committee-criticised-over-hysteria-comment-1.4332508>

Oir (2020), ‘Final report of the special committee on Covid-19’, Houses of the Oireachtas, October 06, [https://data.oireachtas.ie/ie/oireachtas/committee/dail/33/special\\_committee\\_on\\_covid\\_19\\_response/reports/2020/20-10-09\\_final-report-of-the-special-committee-on-covid-19-response-sccr004\\_en.pdf](https://data.oireachtas.ie/ie/oireachtas/committee/dail/33/special_committee_on_covid_19_response/reports/2020/20-10-09_final-report-of-the-special-committee-on-covid-19-response-sccr004_en.pdf)

## Italy

### Score 8

The Draghi government has added to its more formal coordination mechanisms, such as the “cabina di regia” that was established by law decree n. 77 of 31 May 2021, regular informal meetings with the leaders of the parties supporting the governmental majority. These informal meetings have effectively reduced conflicts within a very large coalition.

Citation:

Law-Decree n. 77: <https://www.gazzettaufficiale.it/eli/id/2021/07/30/21G00118/sg> (accessed 12 January 2022)

## Poland

### Score 8

Informal mechanisms of coordination have played an essential role under the PiS government. PiS Chairman Jarosław Kaczyński makes many important decisions himself, and government ministers’ standing strongly depends upon their relationship with him. Kaczyński initially served as the gray eminence behind the scenes, but officially entered the government in October 2020 as deputy prime minister. Prime Minister Morawiecki’s informal power has grown, but still highly depends on his personal relationship with Kaczyński.

## Slovenia

### Score 8

Slovenia’s tradition of coalition governments has meant that informal coordination procedures have played a significant role in policy coordination. In the period under review, the leaders of the four coalition parties (later three parties, after DeSUS left the coalition) met frequently, making major decisions at coalition meetings that were often also attended by the ministers and from time to time also by the leaders of parliamentary majority groups and coalition members of parliament. There were also regular meetings between the coalition and their external expert groups, most notably the Expert Group on Containment and Epidemic Management of COVID-19. In press conferences and public statements after these meetings, some information about the decisions made was provided to the public, which was especially the case when the meeting also involved external experts. The dominant role of the party leaders within their parties meant that a considerable amount of policy coordination took place in party bodies and between the general secretaries of the coalition parties.

## South Korea

### Score 8

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

In addition, informal coordination processes tend to be plagued by nepotism and regional or peer-group loyalties, particularly among high-school and university alumni. Personal networks and loyalties are sometimes considered to be more important than institutions. Informal networks between the president and powerful politicians can work very effectively to further specific policies. However, these practices can also lead to corruption and an inefficient allocation of resources. The Moon government has been criticized for working within relatively small key networks. Moreover, in a number of cases of failed implementation, it has emerged that informal networks and coordination have overridden formal policy.

#### Citation:

Seungjoo Lee and Sang-young Rhyu, "The Political Dynamics of Informal Networks in South Korea: The Case of Parachute Appointment" (2008), *the Pacific Review*, 21(1): 45-66.

## Spain

### Score 8

The relative weakness of formal coordination among ministry civil servants in Spain is to some extent compensated for by helpful informal procedures. When interministerial problems cannot be solved informal contacts, or meetings between officials of the various ministries involved are organized. Many policy proposals can in fact be coordinated in this fashion. As senior civil servants are clustered into different specialized bureaucratic corps, informal mechanisms rely often on the fact that officials involved in the coordination may belong to the same corps or share a network of old colleagues. Nevertheless, the existence of specialized corps tends to aggravate administrative fragmentation, since every corps tends to control a department according to its specialization. In this sense, the administration seems to follow a "silo" structure, in which each ministry, department, agency, organism or public entity follows its own operating logic. Within the cabinet, these informal mechanisms are less necessary, since the stable experience of single-party governments with strong prime ministers has up to this point required less coordination than would coalition cabinets. During the period under review, meetings of the heads of ministers' private offices were introduced.

The cabinet reshuffle of July 2021 (see "Line Ministries") helped to improve these informal mechanisms of coordination.

#### Citation:

Círculo de Empresarios (2018), *La calidad de las instituciones en España*. <https://circulodeempresarios.org/app/uploads/2018/04/Calidad-insti-CdE-WEB.pdf>

## Sweden

**Score 8** Informal mechanisms of coordination among civil servants and higher-ranking politicians alike are common and important in the Swedish system (Petridou and Sparf, 2017). Having said that, they may not always be effective. And yet, informal contacts between departments and agencies are believed to be integral to the efficiency of the politico-administrative system. Informal coordination procedures effectively filter many, but not all, policy proposals (de Fine Licht and Pierre, 2017).

Citation:

”

de Fine Licht, Jenny, and Jon Pierre. 2017. “Myndighetschefernas Syn på Regeringens Styrning.” Stockholm: Statskontoret.

Petridou, Evangelia & Jörgen Sparf. 2017. “For Safety’s Sake: the Strategies of Institutional Entrepreneurs and Bureaucratic Reforms in Swedish Crisis Management, 2001–2009.” *Policy and Society*, 36(4), 556–574.

## United Kingdom

**Score 8** Informal coordination was a hallmark of the Labour governments under Tony Blair (1997 – 2007). However, informal coordination was reduced during the Labour government of Gordon Brown (2007 – 2010) and largely abolished under the coalition government (2010 – 2015), because of the need to avoid tensions within the coalition.

Having returned to one-party government in May 2015, it was expected that informal forms of coordination would become more common again. Yet, the divisions within the governing Conservative Party, namely among senior ministers and party factions, over the United Kingdom’s future relations with the European Union complicated informal coordination to a point of more or less open sabotage, which finally led to the collapse of the May government. The rift within the Conservative Party even widened under May’s successor Boris Johnson, before being largely settled after the general election victory in December 2019.

Cabinet committee discussions are regularly preceded or accompanied by bilateral meetings of relevant ministers supported by senior officials across government. These discussions are often chaired by the chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, a senior member of the Cabinet with no departmental role, or by other senior ministers. The proximity of ministries, the executive and Parliament in SW1 (the post code for the part of the London Borough of Westminster where so many institutions of governance are located) facilitates a range of informal interactions. Moreover, there are informal networks of special advisers to ministers, which can help broker deals between ministers.

Although there are formal mechanisms for coordinating issues affecting the governments of the four constituent nations of the United Kingdom, the position of the central government as the voice for the United Kingdom as a whole as well as for England (and sometimes also Wales) can cause tensions, especially in view of the relative size (population and economy) of England compared with the other three nations. Differing rules and timing for COVID-19 restrictions on travel, though not diverging all that much, illustrate the potential complexities.

Citation:

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

## United States

### Score 8

The U.S. government is highly prone to informal coordination, relying on personal networks, constituency relationships and other means. As with formal processes, the effectiveness of such coordination is adversely affected by underdeveloped working relationships resulting from the short-term service of political appointees. The overall or average performance of informal coordination mechanisms has not been systematically evaluated.

The Trump administration's lack of experienced personnel in key agency positions lead to an increased role for informal coordination. The executive branch under Trump was seen calamitous failures of coordination. Such failures, however, largely reflected general problems of understaffing and lack of competent leadership in the departments and agencies during the Trump presidency. The Biden administration is currently addressing these challenges by hiring more staff and appointing component leaders across departments and agencies. The Biden administration is also adopting a managing style reminiscent of the Obama administration's, which was more orderly than the Trump administration's chaotic approach.

## Austria

### Score 7

Various coordination mechanisms – such as weekly informal meetings within each cabinet faction and the cabinet as a whole, regular informal meetings between the chancellor and vice-chancellor, as well as meetings of the coalition committee – have been long-standing elements of informal executive governance in Austria. They did not, however, guarantee smooth decision-making based on consensus, but rather allowed the cabinet to make realistic assessments about which collective decisions were politically feasible. Informal coordination mechanisms were used to negotiate a compromise when a proposal from one party's minister was unacceptable to the other coalition party.



In the ÖVP-FPÖ government (2017–2019) regular informal meetings between the chancellor and vice-chancellor became a particularly important element of informal coordination. For all the differences between the FPÖ and the Greens, and their chief protagonists, this practice has been continued by the ÖVP-Green government (since 2020). Several key projects of this government, such as the major eco-social tax reform, were negotiated between Chancellor Kurz and Vice-Chancellor Kogler.

Citation:

<https://www.wienerzeitung.at/nachrichten/politik/oesterreich/2106372-Krach-im-Koalitionschaus-aber-die-Beziehung-haelt.html>

<https://www.diepresse.com/6045194/das-plotzliche-ende-von-kurz-und-kogler>

## Belgium

### Score 7

Belgian governments are typically broad coalition governments, and informal coordination mechanisms are necessary to their operations.

The central unit of coordination – the inner cabinet or “Kern” – is comprised of deputy prime ministers (one from each coalition party), and the prime minister. The Kern meets regularly to negotiate any strategic decision not foreseen in the governmental agreement which arises due to changing circumstances or specific difficulties within the coalition. Further down the line, party leaders and party whips ensure policy coordination with other ministers, secretaries of states and members of parliament. This kind of coordination relies heavily on strong linkages between each deputy prime minister and his or her respective party leader, and on the ability of both to impose the compromises reached within the Kern to their respective ministers/secretaries of state and parliamentary groups. This is most frequently the case, as strong party discipline normally prevails.

However, the functional logic of the Kern was shattered under the previous government when the N-VA, the (nationalist) right-wing conservative member of the former coalition, decided to withdraw from the government following the decision of the former prime minister to participate in a conference held in Morocco and vote to endorse the U.N. Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration. The N-VA opposed that compact.

Even though tensions are not as high in the current government, dissension is increasingly visible. This was evidenced by the recent internal debates around nuclear energy and the inability of the Kern to reach a clear agreement. As noted under “Implementation,” shortly after the announcement of an agreement on the nuclear energy issue, the opposing parties in the negotiations (the Greens advocating a strict nuclear phase-out and the French-speaking Liberals in support of maintaining the facilities) each announced the victory of their respective positions. The truth seems to be that the decision was postponed, since several issues crucial to the decision remain unresolved (for instance, the gas power plant which is supposed to

replace the closed nuclear power plants is still awaiting a permit, which has been blocked by a N-VA minister of the Flemish government).

In general, the political parties are increasingly often promoting their own positions rather than government projects or the government agreement, and some increasingly rely on public threats rather than in-Kern dialogue. The recent crisis concerning the regulation of undocumented migrants, following a hunger strike by some of them, is a one example of this. The secretary of state for asylum and migration, a member of the CD&V (the Flemish Christian Democrats), refused to negotiate on a potential change of regularization criteria or a massive regularization as took place in 2000 under the Verhofstadt cabinet. With some hunger strikers reaching critical health situations, the party presidents of the Greens and the francophone Socialists threatened to leave the government if any of the strikers died. The strike ended following half-hearted promises from the secretary of state. However, as of the time of writing, the crisis appeared likely to resurface, as the secretary of state had returned to his strong positions, and most of the applications submitted by undocumented migrants had been rejected. Another example could be the recent contradictory messages issued by different coalition parties concerning the “agreement” on a nuclear phase-out plan as discussed under “Coherent Communication.”

Citation:

On the nuclear “agreement” :

<https://www.lesoir.be/414286/article/2021-12-23/un-accord-nucleaire-pour-ne-presque-rien-decider>

On the undocumented migrants crisis:

<https://www.lesoir.be/385250/article/2021-07-21/vers-la-fin-de-la-greve-des-sans-papiers-ou-pas>

<https://www.lesoir.be/384880/article/2021-07-19/la-greve-des-sans-papiers-menace-demporter-la-vivaldi>

<https://www.lesoir.be/404370/article/2021-11-03/sans-papiers-sammy-mahdi-appelle-sexpliquer-dans-une-vivaldi-agitee>

<https://www.lesoir.be/406125/article/2021-11-12/regularisation-des-sans-papiers-une-video-du-dg-de-loffice-des-etrangers-remet>

## Estonia

### Score 7

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

## Germany

### Score 7

There are a number of informal mechanisms by which government policy is coordinated. The most important of these is the coalition committee, which comprises the most important actors (the chancellor, the vice chancellor, the chairpersons of the parliamentary groups and the party chairpersons) within the

coalition parties, and is sometimes supplemented by higher bureaucrats and/or party politicians. It is the most important decision-making body with comprehensive impact in the governing process.

The new government has confirmed the role of the coalition committee (Koalitionsvertrag 2021, p. 174) by stipulating that the committee will meet at least once a month to discuss current issues and coordinate further work plans. The committee can be convened at any time at the request of one coalition partner. Given the mutual trust demonstrated by each party involved with the coalition talks and the smooth and rapid nature of the process, it is safe to assume that the coalition committee will effectively contribute to improving interministerial coordination.

Citation:

Koalitionsvertrag (2021): Mehr Fortschritt wagen, Bündnis für Freiheit, Gerechtigkeit und Nachhaltigkeit, Koalitionsvertrag zwischen SPD, Bündnis 90/Die Grünen und FDP.

## Iceland

### Score 7

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

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

Citation:

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

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

## Latvia

### Score 7

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

there is enough consensus to move issues to the cabinet. The council can play both a complementary role, creating an enabling environment for consensus-building, and a destructive role, undermining the legitimacy of the official decision-making process.

The secrecy surrounding the collaboration council (previously known as the coalition council) has made it a controversial institution in the past. “Who Owns the State?” – a populist party that won the second-largest share of the vote in the 2018 parliamentary election – promised to eliminate the coalition council. While the government coalition formed in January 2018 no longer refers to it as a “coalition council,” the collaboration council continues to operate as it has, but under a different name.

In addition to the collaboration council, the coalition has various coalition working groups that work on more specific issues.

## Lithuania

### Score 7

Formal mechanisms of interministerial coordination still dominate the decision-making process, despite the emergence of new informal coordination mechanisms and practices at the central level of government. Political councils have at times been created to solve political disagreements within the ruling coalition, though this practice was not continued under the Šimonytė government that took office in 2020. In addition, the leadership of political parties represented in the government is often involved in the coordination of political issues. Informal meetings are sometimes called to coordinate various issues at the administrative or political level. Since the Skvernelis government decided at the end of 2018 to make all government meetings public (official government sessions had already been public before this decision), cabinet ministers have more frequently engaged in informal policy discussions.

Furthermore, the 2012 to 2016 government planned to develop a senior civil service stratum, which could actively engage in policy coordination at the managerial level. However, these politically sensitive provisions were later withdrawn from subsequent drafts of the Civil Service Law. New civil service legislation adopted in 2018 did not establish a higher civil service. In addition, by making ministerial chancellors into political appointees, Lithuanian authorities have further politicized the ministry administrations.

## Malta

### Score 7

The government tendency toward informal coordination mechanisms has increased since Malta joined the European Union in 2004. Many directives from Brussels cut across departments and ministries, and ministries have to talk to and work more closely together. Preparations for the EU presidency in January 2017 and the actions

taken during the presidency itself raised this informal coordination to unprecedented levels. Government longevity has also helped to strengthen this informal consultation process. As senior managers remain in their place, they build networks which they can employ informally. This also applies at ministerial levels. Informal consultation also takes place within party structures, since these are seen as a link to the grassroots level.

## Netherlands

### Score 7

Very little is actually known about informal coordination at the (sub-)Council of Ministers level regarding policymaking and decision-making. The best-known informal procedure used to be the “Torentjesoverleg,” in which the prime minister and a core members of the Council of Ministers consulted with the leaders of the political parties supporting the coalition in the Prime Minister’s Office (“Het Torentje,” meaning the small tower) or elsewhere, usually at the beginning of the week. Although sometimes considered objectionable – as it appears to contradict the ideal of dualism between the executive and the legislative – coalition governments cannot survive without this kind of high-level political coordination between the government and the States General. Given shaky parliamentary support such informal coordination is no longer limited to political parties providing support to the governing coalition.

Under present conditions, in which ministers and civil servants are subject to increasing parliamentary and media scrutiny, and in which gaps in trust and loyalty between the political leadership and the bureaucracy staff are growing, informal coordination and the personal chemistry among civil servants are what keeps things running. Regarding interministerial coordination, informal contacts between the senior staff (raadadviseurs) in the prime minister’s Council of Ministers and senior officers working for ministerial leadership are absolutely crucial. Nonetheless, such bureaucratic coordination is undermined by insufficient or absent informal political coordination. Until recently, contacts between civil servant and members of parliament were prohibited (oekaze Kok); under Rutte III this rule was somewhat relaxed.

#### Citation:

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

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

M. van Weezel and T. Broer, *Max en Thijs over de premier: het geheim van politiek trapezewerker en ‘nat zeepje’* Mark Rutte (Vrij Nederland, vn.nl, accessed 8 November 2019)

## Norway

Score 7

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

## Portugal

Score 7

Informal coordination mechanisms are central to government functioning and coordination. The horizontal informal links between ministries help compensate for the absence or rigidity of formal horizontal linkages.

## Czechia

Score 6

Informal coordination mechanisms have featured prominently in Czech political culture. Like its predecessors, the former Babiš and current Fiala governments have depended on a coalition agreement, which includes agreements on policies and coordination mechanisms. Fundamental issues are addressed at the level of the chairmen of the coalition parties or the coalition council. The coalition council consists of the chairpersons of the coalition parties and a maximum of three other representatives of the respective coalition parties. Coordination mechanisms at the level of parliamentary and senatorial clubs are also important. Moreover, the coalition partners also maintain expert commissions consisting of members and party supporters. In the case of the Babiš government, President Zeman sometimes stepped in as an informal coordinator when the government needed support from the Communist Party. The COVID-19 pandemic severely strained these coordination mechanisms.

## Mexico

Score 6

A number of informal mechanisms for coordinating policy exist, and given the lack of “formal” coordination capabilities within the Mexican administration, informal coordination often functions as a substitute. This is normal in a presidential system where only a few cabinet secretaries have independent political bases. Ministers retain their positions, for the most part, at the will of the president. It is important to note, however, that some cabinet secretaries are more equal than others. Since his election, President López Obrador has dominated Mexican politics, and has exercised decision-making in a personalistic and populist manner. Policy coordination thus rests in the hands of the presidency.

## Bulgaria

### Score 5

Given the tendency of the Bulgarian political system to produce coalition governments, informal coordination mechanisms have played a vital role in interministerial coordination. The rules of coordination between government coalition parties or parties supporting the government are traditionally not communicated to the public. In 2019, informal coordination within the governing coalition was complicated by the fact that the junior partner, a coalition of three nationalistic parties, had de facto fallen apart, with its three leaders engaging in severe and public attacks on one another. This forced Prime Minister Borissov to rely on purely ad hoc tactics in every specific decision-making context.

Prime Minister Petkov has a similar style but his informal coordination is likely to be based on groups of experts with a European background, while the overall informality will be somewhat reduced by coalition partners' party bureaucracies and policy advisors

## Croatia

### Score 5

Informal coordination both between the coalition partners and between different party factions in the HDZ has played an important role in interministerial coordination under the Plenković government. The strong reliance on decisions in coalition meetings or party bodies has helped maintain the tradition of keeping strategic decisions and policy coordination largely within the political parties' ambit, preventing the development of more formal and transparent mechanisms of policy coordination or a strengthening of the public administration's role.

## Israel

### Score 5

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

Citation:

"Annual report 61 for the year 2010: Treatment of prolonged interministerial disagreements," The State Comptroller office website (Hebrew)

Blander, Dana and Ben Nur, Gal, "Governmental coalitions: A steering mechanism in the political system," in The political system in Israel 2013: <http://www.idi.org.il/תכנון-הממשלה/הייררכיה-הירפסה/האצוה-מירמאמו-מירפס>

לארשיב-תיטילופה (Hebrew).

“Coalition management,” the Knesset website: <http://main.knesset.gov.il/About/Lexicon/Pages/coalition-management.aspx> (Hebrew)

Rivlin, Reuven, “The intellectual independency of the Knesset member: the limit of the coalition obligation,” The Israel Democracy Institute (December 2010) (Hebrew).

## Slovakia

### Score 5

Like the Pellegrini government, the center-right government has sought to complement the formal mechanisms of interministerial coordination through regular meetings of the leaders of the four coalition partners. However, the relationship between the latter has been tense, so that the government has been subject to a number of coordination crises. The most severe led to a government reshuffle in April 2021 when Prime Minister Igor Matovič and Minister of Finance Eduard Heger changed their positions (Mesežnikov 2021). Matovič has not been able to adapt from the role of loud opposition to a country’s prime minister. His successor Heger has taken a more conciliatory approach, but has been confronted with strong attempts at backseat-driving by Matovič (Dlhopolec 2022).

Citation:

Dlhopolec, P. (2022): The two faces of Slovakia’s prime minister: one for home, one for the world, in: *BalkanInsight*, May 30 (<https://balkaninsight.com/2022/05/30/the-two-faces-of-slovakias-prime-minister-one-for-home-one-for-the-world/>).

Mesežnikov, G. (2021): The political crisis in Slovakia is over, but for how long? Heinrich Böll Stiftung Prague, April 7 (<https://cz.boell.org/en/2021/04/07/political-crisis-slovakia-over-how-long>).

## Turkey

### Score 5

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

During the pandemic, there were some irregular meetings between some key ministers, including the minister of health, the minister of interior and the minister of transportation. The High Advisory Board, which is composed of strong AKP figures including Köksal Toptan and Cemil Çiçek, was established in 2019. The members of the board are elected by the president from among the former presidents or vice presidents of the Turkish Grand National Assembly.

Citation:

M. Turan, “Türkiye’nin Yeni Yönetim Düzeni: Cumhurbaşkanlığı Hükümet Sistemi,” *Social Sciences Research Journal*, 7(3), 2018: 42-91. <http://dergipark.gov.tr/download/article-file/524784>



## Cyprus

### Score 4

Informal meetings take place, but are not a regular practice. The practice is affected by the state of relations at the time between the government and parties. In 2020 and 2021, meetings involved COVID-19 issues, and the Recovery and Resilience Plan, among other issues.

Early party interest in the February 2023 presidential elections may lead to less formal contacts in 2022.

#### Citation:

1. Political party leaders meet president Anastasiades to discuss measures, Cyprus Mail, 19 March 2020, <https://cyprus-mail.com/2020/03/19/political-party-leaders-meet-president-anastasiades-to-discuss-measures/>

## Romania

### Score 3

In addition to the formal mechanisms of interministerial coordination, there has been an informal coordination of the government's work by PSD chef Liviu Dragnea, the "éminence grise" of the PSD governments. Barred from becoming prime minister himself by a criminal conviction, Dragnea has been keen on preventing prime ministers to act in too independent a manner. In January 2018, he toppled Prime Minister Mihai Tudose, barely seven months after his predecessor Sorin Grindeanu had suffered the same fate. Thus, the informal coordination within the governing party has tended to undermine rather than complement the formal coordination mechanisms within government. This remains true for 2020 and 2021, which saw two coalition governments collapse in addition to parliamentary elections, which has continued to undermine the government's ability to advance national priorities. Infighting in major political parties (e.g., concerning former Prime Minister Orban's bid to unseat the current acting Prime Minister Cîtu as head of the PNL in fall 2021) has contributed to an environment in which powerful political actors, former or current, are able to exert disproportionate influence over intergovernmental coordination.

## Indicator

## Digitalization for Interministerial Coordination

## Question

How extensively and effectively are digital technologies used to support interministerial coordination (in policy development and monitoring)?

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

- 10-9 = The government uses digital technologies extensively and effectively to support interministerial coordination.
- 8-6 = The government uses digital technologies in most cases and somewhat effectively to support interministerial coordination.
- 5-3 = The government uses digital technologies to a lesser degree and with limited effects to support interministerial coordination.
- 2-1 = The government makes no substantial use of digital technologies to support interministerial coordination.

### Estonia

## Score 10

The Estonian government has pioneered a large-scale use of information technologies. The Information System for Legal Drafts (Eelnõude infosüsteem, EIS) is used to facilitate interministerial coordination and public consultations online. The EIS allows users to search documents currently under consideration, participate in public consultations and submit comments on draft bills. Draft bills are submitted to the government and parliament via the EIS.

Policymaking and policy monitoring are further supported by an interoperable data exchange platform X-Road, an integrated system that facilitates the exchange of data between different organizations and information systems. Over 900 enterprises and organizations use X-Road daily. X-Road is also the first data exchange platform in the world that allows data to be exchanged between countries automatically. Since June 2017, an automatic data exchange capability has been established between Estonia and Finland.

### Finland

## Score 9

Finland is a global leader for information and communications technology, and the digitalization of public services was a key project in Sipilä's government program. In line with this ambition, the government set out to digitalize internal administrative processes. The government administration department within the Prime Minister's

Office, which has a central role in interministerial coordination, has a special Information Management and ICT Division. The government plenary session adopted an electronic tool for session materials in 2015. Ministers follow the progress of decision-making at plenary sessions on tablet computers. Finland is ranked second overall in the European Union's Digital Economy and Society Index (2021), and also holds third place with regard to digital public services.

Citation:

"Inclusive and competent Finland – a socially, economically and ecologically sustainable society - Programme of Prime Minister Sanna Marin's Government 2019," <https://valtioneuvosto.fi/en/marin/government-programme>

"Digital Economy and Society Index," <https://ec.europa.eu/digital-single-market/en/desi>

## Luxembourg

### Score 9

Early in 2021, the government adopted the Electronic Governance 2021-2025 strategy, drawn up jointly by the Ministry for Digitalization and the Government IT Center (CTIE), with the aim of advancing e-government measures and enabling the transition to digital government.

The fundamental goals of digitalization are to facilitate the transition to an efficient paperless administration and to provide an IT environment that is conducive to new working methods reinforcing public confidence in online services operated by the state. Interoperability and standardization are among the key goals.

In the European Commission's 2021 Digital Economy & Society Index (DESI), Luxembourg was ranked eighth out of 27 EU member states, with a score of 59.0.

The Luxembourg government has implemented the GouvCheck system, which ensures the verification of the authenticity of any official document issued in Luxembourg by using a QR code printed on the document, in real time and for free. Thus, it is extremely difficult to commit fraud by printing a fake QR code. To interpret the GouvCheck QR code, users need a smartphone or tablet with a camera, as well as the GouvCheck app, which can be downloaded from the Google Play Store or the Apple App Store. A wide range of documents are provided with a GouvCheck logo including: building permits, residence certificates, certificates of voter registration, criminal record certificates, welcome and integration contracts, certificates of life, hunting permits, fishing licenses, and the proof of payment for passports or identity cards.

Citation:

Digital Economy & Society Index (2021). <https://luxembourg.public.lu/en/invest/competitiveness/desi.html>. Accessed 14 January 2022.

"Electronic Governance 2021-2025' strategy." The Luxembourg Government (2021). [https://gouvernement.lu/en/dossiers.gouv\\_ctie%2Ben%2Bdossiers%2Bstrategie\\_gouvernance\\_electronique\\_2021\\_2025.html#bloub-1](https://gouvernement.lu/en/dossiers.gouv_ctie%2Ben%2Bdossiers%2Bstrategie_gouvernance_electronique_2021_2025.html#bloub-1). Accessed 14 January 2022.

## New Zealand

### Score 9

The New Zealand government has identified a coordinating unit for ICT deployment at the center of government, developed a strategy (2015 ICT strategy) for coordination across government levels in order to improve effectiveness, and introduced new bodies in charge of leading the digital transformation. In 2017, the portfolio of minister for government digital services was created. The government chief digital officer (GCDO) is the government functional lead for developing and improving digital infrastructure across government. The GCDO is supported by the Digital Government Partnership, which is a partnership of stakeholders from agencies across government to support the goal of a coherent, all-of-government digital system. It helps the GCDO and government chief data steward (GCDS) to develop and improve the digital and data system across government; ensures government is aligned with the government ICT strategy; and reviews and informs the strategy. The partnership is made up of a leadership group and four working groups that support the strategy as well as a chairs' group, which bring together experts from across the different focus areas to provide support and advice to the leadership group. However, it is not absolutely clear how effective the use of digital technologies really is, especially with regard to interministerial coordination.

Citation:

<https://www.digital.govt.nz/digital-government/leadership-and-governance/digital-government-partnership/>

<https://www.digital.govt.nz/dmsdocument/4-government-ict-strategy-2015>

<https://www.digital.govt.nz/>

## Norway

### Score 9

Government ministries use similar digital platforms and share a digital platform for publishing information online. Ministries use digital technologies to coordinate activities, but the specific digital platform used depends on the specific security needs. Governance in Norway is highly digitized, which creates efficiencies. However, there is growing awareness of and sensitivity to managing cyber risks and ensuring secure ICT systems.

## South Korea

### Score 9

The South Korean government utilizes e-government software (the Policy Task Management System) to monitor the implementation of policies in real time. In the UN E-Government Survey 2020, Korea was ranked at second place internationally for the implementation of e-government mechanisms. Korea also ranks at the top of the OECD countries on the OECD's OUR Data Index, which examines the issue of open, usable and reusable government data.

Citation:

UN E-Government Survey 2020, <https://publicadministration.un.org/egovkb/en-us/Reports/UN-E-Government->

Survey-2020.

OECD OURdata Index: 2019 <https://www.oecd.org/gov/digital-government/ourdata-index-korea.pdf>.

## Chile

### Score 8

The president's advisory ministry (Ministerio Secretaría General de la Presidencia, Segpres) and the Division for Digital Government support line ministries and respective services with digitalization, facilitating instruments and providing advice regarding the implementation of digital services. The implementation of the Digital Agenda 2020, released in 2015, has been continued by the current government of Sebastián Piñera. In general, and especially in comparison with other Latin American countries, the level of digitalization regarding public information and services in Chile is quite advanced.

Chile is trying to follow OECD recommendations to ensure consistency in the use of technology as an enabler for open government. To achieve this, public institutions have increasingly adopted digital tools and open-government agendas.

As indicated on the official government website, 70% of all administrative procedures (including both procedures between different public entities and state-to-citizen procedures) could be carried out digitally by the end of 2021. In addition, an online platform with the objective of strengthening communication between the Congress and citizens was established in June 2020. The platform provides updates on the progress of draft laws, public consultations and voting results.

Citation:

On The implementation of the Digital Agenda 2020:

Chilean Government, <http://www.agendadigital.gob.cl>, last accessed: 13 January 2022.

Digital Government (Gobierno Digital), <https://digital.gob.cl>, last accessed: 13 January 2022.

Chilean Virtual Congress website, <https://congresovirtual.cl>, last accessed: 13 January 2022.

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), Digital Government in Chile, Strengthening the Institutional and Governance Framework, 2016, [https://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/governance/digital-government-in-chile\\_9789264258013-en](https://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/governance/digital-government-in-chile_9789264258013-en), last accessed: 13 January 2022.

## Denmark

### Score 8

Denmark ranks first in the European Commission's Digital Economy and Society Index (DESI) for 2021. The index summarizes indicators on Europe's digital performance and preparedness for digital transformation. The index is based on connectivity, human capital, use of internet services, integration of digital technology, digital public services, the EU ICT sector and its R&D performance, and research and innovation. Digital public services are fairly advanced in Denmark, which offers digitalized tax reporting, digitalized social transfer claims, and digital

contact to public institutions and agencies. The advanced state of digital transformation in the country proved helpful during the pandemic as many activities were not severely affected by physical containment restrictions or were easily shifted from a physical to a virtual platform (e.g., education/teaching).

Citation:

European Commission, “The Digital Economy and Society Index (DESI), <https://ec.europa.eu/digital-single-market/en/desi> (Accessed 20 February 2022).

Ministry of Industry, Business and Financial Affairs, “Strategy for Denmark’s Digital Growth,” [file:///C:/Users/Finn/Downloads/Digital%20growth%20strategy%20report\\_UK\\_WEB.pdf](file:///C:/Users/Finn/Downloads/Digital%20growth%20strategy%20report_UK_WEB.pdf) (accessed 4 October 2018).

Ministry of Foreign Affairs, “The Danish Government presents ‘Digital Growth strategy,’” <https://investindk.com/insights/the-danish-government-presents-digital-growth-strategy> (Accessed 4 October 2018).

Ministry of Foreign Affairs, “Denmark once again the most digital country in the EU,” <https://investindk.com/insights/denmark-once-again-the-most-digital-country-in-the-eu> (Accessed 4 October 2018).

Per Byrge Sørensen, *Forvaltningsret med et digitalt perspektiv*. København: Karnov, 2017.

## Latvia

### Score 8

Until recently, collaboration between state institutions was generally well organized, but fragmented, and did not have an effective common platform for the exchange of documents between ministries. With the introduction of the TAP portal, the situation has improved significantly. The circulation of documents between the State Chancellery and line ministries now takes place online in a new high-quality form, making the process of document exchange more transparent and efficient.

Furthermore, the TAP portal has indirectly contributed to the increase in the use of e-signatures in public administration, as authentication within the closed environment of the TAP portal requires the use of an e-ID, e-signature or mobile e-signature.

A unified platform of state and local government websites has also been created. This platform is an information technology tool that can be used to create websites, and offers modern and easy-to-use platforms for state institutions and local governments based on uniform principles. This platform has raised the quality of digital communication in the public administration, as agencies can interact with citizens more efficiently.

Citation:

Legislative Portal (TAP), Available at: <https://www.mk.gov.lv/en/tap-portals>, Last accessed: 10.01.2022

2. Cabinet of Ministers (2020) Unified platform for state and local government websites, Available (in Latvian) at: <https://www.mk.gov.lv/lv/projekts/valsts-un-pasvaldibu-iestazu-timeklvietnu-vienota-platforma>, Last accessed: 10.01.2022.

3. Digital Transformation Guidelines for 2021-2027 (2021) Available (in Latvian) at: <https://likumi.lv/ta/id/324715-par-digitalas-transformacijas-pamatnostadnem-20212027-gadam>, Last accessed: 10.01.2022.

## Lithuania

### Score 8

Lithuanian authorities use digital technologies frequently quite effectively to support interministerial coordination during policy development and monitoring. Various document management systems track the execution of activities set out in the Government Program's Action Plan and other documents, while the MIS (Monitoring Information System) supports the preparation of strategic (action) plans and budget programs. There are two systems and IT tools for monitoring the implementation of EU-financed and national interventions (the Structural Funds' MIS and MIS). Also, there is a special information system that enables online cooperation among state institutions and external stakeholders in the negotiation of EU legislation, while a new system for the coordination of systemic projects is under development within the framework of managing government priorities.

Although Lithuanian authorities rely strongly on IT systems during interministerial coordination, the application of collaborative knowledge management tools (e.g., shared spaces and collaborative learning) is underdeveloped. New IT solutions are being developed centralizing support services in a newly established National Center of Shared Services that will provide accounting and personnel management services to more than 100 institutions associated with the central government. Digital technologies do support policy coordination, but their potential is not exploited for jointly improving policy content during policy formulation, or to take corrective management actions during policy-monitoring processes. Several new laboratories have been established (PolicyLAB and GovTech) that may promote the development of innovative digital solutions in the public sector.

In the E-Government Development Index, Lithuania was ranked 20th in the world in 2020, up 20 places compared to its 2018 ranking. In addition, in the 2019 International Civil Service Effectiveness (INCISE) index, Lithuania scored quite well in terms of digital services (eighth place among surveyed countries, which included high-income countries). Nevertheless, digital competencies and digital resources are still insufficient, as revealed in part by the challenges faced in managing the COVID-19 pandemic. The planned investments for economic transformation under the Recovery and Resilience Fund (2021 – 2026) include measures to further upgrade the use of IT and advance digitalization within the public administration.

#### Citation:

United Nations, E-Government Development Index, 2019, [https://publicadministration.un.org/egovkb/Data-Center/International Civil Service Effectiveness \(INCISE\) index](https://publicadministration.un.org/egovkb/Data-Center/International-Civil-Service-Effectiveness-(INCISE)-index), 2019, <https://www.bsg.ox.ac.uk/about/partnerships/international-civil-service-effectiveness-index-2019>

## Slovenia

### Score 8

In an effort to better coordinate the digitalization of public administration with the broader issue of digital transformation, the Cerar government transferred in 2016 competences for information society and electronic communication from the Ministry of Education, Science and Sport to the Ministry of Public Administration. This reorganization of responsibilities has yielded a more appropriate structure for the implementation of the 2016 “Digital Slovenia 2020” strategy and a more efficient use of the existing ICT infrastructure. One of the goals of the strategy is to further strengthen the use of digital technologies to support interministerial coordination. Even if implementation of the strategy slowed under the Šarec government, the Janša government has made digitalization one of the government’s key policy priorities, appointed a special minister for digital transformation (July 2021) and established the Government Office for Digital Transformation.

#### Citation:

Government of Slovenia (2016): Digital Slovenia 2020: Development strategy for the information society until 2020. Ljubljana ([http://www.mju.gov.si/fileadmin/mju.gov.si/pageuploads/DID/Informacijska\\_druzba/pdf/DSI\\_2020\\_3-2016\\_pic1.pdf](http://www.mju.gov.si/fileadmin/mju.gov.si/pageuploads/DID/Informacijska_druzba/pdf/DSI_2020_3-2016_pic1.pdf)).

RTVSLO.si (2021): Mark Boris Andrijanič imenovan za ministra brez listnice, pristojnega za digitalno preobrazbo. Ljubljana (<https://www.rtvsl.si/slovenija/mark-boris-andrijanic-imenovan-za-ministra-brez-listnice-pristojnega-za-digitalno-preobrazbo/587808>).

## Spain

### Score 8

Spain ranks ninth out of the 28 EU member states in the European Commission 2021 Digital Economy and Society Index. Spain’s performance was especially notable in the area of digital public services. Law 18/2015 on data reuse and data transparency has promoted a culture of open data within the public administration, and the public sector is quickly progressing with regard to the integration of digital technologies. In recent years, a number of laws updated procedures with the aim of exploring the potential of digital technologies and structures. Moreover, shared interdepartmental platforms (such as the CI@ve platform) and shared services have been developed.

Under the terms of the Digitalization Plan for Public Administrations 2021 – 2025, all ministries are required to draft digital-transformation action plans. These are to include means of simplifying interdepartmental working procedures, the electronic exchange of information between administrative units, the issue of information classification, and the implementation of standards for the exchange of information. The Ministry of Economic Affairs and Digital Transformation (MINECO) is the governing body for digital administration, rationalization of information technologies and communications in the field of public administration. The implementation of the Digital Agenda 2025 will enable a technological leap forward in the digital transformation of interministerial coordination. In order to achieve this goal, Digital



Spain 2025 envisages introducing a series of structural reforms in the 2020 – 2022 period, among them the development of “as-a-service” cognitive automation services for the administration, in order to improve the efficiency of processes.

Spain’s decentralized structure has created challenges in establishing a coherent and nationwide interministerial e-government coordination plan. However, Digital Agenda 2025 created a strategic framework for vertical interadministrative compatibility and coordination.

Citation:

Gobierno de España (2021), Public Administrations Digitization Plan, <https://tec.scot/sites/default/files/2021-07/Plan-for-the-digitalisation-of-pubic-administrations-TRANSLATED-1.pdf>

Gobierno de España (2021), Digital Spain Agenda 2025 [https://portal.mineco.gob.es/RecursosArticulo/mineco/ministerio/ficheros/210204\\_Digital\\_Spain\\_2025.pdf](https://portal.mineco.gob.es/RecursosArticulo/mineco/ministerio/ficheros/210204_Digital_Spain_2025.pdf)

## United Kingdom

### Score 8

The Government Digital Service (GDS), established in 2012, established standards for new digital services and promotes the government’s digital-by-default approach. GDS is also responsible for providing common technologies and services to departments for their digital services (e.g., the gov.uk platform, and cross-government payments and notifications services). All government departments now have digital technology teams, which in some departments are also responsible for internal IT services for officials. Publishing all government digital material on the single gov.uk platform (at UK level, covering England, but separately for Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland) has been a valuable consolidation.

An assessment in 2017 by Daniel Thornton of the Institute for Government provided qualified support to government efforts to achieve more digital coordination. A report by the Public Accounts Committee on the progress of the government’s Verify program (intended to ease digital access for citizens by simplifying verification of their identity) was scathing about the failures of implementation and lack of progress. Comprehensive digitalization of NHS data remains a major challenge, but was given a significant impetus by the pandemic, including the creation of effective platforms for booking vaccinations and recording test results.

During the coronavirus pandemic, digital technology greatly facilitated effective responses by all parts of government to the crisis. While many new services were delivered in record time and the work of central government continued with only minor problems, there were a number of high-profile failures, not least abortive first attempts to establish a contact-tracing app. There were also problems with algorithms used to calibrate school exam results based mainly on teacher assessments. These arose first in Scotland, which has an earlier exam timetable, making it all the more inexplicable that lessons were not learned when it came to a similar exercise in England.

As the GDS enters its second decade, the service has set out a number of ambitions, not the least of which is to create a single online identity to overcome what has been described in a blog article as systems “designed, developed and operated in departmental silos, with a focus only on meeting each department’s needs.”

Citation:

Alex

Allan

review:

[https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/589946/2017-01-18\\_-\\_Better\\_Information\\_for\\_Better\\_Government.pdf](https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/589946/2017-01-18_-_Better_Information_for_Better_Government.pdf)

<https://www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk/sites/default/files/publications/head-of-ddat-final.pdf>

<https://www.parliament.uk/business/committees/committees-a-z/commons-select/public-accounts-committee/news-parliament-2017/accessing-public-services-through-verify-report-published-17-19/>

[https://www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk/sites/default/files/publications/whitehall-monitor-2021\\_1.pdf](https://www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk/sites/default/files/publications/whitehall-monitor-2021_1.pdf)

<https://www.bing.com/search?q=uk+government+digital+transformation+strategy&FORM=QSRE8>

## United States

### Score 8

The U.S. government invests heavily in technology, although it is not a world leader in e-government. The multiple intelligence agencies are sometimes criticized as prone to hoarding intelligence information, rather than sharing it within the intelligence community. Reforms adopted in the aftermath of the 9/11 terrorist attacks have increased the sharing of information among the intelligence agencies.

Apart from intelligence issues, problems of coordination generally arise from political forces that promote agency autonomy and response to specialized constituencies, not from deficiencies in communication technology.

Over the last several years, the U.S. government has developed several collaborative digital services that can help federal agencies use data and technology to achieve their goals and cooperate more effectively. The Joint Venture Program (JVP), for example, assists agencies in developing and implementing innovative ways to collect, connect, access or use federal data and data services.

## Australia

### Score 7

Government departments and agencies have historically developed information systems independently to meet their own particular needs. There has, however, been growing emphasis on interoperability, recognizing the efficiency gains in implementing policy and more generally running government, and the benefits of cross-agency data sharing. Notable in this regard is the Digital Transformation Agency, which was established in 2015 to help government departments and agencies undergo digital transformation, and now has central oversight of the government’s ICT agenda.

Common standards for data security have been developed by the Australian Signals Directorate, although not all agencies are (yet) fully compliant with these standards.

Citation:

Digital Transformation Agency: <https://www.dta.gov.au/>

Information Security Manual: <https://cyber.gov.au/government/publications/australian-government-information-security-manual-ism/>

## Bulgaria

Score 7

The 2014 – 2020 e-government strategy and the State e-Government Agency, established in 2016, aim to improve interministerial communication through the use of digital technologies. The necessary infrastructure for electronic document flows and communication between ministries exists and is increasingly used.

A minister of digitalization was created in 2021. The individual appointed to the position has experience working with the executive as a former advisor to the government. The section on digitalization within the Recovery and Resilience Plan is well written and the process seems to have the proper budgetary support.

## Canada

Score 7

The effective control exercised by cabinet over the ministries mostly obviates the need for elaborate technical means of coordination. That said, the government created Shared Services Canada (SSC) in 2011, which is mandated to provide a unified IT infrastructure for the federal government that is modern, secure and reliable. SSC delivers email, data center, network and workplace technology device services to all government departments and agencies in a consolidated and standardized manner. The common IT program and platform naturally enables improved and secure information, and data sharing across all government agencies.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, the consolidation of IT infrastructure through SSC has not gone smoothly, and the department has been criticized for slow service delivery and for putting some federal agencies at risk. The federal government has been unsuccessful in the implementation of two major digital technologies, the Phoenix payroll system and the government-wide Canada.ca email reorganization. A recent PBO report stated that a functional pay system would not be operational until 2023 and costs for revamping the system could tally to CAD 2.6 billion. These failures cast serious doubt on the ability of the federal government to make effective use of digital technologies.

However, as the pandemic has shown, government services were able to support the move to virtual work by federal government employees, as well as the enormous

demands placed on the system given the rollout of new programming. A fuller evaluation of this period will be needed going forward.

Shared Services Canada, Departmental Results Report: 2019-2020, 2020, <https://www.canada.ca/en/shared-services/corporate/publications/departmental-results-report-2019-20.html>.

Office of the Parliamentary Budget Officer, Costs Associated with Replacing the Federal Pay System, May 16 2019, [https://www.pbo-dpb.gc.ca/web/default/files/Documents/Reports/2019/Federal-pay-system-Phoenix/Costs\\_Associated\\_with\\_Replacing\\_the\\_Federal\\_Pay\\_System\\_EN.pdf](https://www.pbo-dpb.gc.ca/web/default/files/Documents/Reports/2019/Federal-pay-system-Phoenix/Costs_Associated_with_Replacing_the_Federal_Pay_System_EN.pdf).

Treasury Board of Canada Secretariat 2018/19: Digital Operations Strategic Plan: 2018-2022, <https://www.canada.ca/en/government/system/digital-government/digital-operations-strategic-plan-2018-2022.html#ToC8>.

## France

### Score 7

France is doing comparatively well in terms of digital government according to a recent OECD (2020) study. Overall, the country receives above-average scores and is ranked 10th among the OECD countries, outperforming countries including Estonia, Germany, the Netherlands and Sweden.

In 2011, an interministerial Directorate for State Information Systems and Communication was established. In 2014, in order to strengthen its capacity to steer and influence the sectoral administrations, the directorate was placed under the authority of the prime minister. A further impulse has been given to the directorate by the Macron administration's emphasis on the dimensions of the technological revolution. A secretariat of state was created in May 2018 (Secrétariat d'État au Numérique) tasked with boosting initiatives and development in the private and public sector and setting up a 100% state digital platform by 2022. Similarly, the president's economic adviser suggested that nearly €10 billion of additional funding be allocated to the digitalization of public services (with half of this sum for the healthcare system). In parallel, a report of the Court of Accounts, in support of past actions, recommended a major effort to improve investment and personnel training. The new secretariat is building on these actions with the view of providing users with a single identification number that would provide access to all public services. Several experiences have already been quite successful. For example, the digitalization of tax declarations, processes and payments has been so successful that for most taxpayers the use of printed documents is no longer possible. Various efforts to improve coordination between administrations have been implemented. For instance, public procurement processes which involve several administrations have been streamlined, and private companies can access the system using their registration number. While there is a lack of systematic international comparisons, it seems that France currently has less invested than the United Kingdom in this area, and processes in some sectors (e.g., the management of Defense Ministry staff or the delivery of driving licenses) have suffered major failings in past years. According to the OECD index, France was ranked 10th in 2019 and fifth among the European countries.

Citation:

OECD, 2020: OECD Digital Government Index (DGI) 2019, available at <https://www.oecd.org/gov/digital-government-index-4de9f5bb-en.htm>

## Greece

### Score 7

Since the change in government in 2019, there has been a vast improvement in the use of digital technologies in government. The Prime Minister's Office in Greece (the Presidency of Government) started using modern information and communication technologies to monitor government mechanisms much more than in the past. The Special Secretariat of Integrated Information Systems was established within that office, and is tasked with digitizing the coordination and evaluation of government work.

The Presidency of Government was aided by the new Ministry of Digital Governance, also established after the change in government. The new ministry spread the use of digital technologies across the government. The ministry aims to achieve interoperability between state records systems, enabling different agencies to “talk” to each other and share information. The lockdown and movement restriction measures taken in 2020–2021 vastly limited face-to-face interactions among civil servants from different ministries. In brief, the management of the COVID-19 pandemic gave further impetus to digital interministerial coordination.

Moreover, there is policy coordination with regard to the implementation of a few transversal policies, such as public procurement. The latter is now managed by a national system of public procurement (EAADHSY). This system functions through an appropriately developed digital platform for tenders, and applications from suppliers of goods and services interested in serving the public sector.

Citation:

The new “Special Secretariat of Integrated Information Systems” was established by Law 4622/2019. Its place in the government is shown at official website <https://primeminister.gr/primeminister/proedria-tis-kivernisis>

The digital platform for public procurement, covering all ministries and agencies of the public sector, is available at <http://www.eaadhsy.gr/>

The website of the Ministry of Digital Governance is available at <https://mindigital.gr/>

## Ireland

### Score 7

The government uses digital technologies in most cases and this appears to provide effective interministerial coordination. Throughout 2020 and 2021, “incorporeal” (i.e., remote) cabinet meetings were held online in keeping with prevailing public health and social distancing measures.

Ireland is perceived to lag behind other highly developed EU member states in the effort to digitize government services. In early 2022, a new digital strategy – The

Digital Ireland Framework – was introduced with the aim of driving and enabling digital change across Irish economic and social life. It includes elements designed to drive digital transformation within the government, an ambition also served by the Irish plan for distribution of Next Generation EU funds.

Citation:

Government of Ireland (2022) 'Launch of Harnessing Digital', 1 February 2022, <https://www.gov.ie/en/press-release/3a922-online-launch-of-harnessing-digital-the-digital-ireland-framework/>

## Malta

### Score 7

The use of digital technologies in Malta has now become widespread both to support interministerial coordination and for client use. The government is determined to make full use of digital technologies, including blockchain. A total of €40 million have been earmarked for the digitalization of public services over the next five years. Individual government ministries can access policies by other ministries that may touch on their own policy formulation, as well as any policies that come from the cabinet.

Each government ministry has its own information management unit (IMU). The IMU's primary role is to ensure that the information technology used is aligned with the ministry's strategic priorities. IMUs are also involved in applying government-wide policies, standards and protocols aimed at ensuring that IT systems are mutually compatible and secure, and that staff members understand and adhere to government policies and procedures.

All CIOs are a part of a CIO Forum chaired by the permanent secretary (strategy and implementation) within the Prime Minister's Office. Various topics and issues are discussed during the monthly meetings. However, the CIO Forum also serves as a venue in which ideas and projects can be shared across ministries. This serves as a platform for CIOs to unite their efforts toward achieving a digitalized public administration.

In 2017, a total of 21 mobile apps for government services were launched. Moreover, the [servizz.gov.mt](https://servizz.gov.mt) website went live, offering access to about 800 services and the associated forms. The [public.service.gov.mt](https://public.service.gov.mt) website was also launched to disseminate information and news about the country's public services. The 2019 Ombudsman report focused on efforts to upgrade this technology in such a way as to facilitate the monitoring of ministries. The 2021 audit report on IT assets recommended improving the integration of IT systems across ministries, ceasing the duplication of data, producing more detailed inventories of the location of IT assets (since work from home had increased) and making better use of the application of best practices. The report concludes, "The work being done by the IMUs, to assess future needs and optimize the utilization of IT assets was not being carried out at

department level. ... once there is a single integrated asset management system in place for all the ministries and departments, the task force can then assess how this data can: assist in the optimization of daily action and operations.” Malta’s reputation as a front-runner in this field within the European Union was acknowledged by the European Commission in its most recent Digital Economy and Society Index (DESI), which stated that Malta has already fulfilled the 2025 gigabit society objectives.

Citation:

<https://www.timesofmalta.com/articles/view/20161003/local/malta-ranks-first-in-europe-for-egovernment-services.626864>

<https://www.timesofmalta.com/articles/view/20171210/business-news/Microsoft-highlights-Malta-s-eGovernment-as-a-case-study.665311>

<https://www.timesofmalta.com/articles/view/20171106/local/e-government-service-platform-wins-international-award.662430>

<https://timesofmalta.com/articles/view/public-services-to-be-digitized-over-the-next-few-years.714394>

<https://www.independent.com.mt/articles/2019-06-17/local-news/40-million-investment-for-digital-transformation-of-the-public-administration-6736209668>

[https://publicservice.gov.mt/en/Documents/MappingTomorrow\\_StrategicPlan2019.pdf](https://publicservice.gov.mt/en/Documents/MappingTomorrow_StrategicPlan2019.pdf)

<https://mita.gov.mt/en/ict-features/Pages/2017/Malta-reconfirmed-as-European-leader-in-the-provision-of-digital-public-services.aspx>

<https://economy.gov.mt/en/ministry/The-Parliamentary-Secretary/Pages/Malta-Digital-Economy-Vision.aspx>

[https://www.maltatoday.com.mt/business/tech/107446/watch\\_government\\_set\\_to\\_ensure\\_malta\\_remains\\_industry\\_leader\\_as\\_it\\_embraces\\_digital\\_innovation#.Yb7fwFV9VzE](https://www.maltatoday.com.mt/business/tech/107446/watch_government_set_to_ensure_malta_remains_industry_leader_as_it_embraces_digital_innovation#.Yb7fwFV9VzE)

[https://www.maltatoday.com.mt/business/business\\_news/89580/revolut\\_boss\\_convinced\\_malta\\_ready\\_to\\_ditch\\_cash#.Yb7gYIUpylA](https://www.maltatoday.com.mt/business/business_news/89580/revolut_boss_convinced_malta_ready_to_ditch_cash#.Yb7gYIUpylA)

<https://timesofmalta.com/articles/view/new-consumer-rights-for-digital-content-and-service-purchases-odette.921772>

Nov 2021- IT Audit: IT Asset Management across Government Ministries and Departments – download

## Switzerland

### Score 7

The Federal Council has developed a strategy for information and communication technology in the Federal Administration. It uses digital technologies effectively to support interministerial coordination. The development and use of IT in the Federal Administration has, however, experienced challenges with regard to efficiency and the appropriate use of fiscal resources. For example, the development of software for use in tax policy and administration has been heavily criticized by the Swiss Federal Audit Office.

As for the cantons, Schmid et al. developed a digitalization index for each canton and found that a high level of e-government and digitalization can be found in cantons with strong financial resources (i.e., wealthy inhabitants and a strong economy). The cantons of St. Gallen, Aargau, Zug and Neuenburg score highest in this index.

In cross-national comparison, Switzerland receives medium to low scores on e-government issues. The European Commission’s e-Government Benchmark 2021 report, which examines progress in the digitalization of administration, has been summarized by the government in the following way:

“Despite the increase in overall performance, Switzerland still ranks low (in international comparison):

“With an overall performance of 52.3% (EU 67.9%), Switzerland ranks a low 32nd out of 36, down from 49.9% (EU 62%) two years ago ... Switzerland also compares poorly with neighboring countries that also have a federal structure, such as Austria (84.1%) and Germany (62.1%) ... When it comes to the use of basic services, the majority of European countries are significantly more advanced than Switzerland (CH 34%; EU 65.2%). Switzerland has not yet established a state-recognized e-ID that can be used for digital identification in the processing of e-services. Pre-filled forms with data from sources such as basic registers (authentic sources) exist in only 12% (+4%) of the e-services examined (EU: 61.5%). Automatically pre-filled forms with data that the authorities already have from certain sources would significantly reduce the effort for the user (no multiple entries, “once-only” principle) and the administration (increase in data quality).

“In the area of transparency of e-services, Switzerland continues to develop (+3.5%) and is approaching the benchmark average (CH 43.8%; EU 64.3%). In terms of the traceability of service provision (completion of forms until receipt of the service), Switzerland is clearly behind the EU average (62%) at around 22%. The report places a great deal of emphasis on information regarding deadlines for the provision of benefits. Here, Switzerland performs poorly. Switzerland has made progress (approx. +10%) in terms of transparency with regard to the personal data used by the authorities. Users can manage their personal data themselves in around 42% of the e-services examined.

“The report shows that Swiss authorities need to improve, especially in citizen-related online services (marriage, birth, death, work, study, etc.). Here, basic services are missing, such as pre-filled forms, or the process of handling services is not transparent. Swiss authorities are more progressive when it comes to business-related services and information, such as starting a business.

“In the area of user-centeredness, Switzerland can keep up with the EU average. About 80% (EU: 87.2%) of the government services and information examined are available online on government websites. Almost nine out of 10 of the websites surveyed also offer online support, help functions and feedback mechanisms and are mobile-enabled.” (<https://www.egovernment.ch/de/aktuelles/medieninformationen/e-government-benchmark-der-eu-2021/>)

<https://www.bakom.admin.ch/bakom/en/homepage/digital-switzerland-and-internet/strategie-digitale-schweiz.html>

Schmid, J., Urben, M., & Vatter, A. (2018). Cyberföderalismus in der Schweiz: Befunde zur Digitalisierung kantonaler Verwaltungen. Yearbook of Swiss Administrative Sciences, 9(1), 12–24. DOI: <http://doi.org/10.5334/ssas.116><https://www.egovernment.ch/de/>

<https://www.egovernment.ch/de/>

<https://www.egovernment.ch/de/aktuelles/medieninformationen/e-government-benchmark-der-eu-2021/>



## Belgium

### Score 6

The Federal Public Service for Information & Communication Technology (FEDICT) is responsible for defining and implementing an e-governance strategy. However, this agency focuses primarily on government-to-citizen (G2C) and government-to-business (G2B) communication, while government-to-government (G2G) interactions seem to be largely overlooked. Furthermore, the federal structure of the state does not help the sharing common IT programs or platforms, as every government level is responsible for its own digital infrastructure.

Overall, there is still much to improve, as Belgium is faring increasingly poorly in international comparison. The U.N. E-Government Survey 2020 ranked Belgium 41st out of 193 U.N. member countries in its E-Government Development Index (EGDI – a 22-position drop in comparison with four years earlier), making it the 26th country among the 33 European countries.

Citation:

[https://d9db56472fd41226d193-1e5e0d4b7948acaf6080b0dce0b35ed5.ssl.cf1.rackcdn.com/events/forum/2004/panel\\_handouts/fedict.pdf](https://d9db56472fd41226d193-1e5e0d4b7948acaf6080b0dce0b35ed5.ssl.cf1.rackcdn.com/events/forum/2004/panel_handouts/fedict.pdf)  
<https://digitaldashboard.belgium.be/fr>  
[https://publicadministration.un.org/egovkb/Portals/egovkb/Documents/un/2020-Survey/2020%20UN%20E-Government%20Survey%20\(Full%20Report\).pdf](https://publicadministration.un.org/egovkb/Portals/egovkb/Documents/un/2020-Survey/2020%20UN%20E-Government%20Survey%20(Full%20Report).pdf)

## Germany

### Score 6

In general, Germany has been slow to adopt e-governance mechanisms. One of the projects to push e-government in federal ministries and agencies is the “E-Akte Bund” (federal e-files) (BMI 2021). The project aims to connect about 100 institutions and some 150,000 employees to the e-file system by 2024. Connecting the Chancellery – with its high-level security needs for classified documents – to the system in the spring of 2022 marked a significant milestone. The use of the e-file system will help facilitate interministerial coordination as it is rolled out within the line ministries.

Citation:

BMI (2021): Start der E-Akte Bund im Bundeskanzleramt, Meldung, Schwerpunktthema: Moderne Verwaltung, Datum: 27.04.2021, [https://www.bmi.bund.de/SharedDocs/kurzmeldungen/DE/2021/04/e-akte-bk-amt.html;jsessionid=3733669ADB476255D39BC732388F2944.1\\_cid287](https://www.bmi.bund.de/SharedDocs/kurzmeldungen/DE/2021/04/e-akte-bk-amt.html;jsessionid=3733669ADB476255D39BC732388F2944.1_cid287) (accessed: 15 January 2022).

## Hungary

### Score 6

As the government has sought to enhance the competitiveness of the Hungarian government through technological modernization, the newly created Ministry of Innovation and Technology (ITM) has set more ambitious goals with respect to digitalization. Moreover, the oligarchs around the government have realized new

business opportunities and have purchased firms in this field, especially with regard to EU transfers in the next Multinational Financial Framework. However, the use of digital technologies for interministerial coordination has just begun.

Israel

Score 6

The Israeli Government ICT Authority was created in 2012 and placed under the Prime Minister's Office in 2015. In 2013, it introduced the Digital Israel program to assist government communication with the public by improving the digitalization of government offices. The initiative aims to strengthen public engagement through a series of websites and online forms, and improve coordination between public, domestic and international NGO, academic, and government actions.

The authority also plans to digitize all services provided by the government and interministerial services. For example, 880 out of 960 forms, which were previously unavailable online, are now available online for public and interministerial use. This in turn facilitates better cooperation and coordination between government offices, as it minimizes bureaucratic work and provides a widely accessible platform for government offices.

Citation:

“Annual report 61 for the year 2010: Treatment of prolonged interministerial disagreements,” The State Comptroller office website (Hebrew)

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“Coalition management,” the Knesset website (Hebrew): <http://main.knesset.gov.il/About/Lexicon/Pages/coalition-management.aspx>

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KATEF – The Knesset Unit for the Coordination of Parliamentary Oversight, The Knesset (Hebrew): 2018, <https://main.knesset.gov.il/Activity/Oversight/Pages/OversightAbout.aspx>

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OECD report: The government has taken extensive steps to reduce regulation, Ynet news, 2018 (Hebrew): <https://www.ynet.co.il/articles/0,7340,L-5310465,00.html>

PMO Office, Open Government Years 2018-2019 Work Plan, 2018,  
<http://www.pmo.gov.il/MediaCenter/SecretaryAnnouncements/Documents/DECO150218.pdf>

PMO Office, Israel Government ICT – Activity for the year 2019, 2019,  
<https://bit.ly/2XHvU4y>

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The end of the fax era? A new headquarters in the Prime Minister's Office will promote a digital vision for Israel, The Marker 2013 (Hebrew): <https://www.themarker.com/technation/1.2185272>

The ICT Authority Strategic Work plan for 2016-2018, <http://mag.calltext.co.il/storage/95/vzPm3XOxT0gj4vrpikuV.pdf>

The Government Coordination Guide, Version 1, 2013, <https://bit.ly/3eZAkyy>

## Mexico

### Score 6

The Mexican government has adopted a National Digital Strategy and established a Change Management Plan in order to guide agencies in the development of projects. Furthermore, the Executive Council Interministerial Commission for e-Government Development (Comison Intersecretarial para el Desarrollo del Gobierno Electronico, CIDGE) has ensured the technical and operational coordination necessary to implement the strategy.

However, as for many projects in Mexico, the implementation of digitalization is falling behind schedule, especially on the subnational level and between different regions and/or cities with different financial and personal capacities. This is a reflection of the heterogeneity of digitalization in particular, and of modernization overall within the broader Mexican society.

Citation:

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

OECD Digital Government Studies Digital Government in Mexico Sustainable and Inclusive Transformation: Sustainable and Inclusive Transformation, OECD 2020.

## Poland

### Score 6

The PiS government has been eager to increase digitalization in the country and use digital technologies to support interministerial coordination (European Commission 2021). On entering office, the PiS government established a separate Ministry of Digital Affairs. In the course of the government reshuffle in October 2020, when the number of ministries was reduced from 20 to 14, the ministry was merged with the Chancellery of the Prime Minister, which since then has continued its mission and pending activities with regard to digital development. Despite some shortcomings, the ministry succeeded in improving internet access and the use of digital technologies in public administration and the government.

Citation:

European Commission (2021): Digital Public Administration factsheet 2021. Poland. Brussels (<https://joinup.ec.europa.eu/collection/nifo-national-interoperability-framework-observatory/digital-public-administration-factsheets-2021>).

## Portugal

### Score 6

There is a unit responsible for providing technological support to the government, the Centro de Gestão da Rede Informática do Governo (Ceger).

This has a central remit to manage the government's IT network (Rede Informática do Governo, RInG). The information on Ceger's website indicates that there were 34 people working in this service in August 2020.

Ceger's services involve basic IT support (e.g., government email, internet access, data protection).

It also has as a remit to provide technological support for cabinet and junior minister meetings, while decree-law 16/2002 stipulates that it should develop common information networks and decision support systems for government.

However, the actual implementation of the latter is ongoing. The existing evidence is anecdotal, but suggests that the full potential of these technologies is as yet unrealized for policy development and monitoring. An indicator of this is that it is not uncommon for ministers to use their own devices (or not to use any device at all) at cabinet meetings.

Citation:

CEGER, Mapa do Pessoal, available online at: [https://www.ceger.gov.pt/media/7153/CEGER%20-%20Mapa%20de%20Pessoal\\_03-08-2020\\_ass.pdf](https://www.ceger.gov.pt/media/7153/CEGER%20-%20Mapa%20de%20Pessoal_03-08-2020_ass.pdf)

## Sweden

### Score 6

The digitalization of the Swedish public sector has come a rather long way. One exceptional example is the budget process (one of the key mechanisms to support coordination among government departments), where documents are digitally shared and simultaneously developed among various departments. The government also uses digital services to coordinate interdepartmental responses to communications from the EU. Overall, however, digitalization is mainly used to support intraorganizational processes such as drafting documents and only to a lesser extent to support interdepartmental coordination.

The Swedish government now communicates all new legislation and regulations (SFS) digitally, with digital versions given legal precedence over printed versions as they are the most current versions of legislation.

Digitalization has been implemented more extensively at the agency level. For instance, there is now a joint service center (SSC) that manages back-office functions for a growing number of agencies. Also, statistical material and maps are shared digitally among agencies.

## Turkey

### Score 6

The Office of Digital Transformation, which is affiliated with the Presidency, is entitled to lead public policies and strategies targeting digital transformation and e-government. It is also tasked with communicating the delivery of services, improving inter-agency cooperation and coordination in these areas, all in accordance with the goal set by the president.

No information is available concerning mechanisms facilitating interministerial coordination. However, the closed “kamunet” network for more secure data exchange between public institutions and organizations has been established as part of an effort to reduce cybersecurity risks.

Turkey is a member of the e-Europe+ initiative, while the e-Transformation Turkey Project was introduced by a prime ministerial circular of December 2003. In 2004, e-government applications were introduced into public administration following the adoption of e-signatures. In 2008, a prime ministerial circular stated that the electronic document management standards and registered electronic mail (KEP) projects were being implemented

#### Citation:

Tamtürk, E. (2017). Kamu Yönetiminde Elektronik Belge Yönetim Sistemi. *Anemon Muş Alparslan Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 5(3), 851-863.

## Austria

### Score 5

Austria has no particular tradition of digitalized interministerial coordination or, if Austria does, little is known about it. However, as in other countries, the coronavirus pandemic became a powerful “digitalization catalyst.” Ever since early 2020, Austrian ministers and ministries have used Zoom and other digital instruments/formats to host regular interministerial exchanges. According to the OECD Digital Government Index 2019, Austria ranks slightly below average, but better than many of its western European peers (e.g., Belgium, the Netherlands, Sweden and Germany).

#### Citation:

<https://www.derstandard.at/story/2000116689168/trotz-sicherheitsmaengel-nutzen-oesterreichische-ministerien-zoom>

OECD Digital Government Index, available at:

<https://www.oecd.org/gov/digital-government-index-4de9f5bb-en.htm>

## Croatia

### Score 5

The digitalization of public administration is an undisputed goal of the government, but has not proceeded smoothly. The Croatian government established the Central State Office for the Development of the Digital Society in 2016. One of the basic tasks of the Office has been to bundle the existing 28 different digitalization strategies within an umbrella strategy that allows for the co-funding of initiatives from EU funds in the next Multiannual EU Financial Framework for the years 2021 – 2027.

According to a 2021 European Commission report, Croatia has implemented the principles of the European Interoperability Framework well or at a medium level.

However, the effective use of digital technologies in government and administration is still hindered by fragmentation and the tendency to subject such issues to laborious bureaucratic processes in organizational siloes. As a result, digital technologies do not play a major role in interministerial coordination.

Citation:

[https://joinup.ec.europa.eu/sites/default/files/inline-files/DPA\\_Factsheets\\_2021\\_Croatia\\_vFinal.pdf](https://joinup.ec.europa.eu/sites/default/files/inline-files/DPA_Factsheets_2021_Croatia_vFinal.pdf)

## Czechia

### Score 5

The digitalization of state administration featured prominently in the Babiš government's manifesto. In 2018, the government approved the Digital Czech Republic program, which aimed to advance the digitalization of the country. The implementation of the program started slowly, but has gained pace during the COVID-19 pandemic. New legislation on banking identity or the right to digital services has shifted a significant proportion of communication between the state and citizens to the digital sphere. Public authorities have expanded the use of online platforms and interactive digital forms. At the same time, progress with using digital technologies to support interministerial coordination has been limited.

## Italy

### Score 5

The promotion of digitalization within public administration is one of the main goals of the Draghi government. The process for the creation of a national cloud service to be used by the public sector was launched with law decree n. 77 of May 2021, and a new mechanism of digital monitoring and coordination of governmental activities (REGIS) was established by a decree of the president of the council in September 2021. It is, however, too early to evaluate how efficient implementation will be.

Citation:

for the law decree n. 77 see: <https://www.gazzettaufficiale.it/eli/id/2021/07/30/21A04731/sg> (accessed 29 January 2021)

for the REGIS system see: [https://www.mef.gov.it/inevidenza/2021/article\\_00060/Presentazione-Master-PNRR-PMST2021920STLM03-3.pdf](https://www.mef.gov.it/inevidenza/2021/article_00060/Presentazione-Master-PNRR-PMST2021920STLM03-3.pdf) (accessed 29 January 2021)

## Netherlands

### Score 5

Although it may safely be assumed that well-known digital technologies like WhatsApp and Signal are used in Dutch interministerial coordination, digitalization designed specifically for interministerial coordination appears absent or is unknown. Like in ICT use across government in general, different departments use different systems whose interoperability is low or absent. Although the Legis project aspires to a more integrated ICT approach in the Dutch legislative system, results have been poor. For example, it is impossible as a non-insider to trace progress in legislative work on a particular bill, let alone to have an overview of all bills in preparation. Digitalization in legislation and interministerial coordination in the Netherlands clearly lags behind that in the United Kingdom or Finland.

In 2019, two important leaders in the push for improved ICT use within governmental departments resigned, and there are severe disagreements between the political and administrative levels of the Department of Internal Affairs and the leadership of the ICT Assessment Bureau, which was established in 2015 to coordinate ICT projects and contain cost overruns.

Responding to concerns voiced by the Council of State, the Rathenau Institute and the Scientific Council for Government Policy (WRR), the December 2021 coalition agreement creates a minister for digital affairs. This figure will focus on the uses of algorithms in decision-making relating to policy designs, legislative work, jurisprudence and implementation practices.

Citation:

W. Voermans et al., 2012. Legislative processes in transition. Comparative study of the legislative processes in Finland, Slovenia and the UK as a source of inspiration for enhancing the efficiency of the Dutch legislative process, Leiden University ((open access.leidenuniv.nl, accessed 31 October 2018)

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Trouw, 15 May 2019. De ICT-projecten bij de overheid zijn nog steeds een chaos. (trouw.nl, accessed 8 November 2019)

Rathenau Instituut, November 5, 2021. Deskundigen in de Eerste Kamer over AI bij overheidsbesluitvorming.

WRR, November 11, 2021. WRR-rapport nr. 105: Opgave AI. De nieuwe systeemtechnologie.

Raad van State, June 28, 2021. Publicatie Raad van State over digitalisering in wetgeving en bestuursrechtspraak.

## Cyprus

### Score 4

Cyprus ranks 21 in the European Union for DESI indicators, below the EU average. The Recovery and Resilience Plan dedicates significant funds for digitalization. It is expected that the new Deputy Ministry for Research and Digital Development will

contribute to accelerating change. At present, digital technology covers a small spectrum of government work and activities, while the percentage of public services delivered digitally increased from 40% in 2016 to 62% in 2021. An ERP system, which has been in development since 2018, is expected to be operational in 2022, facilitating inter-service work in accounting, payroll, pensions, budgeting and human resource management. No information is available about a comprehensive digital interministerial system.

Citation:

1. European Commission, The Digital Economy and Society Index 2021, Cyprus <https://ec.europa.eu/newsroom/dae/redirection/document/80492>

## Japan

### Score 4

Digital technologies designed for interministerial coordination and broader government-to-government (G2G) services are not at the core of Japan's e-government initiative. Rather, the focus of e-government policies is on the creation and use of e-platforms that enable citizens to interact with the various levels of government more effectively and efficiently (G2C). This approach was confirmed in the Digital Government Action Plan released in 2018, in which G2G models do not play a prominent role.

Recent public discussion has focused on how to properly use official email services and other features such as shared folders. Quite a few civil servants, including senior ones, consider such technologies to be cumbersome. More importantly, these critics seem concerned that emails will be stored as public documents, a fact that might result in the emergence of unwelcomed evidence in the case of scandal, based on the requirements and disclosure rules of the Public Records and Archives Management Act and the Information Disclosure Law. Given this perspective, it is doubtful that G2G technologies will gain much momentum among senior ministry officials.

In 2020, Prime Minister Suga launched an initiative to complete the digitalization of the government by 2025 and created the Digital Agency in September 2021 to facilitate the process. The current Kishida administration appears thus far to be continuing this digitalization initiative.

Citation:

Leading administrative reform under premise of digitalization, METI Journal in the Japan Times, 11 January 2019, <https://meti-journal.japantimes.co.jp/2019-01-11/>

Bureaucrats reveal that most official emails are not kept properly, The Mainichi, 15 January 2018, <https://mainichi.jp/english/articles/20180115/p2a/00m/0na/017000c>

New Digital Agency Pursues Inclusive Digitalization, Government of Japan, 16 September 2021, [https://www.japan.go.jp/kizuna/2021/09/new\\_digital\\_agency.html](https://www.japan.go.jp/kizuna/2021/09/new_digital_agency.html)



## Slovakia

### Score 4

Slovakia lags behind most EU member states with regard to digitalization (European Commission 2021). The new government has announced its intent to close that gap. In April 2020, the office of the deputy prime minister for investments and informatization was transformed into the Ministry of Investments, Regional Development and Informatization. In Slovakia's recovery plan, however, digitalization has not featured very prominently, and digital technologies have continued to play only a limited role in interministerial coordination.

#### Citation:

European Commission (2021): Digital Public Administration Factsheet 2021. Slovakia. Brussels (<https://joinup.ec.europa.eu/collection/nifo-national-interoperability-framework-observatory/digital-public-administration-factsheets-2021>).

## Iceland

### Score 3

No digital technologies are used to support policy coordination across or within government ministries. In the Prime Minister's Office, there is the Office of Policy Matters (Skrifstofa stefnumála), which to some extent coordinates key issues between ministries. This office also coordinates national economic and monetary policy, manages labor market communications, and monitors cabinet policy, future developments and the UN Sustainable Development Goals. The most recent institutions to be attached to this office are Iceland's central bank (Seðlabankinn) and Statistics Iceland (Hagstofa Íslands).

Things are moving toward increasing digitalization since the first policy on public digital services was published in 2021, which set out a framework for the projects that are being worked on. The policy includes goals for increasing competitiveness, improving public services, and developing safer infrastructure and a more modern work environment.

#### Citation:

Organization (Skipulag), <https://www.stjornarradid.is/raduneyti/forsaetisraduneytid/skipulag/>. Accessed 22 December 2018.

Samantekt um tæknilega innviði og rafræna þjónustu hins opinbera. <https://www.stjornarradid.is/efst-a-baugi/frettir/stok-frett/2021/09/03/Samantekt-um-eflingu-verkefna-i-upplysingataekni/>. Accessed 23 December 2021.

## Romania

### Score 3

The 2014 National Strategy on Digital Agenda for Romania explicitly called on the public sector to embrace and optimize the use of digital technology for improving effectiveness in governance. This commitment was further buttressed through the establishment of a Government Chief Information Officer within the chancellery. In

July 2018, the government announced plans to spend €45 million on the development of a government cloud framework to be used by all public institutions in the country. However, similar plans were announced in 2014 and 2017 without substantial results. Indeed, a 2018 report on government digitalization ranked Romania 67th out of 193 countries and last among 28 EU member states, and also noted that Romania implemented only one-fourth of all commitments it assumed in 2014. To date, the role actually played by digital technologies in interministerial coordination has been limited.

While there have not been any notable developments in 2020 or 2021, Romania's Recovery and Resilience Plan, endorsed by the European Commission in 2021, commits €1.5 billion to digitalizing public administration. This should support the digitalization of interministerial coordination.

Citation:

Ministry for the Information Society (2018): National Strategy on Digital Agenda for Romania. Bucharest (<https://www.trusted.ro/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/Digital-Agenda-Strategy-for-Romania-8-september-2014.pdf>).

European Commission (2021): Factsheet on Romania's Recovery and Resilience Plan. Brussels. ([https://ec.europa.eu/info/sites/default/files/factsheet-romania\\_en.pdf](https://ec.europa.eu/info/sites/default/files/factsheet-romania_en.pdf))

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