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The View of Romanian Parliamentarians on Non-Governmental Organizations

The Institute for Public Policy Bucharest, March 2006

Note

The View of Romanian Parliamentarians on Non-Governmental Organizations is an opinion poll whose aim is to measure the perception of Romanian parliamentarians as to the activity of civil society organizations and more particularly as to their role in the deliberative process taking place in Romania today. The survey plays a significant part among the activities included in the project called Political Responsibility in Romania - developing mechanisms for a higher transparency in the work of the newly elected members of the Parliament Standing Committees, a project currently implemented by the Institute for Public Policy (IPP) in Romania due to the generous support of The Balkan Trust for Democracy.

The Balkan Trust for Democracy (BTD) is a grant-giving initiative meant to provide good governance in South-Eastern Europe. This is a project developed by the German Marshall Fund of the United States, of the United States Agency for International Development and the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, set up in 2003 and thus structured so as to allow its European partners to join in the effort to enhance transatlantic cooperation in the Balkans.

The Institute for Public Policy (IPP) is a think tank whose purpose is to foster the development of democratic processes in Romania by applied research, public hearings and the examination of public policies.

The Institute for Public Policy would like to thank those members of the Romanian Parliament who, under anonymity circumstances, have agreed to fill out the IPP questionnaires and have them returned to the Institute, thus making possible the development of the present survey. Their opinions are crucial for the process of understanding the way in which Members of Parliament perceive non-governmental organizations, their work and the role they play in improving the Parliament's activity. We express our special appreciation for the support given by the technical staff of the Parliamentary groups and of certain committees, especially from the House of Deputies, with regard to the correspondence involving the receipt of the questionnaires.

We would like to convey our special thanks to Florin Dumitrascu, from the Public Information and Civil Society Relations Office within the House of Deputies, for his recommendations provided in the consultative process underlying the present study. We would like to avail ourselves of this opportunity and thank him for the diligence with which he has handled the public information requests - quite a few - he has received of late from IPP.

Last but not least, the conclusions of this survey are essential for the accomplishment of one of the main goals of the project - an effective dialogue between the civil society and the politicians, i.e. the citizens' representatives in the Parliament of Romania. Such a dialogue will have a major contribution to increasing the transparency of the legislative process and enhancing political responsibility.

The team involved in the development of the project would like to thank sociologist Monica Toba for her support in the determination of the statistical sample and the interpretation of results as well as Lucy del Aguila for her contribution to the compilation of the texts and the completion of the study.

Coordinating team

Violeta Bau Adrian Moraru Gabriela Dobre

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The Institute for Public Policy (IPP) **Bucharest** 3 Hristo Botev Blvd., 2nd floor, apart. 3, sector 3 Tel/Fax +021 314 1542 E-mail: office@ipp.ro

www.ipp.ro

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Introduction

The survey called The View of Romanian Parliamentarians on Non-Governmental Organizations is part of a broader project on Political Responsibility in Romania - developing mechanisms for a higher transparency in the work of the newly elected members of the Parliament Standing Committees1, implemented by the Institute for Public Policy (IPP) from October 2005 until July 2006. This project is a mere continuation of the IPP concern meant to support and promote measures related to the transparency of activities developed at parliamentary level, and to the genuine empowerment of MPs in front of their voters, by facilitating and encouraging the cooperation between the two partners of dialogue.

Thus, following various initiatives on the institutionalization of the single-member voting system (recording and making public the votes of each MP on various draft laws) which initiatives have resulted in the alteration of the House of Deputies By-Laws (Own Regulation) currently allowing the pursuit of the single-member voting system, IPP tries to foster the building of effective relations with MPs, starting from their very opinions as to the role of foundations and associations in the law-making process.

In its attempt to sanction promptly any malfunctions in the operation of the law-making body, particularly the one related to the access of citizens to information about the budget of the two Houses of Parliament and about the specific law-making activity (IPP has initiated court proceedings against the Senate of Romania for having obstructed access to information related to the attendance of senators to plenary Senate sessions or to the contents of the shorthand minutes of the Standing Office meetings). IPP has tried to professionalize its cooperation with MPs in relation to the very basic function of the latter in the country's law-making forum: debating and voting legislation. So, after the launch of various initiatives which have displayed to the public in statistical terms the activity of their elected officials in Parliament, the need was felt to address the causes which underlie the very poor cooperation between the NGO sector and the Parliament² in order to amend at least those which can be impacted by the civil society.

The IPP survey, whose conclusions are presented here, was designed along these very lines and is meant to streamline the cooperation process between the Parliament and IPP, as well as between the Parliament and other non-governmental organizations which strive to promote in an articulate manner their views on the law-making process.

The above-mentioned objective has been assumed under the circumstances in which the laws passed by Parliament are of interest to the entire Romanian society; its consequences will have a strong impact on the real consolidation of democracy in Romania.

¹ The survey was developed with the financial support of the Balkan Trust for Democracy.

² The Advocacy Academy, Monitoring Report on the activity of senators and deputies (first session), Timisoara 15 September 2005.

By the present study, IPP wants to generate a greater political responsibility on the part of the Members of Parliament in front of their voters, by means of a true transparency of the activities performed within this institution. Likewise, IPP wants to encourage the participation of NGOs to the law-making process, particularly by interventions meant to lead straightaway to the improvement of draft laws (legislative texts, amendments, etc.) rather than by the perpetual organization of roundtables, workshops and symposia by various organizations, where parliamentarians enjoy themselves, where they are never contradicted and which they unfortunately leave without any specific ideas to turn eventually into legislation.

By the survey called *The View of Romanian Parliamentarians on* Non-Governmental Organizations IPP aims to highlight a few data which reflect the current stage in the cooperation between Members of Parliament and Romanian non-governmental organizations, starting from the way in which politicians perceive the role and work of foundations/associations in the legislative context. The main reason attached to the implementation of the afore-mentioned study is rooted in the difficulties confronting the members of non-governmental organizations when they try to establish a constant and effective dialogue with members of parliament. Such difficulties have been often interpreted, in the context of Romanian society, as a generalized lack of communication between the political class and the civil society, whereas no relevant studies were conducted in order to generate an accurate assessment of the causes of such lack of communication and the size of it. Thus, in the present survey, IPP wants to reveal the relationship between Romanian

parliamentarians and non-governmental organizations, through the perception that the former hold on their civil society partners of dialogue. Adding to this survey a study to render in detail the perception of NGOs on parliamentarians would bring forth a very important piece of information for the establishment of an effective partnership between the two main actors included in this project. We believe that the results of this study will have a positive impact on the relationship between Romanian Members of Parliament and members of non-governmental organizations, to the extent to which they will help both partners of dialogue know each other better and explore together better avenues of cooperation in order to enhance the quality of the deliberative process.

Methodology

The survey called The View of Romanian Parliamentarians on Non-Governmental Organizations was implemented in the Parliament of Romania in the interval 24 November - 22 December 2005, through self-managed questionnaires.

Thus, in the second half of November 2005, the IPP project team has developed the questionnaire to be sent to the Members of Parliament, with a view to addressing certain issues considered to be highly significant, such as the role of Romanian nongovernmental organizations in society, their contribution to the law-making process (by their expertise in various fields of interest specific to each organization, or by their monitoring the debates on draft legislation and the way in which legislation is being implemented), and the preferable way of cooperation between Members of Parliament and members of non-governmental organizations.

Throughout the process of drafting the questionnaire to be sent to the Members of Parliament, the IPP project team has consulted many domestic and international sources addressing similar topics, in order to build a scientific foundation for the questions asked of the Romanian parliamentarians. Likewise, brainstorming sessions have been organized and dedicated to the identification of issues to be included in the questionnaire; as to the final drafting of the questionnaire, the project team has benefited from the expertise of a sociologist.

The final version of the questionnaire has approached the following issues:

e aspecte:

- The general opinion of Members of Parliament on Romanian non-governmental organizations
- The identification of the fields where Romanian nongovernmental organizations play a very active role
- The identification of the interests advanced by Romanian non-governmental organizations as well as their main objective
- Highlighting the attitude of Romanian non-governmental organizations regarding the relation between such organizations and Members of Parliament
- The role of non-governmental organizations in improving the law-making process and identifying the most appropriate ways by which NGOs can contribute to the improvement of the law-making process
- The level and the way in which Members of Parliament wish to cooperate with non-governmental organizations as well as the shapes that can be taken by such cooperation.

The questionnaire sent to the Members of Parliament consisted in 18 questions, most of which were closed-end questions (with preencoded multiple choice answers); only 2 questions were openend questions (allowing each MP to express his/her opinion freely). The inclusion of a much greater number of closed-end questions was also triggered by the wish to collect as many answers as possible, since it is a well-known fact that the time Romanian parliamentarians allocate to such activities is very short.

The questionnaires were sent by mail to each of the 391 parliamentarians (except for the senators and deputies belonging to the Greater Romania Party parliamentary groups due to their extremist views as well as the senators and deputies who held the position of ministers when the opinion poll took place) plus a letter which explained the context of the project that incorporated the IPP survey, the structure of the attached questionnaire and instructions about the manner in which the filled in questionnaires were to be returned to IPP (the guarantee of the respondents' confidentiality). Each letter and questionnaire were introduced in individual envelopes bearing the name of each senator/deputy and then lodged with the Senate and House of Deputies register offices.

When the deadline for returning the questionnaires was exceeded, the IPP team contacted by telephone over 200 parliamentarians. About 75 parliamentarians received the questionnaire by e-mail as well. The rate of response was 20.4%.

The filled in questionnaires were processed by the IPP project team. The project team has cooperated with a sociologist, who is an expert in the implementation of opinion polls.

The cooperation between NGOs and MPs politeness which conceals inefficiency

In Romania, the general public (NGOs included) has a rather poor opinion about parliamentarians, granting them the lowest level of trust in comparison to many other public institutions; on the other hand, parliamentarians do not trust either the quality of the NGO contributions to the law-making process. For instance, according to the data from the Public Opinion Barometer of the Open Society Foundation, citizens do not trust - generally speaking - the Parliament.³ The same opinion poll conducted in May 2005 revealed how little were parliamentarians known by the population (52% do not know any parliamentarian from their own constituency).

Even if 69% of the parliamentarians from the current legislature state that they have a good opinion about non-governmental organizations, this answer must be interpreted in conjunction with the answers related to the role of NGOs and the type of activities which politicians associate with NGOs. The more cooperative is the attitude of NGOs, the more harmonious is the relationship between the two parties, to the satisfaction of parliamentarians, to whom the supervision and the criticism of their parliamentary activity by NGOs are not at all desirable.

As a matter of fact, with respect to the actual way of cooperation with non-governmental organizations, Members of Parliament state in their vast majority that their participation to events organized by NGOs (conferences, seminars, debates) is the main type of cooperation between parliamentarians and nongovernmental organizations. By combining this answer with the fact that NGOs are expected to develop a very low level of monitoring on parliamentarian activities and of criticism against legislative malfunctions, we can infer that non-governmental organizations are seen as a source of debates and actions meant to promote parliamentarians, rather than independent institutions meant to draw their attention onto the unsatisfactory activities taking place in Parliament.

The vast majority of the parliamentarians who have responded to the IPP questionnaire consider the relation they have with NGOs on a personal level as an efficient one, but if we combine this answer with the one related to the average value attached to the activities through which non-governmental organizations try to improve the law-making process, the survey suggests a polite attitude on the part of the respondents, from which we can infer that the input given by NGOs is not considered to be truly professional by the parliamentarians. Even if they do not consider NGOs to be professional structures and consequently their contribution to the legislative process to be beneficial, parliamentarians avoid criticizing NGOs, being probably aware of their impact (via the media) on the public opinion in Romania and from abroad.

³ 34% of the citizens have answered in November 2005 that they have very little or no trust in the Parliament's activity while 45% have said that they have not too much trust; compared to the situation in May 2005 when 33% had very little or no trust in Parliament and 41% had little trust.

Along the same lines of measuring the level of appreciation enjoyed frequently by NGOs, we must not ignore the fact that 29% of the respondents have stated that they do not have a cooperation-based relationship with NGOs, while 6% believe that any cooperation with NGOs is of no use to their parliamentary activity.

As a matter of principle, parliamentarians think that nongovernmental organizations can get involved in having an influence on the political agenda. 93% of them hold this view, which can be an indicator of the level of expectation that parliamentarians have in terms of their cooperation with NGOs.

But in practical terms the cooperation between parliamentarians and NGOs is hindered by their very different perception of the role to be played by NGOs in legislative terms, and also by the lack of practice with respect to an efficient dialogue between the two parties. Even if, in general terms, foundations and organizations are less and less associated with groups set up in order to traffic (stolen) cars, the efficiency of the cooperation process between NGOs and parliamentarians is far from making itself felt. Some respondents, by the mere fact of having mentioned the names of certain NGOs they are acquainted with, suggest a certain level of knowledge of the association-based environment by politicians, but not enough to allow us to speak of an open attitude towards really encouraging NGOs to take part as significant players in the decision-making process.

The personal relationship between parliamentarians and NGOs differs a lot from the one which is felt at the level of the institution as a whole. While some parliamentarians have already selected their collaborators from the range of NGOs that enjoy a visible (prominent) place in the media, as well as from the range of local NGOs, usually belonging to the constituencies they come from, the cooperation process between the institution as such and the civil society is considered much weaker than the one felt at the level of local government or the Presidential institution.

The place in which a certain NGO works as well as its relations with the media, to secure its access to news bulletins and newspaper articles, matter a lot for a particular NGO to become known to the general public, parliamentarians included. This is the explanation why a large portion of the respondents have mentioned the name of a certain non-governmental organization from Bucharest, prevailingly active in the civic and political arena, when they answered the question on the NGOs they know and cooperate with

The 69% score of the parliamentarians who hold NGOs in high regard should be the starting point of a more in-depth and specialized analysis of the general perception of parliamentarians regarding the civil society, as it is a well known fact that, generally speaking, the role of a non-governmental organization is seen very differently by the general public in Romania compared to the general public (and the politicians) from the countries which already have a very strong democracy. The criticism of nongovernmental organizations is frequently conducive in Romania to the deterioration of communication between NGOs and the institution run at one point in time by certain dignitaries; therefore, it does not contribute to the remediation of the malfunctions from

the law-making process, in general, or from the activity of a certain parliamentarian, in particular, unless the work of the NGO in question is being covered by the media.

The fact that parliamentarians in Romania wish NGOs to be concerned first of all with advancing and defending the interests of civil society and less with monitoring the performance of public institutions suggests a still insufficient assimilation of the watch dog function that non-governmental organizations are supposed to fulfill in order to be able to sanction the malfunctions they detect. In Romania, parliamentarians appreciate NGOs to the extent to which they do not criticize them but provide a harmonious environment in which they can voice their general views on democracy (thus potentially attracting votes from the members of the foundations and associations in question). The 42% of the respondents who place in first position activities which promote societal interests, compared to the 12% that agree with NGOs being critical of the activity of public institutions, obviously proves that major efforts are still needed so that activities like monitoring and criticism be understood like a democratic and efficient instrument meant to increase the quality of governance (both in legislative and in executive terms). The fact that 61% consider the criticism launched by NGOs as being constructive reveals a certain tone of politeness (somewhat inefficient) attached to the way in which parliamentarians treat NGOs. From a different perspective, the same answer can represent a very important element in the urge of the future cooperation between NGOs and parliamentarians.

In any case, with respect to the perception of the parliamentarians from the current legislature about the interests advanced by Romanian non-governmental organizations, most parliamentarians state that, through their activities, NGOs represent mainly the interests of the members of those particular NGOs. This could be indicative of the fact that members of parliament look upon Romanian non-governmental organizations as a community of joint interests rather than organizations meant to serve political parties, foreign (outside) interests or interests of business groups (the options mentioned in the survey). This is also a positive signal for the relationship between Romanian parliamentarians and NGOs, in the sense that NGOs are seen as working independently, thus being able to become a viable partner of dialogue for the members of parliament.

The parliamentarians who have stated that the relationship they have with non-governmental organizations is conflict-based or non-existent (second result) mention as main reasons for such a poor relationship their too busy personal agenda or difficulties in getting contact information about NGOs.

On the other hand, parliamentarians mention local government as ranking first on the list of possible answers to the question regarding their view on the institutions which cooperate with NGOs. Second and third rank the Presidency and the Government. Although on an individual basis members of parliament state that they have an efficient relation with nongovernmental organizations, they do admit that the general level of cooperation between NGOs and the Parliament as an institution is lower than the level of cooperation with other public institutions.

Nevertheless, there is an obvious optimism amongst parliamentarians with respect to the prospects of cooperation between non-governmental organizations and Parliament. Thus, 68% of the respondents believe that in recent years some progress was made as well as an upward trend.

With regard to the perception of parliamentarians about the fields of activity in which NGOs are particularly active in Romania, we can mention the following:

- The reform of the political class/the reform of the election process/the fight against corruption
- Social welfare/child protection
- Minority protection/human rights/equal opportunities
- Culture/European integration.

It is worthwhile mentioning that the field of political class reform/the reform of the election process/the fight against corruption ranks among the fields where Romanian non-governmental organizations are particularly active. This can be interpreted as an acknowledgement by parliamentarians of the contribution of civil society projects to the complex process of reform undergone by the political class in Romania. Likewise, this situation can be also interpreted to the effect to which the topics of election process and corruption keep arousing the interest (and consequently attracting

the attention) of the vast majority of Romanian parliamentarians.

At the opposite pole (very little known) we find the following fields:

- Foreign and defense policy
- Healthcare
- Ecology.

Which proves either that they are insufficiently reflected in the activities of Romanian NGOs or that the projects developed in these areas are insufficiently publicized compared to the existing potential.

As regards the activities of non-governmental organizations which might contribute to the largest extent to improving the law-making process, the following rank first:

- Informing the citizens on a regular basis about draft laws submitted to vote in the Parliament plenary session, developing impact studies previously requested by parliamentary committees/groups/MPs
- Taking stands on various draft laws.

While the following rank *last*:

 Monitoring the way in which every parliamentarian contributes to the legislative process (the sense of the vote, the speeches held in plenary parliamentary sessions, the number of initiated legislation, etc.)

NGOs are seen as levers to facilitate the communication with the general public, ideally serving the parliamentarians' purposes and enabling them to convey to their voters whatever they want, in general terms, from the category of information meant to consolidate their election support. 51% of the parliamentarians barely use comments and analyses in order to formulate amendments to draft legislation, but they attend with great interest symposia where ideally they are not supposed to be criticized for their parliamentary activity.

Concluding Remarks

There was a time when the public opinion connected nongovernmental organizations with car trafficking networks which brought to Romania tax exempt cars; definitely those times are long gone by. Very few are those who, even if they do not hold NGOs in very high regard, have at least heard about them and are acquainted with the fact that they represent apolitical structures, which play a special role in the consolidation of democracy in the Romanian society. The 10% of the parliamentarians who have responded to the IPP survey by saying that they are not aware of any NGO in particular is a worrisome percentage for us and we consider that those people should not be elected to the Parliament of Romania if they ignore on purpose the association-related environment from the country they represent in its main legislative body.

As to the role that they must play, while the general public appreciates the intransigence with which certain organizations criticize the political class, parliamentarians would rather have this not happen. Still under the spirit of the 90s, when Romanian democracy was about to shape itself, politicians would rather have NGOs continue organizing roundtable discussions, workshops and conferences where they could come and voice their opinions in a pleasant environment instead of having NGOs monitor and then criticize the activity of the officials elected to Parliament.

Parliamentarians shun from voicing in a peremptory manner their views on the role and work of NGOs. Their personal attitude of cooperation or confrontation with non-governmental

organizations has a great influence on them when they must convey a general view on NGO activities in Romania as well as their impact on the decision-making process. If with respect to the role of NGOs (to

activities related to the role of Parliament in enhancing democracy) opinions vary quite a lot amongst the Parliamentarians of the current legislature, one thing is for sure: the politicians in Parliament have understood that NGOs have a voice, that this voice makes itself heard more and more both amidst the domestic and the international public opinion and, for all these reasons, it is better "not to mess" with them. This is one of the potential explanations why their views on the relationship they actually have with NGOs are contradictory to a certain extent. Thus, while 70% of the respondents believe that they have an efficient relation with NGOs. 53% consider the contribution of NGOs to the improvement of the law-making activity to be of an average value.

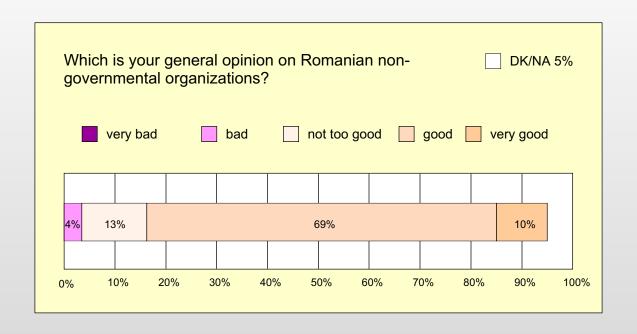
Most definitely, the above-mentioned response must be interpreted in close connection to the remaining answers from the questionnaire. The survey gives the impression that the NGOs that are more visible to the general public, those that have access to the print and those which tackle issues of great impact in the media (such as the election process or corruption) are mentioned more frequently by parliamentarians because they hear about them more often than they hear about other NGOs which cover areas such as: culture, environment, health, foreign and defense policy. Therefore, among the fields in which cases of cooperation between MPs and NGOs have occurred most frequently, the following have been mentioned: local government, the election

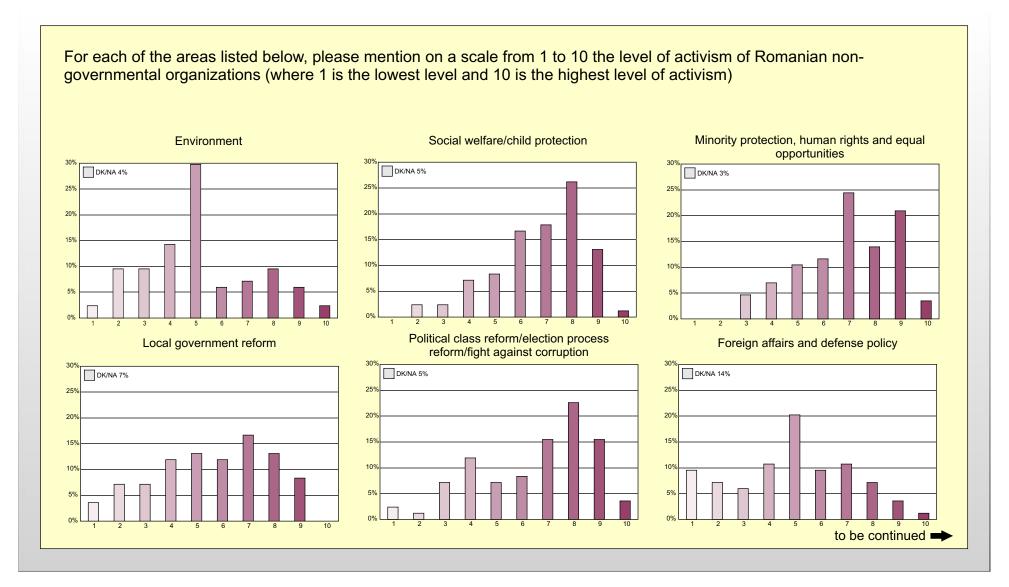
process, the Constitution, the Criminal Code, legislation in the field of property and justice. It is for sure that the comments made by parliamentarians with regard to certain NGOs from urban areas take into account these factors as well. It is quite pleasing to note that some respondents have mentioned the cooperation with certain local non-governmental organizations, which fact gives us reason to hope that the relation between a parliamentarian and his/her constituency is heading in the right direction. At the same time, we believe that NGOs which work in fields that do not attract. as a rule, an increased and constant attention of the media, should enhance their efforts in order to make themselves better known amongst parliamentarians, thus trying to translate their opinions and the claims of the people they represent in amendments to the exiting legislation as well as in proposals of new legislation.

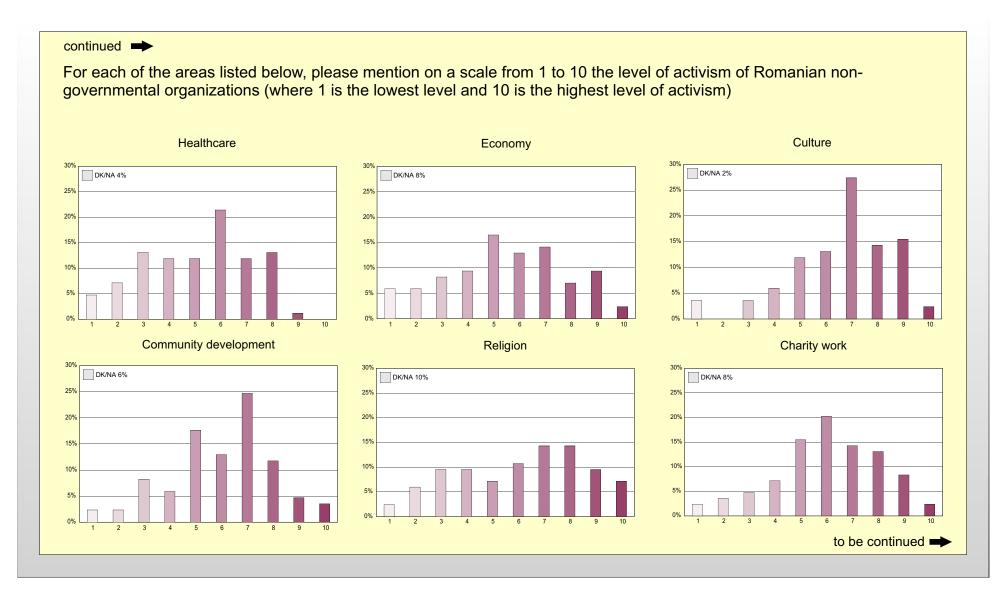
There is hope, in the end, to turn the cooperation relationship between NGOs and the Parliament of Romania into a professional one. To the extent to which Members of Parliament will stop feeling the pressure of regarding themselves, in all circumstances, victims of organizations which, when they do not please them, become agents of opposing parties, this cooperation will be able to generate effective pieces of legislation. NGOs in turn need to perfect themselves every year and take action being aware of the fact that the kindness of an MP's attending a roundtable discussion will not end up in making the legislative process more efficient, more flexible and more substantive; this must be the long-term and the mid-term goal of all non-governmental organizations.

As a matter of fact, the pre-conditions necessary for making such a cooperation possible are there. 68% of the parliamentarians who answered the IPP questionnaire in connection to their opinion about the work of non-governmental organizations believe that, in recent years, the cooperation between them and NGOs has increased (only 4% believe that is has decreased). Parliamentarians themselves realize that NGOs can be useful to them by conducting certain impact studies before a particular piece of legislation is being voted upon (8%), which fact can improve the quality of the text itself. The fact that 51% use only on occasions the remarks and comments made by NGOs when draft laws are initiated proves that the relation between NGOs and parliamentarians is at a crossroads and the next steps will be decisive for increasing the quality of the deliberative process.

It is imperative that every player in this game makes all the efforts to become truly professional, in other words, not to consider itself the source of all knowledge but learn how to cooperate with those that have the capacity to make a true contribution to the development of legislation at European standards in Romania.



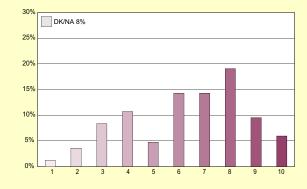




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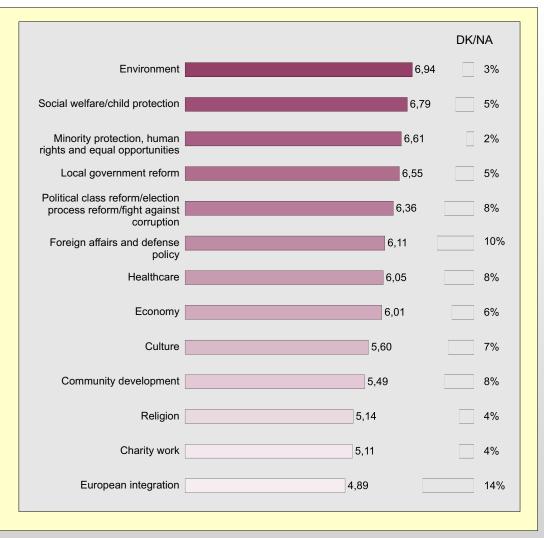
For each of the areas listed below, please mention on a scale from 1 to 10 the level of activism of Romanian non-governmental organizations (where 1 is the lowest level and 10 is the highest level of activism)

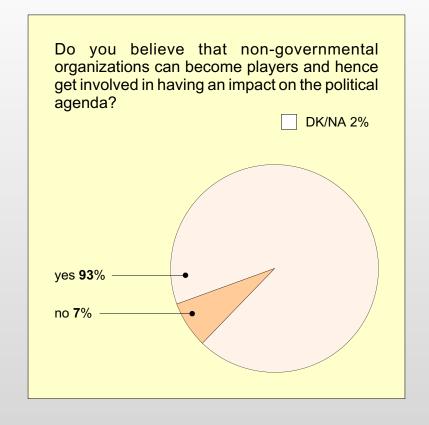
European integration

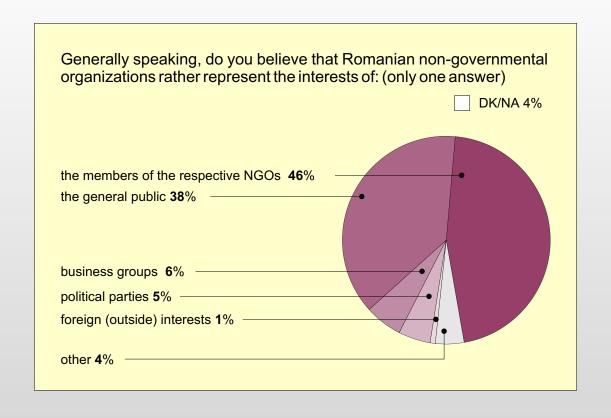


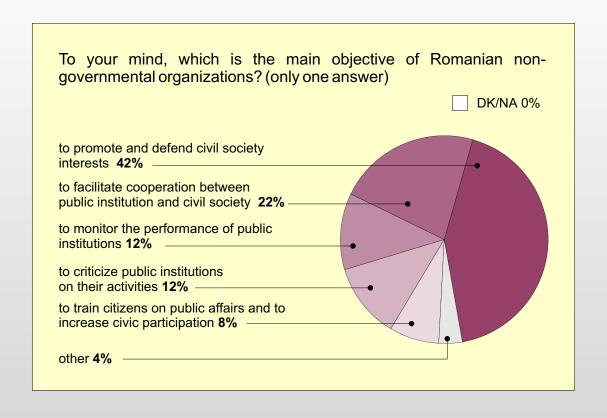
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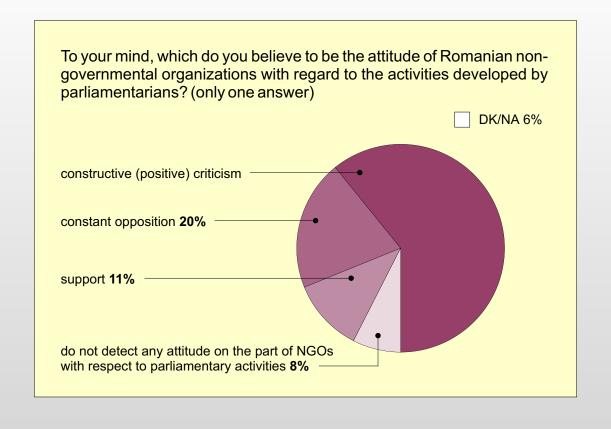
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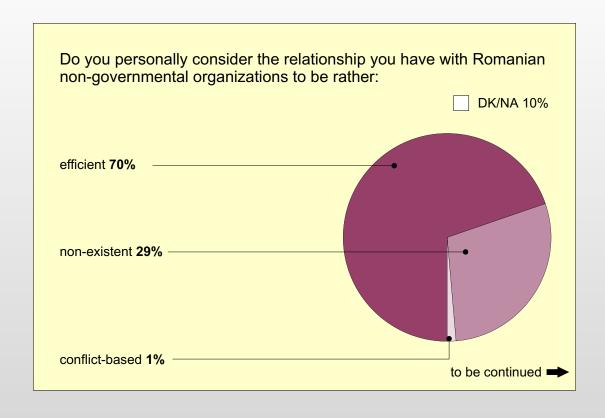


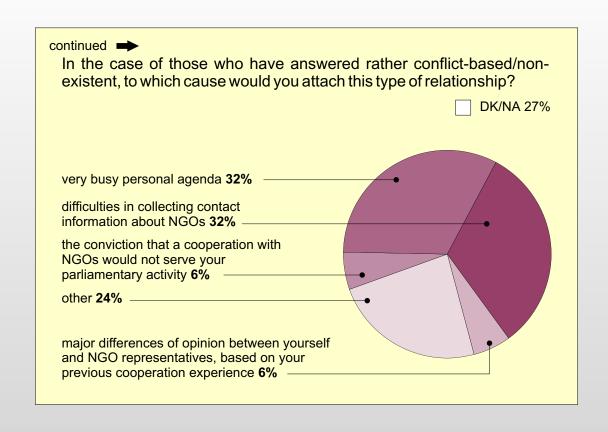


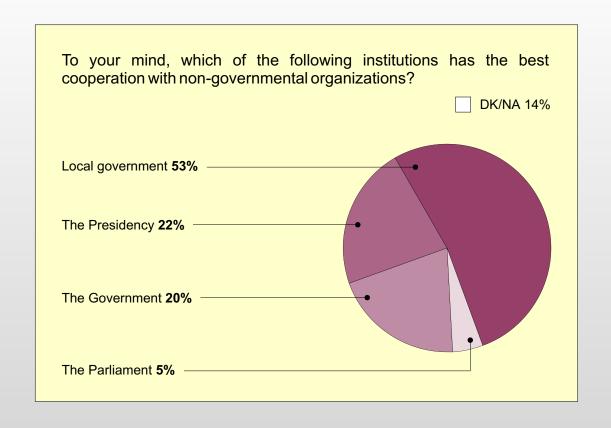


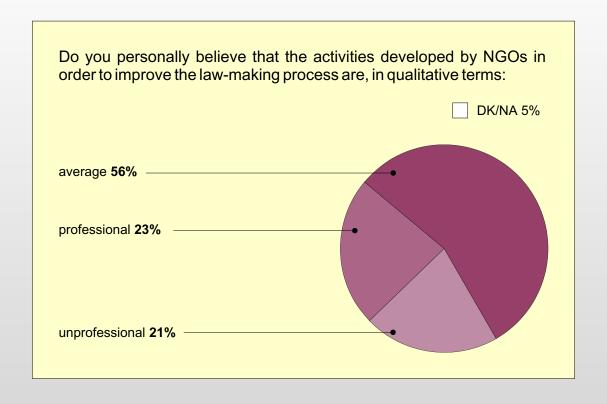


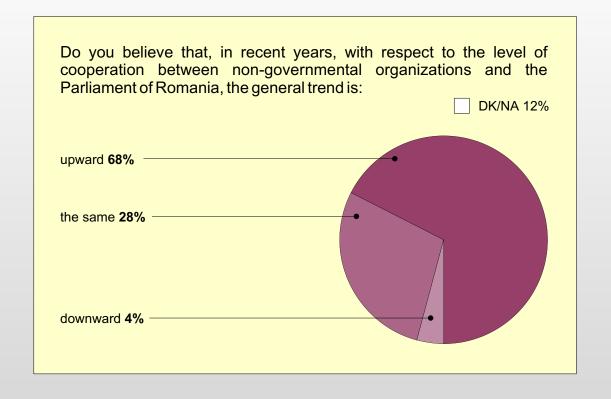




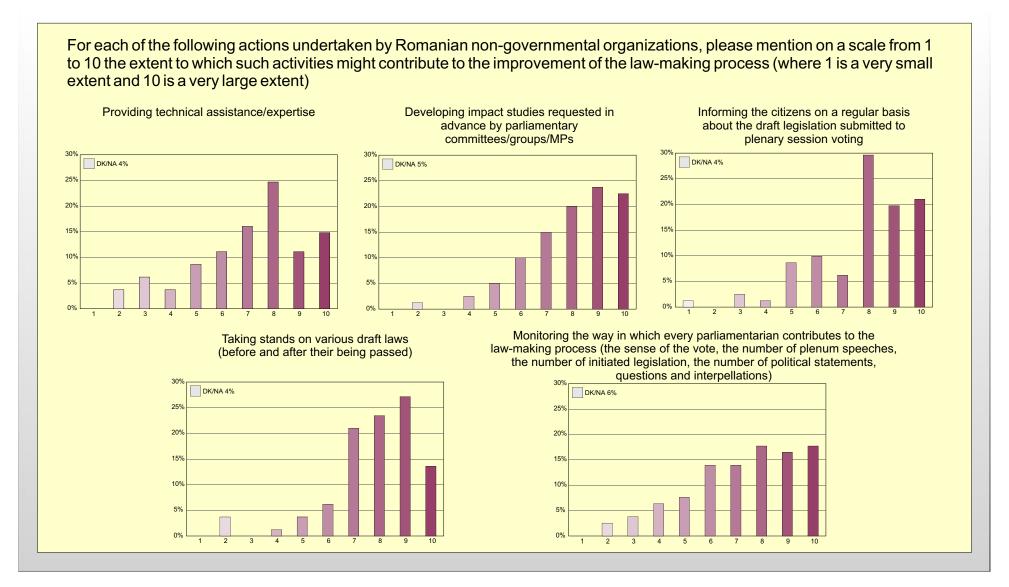






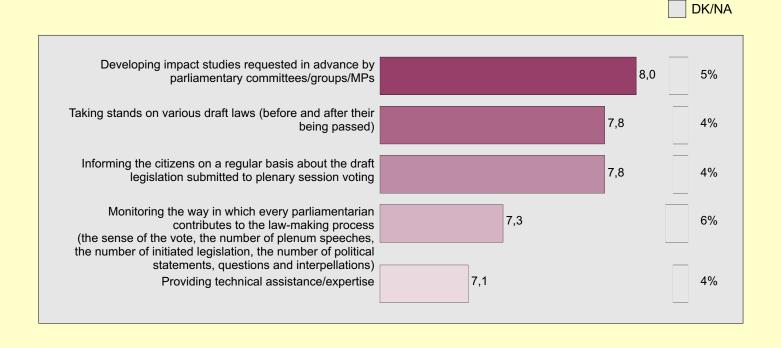


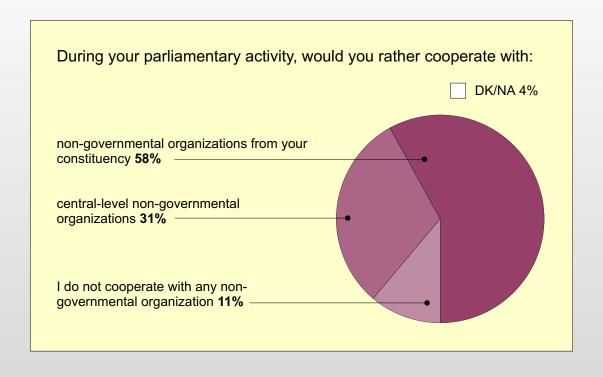
Can you mention a few recent pieces of legislation on whose drafting nongovernmental organizations have had a significant contribution? **DK/NA 30%** The law on the status of ethnic minorities 9% The law on local public administration 8% 8% The election laws The amendments to the Constitution 6% The Criminal Code 5% The law on the reform of property and justice 5% The legislation on associations and foundations 5% The package of legislation on the fight against corruption 5% The law on the prevention of domestic violence 4% The healthcare legislation 4% The social welfare legislation 4% 3% The law on the free access to information of public interest 3% The copyright law 3% The lustration law The law on the by-laws of the radio and television companies 3% 3% The law on decision-making transparency 23% Others

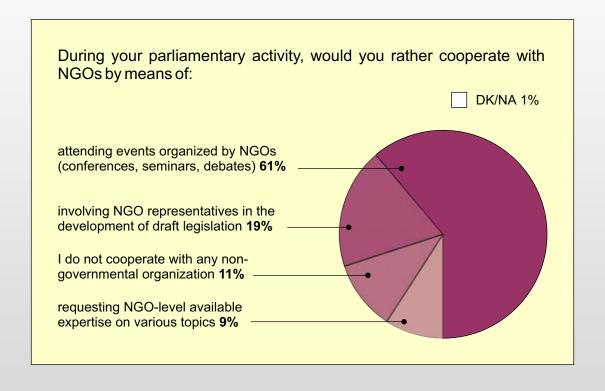


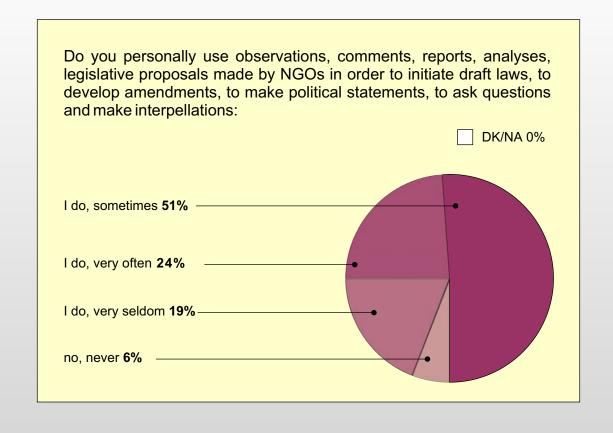
For each of the following actions undertaken by Romanian non-governmental organizations, please mention on a scale from 1 to 10 the extent to which such activities might contribute to the improvement of the law-making process (where 1 is a very small extent and 10 is a very large extent)

Average values











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